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THE DECISIVE MOTIVES OF TATAR FAILURE IN THE ILKHANID—MAMLUK FIGHTS IN THE HOLY LAND

EDMOND SCHÜTZ

After his succession to the throne of the Great Khan, Möngke sent his brother Hülegü to the Near East, to take over and extend the realm carved out by the *noyons* Chormaghan, Baiju and Eljigedei in Persia and the Transcaucasus.[1] Hülegü made great conquests in 1258—1259, in a single year he took the Baghdad Kaliphate and the impregnable fortresses of the *assassins* ("hashish-eaters").[2]

Further territories of the Near East seemed to be easy prey, such as the area under the Ayyubid princelings of the Saladdin progeny, but from 1250 on, this region came under the tutelage of the Mamluks, who soon proved to be very tough adversaries. The same year, Hülegü set out with a huge army of about 6 *tümens* and in the period of one month he took the Northern emirates, Edessa, Harran, and Aleppo one after the other, and with the rumour of the impending *blitzkrieg*, Hama, Homs and Damascus quickly surrendered.

The kings of Lesser Armenia — who in 1244 "voluntarily" accepted the vassalage of the Tatars — were compelled to participate in the Tatar warfare.[3] Thus, Hethum I, the Cilician king and Bohemond, the prince of Antiochia (Hethum's son-in-law) were present, as auxiliaries, in the military operations, but cherished the hope, that with the help of the Tatars, the Holy Land could be freed from under the Mahometan yoke.[4]

At this juncture an unexpected event occurred. Hülegü received a message informing him of the death of his brother Möngke, the Great Khan. As it was the rule in the Mongol Empire on such occasions for the kinsmen of

[1] Rashid/Russ., III. 24; Rashid/Engl., 246.

[2] Kirakos/Fr. 114, sqq, 139—141; Kirakos/Russ. 152, sqq, 176—78; Haithon, 163—65/296—97.

[3] Kirakos/Fr. 183—86; Kirakos/Russ. 228—31; Akantsi, 298—303; Haithon, 168—70/300—301; Smbat, 101—2; Meyvaert, 255—56; Grousset: *Croisades*, III. 567—73; Grousset: *Empire*, 351—56; Boyle: *CHP* V, 342—49.

[4] Kirakos/Fr. 189—190; Kirakos/Russ. 230—31; Vardan/Russ. 13; Smbat, 104—6; Akantsi, 333. sqq; Grousset: *Croisades*, III. 576—91; Grousset: *Empire*, 350—51; Runciman, III. 305—11; Haithon, 168—71; Smith, *HJAS* 44, 310.

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the rulers of the apanage-*ulus*-es to convene for the election of the next emperor, without delay Ilkhan Hülegü set out to return home.[5] There could have been several reasons for his speedy return home: the first — the most palpable—must have been to rush to his father's *yurt* and participate at the funeral ceremonies and the *qurultay* of the new election. Moreover, because of his very close attachment to Qubilai (at least the Persian Rashid ad-Din repeatedly stressed the importance of this kinship connection)[6] Hülegü obviously thought he needed to be present, all the more so as his younger Ariq Böke, seemed to have the covert and soon overt aim of acquiring brother, the Khaghan's dignity for himself.

As Hülegü intended to pursue the warfare in Syria at a later date, he left a garrison detachment in Syria, under the leadership of his valiant commander Kitbugha, who acquired an excellent reputation in the battle of Baghdad. It could also have been foresight to leave the commander Kitbugha on-the-spot, who — being of Nestorian faith — may have had closer contact with the local Christians. (The deputy was Baidar *noyon*, the governor of Damascus.)[7]

Immediately upon hearing the news that Hülegü had departed, the Mamluk Sultan Qutuz set out from his camp: first he crushed the reconnaissance troops who had pushed forward, and Kitbugha's detachment rushed to their rescue in vain. The information provided by the sources is questionable, but the commander of the vanguard must have been Baidar.[8]

However, this military move of the Mamluks could be achieved only with the active cooperation or rather foul play of the crusaders, who gave them free passage below Acre.[9] This unexpected opening gave Qutuz the opportunity to attack Kitbugha from the flank. The battle under Mount Thabor, at ʿAyn Jālūt ("Goliath Spring") ended with the crushing defeat of the Tatar detachment. Kitbugha was captured and beheaded on the Sultan's order.[10]

As a rule, the Syrian campaign has generally been dealt with by enumerating the simple facts of an almost unhindered march of the Tatar conquerors, but, soon the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt, fanfared as a tremendous sensation, a fatal and ultimate catastrophe. For the Egyptians, the victory was truly an unex-

[5] Rashid/Russ., 50; Boyle: *CHP* V, 351; Grousset: *Empire*, 363.

[6] Rashid/Russ., 50; Rashid/Engl. 255.

[7] Rashid/Russ., 51—52;

[8] Grousset: *Croisades*, III. 600; Grousset: *Empire*, 364; Boyle: *CHP* V, 351; Smith: *HJAS* 44, 326.

[9] Akantsi, 348—49; *RHC, Doc. Arm.* II: *Chiprois*, 753; Boyle: *CHP* V, 351; Thorau: *Baibars*, 92.

[10] Rashid/Russ., III. 53—53; Rashid/Engl., 305; Vardan/Russ., 14; Haithon, 173—74/304—5; otherwise: Smbat, 106—7; Grousset: *Croisades*, III. 603—4; Grousset: *Empire*, 364—65; Boyle: *CHP* V, 351—52; Spuler: *Iran*, 57; Runciman, III. 312—13; Morgan, 155—57; Smith: *HJAS* 44, 307, sqq; Thorau: *ʿAyn Jālūt*, 236—41.

pected surprise, at least common belief would not have expected a victory over the notoriously invincible Tatars. But there was no such thought on the Tatar side. At the time, for Hülegü this battle meant only a skirmish of detachments.

Often historical literature conveys the impression that the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt signified an irretrievable turn in the history of the Tatar Ilkhanids, moreover, of the entire Mongol Empire, and from time to time there are estimates, re-examinations and reappraisals, basically of a similar nature.

As in the case of military events, researchers generally first of all made a comparison between the strength of the belligerent parties. This method seems to be all the more justified, as the battle was fought by armies of similar type, basically mounted cavalry.

The assessment of the Tatar forces is comparatively easy, as two basic figures are available: according to the Chronicle of Kirakos of Gandsak: 20,000 fighters, and Haithon's Chronicle: 1 *tümen*.[11] In historical literature generally the 2 *tümens* figure is accepted, the unit under Baidar's command being estimated to be 1,000—2,000. Anyhow *tümen* was a comprehensive term, and did not always have an exactly defined effective figure.

The Mamluk strength was not easy to define. There is no precise contemporary figure for the force. As a rule, the figure 12,000 of the late Nuvairi (†1332) is taken as a basis, and in modern historiography, also by J. A. Smith jr. An approximately similar figure (10,000) was already fixed by contemporaries as suitable for the campaign led by Saladdin against Palestine. A more detailed estimate (Poliak, Ayalon) was derived from the number of military districts: 24 districts — each of a strength of 1,000 — which would make 24,000 in all. Comparatively even this figure seems to be acceptable, if one presumes that part of the army was relegated as a rear-guard in the home garrison.

During his assessment, J. M. Smith jr. agreed with the thesis that more than 6,000 soldiers should be added, the *halqa*, the strength of the local tribal units.[12] In this decision, a parity with the Tatar forces must probably have played a part. In his re-examination, P. Thorau pondered about the strengths, starting from the 10,000 men of the Saladdin age, up to the total of Baibars' heydays numbering up to 40,000. This latter figure is contemplated by Thorau for the peak of Baibars' career; for the "turbulent" decade of 1250—60 he gave an estimate of 15,000—20,000.[13] Here again — it seems — the comparative

[11] Kirakos/Fr., 189 erroneously: (2000); Kirakos/Russ., 230; Haithon, 173/303; Grousset: *Empire*, 364; Boyle: *CHP* V, 351; Smith: *HJAS* 44, 309—10; Thorau: *ʿAyn Jālūt*, 236—37;

[12] Smith: *HJAS* 44, 312 (complete analysis).

[13] Thorau: *ʿAyn Jālūt*, 237.

assessment is in question. The principle of balance also came to the fore in Thorau's Baibars monography ("annähernd zahlenmässiger Ebenbürtigkeit"). But neither with J. M. Smith jr., nor with P. Thorau does it become clear what strength they assigned for the units of the rear-guards.[14]

In contrast to this concept, earlier handbooks generally take the Mamluk superiority for granted. In the year following the victory of Baibars at 'Ayn Jālūt, he succeeded Qutuz (whom he mercilessly stabbed).[15] Taking into account the fact that the main body of the Mamluk force was under the command of Baibars, a numerical superiority cannot be ruled out, however, it has to be admitted that the peak expansion might have been reached in the next decade.

In most comparisons of the two forces, a vital issue is omitted and overlooked. On one side, the Egyptian Mamluks consisted of a complete army, while for the Tatars, the unit under Kitbugha's command was a detachment, a garrison unit. Thus the belligerent parties cannot be described as being equivalent, not to mention the foregoing decade, which for the Tatars meant incessant warfare and marches, so the army arriving in Syria must have been in a rather fatigued state.

The most important components were primarily the quite unexpected circumstances. The Tatars certainly counted on the fact that the Crusaders would by no means interfere or give any assistance to the Mamluks. The second factor, which decisively contributed to the fatal issue of the battle, was the conduct of the North Syrian Ayyubid units, incorporated into the Tatar frontline on both wings. The Syrians engaged in premeditated deception, soon after the clash of the frontlines, they defected and thus left gaps open for Mamluk intrusion.

Such a role was played by the Emir of Homs, al-Malik al-Ashraf, who when placed in a critical position decided to desert. Soon after the Mamluk victory he received his reward and was reinstated to his emirate. The Melik of Aleppo was also accused of having betrayed the Tatar army, but he was left on the Tatar side, and the wrath of Hülegü overtook him, he was executed together with his 300 men.[16]

A similar story was related on Sarim ad-Din Üzbek by an Arab Chronicler, Qirtay: after the fall of Homs, having been captured, he (Sarim ad-Din) joined the Tatars, but secretly informed the Mamluk Sultan about the Tatar forces and even offered that after the clash of the two lines, he would defect to their side together with his troops and thus through the gap they could penetrate the Tatar lines.[17]

[14] Thorau: *Baibars*, 94.

[15] Grousset: *Croisades*, III. 600; Grousset: *Empire*, 364; Boyle, V, 351; Thorau: *Baibars*, 98–99.

[16] Rashid/Russ., III. 53; Spuler; *Iran*, 57; Thorau: *Baibars*, 96.

[17] Qirtay, *Tarix*, in: Thorau, *Baibars*, 97; Thorau: *'Ayn Jālūt*, 238–39.

So ultimately it becomes quite clear that in 1260 Kitbugha simply walked into a trap, because of the free passage granted by the Crusaders to the Mamluk forces and the desertion of several Ayyubid Syriac units (Rashid/Russ. III. 52).

However, victory is a victory regardless of the trick with which it was won, and so it is comprehensible that the Mahometan sources recount the entire episode as a total victory. And in next year, after his succession to the throne, a memorial pillar has been erected by Baibars on the site of the battle, as a token of his own decisive role in the victory.

In his Baibars monography, P. Thorau rather contractedly described the ʿAyn Jālūt battle as a clever tactical manoeuvre ("durch geschickte taktische Manöver vernichtend geschlagen"), but with objectivity he added that the victory had been won by the complete Egyptian army and stressed the point that the Mamluks destroyed only *one* army, and not *the* Mongol forces. The event was described by D. Morgan, approximately in a similar style, remarking that ʿAyn Jālūt "marked the putting of a term to Mongol expansion . . . but it would be going too far to say that that single battle in any real sense halted the Mongol advance."[18]

*

But now let us turn back to the home march of the main Ilkhanid army. J. M. Smith jr. blames Ilkhan Hülegü for his move, in his mind it was a "strategic miscalculation" to withdraw his whole army neither for participation at the *qurultay* nor eventually against the Golden Horde.[19] The answer to this problem is not so decided.

The triggering effect of the subsequent events was surely the death of the Great Khan Möngke. The fundamental provision of the *yasa* at the Great Khan's death was that all senior scions of the Jingisid clan should assemble for the election of the new Great Khan. For Hülegü it was probably a major embarrassment that he received the message of the death with such a considerable delay. This was all the more unprecedented, as he was one of the major senior family members who should have been alerted first by the youngest brother, Ariq böke being present in the home *yurt*. Möngke died on August 11, 1259, and the message reached him March 1260, with a seven month delay. This delay is all the more strange, as allegedly — at least according to Rashid ad-Din—Hülegü was in close contact with Ariq böke.[20] There was no plausible reason for the delay. It could not have been casual negligence, but a deliberate offence of dynastic rules. For the purpose of messages, routes for messengers

[18] Thorau, *Baibars*, 94, cf. 120. Morgan, 156.
[19] Smith: *HJAS* 44, 328.
[20] Rashid/Engl., 255.

had been established and ensured from the Ögödei regime, and in the neighbouring countries under the ruling generals of the Ilkhanids the military and trading routes represented a fine network of mutual contact, and every 25—30 miles messengers were awaited by a complete set of relay horses.[21]

What was the real background to the late delivery of the message? The youngest brother might have resorted to the fraudulent tactic, that as both of his brothers had their own home *yurt:* one in China, one in Persia, and both of them were waging war and fairly far away,[22] eventually the basic provisions of the *yasa* could be applied (which in the literal sense had never been implemented) that the youngest brother, the son presiding in the family *yurt,* the *otcigin* should retain the home-*yurt* for imperial apanage.[23]

In this respect, Ariq böke must have felt all the more strengthened, as Qaidu the senior of the Ögödei clan, and the Chaghataid Alghu accepted this solution, and Ariq enjoyed firm support on the Western border from Berke, the Khan of the Golden Horde. With such patrons backing him, Ariq böke adopted the title of Great Khan.[24] But Qublai, the brother next following Möngke in seniority, also aspired to be the Great Khan. He set out for the central *yurt,* and his army and his partisans proclaimed him the Great Khan on June 4, 1260,[25] i.e. exactly the same date, when Hülegü back from Syria arrived at Akhlat (a town on the northern coast of the Van Sea).[26] The battles between Ariq and Qublai in the following years definitely decided the matter in favour of Qublai.[27]

Hülegü sided with Qublai, so it could be expected that he would quickly set out to go to Qublai's support. At any rate Hülegü made preparations — according to Kirakos of Gandsak — he set out to confront Berke, and sent his son, Abagha with 3 tüments to Khorassan. According to Haithon, he positioned his son in Tabriz and then set out to march to the East; according to Rashid ad-Din to the borderline of Khorassan.[28]

Being aware of the prospective outcome of the fight, Hülegü served the cause of Qublai with his presence on the Khorassan border, keeping Alghu the unstable neighbour of Ariq in check. He then launched an assault against Qaidu and Kutuktu.[29]

[21] Rubruck (Dawson), 146; Morgan, 103—7, etc.

[22] Rashid/Engl., 230; Grousset: *Empire,* 285; Boyle: *CHP* V, 351.

[23] Rashid/Engl., 163, 202; Spuler: *Iran,* 372, 388.

[24] Rashid/Russ., III. 50; Rashid/Engl. 230, 251; Spuler: *Iran,* 61—63; Smith: *HJAS* 44, 328.

[25] Rashid/Engl., 252.

[26] Rashid/Russ., 50.

[27] Rashid/Engl., 252—60.

[28] Kirakos/Fr., 193; Kirakos/Russ. 237; Haithon, 172; Rashid/Russ. 50; Boyle: *CHP* V, 351.

[29] Rashid/Engl., 255, 261—2.

However, Hülegü not only had to move towards the north-east, but also towards the north-west. J. M. Smith jr. is of the opinion that Hülegü should not have needed to concentrate his army in Iran against the Golden Horde, as Khan Berke mobilized his forces only in 1262 against him.[30] But this argumentation — in my opinion — is not sufficient to refute the motivation for an earlier alert. Berke Khan had concluded an alliance with the Sultan the previous year, and so Berke and the other Khans, the other allies of Ariq böke, already represented potential adversaries in 1260.[31] But Berke also had other motives for his hostile attitude to Hülegü. He professed the Muslim creed with neophyte zeal, and was utterly infuriated when he received news of the sacking of Baghdad, and the killing of the Kaliph, and Hülegü's subsequent moves against the Muslims.[32] These motives naturally gained a special echo in the Arab sources, though in Western and Armenian sources one also finds ample information, of course, here as victory news.

In addition, a grave family slight was involved: at the start of the Persian warfare, several nephews of Berke together with their detachments had been assigned as auxiliary troops to Hülegü's army, but the Jochid princes were later convicted of (alleged) criminal offences and executed in the Ilkhanid camp.[33]

Open hostilities between Berke and Hülegü broke out in 1262, it was Khan Noghai, who led the troops intruding through the Caucasus, and the hostilities continued up to their lives' end (Hülegü † 1265, Berke † 1266). Even Hülegü's successor, Khan Abagha continued the warfare, he had palisades (Mongol *šibe*) erected along the Kura river.[34]

All these motives would have been sufficient to foster a feud between the Jochid and Hülegid family branches, but a basic seed of discord had been sown by the differing concept regarding the territorial boundaries between the clan *yurts* established by the *yasa*. Originally, the territorial boundaries had not been exactly delineated, so the Jochid branch claimed propriety rights over the Caucasus.[35] This claim had not been established before the Ilkhanid period, as the previous regents of the Caucasian region were only subaltern generals and regents.[36]

[30] Rashdi/Russ., III, 59; Smith: *HJAS* 44, 328.

[31] Grousset: *Croisades*, III. 613; *Grousset:* Empire, 397; Boyle: *CHP* V, 351; Spuler: *Iran*, 63; Morgan, 157.

[32] Akantsi, 332—33; Grousset: *Empire*, 354—56; Morgan, 144.

[33] Juvaini, II. 608; Rashid/Engl., 123; Rashid/Russ., III. 54, 59—60; Kirakos/Fr. 192; Kirakos/Russ., 236; Akantsi, 338—41; Grousset: *Empire*, 398; Boyle: *CHP* V, 353.

[34] Rashid/Russ., III. 58—60, 68; Kirakos/Fr., 193; Kirakos/Russ., 238; Vardan/Russ., 27; Grousset: *Empire*, 366; Boyle: *CHP* V. 353—54.

[35] Rashid/Engl., 307—8; Juvaini, I. 42—43; Morgan, 144, etc.

[36] Kirakos/Fr., 116, sqq, 140, 156, sqq. Kirakos/Russ., 152, sqq., 177. sqq.

But Hülegü, by virtue of the mandate bestowed upon him by the Great Khan Möngke, claimed supremacy over the entire Near East, including the Transcaucasus.[37]

It has been common case in Mongol chancellery practice that each sovereign or prince adopting a vassal state had to make an appearance in the Court of the Great Khan, in Qaraqorum. This was also the case with the Georgian and Armenian kings, who were directed to the Great Khan. By way of Sarai-Batu they set out: Avag atabeg in 1239, and the Georgian kings, then Simbat the Armenian army commander (1248), and later the king of Lesser Armenia, Hethum I (1254).[38]

That this principle survived even later on is indicated by the step of Khan Tokhta (1291—1312), who wanted to revive this claim half a century later.[39]

But apart from the possible threats coming from the north-east and the north-west flank, probably there may have been another motive, which prevented Hülegü from instantaneously sending auxiliary troops to the east in July 1260. The other reasoning that might have been instrumental in halting his hand was that both by age and authority he was more senior than Ariq böke or comparatively attained the same dignity level as Qublai, so eventually he might also have coveted the imperial throne. His hesitance might have had another meaning: probably he waited for the rivalry to come to an end. This possible version has not been suggested by historical literature,[40] most possibly because of the close fraternal attachment to Qublai, (at least emphasised by Rashid-ad-Din,) though it must be taken into account that a sharp-eyed contemporary witness, chronicler Haithon suggested another version: "the barons awaited his [Hülegü's] return as they wanted to put him on the throne".[41]

*

To summarize the results attained by Ilkhan Hülegü in Syria: in the course of a single month, Hülegü took a fair number of centres of the Syrian emirates, while the others preferred to declare their submission, so his warfare directed against the Syrian field at the turn of the 1250—60 years can be considered a brilliant victory.

[37] Rashid/Engl., 255—56: Rashid/Russ. III. 23—24; Mikaelian, 317.

[38] Kirakos/Fr., 129—31, 156—58, 176—81; Kirakos/Russ., 167—69, 194—96, 222—26; Akantsi, 324—27; Smbat, 98; *REA*, *Doc. arm.* II, p. 164. *Letter of Smbat*, 90; Mikaelian, 301, 314—17.

[39] Juvaini, I. 42; Rashid/Russ., III. 23; Boyle: *CHP* V, 352; Morgan, 144.

[40] Just the opposite: "did not offer himself as candidate": Grousset: *Empire*, 363.

[41] Haithon, 172/303; Boyle: *CHP* V, 351.

In the opposite direction, historical attention is focused on the ʿAyn Jālūt defeat, and proclaimed it a fatal fiasco, and estimates and re-examinations appeared putting this failure into the limelight, effacing all the other positive achievements.

In historical literature, evaluating the battles of the Tatars and Mamluks, and the role of the Crusaders, two different versions appear, which — of course — had been conditioned by the sources deriving from the different parties.

Arab sources were prejudiced in favour of the Ayyubid emirates and the succeeding Mamluks, the Syrian and Armenian chronicles on the contrary, sympathised with and felt compassion for the Tatars, for on several occasions the latter acted in cooperation with the Christians to promote their cause.

R. Grousset was of the conviction that the Crusaders should have closely cooperated with the Tatars before and after the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt. And so he blamed the Crusaders for having given free passage for the Mamluk army on the coastal strip, which enabled the Mamluks to attack the Tatars in the flank and thus bring about their defeat, and herewith provoke their own cataclysm. R. Grousset was certainly aware that the Crusaders did not act of their own choice, but because the centre of the Persian Ilkhanids, Tabriz, was far away, and the Mamluks were encamped in the neighbourhood.

If they could have acted on their own free will, they surely would have chosen the Tatar side, because the Tatars generally behaved indifferently toward the profession of creed. Moreover, from the beginning, the Christians had sympathy with the Tatars, because before their appearance on the scene positive rumours had spread all over the Near East about the country of priest Johannes,[42] the major component of which news was that there were Mongol tribes (kereits, naimans), which adopted the Christian (Nestorian) faith. The same news had also been given by the Armenian constable Simbat in 1248. This expectance had also been increased by the Western missionary-envoys, who reported about the tolerant attitude of the Tatars toward the Christians.

The enthusiastic estimate of the Ilkhanids was increased by the fact that the wife of Khan Hülegü, Doquz Khatun, and Hülegü's army commander, Kitbugha both professed the Nestorian creed.[43] Even the successors of Ilkhan Hülegü were on good terms with the Christians living in the Near East, and the Tatar envoys sent to the West sought for close contact and alliance with the Western powers.

The good reputation of the Tatars was also enhanced by the information provided by the Armenian chroniclers. After the arrival of Ilkhan Hülegü on the Near Eastern front, King Hethum I, the monarch of Lesser Armenia,

[42] Zarnke, Fr.: *Der Priester Johannes, Abh. kgl. Sächs. Ges. Wiss. Phil-hist. Klasse.* VII. VIII. vol. 1879—1896. Yule-Cordier, 2. vol., 231—37; Rubruck (Dawson), 122—23.

[43] Haithon, 169—70; Akantsi, 340—41.

participated in the Syrian campaign with an army amounting to 1 *tümen*, jointly with his son-in-law Bohemund VI, prince of Antioch.[44] Already at the outset of the campaign, Hülegü promised King Hethum that after the reconquest of the Crusader fortresses he would return them to them. He also put down this promise in his letter addressed to the French King, Louis IX.[45]

But negative intermezzos came in between, when by chance one of the Crusader barons, Count Julien of Sidon's patrol clashed with Kitbugha's advance forces and the nephew of Kitbugha was killed in the encounter. The consequence was that the enraged Tatars sacked Sidon and burnt it down.[46] This unfortunate intermezzo has often been cited by the propagators of the negative essence of Christian-Tatar relations.

On basis of some documentary evidence from the Holy Land, P. Jackson demonstrated that prior to 1261, the Ilkhans in the Holy Land "did not lavish particular benevolence on the Christians" at the time of the occupation of the north-Syrian region. Their friendly posture . . . after 1262–63 . . . distorted an accurate appreciation of the situation in 1260." To a certain degree, J. Richard shared this opinion, and D. Morgan professed a similar view. P. Thorau warns historians of coming under the influence of the pro-Tatar attitude. He quotes the remarks of several Christian chroniclers about the demeanour of the Tatars; of course, Tatars were hard warriors, and had little sense of Western chivalry.[47]

Of course, it is obvious that for an accidental onlooker, who by chance found himself in the middle of the Tatar military operations, the main experience must have been horror and revulsion. For this reason, in the courts of the European kings and the Pope's residence, the judgement of the Tatars remained a negative one even later on. The experience of the Tatar invasion in the European neighbourhood two decades earlier and the letters of the Great Khans inviting the Western courts to declare their submission could hardly have elicited a more favourable estimate. A range of opinions of a similar type form the bulk of the contemporary repercussions, gathered into a collection by Gian A. Bezzola, reflecting the dominant picture of the Tatars in the European mind up to 1270.[48]

It is comprehensible that at the time of the intrusion of the Crusaders, fierce hatred flared up in the Muslim emirates against the Christians, but as

[44] Haithon, 170/304; Akantsi, 344–45; Vardan/Russ., 13; Grousset: *Empire*, 361.

[45] Meyvaert, 257–58, lines 70–93.

[46] Haithon, 174/304–5; Grousset; *Croisades*, III. 594; Grousset: *Empire*, 363–64.

[47] Jackson, P.: *The Crisis of the Holy Land in 1260: English Historical Review*, 95 (1980), pp. 481–513.; Richard, J., *The Mongols and the Franks: Journal of Asian History*, 3 (1969); pp. 51–52.; Morgan, 155. Thorau, *Baibars*, 89.

[48] Bezzola, G. A.; *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht (1220–1270)*. Bern–München 1974.

they came into closer contact during the next century, their relations underwent a certain change: a sort of peaceful co-existence and mutual commercial relations.

After the battle, of ʿAyn Jālūt, following the accession of Baibars to power, relations between the Mamluks and Crusaders radically altered. During the military alert and almost five years long fighting between the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanids, Baibars gained a free hand to keep the Syrian emirates undisturbed in his hands. Having no competitor-adversary he started to take one Crusader fortress after the other: in 1263 the Krak des Chevaliers, the impregnable stronghold of the Hospitalers, then Toron, in 1266 the Templar Safad, and Kaisareia and in the same year invaded Armenian Cilicia.[49] Being aware of the imminent danger, King Hethum personally hastened to Ilkhan Abagha (1265—81) in order to ask for auxiliary troops to ward off the Mamluks. But at that exact time Baibars appeared with unequalled rapidity and defeated the altercating Armenian lords, and dragged the elder son of Hethum into captivity.[50]

Then in the next year (1267—8) Baibars continued his conquests. The Crusader fortresses perched on the Amanus mountains fell into his hands without resistance. After taking Jaffa and Tripoli, he then marched forward to Antioch. Not a single inland fortress was left in Crusader hands, only a few strongholds on the shore of the Mediterranean.

As a matter of fact, Baibars was a cautious strategist. When rumours came of Louis the Saint's preparations for a second Crusade and the English prince Edward would join in the venture, Baibars withdrew his troops. This was a temporary respite for the Templar Tartus, and the Hospitaler al-Markab.

S. Louis ultimately directed his new venture not against the Mamluks, but towards Tunis, so Prince Edward was left alone. However he landed at Acre in May 1271, but his troops alone were not sufficient for a successful military operation, so after his futile venture he returned home. Unfortunately, just about this time, Khan Abagha being harrassed on the north-west and north-east fronts by his brother-neighbours, could not start a co-ordinated action.

Khan Abagha succeeded in driving back the attack of the Golden Horde, but had hardly finished, when he was placed under pressure by the next brother-*ulus*, the Chaghataid branch, when in 1269—70 Khan Barak made an advance on Khorassan. The agressor was driven back, but he still had to lead a punitive expedition against Barak in order to forestall a new assault.[51]

[49] Grousset; *Croisades*, III. 622—31.; Thorau: *Baibars*, 161, sqq.

[50] Akantsi, 356—73; *Crusades* (Setton) II, 653—54; Grousset: *Croisades*, III. 634—35; Runciman, III. 322.

[51] Rashid/Russ., 69—88; Grousset: *Empire*, 369; Boyle: *CHP* V. 360.

Thus it is obvious that the balance of military opportunities and endeavours of the Mamluks and Ilkhanids was radically unequal. The good nephews all along the north-west and north-east frontiers were always ready to utilize any opportunity to attack their southern brother, so the Ilkhans could not take advantage of any opportunity to enter into an alliance with any Crusader army landing on the seashore, and so to proceed with a joint venture against the Mamluk Sultan, who on his part was always free to act.

When Khan Abagha received the news of Edward's arrival, all he could do was to send a detachment of 1 *tümen*, but this detachment was of no avail, since Baibars' *hinterland* was always free and clear, so he could withdraw instantaneously before any counterattack appeared.

To counterbalance the northern frontier engagements, which prevented him from proceeding on the Syrian front, Abagha sent several envoys over the years to the Pope (1273—74), and to the French and the English kings (1276—77) to urge the Western monarchs to enter an alliance and joint expeditions. But the kings had their own grave or sometimes trifling problems, so they sent the envoys back with obliging and courteous promises, and so Abagha's repeated endeavours against the Mamluks were in vain.

In the years after Baibars' death (July 1, 1277), when political instability in Egypt prevailed, Abagha could not take advantage of this opportunity, because he was again threatened by the northern neighbours. As soon as Abagha gained some scope for action, he set his forces into action on the route trodden formerly by Hülegü. He did not guess that instead of the two puppet sultans, who had easily been wiped out by Qalavun (1279—90), he would be confronted by a forceful and cunning adversary. In order to ensure safety on his flanks, Qalavun concluded a truce with the neighbouring Crusader orders. Abagha marched at the head of his army towards the region of Hama—Homs. The allied Georgian and Armenian troops drove one flank of the Sultan back. But at this juncture — the main enemy again appeared — the Chaghataid brothers made inroads from the north-east, which obliged Abagha to rush back to Khorassan, and this was the decisive factor.

Although at this time, Abagha was almost certain of total victory, and his army-divisions, left in charge of his valiant commander Mengü Temür, were winning, at Homs the commander was wounded, the army lost stability and withdrew across the Euphrates. This again turned the scales in favour of the Sultan — but the next year, with firm decision Abagha again made preparations to set out against Qalavun. However, death (April 1, 1282) prevented him from starting his new campaign.[52]

Based on the experience of his predecessors, the next Ilkhan Arghun (1284—1291) thought the prospects of success could be secured with a campaign

[52] Rashid/Russ., III. 96—97; Haithon, 182—83/310—11; *Chiprois*, 786; Grousset: *Croisades*, III. 699—700; Grousset: *Empire*, 371; Boyle: *CHP* V, 363; Spuler: *Iran*, 75.

previously co-ordinated with the European Crusaders and for this purpose he sent four envoys to the Pope in 1285—1287, to the French King Philip the Fair in 1289—1290, and to the English King Edward, who some years earlier (1271) as a prince had led a Crusade to the Holy Land.[53]

The initiation of an anti-Mamluk action was prevented by internal strife in the Ilkhanid camp, the rebellion of the Ilkhan's brother-in-law Nauruz, the omnipotent military governor of Khorassan, which smouldered for four years (1289—94) in the frontier zone of the Chaghataids — and in 1289 in addition the Golden Horde also rushed forward at Derbent. Arghun stricken with disease for two years could not move, and died 1291, so all the plans and hopes were frustrated.[54]

Under such circumstances, it was not surprising that during Arghun's reign at the end of the 1280s, all the ultimate fortresses of the Crusaders fell one after the other: Latakiyya in 1287, Tripoli 1289 and Acre in 1291, the last triumph of the Holy Land. And the domino-principle came into motion, all the last forts on the Mediterranean shore — Sidon, Beirut and four more fortresses did not even offer resistance. In this way, the Crusader presence in the Holy Land was liquidated.

Also R. Grousset stated that after 1291, with the fall of Acre, from the Christian point of view there was no longer a possibility and necessity for any Tatar progress against the Mamluk power, as the Holy Land had factually been lost for Christianity.[55] This assertion is a simple reflection of the future in the cognition of the historical result.

In the contemplation of the contemporaries, the idea of the possibility of a reiterated liberation of the Holy Land did not cease. This thought was represented by a number of projects elaborated by contemporary thinkers, and several versions analyzed the motives, which entailed the loss of the Holy Land and gave hints and advice on the strategy to retrieve it. The earliest, and the most careful plan was elaborated by the Cilician Armenian Count Haithon, who in 1307, handed it over to the Pope.[56]

The European great powers did not abandon the idea of starting new Crusades, and it was only the political constellation which prevented them from putting the initiative into motion. The Ilkhans, throughout their reign, also represented the idea of a joint venture together with the Western powers or even alone and they repeatedly made efforts to accomplish the plan.

The years following Arghun's death by no means favoured the start of such an action. This occurred only in 1295, when Ghazan Khan, an extra-

[53] *Crusades* (Setton), III. 531—34.

[54] Rashid/Russ., III. 119—25.

[55] Grousset: *Croisades*, III. 734, sqq., 752—63; Runciman, III. 412—423.

[56] Haithon: *RHC, Doc. arm.* II; Schütz—Sinor (French text transl. by Mickel): *Haython, the Chronicler.* Indiana University (in press)

ordinary personality, both by the calibre of his military and political genius, stepped on the throne (1295—1304).

It would be futile to ponder on the question of to what degree Ghazan's campaign set in motion in 1299 corresponded to the strategy of Hülegü, because it was the geographical site that primarily determined the march-route, and the details of elaborating the plan. Ilkhan Ghazan occupied Aleppo, he vanquished the Mamluk main army below Homs in December 1299 and in January 1300 he marched into glorious Damascus.[57]

After this victorious progress, one would justifiably have expected that the possession of Syria was decided in favour of the Tatars. But this time again the northern neighbours, the nephew clans intervened. Taking advantage of the Ilkhan's absence, they directed an assault against the Ilkhanid ulus. The feudal lord, Kutlugh Khoja, of the domains of Afghanistan bordering on Persia, made an advance into the South-Persian provinces, and scorched the regions of Sistan, Kerman and Kars. Ghazan had no other choice than to return to his domain from his Syrian campaign. And what followed next, was the same result as after the withdrawal of Ilkhan Hülegü. Immediately afterwards the Mamluk forces arrived and took possession of Syria.

But Ghazan did not accept the loss of Syria, in 1302 he again sent a full army under the command of Kutlugh-Shah. But it was routed, not only by the superior forces and the adroit tactics of the Mamluks, but also by the cunning tactic of the Damascus inhabitants, who opened up the sluices, so that the Tatar army encamped on the fields, became completely flooded, and only a fraction of the army could get home with the utmost struggle. The battle was vividly described by a clear-sighted eyewitness, Haithon, the nephew of the Cilician Armenian king, the ally of the Ilkhan.[58]

The forty years of rivalry between the Tatars and the Mamluks is easy to assess: two excelling Ilkhans with special abilities: Hülegü in 1260 and Ilkhan Ghazan in 1300, gained an overwhelming victory in the Syrian region, but could not crown their campaign with the seizure of the territory of Egypt, the heartland of the Mamluk regime, and the complete crushing of the Mamluk forces, so immediately after the departure of the main army Syria was retaken by the Mamluks. The military operations started without the participation of the Ilkhans, by commanders with a minor detachment, and became a failure: during the reign of Abagha in 1281, and that sent by Ghazan in 1303, etc. In these latter cases, the numerical superiority of the Mamluks could also have played an important role.

[57] Rashid/Russ., III. 195—96; Haithon, 194—99/317—21.

[58] Rashid/Russ., III. 195—96; Haithon, 199—203/321—24; Grousset: *Empire*, 382—83; Boyle: *CHP* V, 393; Spuler; *Iran*, 102.

The Tatars also directed a score of raids of units of 1,000 to 2,000 men against the North-Syrian area, but these attacks were only intended to devastate the region, and frighten the enemy.

Historical handbooks on the description of the Tatar—Mamluk wars generally give a detailed story of the Tatar victories and defeats in Syria, and mostly attribute the final outcome of the battles to the supremacy of firearms or the numerical superiority of the forces. Attention is mainly concentrated on the outcome of a single battle of ʿAyn Jālūt, without giving a survey of the sequence of the variegated circumstances of the military situation of the more than half a century of Tatar—Mamluk opposition and the different qualities of the — peaceful or hostile — *hinterlands* of the confronting parties.

Such a basic stance is also taken by the recently published, most detailed and thorough investigation of this topic, the voluminous essay of J. M. Smith jr. "ʿAyn Jālūt: Mamluk Success or Mongol Failure?" — as revealed by the title. The essay subjected the different clashes of the Tatars and Mamluks to a microscopic examination, but all this minute work was carried out to deduce conclusions to explain the ʿAyn Jālūt defeat. The strategy of Ilkhan Hülegü was "defective", the author states,[59] but the background, the circumstances, and decisive motives were omitted. Certainly there are often similarities between the warfare in several details and particularities, and equations can be drawn in several particularities, but certain decisive motives are again unmentioned.

In his analysis of the battles, J. M. Smith jr., imputes the primary importance to the inferiority to the "material" components, the superior qualification of the Mamluk soldiers, and the inferior quality of the arrows and the horses of the Tatars.

First let us take the main element, the superior technical quality of the arrows.[60] Concerning the archery techniques of the nomads, there are a number of handbooks covering the different ages, but based on such description one can hardly make an exact differentiations between the Tatars and the Mamluks.

In order to form a judgement in this matter, I will quote the example of the clash of Ilkhan Ghazan with the Mamluk Sultan in 1299, who hurried in all haste with all his men to surprise the weary and fatigued soldiers of the Tatar Khan, of whom only a minor portion had arrived in the area after a long march. Ghazan Ilkhan was aware of the dangerous situation, and he would have liked to avoid the battle, because he knew that his soldiers, who "were spread over the field, would not be able to reach him and ordered all who were with him to dismount. The Tatars placed their horses around them, streched their bows and arrows, and waited until the enemy was near to them. Then

[59] Smith: *HJAS* 44, pp. 328—31, note 52.
[60] *Ibid.*, 314—26.

they fired their arrows all at one time . . . The first [Mamluks] stumbled and those who came after tripped over them . . . and thus one fell over the other and the Tatars, well trained in the art of archery, fired frequently and rapidly, so that few of the Saracens escaped being either killed or wounded." When the Sultan became aware of the situation he withdrew.[61]

J. M. Smith jr. also came across this military accident and hinted to it in a footnote. Still he attributed the Tatar victory in this case to be eventually won by a superior number of forces,[62] although this case clearly showed, that the victory has been won by the ingenious realization of the unexpected situation, by a quick maneouvre, and successful tactical move.

Nomad warfare — or rather warfare in general — always used different means to achieve the desired end, either one or the other means, or a well applied complexity of them. The main clue was to instantaneously react to the unforeseen.

Foremost experts of nomad warfare have always analyzed the role of horses, an other decisive factor.[63] Tatar horses were a well fed breed, and had ample grazing fields. Thus in Persia, in the NW area — Maragha, Tebriz, on the steppes of the Arax riverside, on the slopes of the Ala-dagh, and in the NE on the grazing fields of Khorassan, the mounts and spare reserve horses were in good condition before each campaign. In the Syrian area, especially south of Damascus, there was less area for grazing, so the stock of Tatar horses had to be withdrawn in turns to northern areas for amelioration. In contrast to this, the horses of the Mamluks were better acclimatized to the desert climate, and fed on less, but more nutritive fodder.

Because of the great distances and the different terrain characteristics, the Tatars had to take more reserve-horses with them, 4—5 per soldier, either relay horses, or as pack animals. This extra number of horses represented a considerable surplus, and increased the difficulties of advancing forward. With such a large amount of luggage, the armies moved at a considerably slow, rather moderate space, and this was certainly an incomparable drawback. An adversary could gain exhaustive intelligence news well in advance.

Regarding the personal factor: what constituted the power balance ratio between the two warfares, the first in 1241—42 waged as far as Poland and Hungary, and the great campaign in the south-west to Persia and the Transcaucasus, prepared in the late 1230s and developed 20 years later by the Ilkhanids to take the Baghdad Caliphate and Syria?

The military tactical system — the lightning cavalry attack, the surrounding of enemy troops and encircling manoeuvres, major and minor tricks,

[61] Haithon, 191—93/316—18. Schütz—Sinor, *Haithon, the Chronicler*

[62] Smith: *HJAS*, vol. 44, p. 324, note 53; Boyle: *CHP* V, 388.

[63] E. g., Sinor: *Horse and Pasture*, ; Smith: *HJAS*, 44, 331—40, 345; Meyvaert, p. 258, lines 95—96; Morgan, 156.

ambushes, and the master-art archery — were basically the same or similar in most Mongol campaigns, which brought them victory and fame. But concerning the enemies, it must not be forgotten that in feudal Europe and in Russia the Tatars met only single separated petty Russian principalities; while in Poland and Hungary the armies were totally unaccustomed to nomad tactics, and mainly consisted of cumbersome heavy cavalry under clumsy feudal management. In Syria — on the contrary — they were encountered by Mamluk armies mostly similar to the Tatar type of military system, the forces having been recruited via Crimea of Kipchak and Circassian slaves, but trained and accustomed to desert fighting terrain.

In my opinion, the lack of attainment of Tatar success was primarily due to the geopolitical situation of the Ilkhanid Khanate, the hostile attitude of the Northern brother-*ulus*es and the distance between the site of the battle-field and their *ulus*.

During its existence, the Persian Ilkhanate had always been threatened from the north-west by the Golden Horde, and from the north-east by the Chaghatai *ulus*. As soon as the Persian Tatars set out on a raid or a campaign against the Mamluks, each time the booty-motivated uncle or nephew arrived from the north of the Caucasus or from the north-east region, Khorassan, and so the Ilkhans were compelled to return to their bases in Persia without fulfilling their assignment.

In the meantime, the Mamluk Empire was in an undisturbed state from its northern or southern neighbours. Each time the Tatars had to withdraw, having been menaced by their northern kins, the Mamluks hastened back and recaptured the territories in North Syria or often proceeded as far as Cappadocia and Cilician Armenia, devastating cities and the countryside.[64] So the northern kins of the Tatars were on each occasion one of the principal decisive factors of the Ilkhanid misfortune.

The next negative factor was the distance between the battlefield and the garrison. The Tatar army had to proceed 1,000—1,200 km in order to get from Tebriz to Aleppo, the first outpost of the Syrian battle-zone and 1,500 km to Damascus — at the same time, for the Mamluk army the distance from their Cairo garrison to Damascus was less than half the distance: only 650 km each time with no menace in the back neither from the Lybian desert, nor from Nubia.

When comparing the logistics, one must not only take the distance in a linear sense into account, but also the additional burdens of warfare: the Tatar forces had to get through rather strenuous, difficult, mostly mountainous regions with all their loads, pack-animals, and spare-horses, and so the disadvantages were multiplied many times over. At the same time, the Mamluk

[64] *Crusades* (Setton), II. 654, sqq; Mikaelian, 334, sqq, 366, sqq, 408, sqq.

army moved over a rather well known region, where they were acquainted with all the hiding places suitable for ambush. Moreover, the Arab population accepted the Mamluks without resistance partly because of their Muslim creed.

In addition, another most important factor must be taken into consideration, on only two occasions could the Tatar army seize Syria, and only for a couple of months, each time they had to withdraw from the territory because of northern onslaughts. And just before the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt, the whole Tatar army was compelled to withdraw, because Ilkhan Hülegü had to hasten back to take part at the Great Khan's election. Under such conditions, it is comprehensible that during their repeated inroads they could by no means count on the support of the local Syrian population, who encountered them unwillingly or confronted them as enemies.

And there was still another decisive factor in favour of the Mamluks. The majority of the crusader castles, situated all along the Syrian coastline had been taken during the reign of two outstanding Sultans, Baibars (1260—1277) and Qalavun (1279—1290). The majority of the historians mainly impute these victories to the extraordinary military talent of these two warlords. But one must take into consideration the fact that the capture of the crusader castles took place during the absence of the Tatar forces or immediately after their departure to encounter their northern enemies. The great victories were won by some clever tactic or ruse. In 1260 the victory at ʿAyn Jālūt was due to the free passage the Mamluks received from the Crusaders of Acre, in 1300 again it ensued because of the sudden withdrawal of the Ilkhan to meet the northern intruders, in 1303 because the inhabitants of Damascus opened the sluices and flooded the area of the prospective encounter of the adversaries. This is not to say that cunning planning during the military operations and careful implementation did not represent special military talent. But the decisive factor was the geopolitical position of the two parties, which was completely different. The Mamluks had not been menaced from the south or from the western deserts in Egypt by any adversary. Thus with Mamluk victory the fortune of the parties seemed to be definitively decided.

However, the Tatar offensive endeavours sustained the hope in the European powers or in some optimistic thinkers that with the help of the Tatars, the Holy Land could probably be reconquered by the Crusaders for the Christians and there were quite a number of clerics who elaborated plans for the Pope, and especially for the French kings, to initiate new crusades, in which they circumstantially described the debility of the Mamluk Empire. One of the earliest of such projects was drawn up by Haithon, Count of Coricos, the nephew of Hethum II, king of Lesser Armenia, and in 1307 handed over to the Pope residing transitorily in Poitiers.[65]

[65] See note 56. above

There could be several weighty reasons why this thorough and carefully elaborated essay on the state of the Mamluk Empire, and the military execution of a successful crusade against it, could not be realised: e.g. the death of Ilkhan Abu Said in 1335, completely undermined the Tatar presence in the region and led to a completely changed power balance.

But there were also several other reasons of universal significance: rivalry, competition between the Western powers, the outbreak of the French—English 100 year war, and the plague of the Black Death that swept over the whole Mediterranean area in the 1330 decades.

However, Mamluk supremacy did not prove to be permanent either. The most successful Sultan of Ottoman expansion, Selim I. Yavuz, put an end to Mamluk supremacy in the Near East, and incorporated the Mamluk Empire into his extended domain. Henceforth, the s.c. Later Crusades were directed against the Ottoman Empire.[66]

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Die vorislamische türkische Poesie zeichnet sich aus durch Alliteration, Reim und das silbenzählende Versmaß. Diese Stilmittel sind zum Teil bereits in den alttürkischen Runeninschriften anzutreffen, wie auch heute noch in der modernen Volkspoesie.[1]

Mit der Übernahme des Islams (vom 10. Jahrhundert an) durch die Türken des karachanidischen Reiches in Zentralasien übernahm man auch die arabische Schrift und in der Poesie den *ʿarūḍ*, das arabische Metrum.[2] So wie sich eine Zeitlang neben der arabischen Schrift auch noch die uigurische hielt, ja, unter den Timuriden und bei der Goldenen Horde[3] gar eine Renaissance erlebte, existierten arud, das quantifizierende Versmaß und das alte silbenzählende Versmaß nebeneinander her. Nicht nur das. In der frühen Zeit wurden gern beide Systeme vereinigt.[4]

Im zentralasiatischen Bereich liegt die früheste überlieferte Dichtung im *ʿarūḍ* im Jahre 1069 im karachanidischen Kaschgar entstandenen Fürstenspiegel *Kutadgu Bilig*[5] vor. Aus dem anatolischen Bereich liegen uns erst aus ca. 300 Jahre später Dichtungen im quantifizierenden Versmaß vor, und hier wird auch die Technik nicht so perfekt beherrscht wie im osttürkischen Bereich. Das hat zweifellos sprachliche Gründe.

Der *ʿarūḍ* basiert ja auf den Eigentümlichkeiten der arabischen Sprache, d. h. unter anderem auf dem Vorhandensein von Lang- und Kurzvokalen. Auch das Türkische kennt ursprünglich — neben sekundären — auch primäre Längen mit phonologischem Wert, was wir auch für das Karachanidische

[1] Vgl. Peter Zieme, *Buddhistische Stabreimdichtungen der Uiguren*. Berlin 1985 (Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients*. Berliner Turfantexte XIII); A. v. Gabain, Die alttürkische Literatur. *PTF* II, S. 211—243.

[2] M. F. Köprülü, Le métrique aruz dans la poésie turque. *PTF* II, S. 252—266.

[3] István Vásáry, Bemerkungen zum uigurischen Schrifttum in der Goldenen Horde und bei den Timuriden. In: *UAJb*, NF, Bd. 7, S. 115—126.

[4] Vgl. Alessio Bombaci, *The Turkic Literatures*, S. XXVI.

[5] Drei Faksimilie-Ausgaben der Türk Dil Kurumu: *Kutadgu Bilig, Tıpkıbas*, Istanbul 1943, 42. Einführung und Transliteration von R. R. Arat, Istanbul 1947.

noch ansetzen dürfen, wie es aus der Orthographie des großen Kompendiums über die türkischen Sprachen von Maḥmūd al-Kāshġarī aus dem Jahre 1073 zu erschließen ist.[6]

Die Existenz von Langvokalen im Osmanischen war dagegen immer umstritten und ist bis heute ungeklärt.[7] Wie auch die folgenden Ausführungen zeigen werden, dürfen wir davon ausgehen, daß es schon im 13., jedenfalls aber im 14. Jahrhundert im Osmanischen keine primären Langvokale mehr gab. So ist es verständlich, wenn frühe Dichter und gar noch Fużūlī im 14. Jahrhundert häufig darüber klagen, was für eine grobe Sprache das Türkische sei und wie wenig geeignet, in ihr zu dichten.[8] Diese Problematik spiegelte sich in der modernen Philologie u. a. darin wider, daß von frühen poetischen Werken lange gar nicht erkannt wurde, daß sie im quantifizierenden Versmaß geschrieben waren.[9]

Im Laufe des 16. Jahrhunderts verschafften die osmanischen Dichter sich dann sozusagen Erleichterung, indem sie für ihre Verse fast nur noch arabische und persische Wörter verwendeten, die für das Metrum bessere Voraussetzungen boten. Türkisch waren nur noch die Syntax — aber auch nicht immer — und Suffixe für Kasus oder Verbalendungen.

Die Dichter des 14., 15. und der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jhs. dagegen verwendeten reines Türkisch mit noch recht wenigen Lehnwörtern, meist aus dem religiösen, also islamischen Bereich, was um so erstaunlicher ist, als es sich weitgehend um sog. nazire, Nachdichtungen meist persischer Vorbilder handelte, die sich inhaltlich manchmal eng an ihre Vorbilder anlehnten, sprachlich aber sehr selbständig geschrieben waren.[10]

In dieser Zeit der Herausbildung einer türkischen Schriftsprache auf anatolischem Boden und etwa zur gleichen Zeit im mamlukischen Reiche in Ägypten war die Anwendung der arabischen Schrift auf das Türkische noch nicht geregelt. Während die Verwendung der Konsonantenzeichen sich verhältnismäßig schnell stabilisierte, bietet im vokalischen Bereich vor allem die Plene- bzw. Defektiv-Schreibung ein ganz und gar unsystematisches

[6] Vgl. die Bemerkungen von Doerfer in: Zur Quantität der Vokale des Chaladsch. In: *WZKM* Bd. 78 und *Grammatik des Chaladsch*, Wiesbaden 1989.

[7] Vgl. Zeynep Korkmaz, Batı Anadolu ağızlarında asli vokal uzunlukları hakkında. In: *TDAYB* 1953, S. 197—203 und: Die ursprünglichen Vokallängen im altanatolischen Türkisch. In: *AÜDTCF dergisi* 1968, S. 49—66 türk., S. 67—86 dt.

[8] M. F. Köprülü, *Millî Edebiyat cereyanının ilk mübeşşirleri*. Istanbul 1928, S. 11 ff. PTF.

[9] M. F. Köprülü, La métrique aruz dans la poésie turque, S. 255 *PTF*.

[10] Dazu zählen u. a. das in diesem Artikel meistzitierte Schahname von (Šerif) Hüseyn b. Muhammed el-Hüseyni, der aus Ostanatolien stammte und 1511 seine Übersetzung von Firdausis Epos in Kairo abschloß. Weiterhin gehören dazu die hier auch zitierten Übertragungen von Ḫusrev u Šīrīn von Faḫrī (vgl. Literaturverzeichnis) und *Kalila wa Dimna*.

Bild. Erst von der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts an nimmt die Schreibung der Vokale bestimmte orthographische Formen an — ohne daß man freilich von einem System reden kann. Aber noch das berühmte Redhousesche Wörterbuch aus dem 19. Jahrhundert führt unter einem Eintrag bis zu vier oder fünf verschiedene Möglichkeiten auf, ein Wort zu schreiben.[11]

Fast alle Bearbeiter früher osmanischer Texte, von Duda, Kißling, Banguoğlu angefangen, klagen über die Regellosigkeit der Orthographie und reden gar von einem Chaos. Lediglich Mansuroğlu macht sich die Mühe, in seinen Bearbeitungen des Čarhname 1956 und der türkischen Verse Sultan Veleds 1958 durch die statistische Erfassung orthographischer Eigenheiten zumindest Tendenzen einer Regelmäßigkeit zu verdeutlichen.[12] Im 1965 erschienenen zweiten Band der Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta stellt Bombaci in seinem einführenden Beitrag *The Turkic Literatures. Introductory Notes on the History and Style*, Kapitel *The Metrical Forms* noch fest: »Studies are lacking ascertaining the relation between the metrical and the graphic system in the most ancient versewriters.«[13]

Im Laufe der Zeit haben mehrere Autoren diesen Punkt berührt, ohne sich ausführlicher dazu zu äußern. So führt Kortantamer (1973, S. 75 f.) mehrere Beispiele bei Ahmedī an, allerdings ohne metrische Angaben und ohne auf die zahlreichen Ausnahmen einzugehen.

Auch Walter Andrews streift dieses Thema in seiner *Introduction to Ottoman Poetry* nur in zwei Sätzen, von denen einer lautet: »... when the vowel is represented by a letter in the Arabic script, it can be read either way as determined by the needs of the prosodic pattern used.«[14]

Dies ist — wie sich unten zeigen wird — eine sehr vereinfachte Darstellung der wesentlich komplizierteren Beziehungen zwischen metrischem und orthographischem System.

[11] z. B. *öküz* اکز، اکوز، اوکز، اوکوز
tutuk طوتوق، توتوق، طوتق
okşa- اوخشامق، اوخشمق، اوقشه مق، اوقشا مق
kapı قاپی، قاپو، قپو
sırık صیرق، سیریق، صریق، صیریق

[12] Mansuroğlu hat sich allerdings damit begnügt, die Silben zu zählen, in denen die Vokale geschrieben bzw. nicht geschrieben werden und nach 1. 2. 3. Silbe, nach den Kriterien »offen« und »geschlossen« zu ordnen. Er hat nicht den Einfluß der Nachbar-Silben berücksichtigt, was aber — wie weiter unten zu sehen ist — für eine Klärung der Verhältnisse unerläßlich ist.

[13] Allessio Bombaci, *The Turkic Literatures*, S. XLV.

[14] Es handelt sich fast ausschließlich um Wörter, deren Stammvokal ursprüngliche Länge aufweist, wie z. B. *baš, taš, söz, tağ* usw., die allerdings selten in metrisch kurzen Positionen vorkommen, wobei sie von den verschiedenen Texten graphisch in unterschiedlicher Weise behandelt werden.

Schon früher hatte sich zur Orthographie bei Ahmedī und Šeyhī A. N. Tarlan geäußert. Seine Ausführungen jedoch sind sehr komprimiert und dunkel. Es ist aber erkennbar, daß sie die Sache im Kern treffen.

Es schien daher angebracht, diesen vereinzelten und verstreuten Bemerkungen einmal gründlicher nachzugehen. Eine nähere Untersuchung dieses Gegenstandes erweist nämlich tatsächlich gewisse regelhafte Beziehungen zwischen metrischem und orthographischem System, aber das Bild, das sich bietet, ist abhängig vom jeweils untersuchten Werk.

Sehen wir uns zunächst einige Beispiele an, die aus der 1511 in Ägypten entstandenen Übersetzung des persischen Schahname von Firdausi stammen. Zum Verständnis der Beispiele muß vorausgeschickt werden, daß es in unserer Handschrift Wörter und Formen gibt, deren Schreibung stabil ist. Bestimmte, meist einsilbige Substantive werden immer plene geschrieben, andere immer defektiv. Ob es sich bei der Plene-Schreibung um die Wiedergabe alter Längen handelt, ob es sich um Vermeidung von Homographie handelt — etwa um *söz*, Wort von *süz-*, sieben zu unterscheiden — oder einfach darum, daß sich bereits eine feste Schreibweise häufig gebrauchter Wörter herausgebildet hatte, ist für unsere Untersuchung von zweitrangiger Bedeutung.

Regelmäßig sind in unserem Text auslautendes *-a* und *-ä*, die meist dem Dativ entsprechen und beide — unabhängig vom metrischen Wert — durch ه wiedergegeben werden. Bei weitem überwiegen jedoch die Unregelmäßigkeiten in der Schreibung.

In den folgenden Beispielen verzichte ich der Übersichtlichkeit halber, den ganzen Vers oder auch nur Halbvers zu zitieren, sondern ich beschränke mich auf die für meine Ausführungen relevanten Stellen. Das Versmaß ist Hezec: u---/u---/u---/u-.[15] Über der Schrift sind die metrischen Werte angegeben, unter der Schrift die graphische Repräsentation: Punkt bedeutet defektiv, Strich bedeutet Plene-Schreibung.

In den Versen 45 und 47 befindet sich das Wort *tapu* (Gegenwart), einmal in der Form *tapuŋa*, also mit dem Possessivauffix 2. Person + Dativ, das andere Mal in der Form *tapuŋdan*, also wieder mit dem Possessivsuffix 2. Person + Ablativ, in der Schreibung 1) طاپوکه *tāpūŋā* und 2) طپکدن *tăpūŋdān*. Bei 1) entspricht die Plene-Schreibung der Vokale den metrischen Anforderungen. Wir hatten bereits darauf hingewiesen, daß der Auslaut */a, ä/* immer eine einzige Form hat. Bei 2) entspricht die Defektiv-Schreibung der ersten Silbe der metrischen Kürze, die zweiten und dritten Silben sind defektiv geschrieben, obwohl metrische Länge vorliegt.

Vor der Erklärung soll ein weiteres Beispiel für scheinbare Unregelmäßigkeiten folgen: In Vers 2 finden wir die Form *kalmaya*, negativer Optativ 3. Person Singular. In Vers 3 findet sich die Form *olmayalar*, neg. Opt. 3. Person

[15] Auch das unten zitierte Werk Faḫrīs ist in diesem Versmaß geschrieben.

Plural von *ol-* (werden) + *ma* + *ya* + *lar-* Pluralsuffix (sie mögen nicht werden). Die Schreibung der beiden Wörter ist قَلْمَايَه *kālmāyā* bzw. اُولْمَيَالَرْ *ōlmăyālār*.

Zurück zu *ṭapu*. Die Erklärung für die Defektiv-Schreibung der 2. und 3. Silbe in *ṭapuŋdan* ist auch die Erklärung für die ersten Silbe in *kalmaya* und des Pluralsuffix *-lar*. Es handelt sich jeweils um geschlossene Silben, die nach der arabischen Metrik ohnehin als lange Silben gelten. Sie brauchen somit nicht extra gekennzeichnet zu werden. Offene Silbe dagegen gilt als anceps, deshalb haben wir dreimal Vokale geschrieben in *ṭă-pŭ-ŋă*, aber dreimal defektive Schreibung in *tă-pūŋ-dān*. Diese Regel gilt — wenn man von der oben erwähnten festen Schreibung absieht — im Schahnamen ausnahmslos, in anderen Texten mit Einschränkungen. Wir wollen uns hier auf die Regelhaftigkeit konzentrieren und nicht auf die Ausnahmen.

Die Schreibung orientiert sich also nicht am grammatischen System, sie ist weder phonologisch noch morphologisch bedingt, sondern entspricht ganz den Anforderungen des Metrums, wie einige weitere Beispiele veranschaulichen mögen.

So können wir feststellen, daß ein Suffix, das aus einer geschlossenen Silbe besteht und dessen Vokal somit defektiv geschrieben wird, diesen Vokal graphisch repräsentiert, wenn an dieses Suffix ein weiteres — vokalisch anlautendes — Suffix antritt. In diesem Fall wird — wie im obigen Falle *tapuŋ* — der konsonantische Auslaut zum Anlaut der neu hinzugetretenen Silbe: *yazumuz* (unser Sommer), bestehend aus den Morphemen *yaz* (Sommer) — *(u)muz* — Poss. Sfx. 1.P.Pl. (Vokal in Klammern ist Bindevokal), aber den gesprochenen Silben *ya - zu - muz* wird im Falle des Herantretens des Dativsuffixes (*a*) zu dem grammatischen Syntagma *yaz - (u)muz - a* und zu den gesprochenen Silben *ya - zu - mu - za*, graphisch repräsentiert ⟨*yăzūmūzā*⟩ ⟨يَزُومُوزه⟩ (s. weitere Beispiele am Schluß).[16]

[16] Einige weitere Beispiele aus dem Schahnamen: das anlautende (*i*) des suffigierten *-ilä* wird je nach Länge plene bzw. defektiv geschrieben: Vers 2 آديله *adīla*, Vers 44 قللوغله *kulluġīla* Stammvokale in *kara*: Vers 50 قاره *ķāră*, Vers 53 قَرَا *ķărā*. Hier wird sogar gegen die Gepflogenheit verstoßen, auslautendes /*a*/, /*ă*/ unabhängig von der Länge durch ه wiederzugeben. Der Bindevokal des Possessivsuffixes 1. P. Pl. in Vers 56 الوُمز *elūmüz* gegen Vers 63 بِيلُمُز *bīlŭmüz*. Der Stammvokal dieses Wortes ist plene geschrieben, dagegen beim selben Wort in demselben Halbvers in metrisch kurzer Position defektiv (Bindevokal des *-umuz* jetzt aber plene: بِلُومُز *bĭlūmüz*). Die Beobachtungen am Schluß entsprechen im großen und ganzen denen bei Faḫrīs Ḫosrav u. Šīrīn, z. B. langer Vokal in geschlossener Silbe ist defektiv, Vers 15 *dŏndūrŭr* دُنردُورُرْ gegen Vers 20 *dŏnŭši* دُونِش, wo ein vokalisch anlautendes Suffix an den Stamm tritt. Anlautender Vokal in Vers 39 *ŏgūm* اُكُم gegen Vers 46 *ŏzūmă* اُوزومه. Es sind jedoch häufiger Ausnahmen zu beobachten: Zahlreiche plene geschriebene Vokale in geschlossenen Silben lassen sich eben dadurch erklären, daß ihr Auslautkonsonant zum Anlaut wird, wie z. B.

Von dieser Möglichkeit machen die Schreiber allerdings nicht nur im Falle von Suffixen Gebrauch, so daß man meinen könnte, diese ergäbe sich aus einer irgendwie gearteten Indifferenz ihrer Vokale, über deren Qualität wie Quantität bisher ja noch nicht letzte Klarheit herrscht. Abgesehen von einigen — anfangs schon angesprochenen — stets in derselben geschriebenen Form auftauchenden Stämmen, werden die Vokale von Verbalstämmen in der Regel dem Metrum entsprechend geschrieben; z. B. *ver* — geben, dessen geschlossenes /*ė*/ in den meisten altosmanischen Texten konsequent durch ى, ya, das arabische Zeichen für langes /*i*/ oder durch Kasra, einem Zusatzzeichen für kurzes /*i*/ wiedergegeben wird, taucht in diesen beiden Schreibweisen auf: 1) وير *ve̱r* und 2) ور *vẹr*. Die erste Schreibweise findet man nur in den Fällen, in denen das auslautende /*r*/ des Stammorphems zum anlautenden Konsonanten der folgenden Silbe wird, wie es z. B. beim Aorist der Fall ist: verür (er/sie/es gibt) findet sich je nach Metrum in der Orthographie ويرُوْ *vē̱rụ̄r* bzw. وِرُرْ *vĕrū̱r*. Tritt jedoch ein konsonantisch anlautendes Suffix an dasselbe Stammorphem, bleibt auch bei metrischer Länge der ersten Silbe der Vokal unrepräsentiert. Dies ist z. B. der Fall beim Antritt des Negativsuffixes *-mä/-ma*: *vē̱rmạ̈yạ̄* وِرْمَيَه.

Diese Graphie-Regel gilt jedoch nicht nur für die Verhältnisse innerhalb eines Wortes, sondern ist auch wortübergreifend. So finden wir in der einzigen Handschrift des Diwans von Yunus Emre (ca. 1240—1320), die — nach sprachlichen Kriterien beurteilt — wohl aus dem frühen 16. Jh. stammt, im ersten Gedicht in Z 2 das Wort *ṭopraḳ* (Erdboden) mit plene geschriebenem /*a*/, in Z 3 mit defektivem /*a*/ geschrieben. Es sei zunächst noch angemerkt, daß auslautendes velares /*ḳ*/ im Inlaut zu gutturalem Frikativ /*ġ*/ wird. Die Wörter sind geschrieben 1) طپراغ *ṭōprāġ*, 2) طپْرَغِى *ṭōprăġī*. Die Defektiv-Schreibung des /*a*/ im Beispiel 2 wirft kein Problem auf, da es metrisch kurz ist. Die Plene-Schreibung in Beispiel 1) hat ihren Grund in der metrischen Länge des Vokals, der hier Auslaut der gesprochenen Silbe ist, da der eigentlich auslautende Guttural als Anlaut zum folgenden Wort hinübergezogen wird. Es handelt sich in diesem konkreten Falle um ein Wort, das nur aus einem Vokal besteht, das über das Persische dem Arabischen entlehnte *u* = *wau* (und).

Ein ganz ähnliches Beispiel findet sich auch in der wohl im 15. Jh. entstandenen Abschrift des Epos *Ḫosrav u Šīrīn* von Faḫrī, verfaßt 1367 in Westanatolien. In den Versen 24 bzw. 31 taucht das Wort *ṭopraḳ* in folgenden Formen auf:

bṷ̆tū̱n (*ola*), *sā̱ġ* (*ol*) in Vers 14, *ā̱nsū̱z* (isteyen) Vers 17; nicht selten taucht aber auch Plene-Schreibung in geschlossenen Silben auf, wenn konsonantische Suffixe antreten oder ein konsonantisch anlautendes Wort folgt, wie z. B. Vers 17 *anuŋla*, Vers 6 *elū̱mdän*, Vers 11 *ō̱lsū̱n*. Diese und weitere Ausnahmen mögen dadurch zu erklären sein, daß es sich um bereits etablierte Schreibformen handelt.

31) (اولاوُز) طپراق *tōprāḳ* (*olavuz*)
24) (وصو) طپرغ *tōprăġ* (*ve su*)

Auch hier entspricht die Defektiv-Schreibung des /*a*/ in Beispiel 2 der metrischen Kürze, während die Plene-Schreibung in 1) der metrischen Länge entspricht. Die unterschiedliche Schreibung des auslautenden Gutturals hängt wahrscheinlich damit zusammen, daß in Wendungen wie in Beispiel 2) Wörter, die durch *u* verbunden sind, in der Aussprache wie ein Kompositum behandelt werden, ohne Stimmabsatz, also: topragusu — wie im Persischen. In Beispiel 1) dagegen handelt es sich lediglich um das Erfüllen der metrischen Erfordernisse, mit der Aussprache: *top - ra - ko - la - vuz*.

Es ist höchst interessant zu beobachten, wie sich die Orthographie auch innerhalb ein und desselben Textes verändert, je nachdem, ob gebundene oder ungebundene Rede vorliegt. In *Kalila va Dimma* sind in den Prosa-Text wiederholt Verse eingestreut, in denen sich die Schreibung der Vokale von Wörtern, die im Prosatext eine feste Schreibweise haben, nach dem metrischen Wert richtet. Nur einige wenige Beispiele: Der Vokal des Pluralsuffixes wird im Prosatext — wie in den meisten osmanischen Texten — ausnahmslos defektiv geschrieben, ist er jedoch metrisch lang und wird das auslautende /*r*/ zum Anlaut der folgenden Silbe, wird er plene geschrieben, so in 24v: *Sā̆rv ăġā̆člārī dă̆līm bītmīšĭdī*. Gleiches gilt, wie dieses Beispiel zeigt, für das Suffix *-miš*. /*a*/ in *ḳamu* wird — wie ebenfalls sonst im Osmanischen — defektiv geschrieben; 27v dagegen entsprechend dem Metrum *ḳāmŭsī*, also plene.

Der Stammvokal in *ḳıl-* wird in der Regel defektiv geschrieben. In 23v wird entsprechend dem Metrum *ḳīlă̆sūn* geschrieben. Dieses Wort beinhaltet ein weiteres Beispiel: Der Vokal des Optativs, der regelmäßig geschrieben wird, findet sich im selben Vierzeiler in folgender Schreibweise: 1) *ālă̆sīn*, 2) *kilă̆sun*, 3) *görā̆sin*, also zweimal defektiv, entsprechend der Kürze, einmal plene, entsprechend der Länge.

Auf weitere Werke der altosmanischen Poesie konnte hier nicht eingegangen werden. Das soll einer zukünftigen größeren Veröffentlichung vorbehalten sein. Sie weisen jedoch wesentlich mehr Unregelmäßigkeiten auf als der türkische Schahname, die oft schwer zu erklären sind. Es ist zu bedenken, daß ein Autor bzw. Schreiber, der dem Leser eine orthographische Lesehilfe an die Hand geben wollte, sich die Freiheit genommen haben mag, nur Stellen zu markieren, die ihm nicht eindeutig genug schienen. Das aber wäre ein subjektiver Umgang mit der Schrift, deren Einzelheiten und Hintergründe wir nicht nachzuvollziehen im Stande sind.

Diese metrische Schreibung läßt sich nach dem 16. Jh. nur noch schwer verfolgen, schon allein aus dem Grund, daß — wie oben erwähnt — ein fast vollständig persisch und arabischer Wortschatz gewählt wird. Da — wie eingangs betont — die grammatikalische Struktur des Türkischen nur schwer-

lich eine Dichtung im *ʿarūḍ* erlaubt, versuchte man meines Erachtens dem Leser bzw. Vorleser durch die graphische Präsentation der Vokallänge das richtige Skandieren des Textes zu erleichtern. Vorausgesetzt wurde beim Leser allerdings die Kenntnis des arabisch und persischen Versmaßes. Die Devise lautet also in diesem Falle nicht, »Schreib, wie Du sprichst«, sondern: »Sprich, wie ich schreibe!«

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AN ANNOTATED SAMPLE OF ILI TURKI

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Introduction

Ili Turki is a Turkic idiom that is specific to the Ili Turk (*türk*) people, of whom thirty-one households have been identified in certain parts of the Ili Valley in the extreme northwest of China's Xinjiang (Sinkiang) Uyghur Autonomous Region. Chinese linguists first chanced upon some speakers of Ili Turki in 1956. The earliest linguistic outline and discussion in Chinese was published in 1985,[1] and further linguistic papers are currently being prepared for publication in China. All of these are based upon field research undertaken in 1982, at a time when only a few, mostly aged speakers of Ili Turki could still be identified, while all other Ili Turk individuals used Qazaq (Kazakh) or Modern Uyghur, two Turkic languages of regional currency. The first introductory discussion about the Ili Turk people published in English mainly focuses upon some characteristics of the Ili Turki language.[2] These characteristics are presented as partial support for the Ili Turk people's claims to be descendants of eighteenth-century immigrants from the Ferghana Valley area and to be ethnically distinct from the other local Turkic inhabitants, including the Uzbek minority of Xinjiang, to which they used to be assumed to belong. A particularly noteworthy point made in that paper is that Ili Turki belongs to the previously unidentified **tawlıɢ* (> *tawlıq* 'mountainous') type among the Turkic languages. It shares ɢ-labialization (e.g. **taɢ* > **tağ* > **taw* [> **too*] 'mountain'), *n*-assimilation (e.g. *tüyä+ni*[*n*] 'of the camel', *til+di*[*n*] 'of the tongue', *et+ti*[*n*] 'of the flesh') and *m*-assimilation (e.g. *bardı+ma* 'did he go?', *bardıq+pa*' did we go?') with the Qypchaq-type (**tawlı*[*w*] [> **tooluu*]) Turkic languages, including Qazaq and Qirghiz (Kirghiz). At the same time, it shares **G*-retention after high unrounded vowels (e.g. **sarıɢ* > **sarıq* 'yellow'), geminate retention (e.g. *sekkiz* 'eight') and a prevalence of enclitics (which are excluded from

[1] Zhào X. R. and Hašim (1985), Xīnjiāng Yīlí-dìqū Tǔěrkèhuà de tèdiǎn, *Mínzú yǔwén* 6 : 20–26.

[2] Zhào X. R. and R. F. Hahn (1989), The Ili Turk people and their language, *Central Asiatic Journal* 33(3–4): 260–289.

the harmonic domain, e.g. *taw* + #*däk* 'mountainlike') with the Chaghatay-type languages, including Uzbek and Modern Uyghur.

As a follow-up on the introductory English-language publication mentioned above, an additional language sample will be presented below. The purpose is to provide an arranged, somewhat larger body of Ili Turki material for specific analysis as well as for consideration in comparative research (including the further definition of the Turkic classification model) and in language contact studies. The sample consists of a morphophonological summary and a list of lexical items that are currently available.[3] The material will be presented with some analytical annotation. Specifically, syntactic morphemes will be given both in their underlying forms (including preharmonic archiphonemes represented by capital letters) and in their various realizations. Comparative notes and loan source indications will be provided with the lexical sample wherever available. Ili Turki items will be accompanied by their cognates in Modern Uzbek, Uyghur, Qirghiz and Qazaq,[4] these being the four Turkic languages with which Ili Turki has been having sustained contacts and with which it shares specific structural features of the Chaghatay and Qypchaq types.[5] Historical and etymological data other than loanword sources will be referred to only where they are considered absolutely relevant.[6]

[3] Aside from the items in Zhào & Hašim 1985 (see n. 1) and in Zhào & Hahn 1989 (see n. 2), the material presented here contains data gathered from Chinese language draft manuscripts and from personal communication, thanks to the kind cooperation of Zhào Xiāngrú (Institute of Nationality Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing) to whom this presentation is dedicated with gratitude. The author is solely responsible for the manner in which the material is analyzed and presented.

[4] Unless stated otherwise, Soviet standards are followed in Uzbek and Qirghiz (and Tajik) items, while Chinese standards are followed in Modern Uyghur and Qazaq items. Uzbek and Tajik *â* stands for Cyrillic *o*, and Uzbek *o* stands for Cyrillic-based *ў*. Back consonants are distinguished from their front counterparts also where an official writing system ignores such a distinction. Xinjiang Uzbek cognates are given only where they appear particularly relevant. Basically, the following correspondences exist between Soviet Standard Uzbek and Xinjiang Uzbek respectively: *â* = *a*, and *a* = *ä*, the rounded vowels (Soviet standard *u*, *o*) tending to undergo harmony in Xinjiang Uzbek (*ü* ~ *u*, *ö* ~ *o*).

[5] As explained in Zhào & Hahn 1989, a number of Qypchaq-type elements exist in the basically Chaghatay-type Uzbek language, as e.g. attributive + *li* (versus + *lik*, + *liq* and + *liğ*) and denumerative collective + *âw*.

[6] Relying mainly upon the following sources: Nadeljaev, V. M., et al. eds. (1969), *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'* (Leningrad: "Nauka"), and Räsänen, M. (1969), *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen* (Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilainen Seura). Tajik data are based upon Asimova, M. S. (1985), *Russko-tadžikskij slovar'* (Moscow: "Russkij jazyk"). Written Mongolian data have been checked in Lessing, F. D., ed. (1960), *Mongolian—English Dictionary* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press), and in *Hàn-Měng cídiǎn: kitad mongGol toli* (1983, Huhhot: Nèi-Měnggǔ Rénmín Chūbǎnshè). Chinese items appear in the standard *pīnyīn* orthography, their reconstructed precontemporary forms being marked by asterisks.

1. Phonology

1.1. Vowels

1.1.1. Neutralization. Rounded vowels are harmonically distinct as front and back on the phonemic level (as are non-rounded vowels), but they surface neutralized as medial (i.e. /ü/, /u/ → *u̇* [ʉ], /ö/, /o/ → *ȯ* [ɵ]; e.g. /#ün+dA#/ → /#ün+dä#/ → *u̇ndä* 'in the sound' versus /#un+dA#/ → /#un+da#/ → *u̇nda* 'in the flour').

1.1.2. Raising (*Reduction*). Any vowel in an "light" non-initial open, syllable is reduced to [ə] (e.g. *balalar* [balələr] 'children').

1.1.3. Devoicing. Non-low vowels and prevocalic /l/ are devoiced between two voiceless consonants, including word-initial glottal stops (e.g. *sụ̇pa* [sụ̥pa] 'earthen platform', *u̇sdaχan* [ʔʉ̥sdəχan] 'bone', *ašlıq* [ʔaʃl̥ə̥q] 'cereal').

1.2. Consonants

1.2.1. Aspiration. Aspiration of voiceless stops and affricates is restricted to word-initial position (e.g. *kitäp* [kʻi̥tɛp] 'book').

1.2.2. l-Velarization. Final /l/ is velarized to [ɬ], irrespective of harmonic category (e.g. *bel* [beɬ] 'waist').

1.2.3. Fricativization. Voiced labial, velar and uvular stops (i.e. /b/, /g/ and /ɢ/) are fricativized (i.e. → [w], [ɣ] and [ɢ̆] respectively) in intervocalic position and following a voiced consonant (e.g. /#kitab+m+#/ → /#kitab+ım+#/ → *kitawım* (∼ *kitäwim*) 'my book', /#ärtäg+m+#/ → /#ärtäg+im+#/ → *ertägim* [ʔertəɣim] 'my story', /#qalpaɢ+m+#/ → /#qalpaɢ+ım+#/ → *qalpačım* 'my felt hat'). This applies also syllable-finally in word-initial syllables (e.g. /#yaɢlıɢ+#/ → *yağlıq* 'headscarf', 'kerchief').

1.2.4. Final Devoicing. Anywhere but word-initially, stops are devoiced in syllable-final position (e.g. /#kitab+#/ → *kitap* (∼ *kitäp*) 'book', /#ärtäg+#/ → *ertäk* 'story', /#qalpaɢ+#/ → *qalpaq* 'felt hat').[7]

1.3. Harmony

As in virtually all Turkic languages, vowels undergo iterative harmonic front- and back-assimilation (vowel neutralization [see *1.1.1.*] applying later), and consonants with the value [+back] regressively and progressively assimilate to their vocalic environments (i.e. /g/ and /k/ associating with front

[7] This includes the first syllable in a non-initial component of a compound word. (# symbolizes word boundaries, while + and — symbolize nominal and verbal morpheme boundaries respectively.)

vowels, /ɢ/ and /q/ associating with back vowels). An apparently unique feature of Ili Turki morphophonology is that in syntactic morphemes back harmonization mostly applies only when the preceding back-vocalic stem ends in a low back consonant, as in *yataq+qa* 'to the lodging', *bašıŋ+ŋa* 'to your head', (but *bazar+gä* 'to the market', *taš+kä* 'to the stone'), *yùmšaq+qına* 'very soft' (but *az+ginä* 'very few') and *baq-qač* 'while tending' (but *ȯqù-gäč* 'while studying'). Interestingly, back assimilation does apply after other types of voiceless consonants in a few morphemes, as in *at-qını* 'in order to shoot' (but *ȯqù-gini* 'in order to study') and *at-qınča* 'prior to shooting' (but *ȯqù-ginčä* 'prior to studying').

2. Syntactic Morphology

2.1. Noun-Based

2.1.01. Plural: /+lAr+#/ → +*lär* ~ +*lar*.

2.1.02. Possessive: 1. sg. /+m+#/ → +(*i*)*m* +(*ı*)*m* +(*ù*)*m*, 1. pl. /+m+ +Iz+#/ → +(*i*)*miz* ~ +(*ı*)*mız* ~ +(*ù*)*miz* ~ +(*ù*)*mız*, 2. sg. /+ŋ+#/ → +(*i*)*ŋ* ~ +(*ı*)*ŋ* ~ +(*ù*)*ŋ*, 2. pl. /+lAr+ŋ+#/ → +*läriŋ* ~ +*larıŋ*, 3. sg. /+(s)I+#/ → +(*s*)*i* ~ +(*s*)*ı* ~ +(*s*)*ù*, 3. pl. /+lAr+(s)I+#/ → +*läri* ~ +*ları*.

2.1.03. Cases: genitive /+nI(n)#/ → +*ni*(*n*) ~ +*nı*(*n*) ~ +*nù*(*n*) ~ +*di*(*n*) ~ +*dı*(*n*) ~ +*dù*(*n*) ~ +*ti*(*n*) ~ +*tı*(*n*) ~ +*tù*(*n*), accusative /+nI#/ → +*ni* ~ +*nı* ~ +*nù* ~ +*di* ~ +*dı* ~ +*dù* ~ +*ti* ~ +*tı* ~ +*tù*, dative-directive /+#gä#/ → +*gä* ~ +*kä* ~ +*qa* ~ +*ŋa*,[8] locative /+dA#/ → +*dä* ~ +*da* ~ +*tä* ~ +*ta*, ablative /+dAn#/ → +*dän* ~ +*dan* ~ +*tän* ~ +*tan*.

2.1.04. Personal Tags: 1. sg. /+mEn#/ → +*men* ~ +*mən* ~ +*pen* ~ +*pən*, 1. pl. /+mIz#/ → +*miz* ~ +*mız* ~ +*piz* ~ +*pız*, 2. sg. /+sEn#/ → +*sen* ~ +*sən*, 2. pl. /+sI+lAr#/ → +*silär* ~ +*sılar*, 3. /+dI#/ → +*di* ~ +*dı* ~ +*ti* ~ +*tı*.

2.2. Adjective-Based

Intensive: /+#*ginä*+#/ → +*ginä* ~ +*kinä* ~ + *qına*.

2.3. Numerative-Based

2.3.01. Approximative: /+#däk+#/ → +*däk* ~ +*täk*, /+#čı+#/ → +*čı*.

[8] For allomorphs of this type, see 1.3 above.

2.3.02. Ordinal: /+nčI+#/ → +(*i*)*nči* ~ +(ı)*nčı*.
2.3.03. Collective: /+#(a)w+#/ → +(*a*)*w* ~ +(*ȯ*)*w*.

2.4. Verb-Based

2.4.01. Negative: /-mA-/ → *-mä-* ~ *-ma-*.

2.4.02. Past: 1. sg. /-d°+m#/ → *-dim* ~ *-dım* ~ *-dùm* ~ *-tim* ~ *-tım* ~ *-tùm*, 1. pl. /-d°+G#/ → *-dik* ~ *-dıq* ~ *-dùk* ~ *-dùq* ~ *-tik* ~ *-tıq* ~ *-tùk* ~ *-tùq*, 2. sg. /-d°+ŋ#/ → +*diŋ* ~ *-dıŋ* ~ *-dùŋ* ~ *-tıŋ* ~ *-tıŋ* ~ *-tùŋ*, 2. pl. /— d°+lAr+(s)I#/ → *-dilär*i ~ *-dıları* ~ *-dùlär*i ~ *-dùları* ~ *-tilär*i ~ *-tıları* ~ *-tùlär*i ~ *-tùları*, 3. /-d+(s)I#/ → *-di* ~ *-dı* ~ *-dù* ~ *-ti* ~ *-tı* ~ *-tù*.

2.4.03. Indefinite Past: /*b*+/ → -(*i*)*p* ~ -(ı)*p* ~ -(*ù*)*p* + personal tags (see *2.1.04*).

2.4.04. Present-Future: /— A+/ → *-ä* ~ *-a* ~ *-y* + personal tags (see *2.1.04.*).

2.4.05. Aorist: positive /-(A)r+/ → -(*ä*)*r* ~ -(*a*)*r* + personal tags (see *2.1.04.*) except 3., negative /-*m*As+/ → *-mäs* ~ *-mas* + personal tags (see *2.1.04.*) except 3.

2.4.06. Progressive: /-A+#yap+/ → -(*ä*+)*yap*+ ~ -(*a*)*yap* + ~ -(*y*)-*yap*+ + personal tags (see *1.2.04.*) except 3.

2.4.07. Conditional: 1. sg. /-sA+m#/ → *-säm* ~ *-sam*, 1. pl. /sA+G#/ → -säk ~ -saq, 2. sg. /-sA+ŋ#/ → *-säŋ* ~ *-saŋ*, 2. pl. /-sA+lAr+ŋ#/ → *-sälär*iŋ ~ *-salarıŋ*, 3. sg. /-sA#/ → *-sä* ~ *-sa*, 3. pl. /-sA+lAr+(s)I#/ → *-säläri* ~ *-saları*.

2.4.08. Participial: /-#gän+#/ → *-gän* ~ *-kän* ~ *-qan* + personal tags (see *2.1.04.*) except 3.

2.4.09. Imperative: 1. sg. /-(A)yIn#/ → -(*ä*)*yin* ~ -(*a*)*yın*, 1. pl. /-(A)y#-lig#/ → -(*ä*)*ylik* ~ -(*a*)*ylik*, 2. abrupt /-Ø#/, polite /-#ginä#/ → *-ginä* ~ *-kinä*, precatory /-sA+(lAr+)ŋ#či#/ → *-sä(läri)ŋči* ~ *-sa(ları)ŋčı*, 3. /-sIn#/ → *-sin* ~ *-sın*.

2.4.10. Converbial (gerundial): /-b#/ → -(*i*)*p* ~ -(ı)*p* ~ -(*ù*)*p*.

2.4.11. Antecedent: /-ginčä#/ → *-ginčä* ~ *-kinčä* ~ *-qınča*.

2.4.12. Purposive: /-gini#/ → *-gini* ~ *-kini* ~ *-qını*, /-#gili#/ → *-gili* ~ *-kili* ~ *-qılı*.

2.4.13. Nominal: /-š#/ → -(*i*)*ǰ* ~ -(ı)*ǰ* ~ -(*ù*)*ǰ*, /-#maG+#/ → *-maq*.

3. Lexical Sample

Order: *a*, *ä*, *b*, *č*, *d*, *e*, *g*, *ğ* ("*γ*"), *χ*, *h*, *i*, *ı* ("*ï*"), *ǰ*, *k*, *q*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *ȯ*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *š*, *t*, *ù*, *w*, *y* ("*j*"), *z*.

Abbreviations: *A* = Arabic, *Ch* = Chinese, *Chgh* = literary Chaghatay, *ET* = Early Written (Orkhon, Uyghur) Turkic, *F.* = Ferghana Valley . . . , *K* = Qirghiz (*qırğız*), *M* = literary Mongolian, *MT* = Medieval Written Turkic, O = Uzbek (*ozbek, özbek*), *Os* = Osman (Ottoman Turkish), *P* = Persian, *Q* = Qazaq, *R* = Russian, *S.* = Soviet standard . . . , *T* = Tajik, *U* = Modern Uyghur, *X.* = Xinjiang (Chinese) standard . . .

aččıq pungent, sour, (spicy) hot, (O, U *ačči̇q*, F. U *aččıq*,[9] K *ačuu*, Q *aštı*)
ačıl- be opened, open oneself (O *âčil-*, U *ečil-*, K *ačıl*, Q *ašıl-*); *kün__* dawn
ačıq ~ *ašiq* clear, bright (O *âčiq*, U *očuq*, K, F. U *ačıq*, Q *ašıq*)
adam human being, person (O *âdam*, U *adäm*, K, Q *adam*, < T *âdam*, P < A *'âdam*)
ağayın brother, friend (Q *ağayin*, O *âğayni* kinsman, friend, F. U *ağayın* ~ *ağayni* ~ *ağı:ni* brother, kinsman, friend, U *ačinä* brother [brethren], friend, U, K, Q *ağa-ini* [elder and younger] brothers)
aq white (O *âq*, U, K, Q *aq*); *__ıš* whitish (O *âqiš*, U *aquč*)
aq- flow (O *âq-*, U, K *aq-*, Q *ağ-*)
al- take, obtain, acquire, purchase (O *âl-*, U, K, Q *al-*); [aspectual verb: effective]
alaw torch (Q *alaw*)
alä multi-colored, motley (O *âla*, U, K, Q *ala*, M *alaG*); *__-bùlä* gaudy, showy (O, U, K *__-bula*)
aldı front (O *âld*[*i*], U *ald*[*i*], K, Q *aldı* < ∗*ald*+*ı* . . .'s front)
alıs distant (O *âlis*, K, Q *alıs* < M *alus*)
alma apple (O *âlma*, U, K, Q *alma*)
altı six (O *âlti*, U *altä*, K, Q *altı*)
altımıš sixty (O *âltmiš*, U *atmiš*, S. U *altmiš*, K *altımıš*, Q *alpıs*)
altın gold (O *âltin*, U *altun*, F. U ~ *altın*, K, Q *altın*, M *alta*[*n*])
altıq having (a) horse(s) (O *âtli* [cf. *âtliq* equine, equestrian], U *atliq*, K *attuu*, Q *attı* < ∗*at*+*lıG*)
amma but, however, yet (O *ammâ*, U *ämma* ~ *amma* < P, T *ammâ*)
ammal imperial governor (U *ambal* id., Manchu *amban* great, dignitary, governor)
anaw that (one) (O *ana u*, *anawi*, U *änä u*, Q *anaw*); *__lar* those (ones)
ant oath, pledge (O *ânt*, U, K, Q *ant*)
apa elder sister, older female acquaintance (O *âpa* id., U *apa* mother, Q *apa* paternal aunt)
aptaw sunshine (O *âftâb*, U *aptap*, F. U *aptaw* id., Q *aptap* intense heat of the sun < P, T *âftâb* sun)

[9] Ferghana Valley Uyghur data are based upon Sadvakasov, G. (1970), *Jazyk ujgurov Ferganskoj Doliny: očerk fonetiki, teksty i slovar'* (Alma-Ata: "Nauka").

arıq$_1$ brook, ditch (O *ariq*, U *eriq*, K, Q *arıq*)
arıq$_2$ emaciated, skinny (O *âriq*, U *oruq*, F. U *arıq* ~ *ärıq*, K, Q *ariq*)
arqan whip (O *arqân*, U, K, Q *arqan* cord, rope, lasso)
arš celestial vault, heaven (O *arš* < A *ʿarš*)
asan easy (O *âsân*, U *asan* < P, T *âsân*)
asman sky (O *âsmân*, U, K *asman*, Q *aspan* < P, T *âsmân*); __ *čiraq* electric lamp
aš food, rice, pilaw (O *âš*, U, K *aš*, Q *as*); __ *mantı* pilaw with buns
ašlıq cereal (O *âšliq*, U *ašliq*, Q *astıq*)
at$_1$ horse (O *ât*, U, K, Q *at*)
at$_2$ name (O *ât*, U, K, Q *at*)
at- cast, throw, shoot (O *ât-*, U, K, Q *at-*)
ata father (O *âta*, U, K *ata* id., Q *ata* uncle); __ *saqal* proverb, saying
atız field (U *etiz*, Q *atız*)
awdar- turn over, bend over [transitive] (O *âǧdir-*, U *aǧdur-*, Q *awdar-*)
awχal ~ *aχwal* conditions, situation (O *ahwâl*, U *ähwal*, K *abal*, Q *aχwal* < A *ʾaḥwâl* [pl. of *ḥâl* (see *χal* below)])
awüz mouth (O *aǧiz*, U *eǧiz*, K *ooz*, Q *awız*)
ay moon, month (O *ây*, U, K, Q *ay*)
ayäl woman (O *ayâl*, U, K *ayal*, id. < A *ʿiyâl* [pl. of *ʿâʾila* household, family])
ayǧır four-year-old stallion (O, U *ayǧir*, K, Q *ayǧır* stallion)
ayran fermented milk drink (O *ayrân*, U, K, Q *ayran*, M *ayraɢ*)
ayüw bear (O *ayiq*, U *eyiq*, K *ayuu*, Q *ayuw*)
az little, few, rare (O *âz*, U, K, Q *az*)
azban wether, ram (Q *azban* castrated animal, M *asaman* gelding)
azčilik rarity, minority (O *âzčilik*, U *azčiliq*, K *azčılıq*, Q *azšılıq*)
aziz feeble, frail (O *âǰiz*, U *aǰiz* < P < A *ʿâǰiz*)
azıq food, ration (O *âziq*, X. O *aziq* ~ *azuq*, U *ozuq*, K, Q *azıq*)

äǰäp amazing(ly), peculiar(ly), truly, really (O *aǰab*, U *äǰäp* < P < A *ʿaǰab* amaze)
äǰdahar dragon (O *aǰdahâ*, U *äǰdiha*, K *aǰıdaar*, Q *aǰdaha* < P, T *aždaha*); __ *ili* Year of the Dragon
ämdi ~ *endi* now (O, Q *endi*, U *ämdi*, K *emi*)
ämmä all (O *hamma*, U *hämmä* < P *hamä*, T *hama*)
äränη barely, hardly (O, K *araη*, U *aran*, Q *äreη* < M *arai*[*qan*])
äsäl honey (O *asal*, U *häsäl* < T *asal*, P < A *ʿasal*)
äskär warrior, soldier (O *askar*, U *äskär*, K *asker*, Q *äsker* < T *askar*, P < A *ʿaskar*)
äšillä folksong (O *ašula*, X. O *äšülä*, F. U *äšilä* ~ *äšülä* < T *ašûla*)
äšilläči (folk-)singer (O *ašulači*, X. O *äšüläči*)
ättär merchant (O *attâr*, U *attar* < P *attâr* < A *ʿaṭṭâr*)

baǧ garden (O *bâǧ*, U *baǧ*, K, Q *baq* < P, T *bâǧ*)
baχar springtime (O *bahâr*, U *bahar* < P, T *bahâr*)
baq- watch, tend, look after (O *bâq-*, U baq-) [aspectual verb : tentative]
bala offspring, child (O *bâla*, U, K, Q *bala* < ∗*baɢa*+*la*? [cf. M *baɢa* small, young, childhood])
balalik having (a) child(ren) (O *bâlali* [cf. *bâlalik* childhood], U *baliliq*, K *balaluu*, Q *balalı*)
baldır$_1$ shank, calf of the leg (O *bâldir*)
baldır$_2$ previously, formerly (U *baldur* id., O *bultur*, K, Q *bıltır* previous year)
balıq fish (O *baliq*, U *beliq*, F. U *balıq* ~ *bälıq*, K, Q *balıq*)
balıs pillow (O *bâlis*, K *balıs* < P *bâlis*, T *bâlist*)
bapta well-raised, proper (O *bâpta*) → *bap*+*ta* [locative] (O *bâp* appropriateness, proper, fitting, Q *bap* proper manner, training, care, upbringing, U *bap* proper, fitting < P *bâb* chapter, affair, matter < A *bâb* gate, door, slot, category, chapter, class [cf. O *bâb*, U *bap* chapter])
bar existent, present (O *bâr*, U, K, Q *bar*)
bar- go (and arrive) (O *bâr-*, U, K, Q *bar-*)
barı all of . . . , entire (O *bâri*, U *bari*, K *baarı*, Q *barı*)
baš ~ *waš* head, beginning (O *bâš*, U, K *baš*, Q *bas*)
bašqa other, besides (O *bâšqa*, U, K *bašqa*, Q *basqa*)
bašta- begin [transitive] (O *bâšla-*, U *bašla-*, K *bašta-*, Q *basta-*)
bay wealthy person, squire, . . . Esquire (O *bây*, U, K, Q *bay*)
baya just (a short time ago) (O *bâya*, U, K *baya*)
bayla- ~ *baylı-* tie (O *bâǧla-* ~ *bâyla-*, U *baǧla-*, F. U ~ *bayla-*, K, Q *bayla-*)
bazar market, shopping area, bazaar (O *bâzâr*, U, K, Q *bazar* < P, T *bâzâr*)
bälät high, tall (O *baland*, X. O *bäländ* ~ *bälät*, F. U *bälä(n)t* < T *baland*, P *bâland*)
bärsäy Chinese cabbage, bokchoy (U *bäsäy* [~ *bäysäy*], X. O, Q *bäysäy* < Ch *báicài* 白菜)
bäzi some (O *ba''zi*, U *bäzi* < P < A *baʿḍ* part, portion + 3. possessive /+(s)I+#/)
bek$_1$ superior, elder, *beg* (O, K, Q *bek*, U *bäg*)
bek$_2$ exceedingly, too, very, particularly (X. O, Q *bek*, U *bäk*)
bekär unoccupied, idle (O *bekâr*, U *bikar*, K, Q *beker* < P *bikâr*, T *bekâr*)
bekärči idler (O *bekârči*, U *bikarči*, K *bekerči*)
bel waist (O, K, Q *bel*, U *bäl*)
belärzik bracelet (O *bilaguzuk*, X. O, U *biläk üzük*, K *bilerik*, Q *bilezik*)
belwaw waistband, sash, belt (O *belbâǧ*, U *bälbaǧ* ~ *bälwaǧ*, K *belboo*, Q *belbew*)
ber- give (O, K, Q *ber-*, U *bär-*) [aspectual verb : benefactive]
beš five (O, K *beš*, U *bäš*, F. U ~ *beš*, Q *bes*)
bešik cradle (O, K *bešik*, U *böšük*, Q *bešik*); __ *töy* cradle ceremony (O *bešik toy*[*i*], U *böšük toyi*)

bet face (O, K, Q *bet*, U *bät*)
biǰi sausage
bil- know, understand (O, U, K, Q *bil-*)
bir one (O, U, K, Q *bir*)
biraq but, however, yet (O *birâq*, U, Q *biraq*, K *biroq*)
biraw a certain one (O *birâw*, U *biraw*, K *birööo*, Q *birew*)
biy tarantula (O *biy*, K *böyü*)
biz(lär) we (O *biz[lar]*, U, K, Q *biz*)
bȯl-$_1$ ← /#böl-/ divide, separate (O *bol-*, U, K, Q *böl-*)
bȯl-$_2$ ← /#bol-/ be, become (O, U, K, Q *bol-*)
bȯlat steel (O, U polat, K, Q *bolat* < T *pûlâd*, P *fûlâd* ~*pûlâd* < A *fûlâd*)
bȯlȯ ← /#bölö+#/ maternally related offspring (K *bölö*, Q *böle* maternal cousin, M *böle* ~ *bülü* cousin of one of one's two sisters)
bȯwür ← /#bowur+#/ liver (O *bağir*, U *beğir*, K *boor*, Q *bawır*)
bu ← /#bu+#/ this (one) (O, U *bu*, K, Q *bul*)
buğday wheat (O *buğdây*, U *buğday*, K *buuday*, Q *bıyday*, M *buguday*)
buğu deer (O, K *buğu*, X., O, U *buğa*, Q *buğı*, M *bugu*)
bukur fool, idiot (O *bukur*, K *bükür*, Q *bükir* crooked, hunched over, hunchback)
burun before, prior to (O, U *burun*, K *murun*, Q *burın*)
burungı ~ *burıngı* prior, previous (O *burungi*, U *burunqi*, K *murunqu*, Q *burınğı*)
butin whole, entire (O *butun*, U *pütün*, K *bütün*, Q *bütin*; cf. *pütün*)
buw steam (O, U *buğ*, K *buu*, Q *buw*); __ *nan* steamed twisted bread roll
buwdan person of interethnic parentage (Q *buwdan*)
buzaw calf (O *buzâq*, U *mozay*, K *muzoo*, Q *buzaw*)

čač head hair (O *sâč*, U, K *čač*, Q *šaš*)
čaqır- call (O, U *čaqir-*, K *čaqır-*, Q *šaqır-*)
čamtäk garment bag
čap left (side) (O *čap*, U *čäp*, F. U ~ *čap* < P, T *čap*)
čapan traditional robe (O *čâpân*, U, K *čapan*, Q *šapan*)
čarča- tire, grow exhausted (O, U, K *čarča-*, Q *šarša-* id. [< M *carca-* congeal, stiffen, grow numb?])
čarpaya wide plank bed (O *čârpâyâ*, dialectal U *čarpay* ~ *ča[y]pä* ~ *ča:pı* ~ *čape*[10] beestead < P *čarhârpâ* four-legged, quadruped, bedstead)
čarwa domestic animals, livestock (O *čârwa*, U *čarwa*, K *čarba* id., Q *šarwa* animal husbandry < P *čârwa*, T *čârpâ* [cf. *čarpaya*])
čawandaz winner in a horse-back game in which the participants struggle for

[10] Jarring, G. (1964), *An Eastern Turki—English Dialect Dictionary* (Lund: Gleerup), p. 66, for the Turkic idioms of southwestern Xinjiang now considered Modern Uyghur dialects.

a two-year-old calf (O *čawandâz*, U *čäwändaz*, Q *šabandaz* knight, skilled rider < P *čapandâz*, T *čâpandâz*)

čay tea (O *čây*, U, K *čay*, Q *šay*, P, T *čây*, R *čaj* < Ch *chá* 茶)

čeršammı Wednesday (O *čâršanba*, U *čaršänbä*, K *čaršembi*, Q *särsenbi* < T *čâršanbe*, P *čahâršanbä*)

čimkirik nasal mucus (K *čimkirik*, Q *šiŋbirik*)

čipar pockmarked (person) (O *čipâr* motley, spotted, pockmarked, U *čipar* motley, K *čaar*, Q *šıbar* pockmarked < T *čipâr* motley)

čiraq lamp (O *čirâq*, U *čiraq*, Q *šıraq*)

čiräy face, facial features (O *čirây*, U *čiray*, Q *šıray*, M *cirai*)

čiräylik beautiful (O *čirâyli*, U *čirayliq*, Q *šıraylı*)

čiwiš two-year-old nanny-goat (U *čiwiš* female kid)

čığıš east (O *čığıš*, K *čığıš*, Q *šığıš*)

čıq- exit, emerge (O, U *čiq-*, K *čıq-*, Q *šığ-*) [aspectual verb: briefly completed action]

čòqa summit (O *čoqqi*, U *čoqqa*, K *čoqu*, Q *šoqı*)

čoŋ large, big, great (O, U, K *čoŋ*)

čöp ← /#čöp+#/ grass (O *čop*, U, K *čöp*, Q *šöp*)

čòwlı bamboo or wicker strainer (X., O *čowli*, U *čoyla* < Ch *zhàolì* 笊篱)

čüpräk torn and rugged cloth, rag (cf. ET *čöp* leftover, dung, O *čop*, U *čüpräṅdä*, Q *šöp* scrap, rubbish, trash)

čüšür- ← /#čüš-r-/ cause to descend, put down (O *tušir-*, U *čüšür-*, K *tüšür-*, Q *tüsir-*; cf. *tùš-*)

dadüy brigade (U *dadüy*, Q *daduy* < Ch *dàdùi* 大隊)

dalda hiding place, shelter (U *dalda* id. < M *dalda* secret, hidden [object])

daraχ fruit tree (O *daraχt*, U *däräχ*, K *daraq* < T *daraχt*, P *diraχt* tree)

dayım frequent(ly), regular(ly), often (O *dâim*, U *da* [']*im*, K, Q *dayım* < P < A *dâʿim*)

däŋgäsä idler, sluggard (O *dangasa* < T *dangâsa*)

däydi (*it*) stray (dog) (O *daydi* [*it*])

däyrä river (O *daryâ*, U *därya*, F. U ~ *däyra*, K *darıya*, Q *däriya* id. < T *daryâ* id., P *daryâ* sea)

dewäl courtyard wall (O *dewâr* ~ *dewâl*, U *diwar*, K *dubal*, Q *dawal* < T *dewâr*, P *dîwâr* wall)

deyin until (K, Q *deyin*)

dil heart (O, U *dil* < T *dil*, P *del*)

diy- say (O, K, Q de-, U *dä-* [→ *di . . .*])

dònan four-year-old goat (O *donan* four-year-old horse or ram, U *dönän* four-year-old horse or bovine, Q *dönen* four-year-old stallion < M *dönen* four-year-old animal)

dòppù embroidered skullcap (O *doppi*, U *doppa*, K *topu* < T *tûppî*)

dȯst friend (O, U *dost*, K, Q *dos* < P, T *dûst*)
düyšammı Monday (O *dušanba*, X. O, U *düšänbä*, K *düyšömbü*, Q *düysenbi* < P *dûšanbä*, T *dušanbe*)

egär (*dä*) if, in case (O *agar* [*da*], U *ägär*, K, Q *eger* [*de*] < P, T *agar*)
ekki two (O, U *ikki*, K, Q *eki*)
el tribe (O, Q *el*, U *äl* nation, people, K *el* tribe, nation)
elči emissary, go-between (O, K *elči*, U *älči*, Q *elši*, M *elci*[*n*])
ellik fifty (O *ellik*, U *ällik*, K *elüü*, Q *eliw* ~ *elüw*)
emäs not being (O *emas*, U *ämäs*, K, Q *emes*)
emčäk breast (mamma), udder (O *emčak*, U *ämčäk*, K *emček*, Q *emšek*)
ene mother (O *âna*, U, Q *ana*, K *ene*)
eneläs offspring of a relative or friend (K *eneleš*, Q *eneles* maternally related half-sibling)
eη extremely, most [superlative] (O, K, Q *eη*, U *äη*)
er male, man, husband (O, K, Q *er*, U *är*)
erinčäk lazy (O *erinčak*, U *erinčäk*, Q *erinšek*)
erkäk male, man (O *erkak*, U *ärkäk*, K, Q *erkek*)
ertäk tale, story (O *ertak*, F. U *e:täk*, Q *ertegi* id. < M *erteki*, Oyrad *ertek* of earlier times, ancient)
eski old (O *aski*, K, Q *eski* id., U *äski* old and run-down, delapidated < ∗*äs* awareness, memory, + attributive +*ki*)
ešäk ass, donkey (O *ešak*, U *išäk*, S. U, F. U *ešäk*, K *ešek*, Q *esek*); __ *qalpaq* mushroom
ešik door, gate (O, K *ešik*, U *išik*, F. U ~ *ešik*, Q *esik*)
ešit- listen, hear (O, F. U *ešit-*, U *išit-*, Q *esit-*)
et flesh, meat (O, K, Q *et*, U *ät*)
et- do, perform, make (O, Q *et-*, U *ät-*)
etik boot (O, Q *etik*, U, K *ötük*, F. U ~ *etik*)
eχlik rouge

gȯš meat (O *gošt*, U *göš*, F. U ~ *goš* < P, T *gûšt*)
gül ~ *gȯl* flower (O *gul*, U, K, Q *gül* < T *gul*, P *gol*)
güldir thunder (O *guldirâs*, U *güldür* id. < T *guldurrâs* rumble)
ğaz goose (O *ğâz*, U *ğaz*, K, Q *qaz* < P *ğâz*, T *ğâz* ~ *qâz*)
ğȯnan four-year-old ewe not yet in lamb (O *ğonân*, U *ğunan*, K *qunan*, Q *qunın* three-year-old stallion < M *guna*[*n*] three-year-old animal)
ğȯnanǰin three-year-old cow (O *ğunaǰin*, U *ğunajin* ~ *ğunuǰin*, K *qunanǰin* id., Q *qunaǰin* < M *ğunazin* three-year-old female animal)

χal condition, state (O *hâl*, U *hal*, Q *χal* < P, T *hâl* < A *ḥâl*)
χala mother's younger sister (O *χâla* < T < A *χâla*)

χat letter (O, Q *χat*, U *χät*, F. U ~ *χat*, K *qat* < T *χat*, P *χatt* < A *χaṭṭ*)
χatın woman, wife (O *χâtin*, U *χotun*, F. U ~ *χatın*, K, Q *qatın* < Soghdian *χwâtûn*)
χazır ~ *hazır* now, currently (O *hâzir*, U *hazir*, K *azır*, Q *qazir* < T *hâzir* < A *ḥâḍir*)
χazırgı ~ *hazırgı* present, current (O *hâzirgi*, U *hazirqi*, K *azırqı*, Q *qazirgi*)
χäy cloth shoe (X. O [*lättä*] *χäy*, U *χäy*, X. K *qay* < Ch ∗*γāi* [> *xié*] 鞋)
χila still more (O *hali*, U *heli*, K *ali*, Q *äli* < T *hâli*, P < A *ḥâlî*)
χızmat service, work (O *χizmat*, U *χizmät*, K *qızmat*, Q *qızmet* < T *χizmat* < A *χiḍmat*)
χòtük donkey foal (Q *qodıq*)
χùrnùk ugly (O *χunuk*, X. O *χunük* < P, T *hawlnâk* repulsive)

harginčä swing
häm with, and, as well as (O *ham*, U *häm* < P, T *ham*)
här each, every (O *har*, U *här*, K *ar*, Q *är* < P, T *har*)
hič (none) whatsoever, at all (O *heč*, U *heč* ~ *hič*, K *eč*, Q *eš* < T *heč*)
hòkkù owl (K *ükü*, Q *üki* id., O *ukki* eagle-owl, U *ükä* [< Q *üki*?] owl feather [adorning caps of Qazaq females])

ič- ingest (O, U, K *ič-*, Q *iš-*)
ičäk intestine, gut string of a musical instrument (O *ičak*, U *üčäy*, K *ičegi*, Q *išek*)
ičik long-sleeved fur-lined jacket (K, Chgh *ičik*, Q *išik*, MT *ičük* fur-lined coat)
ičin for (the sake of), because of (O *učun*, U, K *üčün*, Q *üšin*)
il (see *yil*)
ilan ~ *ǰilän* snake (O *ilân*, U [*y*]*ilan*, S. U *žilan*, K, Q *ǰılan*)
ilgär former, previous, original (O *ilgar*[*i*], U *ilgir*[*i*], K *ilgerki*, Q *ilger*[*i*])
ilgeri before, prior to (O *ilgari*, U *ilgiri*, K, Q *ilgeri*)
ilgi (see *yılqa*); __ *ili* *Year* of the Horse
ip thread (O *ip*, U *yip*, S. U *žip*, K, Q *ǰip*)
ipäk silk (O *ipak*, U *yipäk*, S. U *žipäk*, K, Q *ǰibek*)
ira remote area, countryside (see *iraq*)
iraq distant, remote (O *iraq*, U *yiraq*, S. U *žiraq*, K *ıraaq*, Q *ǰıraq*, Chgh *iraɢ*)
islik fragrant, aromatic (O *isli*, Q *iyisti*)
issıq hot (O, U *issiq*, F. U *issiq* ~ *issiǧ*, K *ıssıq*, Q *ıstıq* ~ *ıssı*)
istäkän drinking glass (O, K *stakan*, U *istakan*, X. K, Q *istakan* < R стакан)
iš matter, affair, work (O, U, K *iš*, Q *is*)
ištä- work (O *išla-*, U *išlä-*, K *ište-*, Q *iste-*)
it dog (O, U, K *it*, Q *iyt*)
ittär- push (O *itar-*, U *ittär-*, K *iter-*, Q *iyter-*)

iwan ~ *iyen* yuan (largest Chinese monetary denomination) (X. O, Q *yüan*, U *yüän*, X. K *yüen* < Ch *yuán* 圓~元)
iye owner, master (O *ega*, U *igä*, K *ee*, Q *iye*)
iyek lower jaw, chin (O *iyak*, U *iŋäk*, K *eek*, Q *iyek*)
izzä- seek, search (O *izla-*, U *izlä-* ~ *izdä-*, K, Q *izde-*)
ınčı gift of a horse or a cow presented to one's son-in-law on his visit to the bride's former home one month after the wedding (Q *enši*, M *iŋzi* ~ *inzi* dowry)
ır song, tune (K *ır*, Q *ǰır*)
ıw ~ *ùy* house, home (O *oy*, X. O, K, Q *üy*, U *öy*, F. U ~ *üy*, MT *äw*, ET *äb* ~ *äw*)

ǰelä hail (O *ǰala* < P *žalä*, T *žâla*)
ǰindi possessed person, lunatic, weird person (O *ǰinni*, U, K *ǰindi*, Q *ǰındı* < T *ǰinnî* possessed or mad person < A *ǰinnî* jinnee [spirit able to appear in human or animal form])
ǰòtò pickax (U *ǰotu*, Q *ǰotew* < Ch *juétou* 鈌厥頭)
ǰùma Friday (O, K, Q *ǰuma*, U *ǰümä* < P *ǰomʿä*, T *ǰumʾa* < A *ǰumʿah*)
ǰùwaz$_1$ table (X. O *ǰozä*, U *ǰoza*, Q *ǰozi* < Ch *zhuōzi* 桌子)
ǰùwaz$_2$ oil press (U *ǰuwaz* < Ch *jiǎobǎzi* 攪把子)

käl bald (O *kal* < P *kal*)
käp palm of the hand (O *kaft* ~ *kap* < T *kaf*, P < A *kaff*)
kär$_1$ matter, affair, business, task (O *kâr*, U *kar* < P, T *kâr*)
kär$_2$ deaf (person) (O *kar*, K, Q *kereŋ* < P, T *kar*)
kärman purse (O < R *karman* pocket)
kečä yesterday (O *keča*, U *kečä*, K *kečee*, Q *keše*)
kel- come (O, K, Q *kel-*, U *käl-*, F., U ~ *kel-*)
kelin bride, newly married woman (O, U, K, Q *kelin*)
keŋ wide (O, K, Q, F. U *keŋ*, U *käŋ*)
kes- cut, fell, spay (O, K, Q, F. U *kes-*, U *käs-*)
ket- leave, go (O, K, Q *ket-*, U *kät-*, F. U ~ *ket-*) [aspectual verb: accidental, uncontrolled]
kičik small (O, U *kičik*, K *kičine*, Q *kiši*)
kigiz felt(-rug) (O, U *kigiz*, X. O, K, Q *kiyiz*)
kim who? (O, U, K, Q *kim*)
kimančä infant's cap
kinaw film, motion picture (O *kinâ*, X. O, U, K, Q *kino* < R кино)
kindik navel, umbilical cord (O *kindak* ~ *kindik*, U, K, Q *kindik*)
kisäwùr pickpocket, thief (O *kissawur* id. < T *kisabur*, P *kissä-burr* pickpocket, thief; cf. U *kispuruχ* lout)
kiši person (O, U, K *kiši*, Q *kisi*)

kitap ~ *kitäp* book (O *kitâb*, U, Q *kitap*, K *kitep* < P *ketâb*, T < A *kitâb*)
kiy- wear, put on (clothing) (O, U, K, Q *kiy-*)
kiyim clothing (O, U, K, Q *kiyim*)
kȯbrük bridge (O *koprik*, U *köwrük*, F. U *köprük*, K *köpürö*, X. K *köpüröö*, Q *köpir*)
kȯč- move, shift [transitive] (O *koč-*, U, K *köč-*, Q *köš-*)
kȯk blue, bluish green (O *kok*, U, K, Q *kök*); *__üš* bluish, light blue (O *kokiš*, U *köküč* ~ *köküš*)
kȯkläm springtime (O *koklam*, U *kökläm*, Q *köktem*)
kȯnȯ old, ancient (O *kohna*, U *kona*, K *köönö*, Q *köne* < P *kohnä*, T *kûhna*)
kȯp much, many (O *kop*, U, K, Q *köp*)
kȯr blind (person) (O, U *kor*, K, Q *kör* < P, T *kûr*)
kȯr- see (O *kor-*, U, K, Q *kör-*)
kȯrpe quilt (O *korpa*, U *köpä* [~ *körpä*], K *körpö*, Q *körpe*
kȯrsät- show, demonstrate (O *korsat-*, U *körsät-*, K *körsöt-*, Q *körset-*)
kȯynek ~ *kȯylek* shirt, chemise, dress (O *koynak* ~ *koylak*, U *köynäk*, K *köynök*, Q *köynek*); *ayällär kȯynegi* women's dress
kȯz eye (O *koz*, U, K, Q *köz*)
kül- laugh (O *kul-*, U, K, Q *kül-*)
kün sun, day (O *kun*, U, K, Q *kün*)
küräk shovel (O *kurak*, U *küräk*, K *kürök*, Q *kürek*)
küz autumn (O *kuz*, O, K, Q *küz*)

qač- flee (O *qâč-*, U, K *qač-*, Q *qaš-*)
qačan when? (O *qâčan*, U, K *qačan*, Q *qašan*)
qaqas barren, deserted (U *qaqas* id., Q *qaqas* yonder)
qaqaslik wasteland, desert (U *qaqasliq*); *__ yer* barren land
qal- remain (O *qâl-*, U, K, Q *qal-*) [aspectual verb: resultative]
qalam writing pen (O, Q *qalam*, U *qäläm*, K *qalem* < P, T < A *qalam* id. < Greek *κάλαμος* reed[-pen])
qalın thick (O *qalin*, U *qelin*, K, Q *qalıŋ*)
qalmaq Kalmuck, Oyrad (O *qalmâq*, U, K, Q *qalmaq* < M *qalimaɢ*)
qalpaq type of felt hat (O *qalpâq*, U, K, Q *qalpaq*)
qaltama ~ *χaltama* folded pastry (O *qatlama*, U *qatlima*)
qamči whip, lash (O, F. U *qamči*, U *qamča*, K *qamčı*, Q *qamšı*)
qanat wing (O *qanât*, U, K, Q *qanat*)
qanča how much?, how many? (O, K *qanča*, U *qančä*, Q *qanša*)
qandaq how? (O *qandak*, U *qandaq*, K, Q *qanday*)
qantaš communication, connection, traffic (O, U *qatnaš*, Q *qatnas*)
qara black (O *qâra*, U, K, Q *qara*); *__mtıl* blackish (O *qâramtil* ~ *qâramtir*, U *qaramtul*)
qaraŋŋı dark(ness) (O *qârañğı*, U *qaraŋğu*, K, Q *qaraŋğı*)

qarı- age, grow old (O *qari-*, U *qeri-*, K, Q *qarı-*)
qarın stomach, tripe (O *qârin*, U *qerin*, F. U, K, Q *qarın*)
qarišqı wolf (O *qašqir*, X. O *qarišqi*, Lopnur U *qarišqa*, K *qarišqır*, Q *qasqır*)
qaršı opposing, opposite, against (O, U *qarši*, K *qaršı*, Q *qarsı*)
qatim occasion, time (X. O *qatim*, U *qetim*, F. U *qätim*)
qawùn ~ *qòwùn* muskmelon (O *qâwun*, U *qoğun*, K *qoon*, Q *qawın*)
qawùnlùq muskmelon field (U *qoğunluq*)
qayčı shears, scissors (O *qayči*, U *qayča*, K *qayčı*, Q *qayšı*)
qayın spouse's relative (K, Q *qayın* id., O *qayin* . . . , U *qeyn* . . . . . -in-law)
qayınčıla- ceremoniously integrate a bride into the groom's household
qaynaq cooked, boiled (O *qaynâq*, U, K *qaynaq*, Q *qaynağan*)
qaysı which? (O, U *qaysi*, K, Q *qaysı*)
qayt- return (O, U, K, Q *qayt-*)
qädäm ~ *ädäm* step (O, K, Q *qadam*, U *qädäm* < P, T < A *qadam*)
qälämpùr red pepper (O *qalanpur*, F. U *qalampir*, K *qalempir* id., U *qalampur*, Q *qalampır* clove < T *qalamfur* red pepper, P < A *qaranful* < Greek *καρυόφιλλον* clove [*Eugenia caryophyllata*])
qäyräq (*yer*) dry, infertile (place) (O *qayrâq*, F. U, K, Q *qayraq* < whetstone, bar, block < MT *qayır* sandy flat, Os *qayr* sandstone, K, Q *qayra-* whet)
qımız koumiss, fermented milk (O, U *qimiz*, K, Q *qımız*)
qırq forty (O, S. U *qirq*, U *qiriq*, K *qırq*, Q *qırq*)
qıš winter (O, U *qiš*, K *qıš*, Q *qıb*)
qıyın difficult (O, U *qiyin*, K, Q *qıyın*)
qıyınčilik difficulty (O *qiyinčilik*, U *qiyinčiliq*, K *qıyınčılıq*, Q *qıyınšılıq*)
qızğıs reddish, light red (O *qizğiš*, U *qizğuč*)
qızıl red (O, U *qizil*, K, Q *qızıl*)
qòčqar (stud) ram (O *qočqâr*, U *qočqar*, K *qočqor*, Q *qošqar*)
qòl hand, arm (O, U, K, Q *qol*)
qònas settlement, dwelling place (< Q *qonıs* < ∗/#qo-n-š+#/; cf. ET, MT, O, U *qon-* dwell, settle [oneself] < ∗*qo-* [Chgh, Os *qo-*] set down)
qònaq beam, shine, ray (U *qonaq*)
qòp- rise (O, U *qop-*)
qòy put, set, let, permit (O, U, K, Q *qoy-*) [aspectual verb: briefly completed action]
qòzı lamb (O *qozi*, U *qoza*, K *qozu*, Q *qozı*)
qùda wife's relatives (O, U, K, Q < M *quda*)
qùl slave, serf (O, U, K, Q *qul*)
qùlaq ear (O *qulâq*, U, K, Q *qulaq*)
qùš bird (O, U, K *quš*, Q *qus*)
qùt north (O *qut*)
qùwùq bladder, lower abdomen (O *qopiq*, U *köwük*, K *köbük*, Q *quwıq*)
qùyan hare, rabbit (O *quyân*, K *qoyon*, Q *qoyan*); __ *ili* Year of the Leporine

liŋza purlin (U *lim* ~ *liŋza*, Q *lıŋzı* < Ch *línzi* 棟子 < ∗liəm 棟)
lòl zero (O *nol'*, X. O, U, Q *nöl*, K *nul'* ~ *nöl* < R ноль ~ нуль)

maqtan- brag, boast (O, K, Q *maqtan-*, U *maχtan-*)
maqtančaq boastful (person) (O *maqtančâq*, U *maχtančaq*, K *maqtančaaq*, Q *maqtanšaq*)
mal livestock, property, commodity, wealth (O *mâl*, U, K, Q *mal* < P, T < A *mâl*)
malčı herder (U *malči*, K *malčı*, Q *malšı*)
manaw this (one) (O *manawi*, U *mana u*, *munu*, Q *menaw*)
mantı stuffed steamed bun (O *manti*, U, K *manta*, F. U *mantı* ~ *mantu*, Q *mänti* < Ch *mántou* 饅頭)
maŋ- walk, leave (U, Chgh *maŋ-*)
maŋı to me (O *meŋa*, U *maŋa*, K *maǧa*, Q *maǧan*)
mašaq ear (of grain) (O *mašâq*, U *bašaq*, K *mašaq*, Q *masaq*)
mašina motorcar (O, U, K, Q < R машина machine, motorcar)
may fat, oil (O *mây*, U, K, Q *may*); *sarıq* __ butter
maysa shoot, seedling, sprout (O, U, Q *maysa* id. < Ch *màizi* 麥子 wheat, seedling of grain plant [?])
mäkkiyä maize, corn (O *makka*, F. U *mäkkä*, K *meke* < T [*ǰubâri*]*makka* *makka*[*ǰubâri*])
mähällä ~ *mälä* quarter, neighboorhood, residential area, settlement, village (O *mahalla*, U *mähällä*, F. U, Ili U *mähälä* ~ *mä:lä* < P *mahallä*, T *mahalla* < A *maḥalla*)
märt brave and upright man, hero (O *mard*, U *märt* id. < P, T *mard* male, man)
mäymil ape, monkey (O, U *maymun*, K, Q *maymil* < P, T *maymun*); __ *ili* Year of the Monkey
men I (O, K, Q *men*, U *män*, F. U ~ *men*)
meχman guest (O *mehmân*, U *mehman*, K, Q *meyman* < P, T *mehmân*)
menän with, and (K *menen*, Q /+#män(än)#/ → +*men*[*en*] ~ +*ben*[*en*] ~ +*pen*[*en*])
meš stove, oven (U *mäs*, K, Q *mes*, < R печь[?])
miŋ thousand (O, U, K *miŋ*, Q *mıŋ*)
miyä brain (O *miya*, U *miŋä*, K *mee*, Q *mey*)
mılyan million (O, K *million*, U, Q *milyon* < R миллион)
mišıq cat (O *mušuk*, U *müšük*, K *mišıq*, Q *mısıq*); *kičik* __ kitten (cf. O *mušukča*, U *aslan*)
mòyùn ← /#moyun+#/ neck (O *boyin*, U *boyun*, F. U ~ *boyan*, K *moyun*, Q *moyın*)
muǧalım teacher (O *muallim*, U *mu'ällim*, K, Q *muǧalim* < P *muallim*, T *mo''allim* < A *mu'allim*)
mùrùn ← /#murun+#/ nose (O, U *burun*, F. U ~ *murun*, K *murun*, Q *murın*)

mu̇z ← /#muz+#/ ice (O, U, K, Q *muz*)
mu̇zlıq covered with ice, icy (O *muzli*, U *muzluq*, K *muzduu*, Q *muzdı*)

nahayatı extremely, very (U *nahayiti* id., O *nihâyati* as much as < P, T < A *nihâyat* limit, bounds, end, extreme)
nahäq unjust (O *nâhaq*, U *nahäq* < P, T *nâhaq* id. < A *ḥaqq* just)
nahäqčilik injustice (O *nâhaqlik*, U *nahäqčilik*)
namaz prayer, funeral service (U *namaz* id., O *namâz*, K, Q *namaz* < P, T *namâz* prayer); __ *čüsür-* conduct a funeral service (U *namaz čüšür-*)
nan bread (O *nân*, U, K, Q *nan* < P, T *nân*)
naništä breakfast (O *nânista*, U *nanusta* ~ *našta*, F. U *nanušti* ~ *našta* < T *nâništa* [~ *nâšita*, Sariquli *nošta*,[11] P *nâštâ*])
narı thitherward (O *nari*, U *neri*)
natu̇wra incorrect (O *natučri*, U *natoğra*, SU *natoğri*; cf. *tu̇wra*)
naw water trough (O *nâw*, Q *nawa* < T *nâw*[*a*], P *nâw*[*ä*])
näččä how many? (O *neča*, U *näččä*, K *neče*, Q *neše*)
näpär individual [used in counting humans] (O *nafar*, U *näpär* < P < A *nafar*)
nekin but, however, yet (O, U *lekin* < T *lekin*, P *lîkin* < A *lakin*)
nemä what? (O *nima*, U *nimä*, F. U ~ *nemä*, K [*emne* ~]*neme*, Q [*ne*(*mene*)])
niyät intention (O *niyat*, U *niyät*, K, Q *niyet* < P *niyät*, T < A *niyat*)

o̭ğu̇l son, boy (O *oğil*, U *oğul*, K *uul*, Q *ul*)
o̭χlaw rolling pin (O *oχlaw*, Q *oqtaw*)
o̭qu̇- read, study (O *oqi-*, U, K *oqu-*, Q *oqı-*)
o̭l- ← /#öl-/ die, decease (O *ol-*, U, K, Q *öl-*)
o̭ltaq pasture (O *otlâq*, U *otlaq*, Q *ottaw* < ∗*ot*+*la-*G)
o̭ltu̇r- ← /#ol-tur-/ sit, dwell (O *o*[*l*]*tir-*, U, K *oltur-*, Q *otır-*) [aspectual verb: frequentive]
o̭n ← /#on+#/ ten (O, U, K, Q *on*)
o̭pkä lung (O *opka*, U *öpkä*, K *öpkö*, Q *ökpe*)
o̭r- ← /#*or-*/ cut, mow (O, U, K, Q *or-*)
o̭rgän- learn (O *organ-*, U *ügän-*, K *üyrön-*, Q *üyren-*)
o̭ša ~ *o̭šo̭* that (one) (O *oša*, U *ašu*, F. U *oša* ~ *ošı* ~ *oši* ~ *ošu*, K *ušul*, Q *ošı*)
o̭t$_1$ ← /#ot+#/ grass, herb (O, U, Q *ot*)
o̭t$_2$ ← /#ot+#/ fire (O, U, K, Q *ot*)
o̭t- ← /#öt-/ pass, go through (O *ot-*, U, K, Q *öt-*) [aspectual verb: successfully executed action]

[11] Sariquli data are based upon Gāo E.Q., ed. (1985), *Tǎjíkêyǔ jiǎnzhì* (Beijing: Mínzú Chūbǎnshè), and Paxalina, T.N. (1971), *Sarykol'sko-russkij slovar'* (Moscow: "Nauka").

òttùz ← /#ottuz+#/ thirty (O *ottiz*, U *ottuz*, K *otuz*, Q *otız*)
òyna- play (O, U, Q *oyna-*, K *oyno-*)
òz ← /#öz+#/ self (O *oz*, U, K, Q *öz*)
òzwek ~ *òzwòk* Uzbek (O *ozbek*, U *özbäk*, F. U *özbeg*, K, Q *özbek*)

palanči some(one), a certain (person) (O *falanči*, U *palanči*, K *balanča* < A *fulân*)
palapän young animal, whelp (Q *balapan*)
parpıraq (paper) kite (O *warwarak* ~ *warrak*, X. O *parpiraq*, K *batperek* ~ *batpirek*, Q *batperawıq* < T *bâdbaraq*)
payiz railway train (O, K, Q *poezd*, X. O, U *poyiz* < R *поезд*)
paypaq sock, stocking (O *paypâq*, U *paypaq*, K, Q *baypaq* < T *paypâq*)
pälit filthy (O *palid* < T *palid*, P *palîd*)
pämaldir tomato (O *pamildâri* ~ *pomidor*, X. O *pämildari*, U *pämidur*, F. U *pämildarı* ~ *pomidor*, K *pomidor*, Q *pamidor* < R *помидор*)
pärmä drill, auger, bore (O *parma*, F. U *pärmä*, K *burama* < T *parma*, P *barmä*)
päs low (O *past*, U *päs*, K *pas* < P, T *past*)
päšä fly (O *paššа* id., U *paša*, K *maša*, Q *masa* moth < T *paššа*, P *pašä* mosquito, Sariquli *pišo* fly)
päyšammı Thursday (O *payšanba*, U *päyšänbä*, K *beyšembi*, Q *beysenbi* < T *panǰšanbe*, P *panǰšanbä*)
pič- ← /#pič-/ cut, spay (O *bič-* ~ *pič-*, U *pič-*, K *bıč-*, Q *pıš-*)
pičaq knife (O *pičâq*, U *pičaq*, K *bıčaq*, Q *pıšaq*)
piš- ← /#pıš-/ ripen, turn mushy, rot (O, U *piš-*, K *bıš-*, Q *pıs-*)
pòpika pullover, sweater (O, K *fufayka*, U *popayka*, Q *popayke* < R *фуфайка*)
pütün ← /#pütün+#/ whole, entirely (O *butun*, U *pütün*, K *bütün*, Q *bütin*; cf. *bütin*)

radiyal radio (O, K, Q *radio*, U *radiyo* < R *радио*)
räχ fabric, cloth, material (X. O *raχt*, U *räχt* [rɛχ] < P *raχat* goods and chattels, clothing)
rästä street, lane (O *rasta*, U *rästä* commercial street, market area < T *rasta*, P *rastä*)
ròy spirit (O, U *roh*, K, Q *ruχ* < P, T *rûh* < A *rûḥ*)

saχat hour, clock, watch (O *sâat*, U *sa'ät*, F. U ~ *saat* ~ *sa:t* ~ *sahat* ~ *saχat*, K *saat*, Q *saǧat* < T *sâat*, P < A *sâ'at*)
saqal beard (O *sâqâl*, U, K, Q *saqal*)
saqaw dumb (person) (O *sâqâw*, Q *saqaw*)
salam greeting (O *salâm*, U *salam* < P, T *salâm* id. < A *salâm* peace, hail, greeting); __ *ber-* greet, pay respect

sar hawk, kite, buzzard (O *sâr*, U, M *sar*)
sarıq yellow (O *sariq*, U *seriq*, F. U *sarıq* ~ *särıq*, K, Q *sarı*)
sasıq ~ *sası* putrid, stinking (O *sassiq*, X. O *sasiq*, U *sesiq*, Q *sasıq*)
sawap reason, cause (O *sabab*, U *sawap*, K, Q *sebep* < P, T < A *sabab*)
sawüzχan magpie (O *saǧizǧan*, X. O *zaǧizχan*, U *seǧizχan*, K *saǧızǧan*, Q *sawızqan*)
sayaz shallow, shoal (Chgh *say* shallow, O *sayaz* shoal; cf. U *say* flooded river shore, rivulet, Q *say* rivulet)
säksän eighty (O *saksan*, U *säksän*, K, Q *seksen*)
säyšammı Tuesday (O *sešanba*, X. O *sišänbä*, U *säyšänbä*, K *šeyšembi*, Q *seysenbi* < T *sešanbe*, P *säšanbä*)
sekkiz eight (O *sakkiz*, U *säkkiz*, K, Q *segiz*)
semirä- grow fat (I, K, Q *semir-*)
sen thou, you [sg.] (O *san* ~ *sen*, U *sän*, F. U ~ *sen*, K, Q *sen*)
senlär you [pl.] (U *silär*, K *siler*, Q *sender*)
serkäš billy-goat kid (Q *serkeš* two-year-old billy goat, U *särkäš* two-year-old castrated billy-goat; cf. O < P, T *sarkaš* stubborn, obstinate)
siz you [sg., polite] (O *siz*[*lar*] [*pl.*], U, K, Q *siz* [sg.])
sizlär you [pl., polite] (O *siz*[*lar*], U *sizlär*, K, Q *sizder*)
sөwlıq ewe (X. O, U *sağliq*, K *sooluq*, Q *sawlıq*)
sөy- ← /#soy-/ kill, slaughter, butcher, flay (O, U, K, Q *soy-*)
sөylä- speak (O *sozla-* ~ *soyla-*, U *sözlä*, K *süylö-*, Q *söyle-*)
sүpa raised earthen platform (O, U *supa* < A *ṣuffa*)
sүw water (O, Q *suw*, U /#sū+#/ → *su*, F. U ~ *suw*, K *suu*)
sүwlük raincoat (Q *suwliq*)
šagirt apprentice (O, U *šagirt*, K *šakirt*, Q *šäkirt* < T *šagird*, P *šagerd*)
šaχar town, city (O *šahar*, U *šähär*, K *šaar* < P, T *šahr*)
šammı Saturday (O *šanba*, U *šänbä*, K *šembi*, Q *senbi* < T *šanbe*, P *šanbä*)
šatä ladder, stairs (O *šâti*, U *šota*, K *šatı*, Q *satı*, M *šatu*)
šimir- inhale, suck in (O, Q *simir-*, U *sümür-*)
šipirtkä whisk broom (O *supurgi*, X. O *sipirgi*, U *süpürgä*, F. U *süpü:gi* ~ *šipirǧa*, K *šıpırǧı*, Q *sipirtki*); *__ qөnaq* Chinese sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor*)
šüǰü secretary (official) (X. O, U, (X. K, Q *šuǰi* < Ch *shūjì* 書記)
šüwaq wall plaster, whitewash (O *suwâq*, U *suwaq*)

taǧma seal, stamp, ownership mark (O, U, K *tamǧa*, Q *taŋba*)
taǰ crown (O *tâǰ*, U, Q *taǰ*, K *taaǰı* < P, T *tâǰ*)
talqan stir-fried noodles, chowmein (O *talqân* ~ *tâlqân*, U, K, Q *talqan*)
tarbiz ~ *tarwüz* water-melon (O *tarwuz*, U *tawuz*, F. U *tarbuz* ~ *ta:wuz* ~ *dawaz*, K *darbız*, Q *qarbız* < P, T *tarbuz*)
tartın- be dragged, be coaxed, stand upon ceremony (O *târtin-*, U *tartin-*, K, Q *tartın-*)

tas difficult (U *täs* adverse, difficult, O *ters*, K *teskeri*, Q *teris* reverse, adverse)
taš rock, stone (O *tâš*, U, K *taš*, Q *tas*)
tašta- cast, throw (O, U *tašla-*, K *tašta-*, Q *tasta-*) [aspectual verb: uncontrolled action]
tattı sweet (O *tâtli*, U *tatliq*, F. U *tatlıq* ~ *tatlı* ~ *tatlığ* ~ *tallıq*, K *tattuu*, Q *tätti*)
taw mountain, hill (O *tâg*, U *tağ*, F. U ~ *to:*, K *too*, Q *taw*)
tayınča two-year-old bull (U *tayinča* id., K *tayınča* two-year-old bovine, Q *tayınša* one-year-old bull)
tazı hound, sheep dog (O *tâzi*, U *tazi*, Q *tazı*)
täm flavor (O *tam*, U *täm*, K *daam*, Q *däm* < P, T *taʿm* < A *ṭaʿm*)
temän lower part, underside (O *tuban*, X. O *töbän*, U *töwän*, K *tömön*, Q *tömen*)
temir iron (O, K, Q *temir*, U *tömür*, F. U ~ *temir*); __ *tikän* puncture vine, tribulus (*Tribulus terrestris*)
teŋ [particle used after enumerations] (O, K, Q *teŋ*, U *täŋ*, F. U ~ *teŋ* < Ch *děng* 等 equal [also used after enumerations])
tešä small adze (O *tešâ*, F. U *tešä*; < ∗*täš-* make a hole?; cf. T *teša*, P *tîša* adze)
tik- stitch, sew (O, U, K *tik-*, Q *tig-*)
tikän thorn, spike, prick (O *tikan*, U *tikän*, K, Q *tiken*)
til ← /#til+#/ tongue, language (O, K, Q *til*, U /#tıl+#/ → *til*)
tilpan telephone (O, K, Q *telefon*, X. O *telfon*, U *telefon* ~ [tilepun] < R *телефон*)
tirätir tractor (O, K *traktor*, U *tiraktor*, F. U *t*[*i*]*räxtir*, Q *tıraktor* < R *трактор*)
tiš ← /#tiš+#/ tooth (O, K *tiš*, U *čiš*, Q *tis*)
tòχsan ninety (O *toqšân*, U *toqsan* [tʿoχsan], K *toqson*, Q *toqsan*)
tòχtı ~ *toχtä* six-months-old sheep (K *toqtu*, Q *toqtı*)
tòk- drop, spill (O *tok-*, U *tök-*, K, Q *tög-*)
tòqqùz nine (O *toqqiz*, U *toqquz*, K *toğuz*, Q *toğız*)
tòŋŋùz pig, swine (O *tonğiz*, U *toŋğuz*, K *doŋuz*, Q *doŋiz*); __ *ili* Year of the Porcine
tòpas yak (K *topos*)
tòrğaq diversiform-leaved poplar (*Popular diversifolia*) (U *toğraq*)
tòrğùn satin (Chgh *torgu*, U, Q *torqa*, M *torga*[*n*])
tòrt ← /#tört+#/ four (O *tort*, U *töt*, K, Q, S. U *tört*); __*ów* (O *tortâw*, K *törtöö*, Q *törtew*)
tòsek bed, bedding [< Q tösek; cf. O *tošak*, X. O *töšäk*, U *čüšäk* K *töšök*); __ *körpe* cotton-padded mattress (< Q *tösek körpe*; cf. K *töšök körpö*)
tòwra correct (O, S. U *toğri*, U *toğra*, K *tuura*, Q *tuwra*)
tòwùq chicken (O *towuq*, F. U *tawuq*, K *tooq*, Q *tawıq*)
tòy ← /#toy+#/ celebration, wedding (O, U, K, Q *toy*)
tùqa ~ *tùqı* billy-goat
tùr- ← /#tur-/ stand, dwell (O, U, K, Q *tur-*) [aspectual verb: frequentive]

türk ← /#türk+#/ Ili Turk (person) (O *türk*, U, K *türk*, Q *türik* Turk, Turkic,Turkish, Ili Turk [person])
türpaq earth, soil (O *tupraq*, U *tupraq*, F. U ~ *tu*[*r*]*paq*, K *topuraq*, Q *topıraq*)
tüsaq two-year-old ewe (Q *tusaq* two-year-old sheep)
tüš- ← /tüš-/ descend, dismount (O *tuš-*, U *čüš-*, K *tüš*, Q *tüs*; cf. *čüšür-*) 青母縣
tüw flag, banner (O, U *tuğ*, K *tuu*, Q *tuw* < Ch ∗*d'uok* [> *dú* ~ *dào*])
tüwğan relative, kin (O *tuwğân*, X. O, U *tuqqan*, F. U ~ *tuwğan*, K *tuuğan*, Q *tuwğan*)
tüyaq hoof [counter for hoofed animals] (O *tuyâq*, U, K, Q *tuyaq*)
tüyä camel (O *tuya*, U *tögä*, F. U *tögü* ~ *tüyö*, F *töö*, Q *tüye*)
tuyäči breeder or herder of camels (O *tuyači*, U *tögiči*, *tööčü*, F. U *tögüči*, K Q *tüyeši*)
tüymä button (O *tugma*, U *tügmä*, K *tüymö*, Q *tüyme*)
tüz$_1$ ← /#tüz+#/ straight (O *tuz*, U, K, Q *tüz*)
tüz$_2$ ← /#tuz+#/ salt (O, U, K, Q *tuz*)
tüz- ← /#tüz-/ establish, found (O *tuz-*, U, K, Q *tüz-*)

ü ~ *ül* → /#u(l)+#/ that (one), he, she, it (O *u* (~ *ul*), U *u* (~ *ul* ~ *ol*), K *al*, Q *ol*)
üč$_1$ ← /#üč+#/ three (O *uč*, U, K *üč*, Q *üš*)
üč$_2$ ← /#uč+#/ tip, point (O, U, K, Q *uč*, Q *uš*)
ülağ goat kid (O *ulâq* id., *laq* one-year-old goat; cf. Chgh, U *ulaq* draft animal, M *ula*[*ɑ-a*(*n*)] relay transport, relay horses, ET *ulaɑ* sequence, relay horse, O, U, Q *ula-* connect)
ülar those (ones), they (O, U *ular*, K *ala*, Q *olar*)
ün$_1$ ← /#ün+#/ sound, voice (O *un*, U, K, Q *ün*)
ün$_2$ ← /#un+#/ flour (O, U, K, Q *un*)
ürğıšı (*qözı*) female (lamb) (Chgh *urɢačı*, F. U *urğuči*, K *urğaačı*, Q *urğašı*, Kalmuck *urgäci* female animal, cf. O *uruğ*, U, K *uruq*, Q *urıq*, seed, offspring, Tuva *uruğ* child, girl, Yakut [*u*]*rû* relatives, M *uruɑ* maternal relatives < Turkic ∗*ur-* hit, cast, pour, spill, set up, establish; cf. *ürüq*)
ürüq seed (O *uruğ*, U, K *uruq*, Q *urıq*; cf. *ürğıšı*)
üsdaχan ~ *üsdıχan* bone (O *ustuχân*, U *ustiχan* < T *ustuχan*, P *ostoχ*[*w*]*ân*)
üst(*i*) upper part, top, place above (O *ust*[*i*], U, Q *üst*[*i*], K, *üst*[*ü*] < ∗*üst*+*i* . . .'s upper part)
üstün post, pillar (O *ustun*, F. U *üstün*, K *ustun* < T *sutun*, P *sotûn*)
üya nest (O, K, Q *uya*, U *uwa*)
üz- ← /#üz-/ cut off, pick (O *uz-*, U, Q *üz-*, K *ǰüz-*)
üzüm ← /#üz-m+#/ grape (O *uzum*, U *üzüm*, K [*ǰ*]*üzüm*, Q *ǰüzüm*)

wäspit bicycle (O, S. U, K *welosiped*, U *wälsipit*, X. K *velosibet*, Q *belsebit* ~ *welesiypet* < R *велосипед*)

wästä thin ceiling support rafter (O *wassa*, U *wasa* id. < A *wasṭa* midst?)

ya or (O *yâ*, U, Q *ya* < P, T *yâ*; cf. *yä . . . yä . . .*)
yağ fat, oil (O *yâɢ*, U *yağ*)
yağlıq head-scarf, kerchief (O *yâğliq*, U *yağliq*, K *ǰooluq*, Q *ǰawlıq*)
yaχšı good (O, U *yaχši*, K *ǰaqši*, Qa *ǰaqsı*)
yalaŋčač bare, naked (O *yalančač*, U *yaliŋač*, K *ǰlaŋač*, Q *ǰalaŋaš*)
yalğüz alone (O *yalğiz*, U *yalğuz*, K, Q *ǰalğız*)
yaman bad, evil (O *yamân*, U *yaman*, K, Q *ǰaman*)
yamğır rain (O *yamğir*, U *yamğur*, K *ǰamğır*, Q *ǰaŋbır*)
yaŋı ~ *yaŋŋı* new, novel (O *yangi*, U *yeŋi*, K *ǰaŋı*, Q *ǰaŋa*)
yapalaq flat (O *yapalâq* ~ *yalpâq*, U *yapilaq* ~ *yalpaq*, K *ǰalpaq*, Q *ǰapala*)
yaramdı usable, suitable, sufficient (U *yaramliq*, Q *ǰaramdı*)
yardam assistance, help (O *yârdam*, U *yardäm*, K *ǰardam*, Q *ǰärdem* < P *yârdam*); __ *ber-* assist, help
yarıq light, brightness, shine (O *yâruğ*, U *yoruq*, K, Q *ǰarıq*)
yarım half (O *yarim*, U *yerim*, F. U *yarım* ~ *yärım*, K, Q *ǰarım*)
yasa- embellish, dress up, fashion, arrange (O, U *yasa-*, K, Q *ǰasa-*)
yaš young (O *yâš*, U *yaš*, K *ǰaš*, Q *ǰas*)
yašıl green (O *yašil*, U *yešil*, K *ǰašıl*, Q *ǰasıl*)
yat- lie (down), rest (O *yât-*, U *yat-*, K, Q *ǰat-*) [aspectual verb ∗*yat-b* → ∗*yatıp* >/#-*yap*+/ (see *2.4.06.*): progressive]
yataq temporary lodging, hostel, dormitory (O *yâtâq*[*χâna*], U *yataq*[*χana*], K *ǰataqana*, Q *ǰataqχana*)
yaz summer (O *yâz*, U *yaz*, Q *ǰaz* id., K *ǰaz* spring)
yaz- write (O *yaz-*, U *yaz-*, K, Q *ǰaz-*)
yazdır- cause to write (O *yâzdir-*, U *yazdur-*, K, Q *ǰazdır-*)
yä . . . yä . . . either . . . or . . . (O *yâ . . . yâ . . .*, U, Q *ya . . . ya . . .*, K *ǰe . . . ǰe . . .* < P, T *yâ*; cf. *ya*)
yäkšammı Sunday (O *yakšanba*, U *yäkšänbä*, K *ǰekšembi*, Q *ǰeksenbi* < T *yakšanbe*, P *yakšanbä*)
yelkä nape (O *yelka*, U *yälkä*, F. U *yelkä*, K, Q *ǰelke*)
yem feed, fodder (O *yem*, U *yäm*, Q *ǰem*)
yenä further, again, and, or (O *yana*, U *yänä*, K *ǰana*, Q *ǰäne*)
yeŋ sleeve (O *yeŋ*, U *yäŋ*, K, Q *ǰeŋ*)
yer ground, earth, place, spot (O *yer*, U *yär*, F. U ~ *yer*, K, Q *ǰer*)
yerlik grave (U *yärlik*)
yetti seven (O *yetti*, U *yättä*, F. U *yet*[*t*]*i*, K, Q *ǰeti*)
yettimiš seventy (O, F. U *yetmiš*, U *yätmiš*, K *ǰetimiš*, Q *ǰetpis*)
yeyde shirt
yigirmi twenty (O *yigirma*, U *yigirmä*, S. U *žigirmä*, K, Q *ǰiyirma*)
yil ~ *il* ← /#yıl+#/ year (O, U /#yıl+#/ → *yil*, S. U *žil*, K, Q *ǰıl*)

yıčla- weep (O, U *yičla-*, S. U *žičla-*, K *ıyla-*, Q *ǰıla-*)
yılqa ~ *ilgi* horses [collective] (O *yilqi*, U *yilqa*, K, Q *ǰılqı*)
yòq non-existent, absent (O, U *yoq*, K, Q *ǰoq*)
yòqarı place above, upper side (O *yuqâri*, U *yuquri*, S. U *žuquri*, K *ǰočor*[*u*], Q *ǰočarı*)
yòl$_1$ ← /#yöl+#/ wet, moist, damp (O *hol*, U *höl* [~ *yöl*][12] < P *hol*)
yòl$_2$ ← /#yol+#/ way, road (O, U *yol*, K, Q *ǰol*); __ *qòy-* give way, give permission
yòlwäs tiger (O *yolbars*, U *yolwas*, K *ǰolbors*, Q *ǰolbarıs*); __ *ili* Year of the Tiger
yòwčı matchmaker, go-between (K *ǰooču* ~ *ǰuuču*, Q *ǰawšı*)
yùldız star (O *yulduz*, U *yultuz*, S. U *žultuz*, K *ǰıldız*, Q *ǰuldız*)
yùmšaq soft (O, U *yumšaq*, S. U *žumšaq*, K *ǰumšaq*, Q *ǰumsaq*)
yür- ← /#yür-/ move forward, walk, go (O *yur-*, U *yür-*, S. U *žür-*, K, Q *ǰür-*)
yùy- ← /#yuy-/ wash (O *yuw-*, U *yu*[*y*]-, S. U *žuy-*, K *ǰuu-*, Q *ǰuw-*)
yüz ← /#yüz+#/ hundred (O *yuz*, U *yüz*, K, Q *ǰüz*)

zaŋzä fried puffed dough strips (X. O, U, X. K *saŋza*, Q *saŋzı* < Ch *sǎnzi* 饊子)

[12] Jarring 1964 (see n. 10) : 122.

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DAS TÄBRIS-ASERBAIDSCHANISCHE WORTGUT VON *ALÎ GANJELÛ*

MAREK STACHOWSKI

(*Krakow*)

Das im Iran gesprochene Aserbaidschanisch ist bekanntlich viel weniger erforscht als das Sowjet-Aserbaidschanische. Aus diesem Grunde soll das von K. Haneda 1979 veröffentlichte Täbris-aserb. Vokabular (Koichi Haneda & Alî Ganjelû: *Tabrizi Vocabulary. An Azeri-Turkish Dialect in Iran* (= Studia Culturae Islamicae 13), Tokyo 1979, III+187 S.) mit Freude begrüßt werden. Der Gewährsmann von K. Haneda war ein aserb. Student in Tokyo, Herr Alî Ganjelû, über den wir im Vorwort folgendes lesen:

> . . . Mr. Alî Ganjelû was born in Tabriz in 1951 and lived there till 1969' when he moved to study at Tehran University. Needless to say, his mother tongue is Azeri-Turkish.

Den wesentlichsten Teil des Buches bildet ein english-aserbaidschanisch-persisches Wörterverzeichnis, dem ein engl. Index folgt; es fehlt jedoch ein aserb. Index.

Die Wörter im Verzeichnis sind nach Sachgruppen (und zwar mit dem engl. Stichwort an erster Stelle) geordnet und numeriert (von 0001 bis 1000), doch unter einer Nummer befinden sich manchmal einige aserb. Wörter (so z. B. Nr. 62: 'hen' — *toyux*, 'cock' — *xorus*, 'chicken' — *züzä*; Nr. 56: 'cigaret' — *siǵar, päpırıs*); andererseits kommen aserb. Wörter öfters an einigen Stellen, auch wenn sie stets mit derselben Bedeutung belegt sind, vor (so z. B. *almax* — Nr. 369, 371, 793, 827, 842; *cäxmax* — Nr. 309, 784, 785, 831; *ǵöy* — Nr. 121, 157, 480, 481, 529; *ḱölǵä* — Nr. 161, 747; *oxumax* — Nr. 283, 759; *vä* — Nr. 497, 976; u. a. m.). Aus diesen Gründen kann man das gewünschte aserb. Wort natürlich nicht ohne weiteres finden. Der Weg über Englisch ermöglicht es zwar zu lernen, daß engl. 'down' = aserb. *alt*, engl. 'between' = aserb. *ara*, engl. 'ugly' = aserb. *cirḱin*, usw., doch man weiß weiter nicht, daß die aserb. Wörter auch andere Bedeutungen haben (so bedeutet *alt* ebenfalls 'reverse', *ara* — auch 'inside' und *cirḱin* — auch 'dirty'). Man lernt auf diese Weise auch das nicht, ob das gegebene Wort etwa Lautvarianten aufweist, wie z. B. im Fall von *šuxum* (Nr. 610) ~ *šüxüm* (Nr. 818) oder *tuxum* (Nr. 127) ~ *tüxüm* (Nr. 820) u. a. m.

Es fehlen auch gänzlich Hinweisungsnoten, wodurch manche Wörter im Verzeichnis versteckt bleiben. Vergebens suchte man beispielsweise nach aserb. *alma* = engl. 'apple'; das Stichwort 'apple' gibt es im engl. Index gar nicht, doch das aserb. Wort *alma* wird im Verzeichnis belegt, und zwar in der Zusammensetzung *yeralma* 'potato'; man kann nur anhand der knappen Informationen, die hier dem Leser zur Verfügung stehen, nicht darüber entscheiden, ob *alma* im Täbris-Aserb. auch selbständig und mit der Bedeutung 'Apfel' vorkommt. Ein anderes Beispiel: über engl. 'leg' und 'foot' kann man nur *gıš* (Nr. 33) finden, wodurch der Eindruck entsteht, im Täbris-Aserb. gebe es das Wort *ayax* gar nicht; in der Tat begegnet uns unter der Nr. 317 die Wendung *äyaγ ältındä goymax* [sic!]. Die »versteckten« Wörter wie **alma* 'Apfel' und **ayax* 'Fuß' schreibe ich stets mit dem Sternchen.

Auch die von K. Haneda angewandte Transkription bedarf einiger Erklärungen. Dem Wörterverzeichnis geht in der Originalausgabe die »Pronunciation of some letters« voran. Die gebotenen Erläuterungen sind jedoch allzu allgemein, damit genaue phonetische Unterschiede herauskonzipiert werden könnten. Die »Pronunciation of some letters« möchte ich hier in extenso anführen:

1. Vowels

i	high front unrounded
ü	high front rounded
e	mid front unrounded
ö	mid front rounded
a	mid front unrounded
â	low back unrounded -
o	mid back rounded
u	high back rounded
ı	high back unrounded

2. Consonants

ch	voiceless blade-palatal affricate (ts in hats)
g	lenis dorso-palatal stop (gy in gyarden)
gh	voiced velar fricative
k	fortis dorso-palatal stop (cy in cyarden)
k̲	fortis dorso-palatal fricative (German ich)
kh	voiceless velar fricative
j	voiced blade-palatal affricate (ad̲ze)
q	lenis velar stop (g in go)
zh	voiced blade-palatal sibilant (French j)
sh	voiceless blade-palatal sibilant

Die Transkription des Herausgebers fußt wie ersichtlich auf der engl. traditionellen Rechtschreibung. Es fällt dabei auf, daß nicht alle Erklärungen eindeutig genug sind, sowie daß die Lautbeschreibung mit dem daneben angeführten Beispiel manchmal im Widerspruch steht.

Die Buchstaben *a* und *e* werden identisch charakterisiert: »mid front unrounded«; man muß somit nach dem Verhältnis zwischen *e* : *a* : *â* fragen. Das Wortmaterial bietet keine Gründe dafür, über den phonetischen Lautwert der drei Buchstaben endgültig zu entscheiden. Was aber die phonologische Seite betrifft, so darf man wohl vermuten, daß die hier vorliegenden Verhältnisse denen von *e* : *ä* : *a* entsprechen, und so möchte ich die Buchstaben im weiteren transkribieren.

Im Wörterverzeichnis begegnet dem Leser auch die Doppelschreibung einiger Vokale, wobei der Lautwert dieser Schreibung unklar bleibt. Der Vergleich mit schriftaserb. Formen läßt auf jeden Fall vermuten, daß der Lautwert der Doppelschreibung nicht immer gleich ist, z. B. *aaxır* (ââkhır) 'end' = schriftaserb. *axır* id., *bääzi* (baazi) 'some' = schriftaserb. *bä'zi* id., *giimät* (qiimat) 'price' = schriftaserb. *giymät* id., usw. Aus diesem Grunde habe ich mich entschlossen, in der hier angewandten Transkription die Doppelschreibung zu bewahren.

Die vom Herausgeber verwendeten Buchstaben *ch* und *j* legen die Phoneme /č/ und /ǯ/ nahe. Diesen Umstand scheint die Artikulationsstelle, wie sie von K. Haneda formuliert ist: »blade-palatal«, zu bestätigen, weil sie dieselbe ist wie im Fall von *ž* (geschrieben *zh*) und *š* (geschrieben *sh*). Dieser Auffassung widersprechen jedoch die Beispiele von K. Haneda: *ts* (in *hats*) kann nicht als *č*, *dz* (in *edza*) — nicht als *ǯ* gelesen werden. Es fragt sich nun, was hier richtig ist — die Lautcharakteristik oder die Beispiele. Der Übergang *č* > *c* und *ǯ* > *ʒ* in aserb. Dialekten in Persien ist gut bekannt. N. Z. Gadžieva, *Azerbajdžanskij jazyk* (in: *Jazyki narodov SSSR*, Moskva 1966, Bd. II), S. 89, spricht zwar nur vom Anlautwandel *č-* > *c-*, doch bei Caferoğlu & Doerfer (PhTF I, 295) ist das nicht mehr der Fall; es heißt dort nämlich: »In manchen Dialekten in Persien . . . wird *č* als *c*, *ǧ* als *ʒ* gesprochen« und die beiden daselbst angeführten Beispiele beweisen, daß der Wandel sich doch auch auf nichterste Silben ausdehnt: *tʏ́ücä* 'Straße' < pers. *kūčä*, *dʏ́äzä* 'Nacht' < **geǧä*. Somit glaube ich die Buchstaben *ch* und *j* als /c/ und /ʒ/, d. h. im Einklang mit den Beispielen des Herausgebers lesen zu dürfen.

Im Wörterverzeichnis verwendet K. Haneda außer *v* auch *w* (z. B. in *gowl vermax*, Nr. 859), wobei er aber in der »Pronunciation« die Lautwerte der beiden Buchstaben nicht erklärt. Ich bewahre die beiden Buchstaben ohne Änderungen.

Unklar bleibt auch, warum neben *ey* manchmal *ei* erscheint (vgl. z. B. *geynätmax* 'boil' vs. *geinär su* 'hot water'). Auch diese Schreibung ändere ich nicht.

Während die Transkription von K. Haneda der engl. Rechtschreibungstradition folgt, bediene ich mich selbst eines in der Turkologie fester verwurzelten Transkriptionssystems. Weil die Originalschreibung im Prinzip keinen phonetischen Charakter trägt, bemühe ich mich vor allem darum, in der hier angewandten Transkription phonologische Verhältnisse zu bewahren. Unten wird die Zusammenstellung der von K. Haneda (H) und der von mir (S) verwendeten Transkriptionsbuchstaben dargestellt:

(H)		(S)	(H)		(S)
a	=	ä	k̲	=	ẋ
â	=	a	kh	=	x
ch	=	c	j	=	ʒ
g	=	ǵ	q	=	g
gh	=	γ	zh	=	ž
k	=	ķ	sh	=	š

*

Das Ziel dieses Artikels ist es vor allem, das Sprachmaterial von Alî Ganjelû in einer möglich handgerechten Form den Sprachforschern zu bieten. Das ganze Wortgut ordnete ich hier in alphabetischer Reihenfolge, und zwar nach aserb. Stichwörtern (in der neuen Transkription), wodurch in der vorliegenden Auffassung alle Bedeutungen des gegebenen Wortes an einer Stelle genannt werden. Ich fand es auch für angemessen, manche Stichwörter mit Hinweisungsnoten zu versehen.

Jede Stichwortartikel bilden: (1) die Lesung des Wortes; (2) in Klammern: die Originalschreibung (in Fällen, wo sich meine Transkription mit der von K. Haneda völlig deckt, wird die Originalschreibung nicht angeführt, wie in *pulsuz* 'poor', *on min* 'ten thousand', usw.); (3) die Bedeutung; (4) in Klammern: die Nummer des Wortes im Originalverzeichnis; (5) evtl. Hinweisungsnoten.

Die alphabetische Reihenfolge ist wie folgt: *a, ä, b, c, d, e, f, g, ǵ, γ, h, ı, i, ķ, l, m, n, o, ö, p, r, s, š, t, u, ü, v, w, x, ẋ, y, z, ž, ʒ.*

*

-a ~ *-ä* (â, a) 'to' (997).
aaxır (ââkhır) 'end' (664).
acılmax (âchılmâkh) 'bloom' (886).
ad (âd) 'first name' (238).
adam (âdâm) 'person, man' (226).
adres (âdres) 'address' (731)
aγ (âgh) 'white' (377).

aγa (âghâ) 'Mr.' (708).
aγaš (âghâsh) 'tree' (118); *aγaš därisi* (âghâsh darisi) 'bark' (128).
aγašlıx (âghâshlıkh) 'forest' (131).
aγır (âghır) 'heavy' (435).
aγız (âghız) 'mouth' (9).
aγlamax (âghlâmâkh) 'weep' (292).
aγri (âghri) 'sore' (439).
aγšamız xeyr olsun (âghshâmız kheyr o.) 'good evening' (971). — Vgl.. *axšam.*
aγ ziyär (âgh jiyar) 'lung' (505).
alcax (âlchâkh) 'low' (430).
allah (âllâh) 'God' (245).
**alma* I 'Apfel' — s. *yeralma.*
**alma* II 'Nehmen' — s. *yorulux alma.*
almax (âlmâkh) 'buy' (369), 'get' (371), 'pick up' (793), 'receive' (827).
alt (âlt) 'down' (274), 'reverse' (746). — Vgl. *äyaγ ältındä goymax.*
alti (âlti) 'six' (184).
-am ~ *-äm* (âm, am) '[I] am' (499).
amma (âmmâ) 'but' (980).
amzıx (âmjıkh) 'pubes' (511).
ana (ânâ) 'mother' (203).
ann (ânn) 'forehead' (3).
aparmax (âpârmâkh) 'win' (404), 'carry' (831).
ara (ârâ) 'between' (272), 'inside' (748); *arasında* (ârâsındâ) 'among' (986).
aram (ârâm) 'quiet' (925).
arıx (ârıkh) 'lean' (432).
arpa (ârpâ) 'barley, wheat' (531).
arvat (ârvât) 'wife' (200), 'woman' (225). — Vgl. *är-arvat.*
ašmax (âshmâkh) 'untie' (351), 'open' (363).
ašpäzlıx (âshpazlıkh) 'cooking' (556).
at (ât) 'horse' (98).
ata (âtâ) 'father' (202), 'ancestor' (702).
atmax (âtmâkh) 'throw' (303).
atmıš (âtmısh) 'sixty' (679).
avril (âvril) 'April' (630).
axšam (âkhshâm) 'evening' (170). — Vgl. *aγšamız xeyr olsun.*
axtarmax (âkhtârmâkh) 'search' (391).
ay (ây) 'moon' (160), 'month' (166); *ayın ävväli* (âyın avvali) 'the first day' (691), *ayın ikiminzisi* (âyın ikiminjisi) 'the second day' (692), *ayın üčüminzisi* (âyın üchüminjisi) 'the third day' (693).
**ayax* 'Fuß' — s. *äyaγ ältındä goymax.*
ayırmax (âyırmâkh) 'choose' (783).
ayrılanmax (âyrılânmâkh) 'separate (vi.)' (860).

ayrılmax (âyrılmâkh) 'separate (vi.)' (860).
ayrısi (âyrısi) 'other' (236).
az (âz) 'few' (472).
azalmax (âzâlmâkh) 'decrease' (889).
azıγa ǵälmiš (âjıghâ galmish) 'abominable' (936).
azi (âji) 'bitter' (445).

-ä — s. *-a*.
äbi (abi) 'blue' (480).
äddi ~ *ätdi* (addi, atdi) 'fat' (431).
ähämiyätli (ahamiyatli) 'important' (950).
äkinčılıx (akinchilıkh) 'cultivation' (608).
äl (al) 'hand' (30); *älä ǵätirmax* (ala gatirmâkh) 'grasp' (791), *äl vırmax* (al vırmâkh) 'touch' (312).
älamät (alâmat) 'mark' (752).
älli (alli) 'fifty' (678).
älmax (almâkh) 'put in' (842).
älou vırmax (alou vırmâkh) 'light' (845).
-äm — s. *-am*.
äm gızi (am qızi) 'cousin' (705); Vgl. *ämmä gızi*.
äm oγli (am oghli) 'cousin' (705); Vgl. *ämmä oγli*.
ämanät almax (amânat âlmâkh) 'borrow' (374).
ämanät vermax (amânat vermâkh) 'lend' (373).
ämmä gızi (amma qızi) 'cousin' (705); Vgl. *äm gızi*.
ämmä oγli (amma oghli) 'cousin' (705).
ämr elämax (amr elamâkh) 'order' (768).
ämr vermax (amr vermâkh) 'order' (768).
ämžäx́ (amjak̲) 'breast' (25).
än (an) 'width' (741).
änmax (anmâkh) 'climb down' (382).
änni (anni) 'wide' (459), 'thick' (903).
änsiz (ansiz) 'narrow' (460), 'thin' (904).
är (ar) 'husband' (199).
är-arvat (ar-ârvât) 'husband and wife' (701).
ärbab (arbâb) 'host' (713).
ärgın (argın) 'grown-up' (698).
ärimax (arimâkh) 'melt' (893).
ärkäx́ (arkak̲) 'male' (542).
äsämax (asamâkh) 'blow' (386).
äsgırma (asqırmâ) 'sneeze' (513).
äslähä (aslaha) 'weapon' (587). — S. *sılah*.
äsnämä (asnama) 'yawn' (515).

äšaγı ǵälmax (ashâghi galmâkh) 'go down' (883).
ät (at) 'flesh' (46), 'meat' (60).
ätdi — s. *äddi*.
ätılmax (atılmâkh) 'jump' (318).
ätir (atir) 'scent' (58).
ätraf (atrâf) 'around' (744).
äväzindä (avazinda) 'instead of' (987).
ävväl (avval) 'beginning' (663), 'first' (685).
äx́max (a̲kmâkh) 'plant' (819).
äyaγ ältındä goymax (ayâgh altında qoymâkh) 'tread' (317).
äyä (aya) 'if' (491).
äyırmax (ayırmâkh) 'bend (vt.)' (809).
äyilmax (ayilmâkh) 'bend (vi.)' (808).
äymax (aymâkh) 'bend (vt.)' (809).
äynä (ayna) 'mirror' (560).
äyri (ayri) 'crooked, bent' (917).
äzmax (azmâkh) 'grind' (812).
äzülä (azüla) 'muscle' (504).
äʒıxmax (ajıkhmâkh) 'become hungry' (331).
äʒ olmax (aj olmâkh) 'be hungry' (331).

baarsax (bâârsâkh) 'guts' (37).
baba (bâbâ) 'ancestor' (702).
baγlamax (bâghlâmâkh) 'tie' (350), 'shut' (364), 'wrap' (798), 'connect' (801), 'fasten' (806).
bahali (bâhâli) 'expensive' (919).
bahar (bâhâr) 'spring' (623).
balıx (bâlıkh) 'fish' (89); *balıx tutmax* (bâlıkh tutmâkh) 'fish' (789).
balıxguläyi (bâlıkhqulaghi) 'shellfish' (90). — Vgl. *gulax*.
banǩa (bânkâ) 'pot' (106).
bannamax (bânnâmâkh) 'sing' (759).
. . . *baräsindä* (. . . bârasinda) 'about' (989).
barmax (bârmâkh) 'finger' (31).
basdırmax (bâsdırmâkh) 'put out' (846).
basmax (bâsmâkh) 'thrust' (304), 'push' (308).
baš (bâsh) 'head' (1).
bašarmamax (bâshârmâmâkh) 'fail' (863).
bašarmax (bâshârmâkh) 'can, able to' (423), 'succeed' (862).
bašga (bâshqâ) 'different' (489).
bašlamax (bâshlâmâkh) 'begin (vt.)' (868).
bašlanmax (bâshlânmâkh) 'begin (vi.)' (867).
bašmax (bâshmâkh) 'shoes' (570).

batmax (bâtmâkh) 'sink' (340).
baxmax (bâkhmâkh) 'look' (275).
baydax (bâydâkh) 'flag' (591).
bayram (bâyrâm) 'feast' (246).
bazar (bâzâr) 'market' (729).
baʒa (bâjâ) 'hole' (133).
baʒi (bâji) 'sister' (216). — Vgl. *bäʒı gızi/oyli*.
bääli (baali) 'yes' (492).
bääzi (baazi) 'some' (195).
bädän (badan) 'body' (47), 'trunk' (119).
bäyišlämax (baghishlamâkh) 'allow' (854).
bäyišliin (baghishliin) 'excuse me' (973).
bänzär (banzar) 'shape' (753).
bänzätmax (banzatmâkh) 'compare' (782).
bärkitmax (barkitmâkh) 'fasten' (806).
bärx́ (bar̲k) 'hard' (440).
bäslämax (baslamâkh) 'foster' (787).
bäyänmax (bayanmâkh) 'agree' (856).
bäzämax (bazamâkh) 'decorate' (849).
bäzäx́ (bazak̲) 'make-up' (561).
bäʒı gızi (bajı qızi) 'niece' (704). — Vgl. *baʒi*.
bäʒı oyli (bajı oghli) 'nephew' (703). — Vgl. *baʒi*.
becara (bechârâ) 'pity' (938).
beǵin (begin) 'brain' (501).
bel 'waist' (22), 'hoe' (609).
belä (bela) 'like this' (953).
beš (besh) 'five' (183).
bevax(t) (bevâkh(t)) 'late' (930).
bırın 'nose' (8).
bırnız ~ *burnuz* 'horn' (68).
bilääzix́ (bilaazik̲) 'bracelet' (566).
bilmax (bilmâkh) 'know' (421).
bir 'one' (179), 'same' (488), 'certain' (952); *bir ǵün* (bir gün) 'some day' (660), vgl. *biriǵün*; *bir näfär* (bir nafar) 'alone' (688); *bir šey* (bir shey) 'anything, something' (755); *bir zat* (bir zât) 'anything, something' [!] (755).
biraz (birâz) 'some' (195).
birä (bira) 'flea' (86).
birdä (birda) 'again' (490).
biriǵün (birigün) 'day after tomorrow' (653). — Vgl. *bir ǵün*.
biriminʒi (biriminji) 'first' (685). — Vgl. *birinʒi*, . . . *minʒi*.
birinʒi (birinji) 'first' (685). — Vgl. *biriminʒi*.
birläšmax (birlashmâkh) 'gather' (878).

bišmax (bishmâkh) 'mow' (816).
bit 'louse' (87).
bitišdirmax (bitishdirmâkh) 'attach' (823).
bitmax (bitmâkh) 'grow' (884).
biz 'we' (231).
boγaz (boghâz) 'throat' (19).
borḱ ~ *boχ́* (bork, bo̲k) 'hat' (563).
boš (bosh) 'vacant' (914); *boš almax* (bosh âlmâkh) 'borrow' (374); *boš vermax* (bosh vermâkh) 'lend' (373).
bošgab (boshqâb) 'plate' (553).
bošlamax (boshlâmâkh) 'take out' (841).
boχ́ — s. *borḱ*.
boy 'length' (740).
boyä (boya) 'colour' (483).
boyun 'neck' (18); *boyunä almax* (boyuna âlmâkh) 'undertake' (852).
bölmax (bölmâkh) 'divide' (822).
böüräχ́ (böüra̲k) 'kidney' (506).
böyümax (böyümâkh) 'grow' (396, 884), 'increase' (888).
böyütmax (böyütmâkh) 'foster' (787).
böyüχ́ (böyü̲k) 'big' (427), 'grown-up' (698), 'rough' (906), 'great' (944); *böyüχ́ baba* (böyü̲k bâbâ) 'grandfather' (204); *böyüχ́ bazi* (böyü̲k bâji) 'elder sister' (212); *böyüχ́ dädä* (böyü̲k dada) 'grandfather' (204); *böyüχ́ gardaš* (böyü̲k qârdâsh) 'elder brother' (211); *böyüχ́ nänä* (böyü̲k nana) 'grandmother' (205).
bu 'this' (249); *bu ǵün* (bu gün) 'today' (174); *bu il* 'this year' (656); *bular* (bulâr) 'these' (255).
budax (budâkh) 'branch' (120), 'stalk' (122).
buγ (bugh) 'moustache' (16).
buγda (bughdâ) 'barley, wheat' (531).
bular — s. *bu*.
bulut 'cloud' (153).
bura (burâ) 'here' (257), 'this way' (261).
buramax (burâmâkh) 'drop' (792).
buraxmax (burâkhmâkh) 'stop' (875).
burdan (burdân) 'this way' (261).
burnuz — s. *bırnız*.
buyurmax (buyurmâkh) 'order' (768).
buyuruz 'please' (972).
buz 'ice' (144).
buzli 'cold' (464).
**buzax* — s. *dörd buzax*, s. v. *dö(r)t*.

caggi (châqqi) 'knife' (70).
cayatmax (châghâtmâkh) 'take off' (357).
calǵi (châlgi) 'song' (604).
calmax (châlmâkh) 'hit' (298), 'knock' (807).
caršämbä (chârshamba) 'Wednesday' (641).
**cax* 'time, period' — s. *sähär cayi.*
cay I (chây) 'river' (135).
cay II (chây) 'tea' (526).
cänä (chana) 'chin' (14).
cätin (chatin) 'difficult' (948).
cätir (chatir) 'umbrella' (564).
cäx́max (chaḵmâkh) 'pull' (309), 'draw' (784), 'weigh, measure' (785), 'carry' (831).
cešmä (cheshma) 'fountain, spring' (612).
ceynämax (cheynamâkh) 'chew' (756).
cırpışma (chırpıshmâ) 'quarrel' (219).
cıxmax (chıkmâkh) 'climb' (381), 'rise' (383), 'come out' (410).
ciǵin (chigin) 'shoulder' (20); s. *ciinä* ....
cii (chii) 'raw' (913).
ciinä almax (chiina âlmâkh) 'shoulder' (829); s. *ciǵin.*
cilo ~ *pilo* (chilo, p.) 'rice' (518).
cirk (chirk) 'filth' (40), 'pus' (41).
cirkin (chirkin) 'dirty' (454), 'ugly' (934).
colax (cholâkh) 'lame' (719).
coräx́ (choraḵ) 'bread' (519).
cox (chokh) 'many' (471), 'often' (965).
coxalmax (chokhâlmâkh) 'increase' (888).
cöndärmax (chöndarmâkh) 'turn to' (882).
cünki (chünki) 'because' (979).
cürümax (chürümâkh) 'rotten' (335).

da (dâ) 'already' (968).
da ~ *dä* (dâ, da) 'also' (966).
-da ~ *-dä* (dâ, da) 'at' (496).
daava (dââvâ) 'quarrel' (219), 'war' (594); *daava elämax* (dââvâ elamâkh) 'contest, dispute' (858).
daayrä (dââyra) 'circle' (750).
dad (dâd) 'taste' (57).
dadinä yetmax (dâdina yetmâkh) 'help' (786).
dadli (dâdli) 'tasty' (911).
dadsız (dâdsız) 'untasty' (912).
day I (dâgh) 'mountain' (136).

day II (dâgh) 'hot' (461).
dayıtmax (dâghıtmâkh) 'sprincle' (821), 'distribute' (825).
dahi (dâhi) 'other' (236).
dai gızi (dâi qızi) 'cousin' (705).
dai oγli (dâi oghli) 'cousin' (705).
dali I (dâli) 'back' (269); *dalına almax* (dâlınâ âlmâkh) 'bear (on one's back)' (830). — Vgl. *dälısızän ǵetmax.*
dali II (dâli) 'unskillful' (946).
dam (dâm) 'roof' (108).
-dan ~ *-dän* (dân, dan) 'with (instrumental)' (991). — Vgl. *-nan.*
-dan ~ *-dän* ~ *-nan* ~ *-nän* (dân, dan, nân, nan) 'from' (998), 'than' (1000).
**dana* 'Stück' — s. *necädana.*
danıšmax (dânıshmâkh) 'speak' (285).
dannamax (dânnâmâkh) 'scold' (772).
dar (dâr) 'narrow' (460).
daš (dâsh) 'stone' (145).
dava (dâvâ) 'medicine' (50).
dä — s. *da* 'also'.
-dä — s. *-da.*
dädä (dada) 'father' (202); *dädä nänä* (dada nana) 'parents' (700).
däigä (daiqa) 'minute' (648).
dälısızän ǵetmax (dalısıjan getmâkh) 'run after' (347). — Vgl. *dali* I.
dämir (damir) 'iron' (584).
därax (darâkh) 'comb' (559).
därä (dara) 'valley' (613).
däri (dari) 'skin' (38), 'fur' (102).
därin (darin) 'deep' (901).
därvaza (darvâzâ) 'gate' (578).
därya (daryâ) 'sea' (141).
dästbät (dastbat) 'bracelet' (566).
däšlänmax (dashlanmâkh) 'jump' (318).
däšt (dasht) 'field' (137).
dävam elämax (davâm elamâkh) 'continue (vi.)' (876), 'continue (vt.)' (877).
däyaz (dayâz) 'shallow' (902).
däyär (dayar) 'price' (598).
däyir (dayir) 'not' (500).
däyišilmax (dayishilmâkh) 'change' (870), 'take one's place' (872).
däyišmax (dayishmâkh) 'change' (871), 'replace' (873).
däymax (daymâkh) 'touch' (312).
demax (demâkh) 'say' (280).
desambr (desâmbr) 'December' (638).
-dılar (dılâr) '[they] are' (499). — s. *-di.*

dıllax (dıllâkh) 'pubes' (511).
dırmašmax (dırmâshmâkh) 'climb' (381).
dırnax (dırnâkh) 'nail' (32).
-di '[he] is' (499). — s. *-dılar, saat necä di(r), yox di (dur).*
dib 'beside' (743), 'bottom' (749).
-didmax ~ *-dirmax* (didmâkh, dirmâkh) 'let one (go)' [Kausativsuf.] (898).
dil 'tongue' (11), 'language' (243).
dimdiχ ~ *dümdüχ* (dimdik̲, dümdük̲) 'beak' (67).
diräχ (dirak̲) 'pole, stick' (73), 'pillar' (575).
dirilıx (dirilıkh) 'life' (516); *dirilıx elämax* (dirilıkh elamâkh) 'live' (398).
-dirmax — s. *-didmax.*
dirsäχ (dirsak̲) 'elbow' (29).
diš (dish) 'tooth' (13).
diši (dishi) 'female' (543).
dišlämax (dishlamâkh) 'bite' (290).
diz 'knee' (34).
dodax (dodâkh) 'lip' (10).
dogguz (doqquz) 'nine' (187).
doγmax (doghmâkh) 'bear, give bearth to' (394).
doγulmax (doghulmâkh) 'be born' (395).
do(γ)urdan (do(gh)urdân) 'really' (958).
doγuz (doghuz) 'pig' (99).
dolanmax (dolânmâkh) 'flow, stream' (380), 'turn, round' (881).
dolänmax (dolanmâkh) 'walk' (316).
doli 'full' (470).
donmax (donmâkh) 'freeze' (892).
do(r)t — s. *on do(r)t, dö(r)t.*
dost 'ally' (592).
došämbä (doshamba) 'Monday' (639).
dot — s. *on do(r)t, dö(r)t.*
dourdan — s. *do(γ)urdan.*
doušan (doushân) 'rabbit' (534).
doxsan (dokhsân) 'ninety' (682).
doymax (doymâkh) 'be fed up' (861).
döndärmax (döndarmâkh) 'turn to' (882).
dör 'around' (744).
dö(r)t (döt, dört) 'four' (182); *dörd buzax* (dörd bujâkh) 'square' (915). — Vgl. *on do(r)t.*
döuräsi (döurasi) 'around' (984).
döwlätti (döwlatti) 'rich' (920).
döχtür (dök̲tür) 'doctor' (717).

döymax (döymâkh) 'strike' (300), 'crush' (344), 'knock' (807), 'pound' (811), 'grind' (812).
duman (dumân) 'fog' (154).
-dur — s. *yox di (dur)*.
durdurmax (durdurmâkh) 'stop' (875).
durmax (durmâkh) 'stand' (321), 'get up' (327), 'stop (vi.)' (838), 'cease' (874).
duvar (duvâr) 'wall' (109).
duz 'salt' (53).
düǵi (dügi) 'rice' (51), 'paddy plant' (532).
düǵünnämax (dügünnamâkh) 'tie' (350), 'bind' (805).
dümdüx́ — s. *dimdix́*.
dünän (dünan) 'yesterday' (172).
dünbäx́ (dünbaḵ) 'drum' (588).
dünya (dünyâ) 'world' (726).
dürtmax (dürtmâkh) 'thrust' (304).
düšmax (düshmâkh) 'fall' (384), 'fit' (417), 'drop' (792), 'fall down' (840), 'go down' (883).
düšmän (düshman) 'enemy' (593).
düšünmax (düshünmâkh) 'notice' (760).
düz 'straight' (452), 'correct' (487), 'flat' (916), 'just' (959).
düzälmax (düzalmâkh) 'recover' (894).
düzätmax (düzatmâkh) 'cure' (301), 'mend, repair' (302), 'make' (362), 'build' (848).
düzǵän (düzgan) 'honest' (939).

ehsas (ehsâs) 'mind, feeling' (722). — Vgl. *his*.
el 'family' (217).
elä (ela) 'such' (954).
elämax (elamâkh) 'do' (419).
**eliyän* — s. *šuxum eliyän*.
estefray elämax (estefrâgh elamâkh) 'vomit' (288).
ešiä atmax (eshia âtmâkh) 'abandon' (794).
ešiä vermax (eshia vermâkh) 'take out' (841).
ešitmax (eshitmâkh) 'hear' (277).
ešix́ (eshiḵ) 'outside' (271).
ev 'house' (112), 'family' (217), 'address' (731); *ev tutmax* (ev tutmâkh) 'live, dwell' (365).
evlänmä (evlanma) 'marriage' (201).
eybi yox (dur) (eybi yokh (dur)) 'O. K.' (974).
ezn vermax (ezn vermâkh) 'allow' (854).

famil (fâmil) 'relatives' (706).
fägät (faqat) 'only' (995).

färgli (farqli) 'different' (489).
fevriä (fevria) 'February' (628).
fikr elämax (fikr elamâkh) 'think' (406).
fikr vermax (fikr vermâkh) 'notice' (760).
finzan (finjân) 'cup' (554).
fooräп (fooran) 'soon' (962).

gab (qâb) 'jar' (107), 'plate' (553).
gabax (qâbâkh) 'front' (268), 'before' (661, 983). — Vgl. auch *iki ǵün ǵabax* [!].
gabıx (qâbıkh) 'bark' (128). — Vgl. *gäbıx*.
gablama (qâblâmâ) 'cooking-pot, pan' (104).
galin (qâlin) 'thick' (433, 903), 'dense' (907), 'stout' (942).
galmax ~ *ǵalmax: galmax* (qâlmâkh) 'remain' (895), *ǵalmax* (gâlmâkh) 'live, dwell' (365), 'stay, to be' (425).
gan (qân) 'blood' (44).
ganat (qânât) 'wing' (64).
gapax (qâpâkh) 'lid' (548).
gapi ~ *gäpi: gapi* (qâpi) 'door' (111); *gäpi* (qapi) 'gate' (578).
gar (qâr) 'snow' (156).
gardaš ~ *gärdäš* (qârdâsh, qardash) 'brother' (215).
garga (qârqâ) 'crow' (538).
garın (qârın) 'belly' (26).
garıšga (qârıshqâ) 'ant' (88).
gari-nänä-išıγi (qâri-nana-ishıghi) 'rainbow' (158).
gaš (qâsh) 'eyebrow' (4).
gašımax (qâshımâkh) 'scratch' (314).
gašıx (qâshıkh) 'spoon' (555).
gašinän (qâshinan) 'itching' (932).
gašmax (qâshmâkh) 'run' (319), 'escape' (348).
gatmax (qâtmâkh) 'mix' (415).
gazan (qâzân) 'iron pot' (105).
gazanca (qâzânchâ) 'iron pot' (105).
gazmax (qâzmâkh) 'dig' (379).
gäbıx (qabıkh) 'skin' (38). — Vgl. *gabıx*.
gäbir (qabir) 'grave' (579).
gäbul elämax (qabul elamâkh) 'receive' (827). — Vgl. *γäbul e.*
gäbul elämämax (qabul elamamâkh) 'refuse' (855). — Vgl. *g. elämax.*
gädaγan elämax (qadâghân elamâkh) 'forbid' (769).
gädäm vırmax (qadam vırmâkh) 'walk' (316).
gädär (qadar) 'about, almost' (994).
gäddämax (qaddamâkh) 'break' (376).
gädim zäman (qadim zamân) 'ancient time' (659).

gäfäs (qafas) 'cage' (546).
gäliz (qaliz) 'dense' (907).
gämiš (qamish) 'flute' (590).
gämli olmax (qamli olmâkh) 'grieve' (295).
gärä (qara) 'black' (478).
gäränlıx (qaranlıkh) 'dark' (475).
gärdäš — s. *gardaš.*
gärdäš gızi (qardash qızi) 'niece' (804).
gärdäš oγli (qardash oghli) 'nephew' (703).
gärın (qarın) 'stomach' (507).
gäšäx (qashaḵ) 'pretty' (453), 'beautiful' (484).
gäyy elämax (qayy elamâkh) 'vomit' (288).
geinär su (qeinar su) 'hot water' (527). — Vgl. *geynätmax.*
geyci (qeychi) 'scissors' (557).
geyiš (qeyish) 'belt' (568).
geyitmax (qeyitmâkh) 'come back' (835).
geynätmax (qeynatmâkh) 'boil' (346). — Vgl. *geinär su.*
geʒä (geja) 'night' (171). — Vgl. *ǵeʒäz xeyr olsun.*
gıl (qıl) '(shame-)hair' (42), 'wool' (101).
gırmızi (qırmızi) 'red' (479).
gıssa (qıssâ) 'short' (456).
gıssä (qıssa) 'low' (430).
gıš I (qısh) 'leg, foot' (33).
gıš II (qısh) 'winter' (626).
gıšgırmax (qıshqırmâkh) 'cry' (282).
gız (qız) 'daughter' (207).
gızatmax (qızâtmâkh) 'roast, grill' (345).
gızıl (qızıl) 'red' (479), 'gold' (581).
giäs elämax (qias elamâkh) 'compare' (782).
giimät (qiimat) 'price' (598).
gol (qol) 'arm' (28).
gonši (qonshi) 'neighbour' (732).
gos-u-güzäh (qos-u-qüzah) 'rainbow' (158).
gouzamax (qouzâmâkh) 'lift' (843).
gowl vermax (qowl vermâkh) 'promise' (859).
goymax (qoymâkh) 'put' (408).
goyun (qoyun) 'sheep' (97).
goʒa (gojâ) 'old, aged' (466), 'old age' (699).
gulax (qulâkh) 'ear' (7); *gulax vermax* (qulâkh vermâkh) 'listen' (277). — Vgl. *balıxguläyi.*
gurban (qurbân) 'victim' (544).
gu(r)t (qut, qurt) 'insect' (83).

gurumax (qurumâkh) 'dry' (389), 'wither' (885).
gurutmax (qurutmâkh) 'dry' (817).
guš (qush) 'bird' (63).
gut — s. *gu(r)t*.
gutulmax (qutulmâkh) 'finish' (869).
guvvätli (quvvatli) 'stout' (942).
guyi ~ *guyu* (quyi, quyu) 'well' (115).
guylamax (quylâmâkh) 'bury' (796).
guyu — s. *guyi*.
guʒaγa almax (qujâghâ âlmâkh) 'embrace' (828).
guʒaxlamax (qujâkhlâmâkh) 'embrace' (828).
güm (qüm) 'sand' (147).

ǵalmax — s. *galmax*.
ǵapmax (gâpmâkh) 'bite' (290).
ǵazet (gâzet) 'newspaper' (600).
ǵälän (galan) 'next' (665).
ǵälän ay (galan ây) 'next month' (655).
ǵälän il (galan il) 'next year' (658).
ǵälmax (galmâkh) 'come' (412), 'fit' (417).
ǵämi (gami) 'ship' (114).
ǵänišlıx (ganishlıkh) 'breadth' (742).
ǵärdänbät (gardanbat) 'necklace' (565).
ǵätirmax (gatirmâkh) 'put in' (842).
ǵecän ay (gechan ây) 'last month' (654).
ǵecän ǵün (gechan gün) 'day before yesterday' (652).
ǵecän il (gechan il) 'last year' (657).
ǵecitmax (gechitmâkh) 'put out' (846).
ǵešmax (geshmâkh) 'cross' (832), 'pass' (837).
ǵetmax (getmâkh) 'go' (413).
ǵeʒäz xeyr olsun (gejaz kheyr o.) 'good night' (970). — Vgl. *geʒä*.
ǵırax (gırâkh) 'bank (of river)' (614).
ǵı(r)x (gı(r)kh) 'forty' (677).
ǵiimax (giimâkh) 'wear' (356).
ǵinä (gina) 'again' (490), 'yet, still' (967).
ǵirdä (girda) 'round' (448), 'circle' (750).
ǵiriftär (giriftar) 'busy' (928).
ǵirmax (girmâkh) 'enter' (411).
ǵizlätmax (gizlatmâkh) 'hide' (390).
. . . *ǵorä* (. . . gora) 'for' (988). — Vgl. **ǵörä*.
ǵovärcin (govarchin) 'pigeon' (539).
ǵoxmax (gokhmâkh) 'fear' (294).

ǵozättämax (gozattamâkh) 'raise' (788). — Vgl. *ǵözättämax.*
ǵöbäx (göbak) 'navel' (27).
ǵöl (göl) 'lake' (140).
ǵöndärmax (göndarmâkh) 'send' (833).
**ǵörä* — s. . . . *ǵorä*; *ona ǵ.*, s. v. *o.*
ǵörmax (görmâkh) 'see' (275), 'meet' (402). — Vgl. *ǵozättämax.*
ǵörsätmax ~ *ǵöstärmax* (görsatmâkh, göstarmâkh) 'show' (276).
ǵörušmax (görushmâkh) 'meet' (402).
ǵöstärmax — s. *ǵörsätmax.*
ǵöturmax (göturmâkh) 'take' (378).
ǵötürmax (götürmâkh) 'pick up' (793).
ǵöy (göy) 'grass' (121), 'sky' (157), 'blue' (480), 'green' (481), 'vegetable' (529).
ǵöz (göz) 'eye' (5); *ǵöz yaši* (göz yâshi) 'tears' (6). — Vgl. *ǵozättämax, ǵözättämax.*
ǵözäl (gözal) 'beautiful' (484).
ǵözättämax (gözattamâkh) 'wait' (401). — S. *ǵozättämax.*
ǵuman elämax (gumân elamâkh) 'think' (420).
ǵurulux växti (gurulukh vakhti) 'dry season' (622).
ǵuyrux (guyrukh) 'tail' (100).
ǵül (gül) 'flower' (125).
ǵülä ǵülä (güla güla) 'good-bye' (495).
ǵülmax (gülmâkh) 'laugh' (291).
ǵümüš (gümüsh) 'silver' (582).
ǵün (gün) 'sun' (159), 'day' (163, 646).
ǵünarta (günârtâ) 'noon' (169); *ǵünartadan sora* (günârtâdân sorâ) 'afternoon' (169), 'p. m.' (651).
ǵündä (günda) 'everyday' (164).
ǵündüz (gündüz) 'day' (163).

ɣäbul elämax (ghabul elamâkh) 'allow' (854). — Vgl. *gäbul elämax/elämämax.*
ɣällä (ghalla) 'grain' (521).
ɣeyb olmax (gheyb olmâkh) 'disappear' (795).

hafhaf elämax (hâfhâf elamâkh) 'roar' (758).
haflamax (hâflâmâkh) 'roar' (758).
hanǩ(i)si ~ *hansi: hanǩsi* (hânksi) 'which' (252); *hanǩisi* (hânkisi) 'which' (955); *hansi* (hânsi) 'which' (252, 955).
hara ~ *harda: hara* (hârâ) 'where' (260), 'which way' (264); *harda* (hârdâ) 'where' (260).
hardan (hârdân) 'which way' (264).
hasat (hâsât) 'easy' (947).
hava (hâvâ) 'air' (619), 'weather' (620).
havax (hâvâkh) 'when' (176).

hä ~ *hän* (ha, han) 'yes' (492).
häftä (hafta) 'week' (165).
häkim (hakim) 'doctor' (717).
hälä (hala) 'yet, still' (967).
hälgä (halqa) 'ring' (567).
hämišä (hamisha) 'always' (469).
hämmıdan (hammıdân) '+ (adjective) best' (951).
hämmısi ~ *hämmi* (hammısi, hammi) 'all' (194, 473).
hämsaya (hamsâyâ) 'neighbour' (732).
hän — s. *hä*.
**här*: *här bir* (har bir) 'each one' (754); *härdän bir* (hardan bir) 'sometimes' (964); *här ǵün* (har gün) 'everyday' (164); *här ḱäs* (har kas) 'each one' (754).
härf (harf) 'letter' (240).
häštad (hashtâd) 'eighty' (681).
hätmän (hatman) 'without fail' (961).
häväx (havak) 'mortar' (611).
heḱayät (hekâyat) 'tale' (603).
heyvan (heyvân) 'animal' (91), 'beast' (541); *heyvänın uzun diši* (heyvanın u. dishi) 'tusk' (536).
hıbubat (hıbubât) 'beans' (530).
hidud 'border' (733).
his 'mind, feeling' (722). — Vgl. *ehsas*.
hisländmax (hislanmâkh) 'get angry' (296).
howız (howız) 'pool' (139).
hušli (hushli) 'wise' (943).

ıldırım 'thunder' (617); *ıldırım išıyi* (ı. ishıghi) 'lightening' (618).
-ın ~ *-in* 'of' (996).

ibadät elämax (ibâdat elamâkh) 'pray' (779), 'worship' (780).
ibadätxana (ibâdatkhânâ) 'temple' (727).
ic ~ *ici*: *ic* (ich) 'inside' (748); *ici* (ichi) 'inside' (270); *icindä* (ichinda) 'among' (986).
icäriä älmax (icharia almâkh) 'put in' (842).
ici — s. *ic*.
iǵlanmiš (iglânmish) 'stinking' (910).
iǵli (igli) 'stinking' (910).
iilämax (iilamâkh) 'smell' (278). — Vgl. *iy*.
irränǵi zählä ǵetmiš (iirangi zahla getmish) 'abominable' (936).
iirmi 'twenty' (189).
iḱi (iki 'two' (180); *iḱi ǵün ǵabax* (iki gün gâbâkh) 'day before yesterday' (652), vgl. *gabax*; *iḱi näfär* (iki nafar) 'two persons' (689).

ikiminʒi (ikiminji) 'second' (686). — Vgl. *ikinʒi*; . . . *minʒi*.
ikinʒi (ikinji) 'second' (686). — Vgl. *ikiminʒi*.
il 'year' (167).
ilan (ilân) 'snake' (82).
-ilmax (ilmâkh) 'be killed' [Passivsuf. — M. S.] (900).
-in — s. *-ın*.
inanmax (inânmâkh) 'believe' (763).
inäx (inak) 'cow' (69).
indi 'now' (175).
inʒi (inji) 'sore' (439).
inʒimax (injimâkh) 'suffer' (774).
ip 'rope' (95), 'string' (96).
iri 'rough' (906).
islanmax (islânmâkh) 'get wet' (388).
issi 'hot' (444, 461), 'warm' (463); *issi su* 'hot water' (527).
istämax (istamâkh) 'want' (422), 'request' (851), 'want to (go)' (899).
iš (ish) 'work' (116), 'job' (718).
išıx (ishıkh) 'light' (476).
išıxlıx (ishıkhlıkh) 'bright' (474).
išlämax (ishlamâkh) 'work' (366).
išlätmax (ishlatmâkh) 'use' (850).
išmax (ishmâkh) 'drink' (329).
išmäli (ishmali) 'drink (n.)' (525).
ištibah elämax (ishtibâh elamâkh) 'make a mistake' (864).
it 'dog' (94).
itälämax (italamâkh) 'move' (879).
iy 'smell' (58); *iy vermax* (iy vermâkh) 'smell' (890). — Vgl. *iilämax*.
iyi 'good' (485).
iynä (iyna) 'needle' (78).

kaamilän (kââmilan) 'at all' (960).
kafi olmax (kâfi olmâkh) 'suffice' (896).
kayaz (kâghâz) 'paper' (80), 'letter' (602).
kar (kâr) 'deaf' (222).
karmät ~ *karmäd* (kârmat, kârmad) 'official' (715).
kasıb (kâsıb) 'poor' (921).
käf (kaf) 'bubble' (616).
käman (kamân) 'bow' (74).
kämärbät (kamarbat) 'belt' (568).
känd ~ *kät* (kand, kat) 'village' (247).
**käs* — s. *här käs*.
käsmax (kasmâkh) 'cut' (361), 'cease' (874), 'stop' (875).

kät — s. *känd.*
kefländmax (keflanmâkh) 'get drunken' (330).
kibrit (kibrit) 'match' (549).
kiciχ ~ *kucuk: kiciχ* (kichik) 'small, little' (428); *kiciχ bazi* (kichik bâji) 'younger sister' (214); *kiciχ/kucuk gardaš* (kichik/kuchuk qârdâsh) 'younger brother' (213).
kif (kif) 'bag' (103).
kifir (kifir) 'dirty' (454), 'ugly' (934).
kim (kim) 'who' (237).
kisä (kisa) 'sack' (103).
kiši (kishi) 'man' (224).
kitab (kitâb) 'book' (599); *kitab varım* ~ *kitabım vär*[!] (kitâb vârım, kitâbım var) 'I have a book' (310).
kor (kor) 'blind' (223).
koχ (kok) 'root' (123).
köhnä (köhna) 'old' (468).
kölγä (kölga) 'shadow' (161, 747).
kömäχ elämax (kömak elamâkh) 'help' (400, 786).
köpüχ (köpük) 'bubble' (616).
körpä (körpa) 'child' (208).
körpi (körpi) 'bridge' (134).
kucuk — s. *kiciχ.*
kuti (kuti) 'box' (547).
kül (kül) 'ash' (150).
küräχ (kürak) 'back' (21).
küt (küt) 'dull' (450).
küzä (küza) 'pot' (106).

lal (lâl) 'dumb' (221).
lap (lâp) 'just' (959), 'at all' (960).
lazım olmax (lâzım olmâkh) 'need' (897).
lüt ~ *lüt püt* 'nude' (512).
lütfän (lütfan) 'please' (972).

maaliat (mââliât) 'tax' (597).
maaza (mââzâ) 'store' (730).
mahır (mâhır) 'skillful' (945).
malli (mâlli) 'rich' (920).
mašın (mâshın) 'car' (113, 586), 'machine' (585).
maval (mâvâl) 'toilet' (576).
määbäd (maabad) 'temple' (727).
määlim (maalim) 'teacher' (711).

määmuli (maamuli) 'normal' (949).
määmur (maamur) 'official' (715).
määna ~ *määni* (maanâ, maani) 'meaning' (724).
mädräsä (madrasa) 'school' (728).
mäγrib (maghrib) 'west' (735).
mäktäb (maktab) 'school' (728).
mämä (mama) 'breast' (25).
mämläkät (mamlakat) 'country' (725).
män (man) 'I' (227).
märs (mars) 'March' (629).
märz (marz) 'border' (733).
mäšgul (mashqul) 'busy' (928).
mäšrig (mashriq) 'east' (734).
mäšrub (mashrub) 'liquor' (55).
mäxsusän (makhsusan) 'especially' (957).
me 'May' (631).
mehräban (mehrabân) 'gentle' (940), 'kind' (941).
mešä (mesha) 'grove, woods' (130).
meymun 'monkey' (540).
mıγmıγa (mıghmıghâ) 'mosquito' (85).
miivä (miiva) 'fruit' (126); *miivä vermax* (miiva vermâkh) 'grow' (887).
milcäx (milchaḵ) 'fly' (84).
min 'thousand' (683).
minmax (minmâkh) 'rid' (409).
. . . minʒi (. . . minji) 'number' (694). — Vgl. *biriminʒı, ikiminʒi, ücüminʒi.*
mis 'copper' (583).
miz 'desk, table' (672).
mouʒ (mouj) 'wave' (615).
möhtäʒ olmax (möhtaj olmâkh) 'need' (897).
muhäbbätli (muhabbatli) 'kind' (941).
muhim 'important' (950).
musafirät (musâfirat) 'journey' (606).
muväffäg olmax (muvaffaq olmâkh) 'succeed' (862).
muväffäγ olmamax (muvaffagh olmâmâkh) 'fail' (863).
muxalifät elämax (mukhâlifat elamâkh) 'oppose' (857).
mübaaräx di (*dur*) (mübâârak̲ di (dur)) 'congratulations' (975).
müräbbä (mürabba) 'square' (915).
müstärah (müstarâh) 'toilet' (576).

naavarid (nââvârid) 'unskillful' (946).
-nan ~ *-nän* I (nân, nan) 'with' (498), 'by' (990), 'with (instrumental)' (991). — Vgl. *-dan.*

-nan II 'from' — S. *-dan.*
narahat olmax (nârâhât olmâkh) 'grieve' (295).
naziχ (nâzik) 'thin' (434, 904).
nä (na) 'what' (253).
**näfär* — s. *bir n., iki n., üš n.*
näfäs cäχmax (nafas chakmâkh) 'breathe' (279).
näggašlıx (naqqâshlıkh) 'picture' (601).
näggädä (naqqada) 'how much' (191), 'how many' (192).
näyil (naghil) 'tale' (603).
nämänä (namana) 'what' (253).
-nän I 'by; with' — s. *-nan.*
-nän II 'from' — s. *-dan.*
nänä (nana) 'mother' (203).
nävä (nava) 'grandchild' (210).
näväxt (navakht) 'when' (176). — Vgl. *nä, växt.*
**necä* — s. *nezä, necädana, neccä (yol), saat necä di(r).*
necädana (nechadânâ) 'how many' (192). — S. **necä.*
neccä (nechcha) 'how much' (191); *neccä yol* (nechcha y.) 'often' (965). — Vgl. **necä.*
neyzä (neyza) 'spear' (76).
nezä (neja) 'how' (256), 'what kind of' (956). — S. **necä.*
niä (nia) 'why' (254).
nišan (nishân) 'mark' (752).
niyäran olmax (niyarân olmâkh) 'worry' (776).
novambr (novâmbr) 'November' (637).
noxošlıx (nokhoshlıkh) 'disease' (48).
nümrä (nümra) 'number' (196).

o 'he' (229), 'she' (230), 'it' (250), 'that' (251); *olar* (olâr) 'they' (233, 234); *ona ǵörä* (onâ göra) 'therefore' (978); *onun ücün* (o. *üchün*) 'therefore' (978). — S. *onda.*
oγlan (oghlân) 'son' (206).
oγul (oghul) 'son' (206).
oγurlamax (oghurlâmâkh) 'steal' (372).
oγurri (oghurri) 'thief' (720).
oinäma (oinamâ) 'dance' (605).
oktobr 'October' (636).
olar — s. *o.*
olmax (olmâkh) 'there is/be' (424), 'stay/to be' (425), 'become' (865), 'happen' (866).
on 'ten' (188); *on alti* (on âlti) 'sixteen' (672); *on beš* (on besh) 'fifteen' (671); *on bir* 'eleven' (667); *on dogguz* (on doqquz) 'nineteen' (675); *on do(r)t*

'fourteen' (670), vgl. *dö(r)t*; *on iki* (on iki) 'twelve' (668); *on min* 'ten thousand' (684); *on säkkiz* (on sakkiz) 'eighteen' (674); *on üc* (on üch) 'thirteen' (669); *on yeddi* 'seventeen' (673).

onda (ondâ) 'when' (982). — Vgl. *o.*
ora (orâ) 'there' (258), 'that place' (259), 'that way' (262), 'away' (263).
orda (ordâ) 'that place' (259).
ordan (ordân) 'that way' (262), 'away' (263).
orǵätmax (orgatmâkh) 'teach' (360).
ot I 'grass' (121).
ot II 'fire' (151).
otax (otâkh) 'room' (574).
otlux (otlukh) 'field' (137).
ottutma (ottutmâ) 'fire, burning' (595).
otumax (otumâkh) 'sit' (322).
oturmax (oturmâkh) 'take out' (841).
otuz 'thirty' (676).
ouʒ (ouj) 'palm' (502).
ova (ovâ) 'plain' (138).
ovax(t) (ovâkh(t)) 'when' (982). — Vgl. *växt.*
ox (okh) 'arrow' (75).
oxuma (okhumâ) 'song' (604).
oxumax (okhumâkh) 'sing' (283, 759), 'read' (359).
oyanmax (oyânmâkh) 'wake' (326).
oynamax (oynâmâkh) 'dance' (284), 'play' (399).

öldürmax (öldürmâkh) 'kill' (349).
ölmax (ölmâkh) 'die' (397).
ömür 'life' (516).
öśǵürmä (ösgürma) 'cough' (514).
öšmax (öshmâkh) 'weigh, measure' (785).
ötmax (ötmâkh) 'cover' (797).
. . . *ötür* 'for' (988), 'about' (989).
ötürmax (ötürmâkh) 'set free' (352).
öz 'oneself' (235).

padišah (pâdıshâh) 'king' (714).
parıldamax (pârıldâmâkh) 'glitter' (891).
payız (pâyız) 'autumn' (625).
pältar (paltâr) 'clothes' (79).
pänšämbä (panshamba) 'Thursday' (642).
pänʒärä (panjara) 'window' (110).
päpırıs (papırıs) 'cigaret' (56).

pärästiš elämax (parastish elamâkh) 'worship' (780)
pärcäm (parcham) 'flag' (591).
päšm (pashm) 'wool' (101).
picax (pichâkh) 'knife' (70).
pii 'fat (n.)' (43).
pilo — s. *cilo*.
pis 'bad' (486).
piširmä (pishirma) 'cooking' (556).
pišiχ (pishiχ) 'cat' (537).
pox (pokh) 'dung' (508).
pul 'money' (117).
pulli 'rich' (920).
pulsuz 'poor' (921).
püflämax (püflamâkh) 'blow' (386).
püt — s. *lüt püt*.

rahat olmax (râhât olmâkh) 'feel relieved' (777).
rädd elämax (radd elamâkh) 'refuse' (855).
rädd olmax (radd olmâkh) 'fail' (863).
rägig (raqiq) 'sparse' (908).
räŋ́ — s. *räχ*.
räsim (rasim) 'picture' (601).
räχ ~ *räŋ́* (raχ, rang) 'colour' (483).
rišä (risha) 'root' (123).
roya (royâ) 'dream' (723); *roya ǵörmax* (royâ görmâkh) 'dream' (723).
ruznamä (ruznâma) 'newspaper' (600).

saat (sâât) 'hour' (178), 'o'clock' (647); *saat necä di(r)* (sâât necha d.) 'What time is it?' (177).
sabax (sâbâkh) 'tomorrow' (173).
saf (sâf) 'smooth' (451), 'flat' (916).
saγ (sâgh) 'right' (267).
sallamax (sâllâmâkh) 'hang down' (799), 'hang' (800).
salmax (sâlmâkh) 'drop' (792).
-san ~ *-sän* (sân, san) '[you] are [Sg.]' (499).
sandıx (sândıkh) 'box' (547).
saniä (sânia) 'second' (649).
sap (sâp) 'thread' (77), 'string' (96).
sari (sâri) 'yellow' (482).
saš (sâsh) 'hair' (2).
sašmax (sâshmâkh) 'stag' (305).
satmax (sâtmâkh) 'sell' (370).

savašma (sâvâshmâ) 'war' (594).
savašmax (sâvâshmâkh) 'fight' (403).
saxlamax (sâkhlâmâkh) 'raise' (788), 'stop (vt.)' (839).
saxlatmax (sâkhlâtmâkh) 'stop (vt.)' (839).
saymax (sâymâkh) 'count, reckon' (393).
sädäf (sadaf) 'shellfish' (90).
säfä: säfä durdurmax (safa durdurmâkh) 'line up' (824); *säfä salmax* (safa sâlmâkh) 'line up' (824).
säfär (safar) 'journey' (606).
säfeh (safeh) 'foolish' (721).
säggäl (saqqal) 'beard' (16).
sähär (sahar) 'morning' (168); *sähär cayı* (sahar châghi) 'a. m.' (650); *sähäriz xeyr olsun* (sahariz kheyr o.) 'good morning' (969).
säk'k'iz (sakkiz) 'eight' (186).
sälam (salâm) 'good day' (494); *sälam äleyk'* (salâm aleyk) 'greeting' (707); *sälam verma* (salâm vermâ) 'greeting' (707).
sämärä (samara) 'fruit' (126).
sääm (samm) 'poison' (517).
sän (san) 'you' (228).
-sän — s. *-san.*
sändäl (sandal) 'chair' (573).
säpälämax (sapalamâkh) 'sprincle' (821).
säpmax (sapmâkh) 'sprincle' (821).
särimax (sarimâkh) 'wind' (802).
särin (sarin) 'cold' (462, 464), 'cool' (924).
särittämax (sarittamâkh) 'wind' (802).
särmax (sarmâkh) 'hang down' (799); 'hang' (800).
säs (sas) 'voice' (241), 'sound' (242).
säslämax (saslamâkh) 'call' (281).
säsli (sasli) 'noisy' (926).
sässiz (sassiz) 'quiet' (925).
septambr (septâmbr) 'September' (635).
sešämbä (seshamba) 'Tuesday' (640).
sešmax (seshmâkh) 'choose' (783).
sılah (sılâh) 'weapon' (587). — Vgl. *äsläḧä.*
sındırmax (sındırmâkh) 'crush' (306), 'crack' (336), 'break' (376), 'destroy' (810).
sınmax (sınmâkh) 'break' (307), 'crack' (815).
sıšma (sıshmâ) 'dung' (508).
sican (sichân) 'rat' (535).
sifr 'zero' (666).
siġar (sigâr) 'cigaret' (56).
silmax (silmâkh) 'wipe' (355).

sin 'age' (197).
sinä (sina) 'chest' (24).
siχ (sik) 'penis' (510).
siz 'you' (228, 232).
-siz I '[you] are [Pl.]' (499).
-siz II 'without' — s. *-süz*.
sizill (sijill) 'name' (239).
sol 'left' (266).
solmax (solmâkh) 'wither' (885).
somuttamax (somuttâmâkh) 'suck' (287).
sora (sorâ) 'afterwards' (662), 'next' (665), 'then' (977).
sormax (sormâkh) 'suck' (287).
sorušmax (sorusmâkh) 'ask' (766).
soymax (soymâkh) 'peel' (343).
soyux (soyukh) 'cold' (462).
söymax (söymâkh) 'like' (333), 'love' (778).
söymäli (söymali) 'lovely' (937).
söymämax (söymamâkh) 'dislike' (334).
söyušmax (söyushmâkh) 'love' (778).
söyüŋ́än (söyüngan) 'happy' (923).
söyünmax (söyünmâkh) 'rejoice' (293).
su 'water' (143).
suli 'sparse' (908).
surat (surât) 'cheek' (15).
surtmax (surtmâkh) 'rub' (313).
susuz olmax (s. olmâkh) 'be thirsty' (332).
susuzlamax (susuzlâmâkh) 'become thirsty' (332).
sutun 'pillar' (575).
südüχ (südük) 'urine' (509).
sümüχ (sümük) 'bone' (45).
süpürmax (süpürmâkh) 'cleaning' (577).
sürmax (sürmâkh) 'run after' (347).
sürtmax (sürtmâkh) 'wipe' (355), 'grind' (812), 'smear' (847).
sürünmax (sürünmâkh) 'crawl, creep' (323).
süt 'milk' (528).
-süz ~ *-siz* 'without' (992).

šah (shâh) 'king' (714).
šalvar (shâlvâr) 'trousers' (569).
šayırd (shâyırd) 'pupil' (712).
šäfa vermax (shafâ vermâkh) 'cure' (301).
šähir (shahir) 'town' (248).

šäkär (shakar) 'sugar' (523).
šäkil (shakil) 'picture' (601), 'shape' (753).
šäkk elämax (shakk elamâkh) 'suspect' (765).
šämbä (shamba) 'Saturday' (644).
šämšir (shamshir) 'sword' (71).
šärab (sharâb) 'wine' (55).
šey (shey) 'thing' (81).
šikar (shikâr) 'hunting' (92).
širin (shirin) 'sweet' (442).
širni (shirni) 'cake' (524).
šišmax (shishmâkh) 'swell' (315).
šor (shor) 'salt' (443).
šulux (shulukh) 'noisy' (926).
šumarä (shumâra) 'number' (196).
šuxum eliyän (shukhum eliyan) 'plough' (610). — Vgl. *šüxüm elämax.*
šümal (shümâl) 'north' (737).
šüšä (shüsha) 'glass' (551), 'bottle' (552).
šüxüm elämax (shükhüm elamâkh) 'cultivate' (818). — Vgl. *šuxum eliyän.*

tay (tâgh) 'roof' (108).
tapmax (tâpmâkh) 'find' (392), 'pick up' (793).
tari (târi) 'God' (245).
taxmax (tâkhmâkh) 'attach' (823).
taza (tâzâ) 'new' (467).
tazir (tâjir) 'merchant' (716).
täärif elämax (taarif elamâkh) 'praise' (771).
tääzzüb elämax (taajjüb elamâkh) 'be startled' (297).
täbii (tabii) 'normal' (949).
täbil (tabil) 'drum' (588).
täfävütli (tafavütli) 'different' (489).
täydim elämax (taghdim elamâkh) 'present' (826).
täylid elämax (taghlid elamâkh) 'imitate' (781).
tälä (tala) 'trap' (545).
täläsmax (talasmâkh) 'hurry' (834).
tämiz (tamiz) 'pretty' (453), 'clean' (933).
tämizlämax (tamizlamâkh) 'cleaning' (577).
tänä (tana) 'trunk' (119).
tänbih (tanbih) 'punishment' (596).
täpix vırmax (tapik vırmâkh) 'kick' (320).
tär (tar) 'sweat' (39).
täräf (taraf) 'direction' (838); *täräfinä* (tarafina) 'towards' (985).
tärbiät elämax (tarbiat elamâkh) 'foster' (787).

tärpäšdirmax (tarpashdirmâkh) 'move' (879).
tärpäšmax (tarpashmâkh) 'move' (416), 'sway' (880).
tärpätmax (tarpatmâkh) 'shake' (377).
tärsä (tarsa) 'reverse' (746).
täsmim tutmax (tasmim tutmâkh) 'decide' (853).
täsvib elämax (tasvib elamâkh) 'agree' (856).
täšyi—zänaazä (tashyi—janââza) 'funeral' (580).
täxtä (takhta) 'board' (550).
täx́ (tak̲) 'alone' (688), 'bottom' (749).
täzrübäsiz (tajrübasiz) 'unskillful' (946).
tez 'early' (929), 'soon' (962).
tix́mä (tik̲ma) 'sewing' (558).
tiyä (tigha) 'blade' (72).
tiir 'pole, stick' (73), 'arrow' (75).
titirätmax (titiratmâkh)'shake' (377).
tix́max (tik̲mâkh) 'sew' (353).
tolazlamax (tolâzlâmâkh) 'abandon' (794).
toprax (toprâkh) 'earth' (146).
tor 'net' (93).
toulamax (toulâmâkh) 'deceive' (773).
toxümax (tokhümâkh) 'knit' (803), 'weave' (804).
toyux (toyukh) 'hen' (62).
toz 'powder' (52), 'dust' (148).
tozi elämax (t. elamâkh) 'distribute' (825).
toz-toprax (t.-toprâkh) 'dust' (148).
tuman (tumân) 'trousers' (569).
turš (tursh) 'sour' (909).
tutmax (tutmâkh) 'hold' (311), 'get' (371), 'catch' (790), 'grasp' (791).
tuxum (tukhum) 'seed' (127). — Vgl. *tüxüm säpmax.*
tük̡an (tükân) 'store' (730).
tüŋ́ (tüng) 'jar' (107).
tüpürcäx́ (tüpürchak̲) 'saliva' (12).
tüpürmax (tüpürmâkh) 'spit' (289).
tüssi 'smoke' (149).
tüt 'hot' (444), 'sharp' (449).
tütäx́ (tütak̲) 'flute' (590).
tüxüm säpmax (tükhüm sapmâkh) 'sow' (820). — Vgl. *tuxum.*
tüx́ (tük̲) 'hair' (2), 'shame hair' (42), 'feather' (65), 'wool' (101).

ulduz 'star' (162).
un 'flour' (52, 522).
üräyi naziх́ (urayi nâzik̲) 'gentle' (940).

usta (ustâ) 'skillful' (945).
ušmax (ushmâkh) 'fly' (337).
ut 'August' (634).
utanmax (utânmâkh) 'be ashamed' (935).
utmax (utmâkh) 'win' (404).
utuzmax (utuzmâkh) 'lose' (405).
uva ~ *yuwa* (uvâ, yuwâ) 'nest' (66).
-ux (ukh) '[we] are' (499).
uzanmax (uzânmâkh) 'lie' (324).
uzax (uzâkh) 'far' (457).
uzun 'long' (455).
uzunlux (uzunlukh) 'length' (740).
uʒ (uj) 'tip, point' (739).
uʒa (ujâ) 'high' (429).
uʒuz (ujuz) 'cheap' (918).

üc ~ *üš* (üch, üsh) 'three' (181); *üš näfär* (üsh nafar) 'three persons' (690).
ücüminʒi (üchüminji) 'third' (687). — Vgl. *ücünʒi*, . . . *minʒi*.
**ücün* — s. *onunü.*, s. v. *o.*
ücünʒi (üchünji) 'third' (687). — Vgl. *ücüminʒi.*
üräx́ (ürak̲) 'heart' (36), 'mind, heart' (244).
üst 'up' (273), 'surface' (745).
üstündädurmax (üstündadurmâkh) 'continue (vt.)' (877).
üš — s. *üc.*
üšax (üshâkh) 'child' (208), 'young (n.)' (209), 'baby' (697).
üz 'face' (17), 'surface' (745); *üz vermax* (üz vermâkh) 'happen' (866).
üzmax (üzmâkh) 'swim' (338), 'float' (339).
üzr istämax (ü. istamâkh) 'apologize' (770).
üzüx́ (üzük̲) 'ring' (567).

**var* ~ **vär* — s. *kitab varım* ~ *kitabım vär*, s. v. *kitab.*
vax — s. *växt.*
vä (va) 'and' (497, 976).
vä ɣeyro (va gheyro) 'etc.' (993).
väsilä (vasila) 'tool' (562).
vässl elämax (vassl elamâkh) 'connect' (801).
växt ~ *vax* (vakht, vâkh) 'hour' (178). — Vgl. *bevax(t)*, *näväxt*, *ovax(t).*
**verma* — s. *sälam v.*
vermax (vermâkh) 'give' (418), 'present' (826).
vırıšmax (vırıshmâkh) 'contest, dispute' (858).
vırmax (vırmâkh) 'hit' (298), 'shoot' (299), 'strike' (300), 'hang' (800), 'knock' (807), 'mow' (816).

xala gızi (khâla qızi) 'cousin' (705).
xala oγli (khâla oghli) 'cousin' (705).
xanım (khânım) 'Mrs.' (708).
xatır lämax (khâtır lamâkh) [!] 'remember' (761). — Vgl. *xärab lamax.*
xäbär vermax (khabar vermâkh) 'inform' (286).
xärab elämax (kharâb elamâkh) 'destroy' (810).
xärab lamax (kharâb lâmâkh) 'destroy' (810). — Ein Fehler für **xärablamax* oder < *xärab elämax* (s. o.)?; vgl. *xatır lämax.*
xärab olmax (kharâb molâkh) 'rotten' (335).
xästälıx (khastalıkh) 'disease' (48).
xätärli (khatarli) 'dangerous' (927).
xätt (khatt) 'line' (751).
xäyyätlıx (khayyatlıkh) 'sewing' (558).
xeyir (kheyir) 'no' (493).
**xeyr* — s. *ayšamız x. olsun, ǵezäz x. olsun, sähäriz x. olsun.*
xırda (khırdâ) 'fine' (905).
xorus (khorus) 'cock' (62).
xošaǵälim (khoshâgalim) 'lovely' (937).
xošǵil (khoshgil) 'pretty' (453), 'beautiful' (484).
xošhal (khoshhâl) 'happy' (923).
xudääfiz (khudaafiz) 'good-bye' (495).
xuräx (khurak) 'food' (59), 'meal' (533).

ya (yâ) 'or' (981).
yada ǵälmax (yâdâ galmâkh) 'remind' (762). — Vgl. *yäddän . . .*
yada ǵätirmax (yâdâ gatirmâkh) 'remind' (762). — Vgl. *yäddän . . .*
yada salmax (yâdâ sâlmâkh) 'remember' (761), 'remind' (762).
yaγ (yâgh) 'oil' (54).
yaγıš (yâghısh) 'rain' (155); *yaγıš växti* (yâghısh vakhti) 'rainy season' (621).
yaγmax (yâghmâkh) 'rain' (387).
yahi (yâhi) 'pigeon' (539).
yalamax (yâlâmâkh) 'lick' (757).
yan (yân) 'buttock' (23), 'bank (of river)' (614), 'direction' (738), 'beside' (743).
yandırmax (yândırmâkh) 'light' (845).
yanmax (yânmâkh) 'burn' (385).
yapıšdırmax (yâpıshdırmâkh) 'attach' (823).
yapišdırmax (yâpishdırmâkh) 'smear' (847).
yara (yârâ) 'wound' (49).
yarım (yârım) 'half' (193).
yari (yâri) 'half' (193).
yarmax (yârmâkh) 'crack' (336).
yaš I (yâsh) 'age' (197), 'year's old, age' (696).

**yaš* II — s. *ǵöz yaši.*
yašil (yâshil) 'green' (481).
yatmax (yâtmâkh) 'lie' (324), 'sleep' (325).
yavaš (yâvâsh) 'slow' (447); *yavaš yavaš* (yâvâsh yâvâsh) 'slowly' (963).
yaxci (yâkhchi) 'good' (485).
yaxci olmax (yâkhchi olmâkh) 'recover' (894).
yaxın (yâkhın) 'near' (458).
yaxmax (yâkhmâkh) 'smear' (847).
yay (yây) 'summer' (624).
yazi (yâzi) 'letter' (240).
yazmax (yâzmâkh) 'write' (358).
yäddän cixatmax (yaddan chikhâtmâkh) 'forget' (407). — Vgl. *yada ǵälmax, yada ǵätirmax, yada salmax.*
yänma (yanmâ) 'fire, burning' (595).
yäprax (yaprâkh) 'leaf' (124).
yeddi 'seven' (185).
yein 'fast' (446).
yekkä (yekka) 'big' (427), 'rough' (906).
yekšämbä (yekshamba) 'Sunday' (645).
yel 'wind' (152)
yemax (yemâkh) 'eat' (328). — Vgl. *yemäx́.*
yemäli (yemali) 'tasty' (911).
yemäx́ (yemak̲) 'food' (59), 'meal' (533). — Vgl. *yemax.*
yemiš (yemish) 'fruit' (126).
yen 'yen' (695).
yer 'place' (265), 'between' (272), 'floor' (571).
yeralma (yerâlmâ) 'potato' (520).
yetišmax (yetishmâkh) 'ripen' (375), 'catch' (790), 'arrive' (836), 'grow' (887), 'suffice' (896).
yetmiš (yetmish) 'seventy' (680).
yıyıšmax (yıghıshmâkh) 'gather' (878).
yıɣmax (yıghmâkh) 'take' (378), 'collect' (414).
yol I 'way, road' (132); *yola düšmax* (yolâ düshmâkh) 'move' (416); *yoldan cıxmax* (yoldân chıkhmâkh) 'get astray' (764). — S. auch *neccä y.*
yol II '(first) time' (198).
yoldaš (yoldâsh) 'friend' (218).
yorulmax (yorulmâkh) 'become tired' (367).
yorulux alma (yorulukh âlmâ) 'rest' (607).
yoruluɣ almax (yorulugh âlmâkh) 'rest' (368).
yox (yokh) 'no' (493); *yox di* (*dur*) (yokh d.) 'not' (426); *yox di* (yokh d.) 'not' (500); *yox olmax* (yokh olmâkh) 'disappear' (795).
yumax (yumâkh) 'wash' (354).

yumurta (yumurtâ) 'egg' (61).
yumurux (yumurukh) 'fist' (503).
yumušax (yumushâkh) 'soft' (441).
yuwa — s. *uva*.
yuxari cäẋmax (yukhâri chaḵmâkh) 'draw up' (844).
yuxäri ǵetmax (yukhari getmâkh) 'rise' (383).
yuxuli (yukhuli) 'sleepy' (931).
yüngül (yüngül) 'light' (436).
yüxi (yükhi) 'dream' (723); *yüxi ǵörmax* (yükhi görmâkh) 'dream' (723).
yüz 'hundred' (190).

**zat* — s. *bir zat*.
zähär ~ *zähir* (zahar, zahir) 'poison' (517).
zähmätä düšmax (zahmata düshmâkh) 'suffer' (775).
zäif (zaif) 'weak' (438).
**zäman* — s. *gädim z.*
zämi (zami) 'field' (129).
zäng ~ *zäẋ* (zang, zaḵ) 'bell' (589).
zänn elämax (zann elamâkh) 'think' (420).
zäẋ — s. *zäng*.
zidd olmax (z. olmâkh) 'oppose' (857).
zor 'force, strength' (220).
zorli 'strong' (437).

žanviä (zhânvia) 'January' (627).
žuän (zhuan) 'June' (632).
žuiyä (zhuiya) 'July' (633).

zaalib (jââlib) 'interesting' (922).
zam (jâm) 'glass' (551).
zan I (jân) 'life' (516).
zan II (jân) 'till' (999).
zääbä (jaaba) 'box' (547).
zädd (jadd) 'ancestor' (702).
zänävar (janavâr) 'animal' (91).
zäng (jang) 'war' (594).
zängäl (jangal) 'forest' (131).
zävab (javâb) 'answer' (709), 'reply' (710); *zävab vermax* (javâb vermâkh) 'reply' (767).
zävan (javân) 'young (n.)' (209, 465).
zäza (jazâ) 'punishment' (596).
zäzirä (jazira) 'island' (142).

ʒırılmax (jırılmâkh) 'tear (vi.)' (342), 'be torn' (813).
ʒırmax (jırmâkh) 'tear (vt.)' (341, 814).
ʒızmax (jızmâkh) 'scratch' (314).
ʒiyär (jiyar) 'liver' (35); Vgl. *ay ʒ*.
ʒonüb (jonüb) 'south' (736).
ʒoʒux (jojukh) 'young (n.)' (209).
ʒuval (juvâl) 'sack' (103).
ʒümä (jüma) 'Friday' (643).
ʒür ǧälmax (jür galmâkh) 'fit' (417).
ʒüʒä (jüja) 'chicken' (62).
ʒüʒi (jüji) 'flea' (86).

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DEUX GENRES D'AUTORITÉ VUS A TRAVERS LES ŒUVRES *D'IBN AL-MUQAFFAʿ*: L'AUTORITÉ FONDÉE SUR LA RELIGION ET L'AUTORITÉ FONDÉE SUR LA FERMETÉ

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(Paris)

Introduction

Avant de commencer cette étude, il nous paraît nécessaire d'attirer l'attention du lecteur sur la carrière politique d'*Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*; car le fait de l'avoir connu en tant que moraliste ne nie pas qu'il soit impliqué politiquement et qu'il se sente concerné par tous les événements politiques qui surgissent devant lui dans sa vie sociale. Ainsi, en tant qu'individu, il se sentait embarqué et engagé, et delà obligé d'assumer sa situation, c'est-à-dire ses responsabilités historiques comme dirait Sartre[1] et « cela signifie qu'il doit forcément agir et s'engager dans l'ordre politique »[2]; une inévitable position surtout pour un moraliste qui confirme à travers son œuvre l'unité organique de l'éthique et de la politique; car « la politique parce qu'elle est la constitution d'une société institutionnelle par les individus qui la composent, et donc par leurs croyances et leurs désirs, est une conception de l'existence et par conséquent une *morale*; inversement, toute *morale*, c'est-à-dire tout déploiement d'un système des désirs et des actions, est l'instauration d'une certaine société, et par conséquent elle est une politique »[3]. Ainsi il apparaît qu'on ne peut tracer des frontières entre *la morale* et *politique*, car se sont deux notions qui se lient et qui sont destinées à se compléter.

Le lecteur pourra mieux comprendre cet engagement de l'auteur en feuilletant minutieusement ses ouvrages que nous sommes en train d'étudier; alors il s'apercevra que tous représentent, sous différents degrés et de différentes manières, un intérêt accordé à l'instruction morale et aux conseils politiques; car si les épîtres *al-Adab al-Kabīr* et *al-Adab al-Ṣaġīr*[4] sont toujours considérées comme des œuvres représentatives de ce type de littérature appe-

[1] J. P. Sartre, *Qu'est ce que la littéreture?* in Situation I. Voir aussi Robert Mesrahi, *Traité du bonheur II: Ethique, politique et bonheur*, Seuil, Mai 1983, p. 39.

[2] Ibidem.

[3] Ibid. p. 265.

[4] L'appelation est de René Khawam, *Le pouvoir et les intellectuels*. Paris 1985, p. 20.

lée (*Adab*) qui se rapproche des (Miroires des Princes) se consacrant aux vertus et vices des gouverneurs; leur importance politique ne peut être ignorée grâce aux conseils qu'elles contiennent,[5] et aussi grâce au lexique qu'elles contiennent et qui peut faire l'objet d'une étude d'un intérêt qui ne peut être négligé et qui a d'ailleurs attiré l'attention de messieurs le professeur Sourdel Dominique et le professeur Goitein;[6] que dire du livre de *Kalīla wa Dimna* dont l'aspect politique ne peut passer inaperçu ce qui a fait de l'ouvrage un champ fertile de comparaison entre l'écrit (les fables et les personnages) et le vécu (la vie réelle d'*Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*), un ouvrage qui a brouillé les frontières entre l'imaginaire et le réel et a laissé perplexes les chercheurs devant son ambiguïté, et les a exposé aux différentes interprétations et comparaisons sans parvenir à trouver une réponse satisfaisante aux tas de questions qui surgissent devant eux.[7]

A côté de ces ouvrages nous avons la *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba* qui diffère des autres œuvres d'*Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* et constitue un traité politique, adressé au calife *al-Manṣūr*, d'une importance reconnue par tout les chercheurs qui ont consacré des études d'une grande importance à cette Risala afin de montrer son intérêt historique et politique malgré les divergences qui marquent les différents points de vues concernant la réalisation de cette épître.[8]

[5] Voir S. D. Goitein, *A turning point in the history of the muslim state, à propos of Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's kitāb al-ṣaḥāba*, in Islamic Culture, XXVIII, 1949, pp. 121–22: « A kind of literature much in vogue in the middle ages, for which Ibn al-Muqaffa' himself set the model in his Adab al-Kabir . . . For that type of literature describes the duties of, and provides advice for, the rulers in general way . . ».

[6] Nous rappelons à ce propos l'ouvrage du professeur Dominique Sourdel, *Le vizirat Abbasside*, 1959, Damas, pp. 56–7, dans lequel il exerait plusieurs termes enfermant le sens du mot « ministre » (*Wazīr*), en s'appuyant sur les deux Adabs, *la Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba* ainsi que le livre de *Kalīla wa Dimna*.

Voir aussi S. D. Goitein, note 32, pp. 134–35, qui cite quelques exemples tels que (*Quranā'*) pp. 66–7; (*Duḥalā'*) pp. 77–12. 88–11 et (ʿUmmāl) P125-10, 17, considérant qu'ils étaient à l'origine du développement de la vizirat.

Voir aussi son article, *The origine of the vizirate*, in Islamic Culture, vol. 16, 1942, pp. 255–63, 380–92.

[7] Citons l'exemple de R. Khawam dans *le pouvoir et les intellectuels* p. 13, où l'auteur se pose des questions successives sans trouver d'autres réponses que le rapprochement entre les personnages cités dans le livre et ceux agissant dans la réalité sociale et politique de l'époque de Ibn al-Muqaffa'; des questions qui restent malgré ce rapprochement sans réponses tels que: Ibn al-Muqaffa' était-il pour le pouvoir? Tient-il pour les intellectuels? Sert-il le gouvernement officiel? Lutte-t-il secrètement avec les opposants? Des questions que seul un historien compétent puisse envisager de nous fournir des réponses plus ou moins valables.

[8] Si tout le monde, après l'apparition de l'article de F. Gabrielli: *l'opera di Ibn al-Muqaffa'*, in R.S.O. XIII, 1931, pp. 231–35, était d'accord avec le fait que la *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba* était produite à l'époque d'*al-Manṣūr* et destinée à lui, la question qui demeure sans réponse est: la *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba* exprime-t-elle des opinions personelles

Nous savons aussi que *Ibn al-Muqaffa'* n'était pas engagé politiquement uniquement par ses écrits mais aussi par sa carrière de secrétaire[9] à travers laquelle il fut connu comme serviteur de gouverneurs et généraux Umayyades et Abbassides parmi lesquels nous citons *al-Masīḥ b.al-Hawārī* entre l'année 126/743—4 et l'année 129/746—7 à Sabur/Sapur;[10] *Dāwūd b.Yazīd b. 'umar b. Hubayra* (131î748—9) à Kirman comme le précise successivement Ibn al-Nadīm dans son *Fihrist* et *al-Ğahšiyārī* dans *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa l-Kuttāb*,[11]

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ou inspirées? (voir Ch. Pellat, *Ibn al-Muqaffa' conseiller du calife*, p. 2.), car nous trouvons F. Gabrielli (p. 235) prétendre que Ibn al-Muqaffa' n'était qu'un exécuteur d'une commande des Banū 'ali: 'Īsā dont il a été le secrétaire et son frère Sulaymān gouverneur de Basra; alors que S. D. Goitein dans son article « *A turning point in the history of the Muslim state* . . . », in Islamic Culture, XXVIII 1949, p. 122, contredit cette opinion et trouve que le texte confirme le contraire; et en s'appuyant sur l'introduction de la *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba*, il conclut que l'auteur l'a écrite spontanément au calife; il dit: « On the contrary, the introduction seems to indicate clearly that Ibn al-Muqaffa' wrote the book of his own accord. » Une opinion qui apparemment satisfait Ch. Pellat (p. 2) qui ajoute: « Il est de fait qu' Ibn al-Muqaffa', peut avoir usé simplement du droit de la (Naṣīḥa) reconnu à tout musulman, et les formules employées ne sont guère éclairantes, d'autant que, de toute façon, l'auteur prend la responsabilité de ce qu'il écrit » ; Un droit auquel Ibn al-Muqaffa', en tant qu' (Adīb), accorde une grande importance, comme nous l'avions démontré dans le chapitre consacré à l' (Adab); et nous voudrions ajouter à ce qui était déjà dit que l'usage de la ruse devient aussi un moyen de protection que l'auteur utilise, cela se manifeste clairement dans l'intruction de la *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba*, une introduction élogieuse dans laquelle l'auteur attribue au calife des vertus qu'aucun autre Commandeur avant lui n'a eu. Nous relevons de cette introduction le passage suivant: « Ce que nous connaissons de la manière de faire du Commandeur des Croyants comporte, pour un homme de bon sens, un encouragement à lui communiquer spontanément des informations quand on a le sentiment que personne d'autre ne s'en est chargé, ou (à lui rappeler des fait déjà portés à sa connaissance), (un homme sensé ne saurait en effet aller au delà de l'information ou de la remémoration). » ; un passage qui représente une démarche de la part du moraliste unissant entre le droit de la (Naṣīḥa) et l'usage de la ruse, et qui d'ailleur confirme une réflexion que nous tirons du livre de *Kalīla wa Dimna* à propos de cet usage et de sa nécéssité et son utilité dans les relations avec les gens du pouvoir. Il s'agit du chapitre « Les hiboux et les corbeaux » (R. Khawam, pp. 226—57) d'où nous retenons les paroles suivantes que le corbeau prononçait au profit de son adversaire le hiboux: « Souvent il mettait au courant son maître de quelques défauts, mais n'indiquait pas d'une façon claire, et se contentait de donner des exemples, en lui présentant le défaut chez un autre personnage, de sorte que son interlocuteur s'y reconnût. Ainsi son gouvernant n'avait aucune raison de se mettre en colère pour cela (p. 257). » Quoi qu'il en soit, personne ne peut nier la liaison de l'auteur au Banu 'ali, chose qui coïncide avec la défence d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' de l'aristocratie arabe « à laquelle le souverain doit réserver les postes de commandement, » (D. Sourdel, *La biographie d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' d'après les sources anciennes*, in Arabica I, 1954, p. 322), ce qui montre que le manuel sert beaucoup plus les intérêts des Banu 'aliyy qu'il soit dicté par ceux-ci ou le fruit d'une initiative propre à Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

[9] Voir D. Sourdel, biographie . . . pp. 309—11.

[10] Ibid. p. 309.

[11] Ibidem.

ou ʿĀmir b.dubāra (131/748—9) comme le prétend al-Balāḏurī dans *Ansāb al-Ašrāf*[12]; ensuite il se fut employé par les Banu 'Ali oncles d'al-Mansur et tout particulièrement ʿĪsa b. ʿAli à Basra.[13]

En plus de cette riche carrière politique *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* fréquentait beaucoup de gens de pouvoir comme le montrent *al-Ǧahšiyārī* et *al-Balāḏurī*,[14] tel que *Salm b.Qutayba* le dernier préfet Umayyade de Basra; *Maʿn b.zā'ida* le chef militaire d'*Ibn Hubayra*; *ʿUmāra* b.*Ḥamza* mawla et serviteur d'al-Saffāḥ; *Ibn Abī Laylā* et *Ibn Šadrama* deux Cadis d'*al-Saffāḥ*; ainsi qu'avec le célèbre *ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib* secrétaire de *Marwān*,[15] ce qui fait de lui un personnage attaché aux deux régimes: l'ancien qui est le régime Umayyade et le nouveau qui est le régime Abbasside et fait de lui le meilleur observateur politique capable de faire la comparaison entre les deux régimes et proposer les réformes nécéssaires pour la nouvelle dynastie.

Tous ces traits ont participé à la formation de ce personnage qui ne se contentera pas du simple rôle d'observateur mais le dépasse à la pratique de la politique et à l'envie d'y participer afin de gagner le mérite d'avoir été derrière la réforme et l'amélioration de la situation actuelle ou future de la communauté comme il exprime lui-même dans sa Risala.[16]

Ceci nous mène à notre étude qui a comme ambition l'approche de la vision politique d'*Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* qui se manifeste surtout dans sa conception de la souveraineté qui doit être fondée, essentiellement, sur l'autorité. Mais de quel genres d'autorité s'agit-il? C'est la question à laquelle nous allons essayer de répondre dans cette étude.

1-Les genres d'autorité

Il est clair pour *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* qu'un pays ne peut survivre sans gouvernement et qu'un gouvernement ne peut exister sans gouvernant; c'est pourquoi il considère qu'un pays sans gouvernant est un pays qui ne peut

[12] Ibidem.

[13] Ibid. p. 310.

[14] Ibidem.

[15] Sur l'entourage d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' voir aussi F. Gabrielli, *L'opera di Ibn al-Muqaffa'*, in R.S.O. XIII, 1931.

[16] Ch. Pellat, *Ibn al-Muqaffa' conseilleur du calife*, Maisonneuve et Larose, 1976, p. 18: « Et puis un motif supplémentaire pour les hommes de cœurs, d'exercer activement (leur) réflexions à propos des moyens par lesquels Dieu améliorera la (situation) actuelle ou future de la communauté, (réside dans les mesures) qu'ils ont commencé à souhaiter, avec l'espoir que leurs (vœux) seront réalisés par l'intermédiaire du Commandeur des Croyants. »

produire un profit quelconque; ainsi il le compare au fleuve sans eaux et à la femme sans mari.[17]

Cependant *Ibn al-Muqaffa'* fait la distinction entre trois sortes d'autorité et delà entre trois sortes de gouvernants. Il s'agit de:

— L'autorité fondée sur la religion (*Mulk al-Dīn*).
— L'autorité fondée sur la fermeté (*Mulk al-ḥazm*).[18]
— L'autorité fondée sur la passion (*Mulk al-Hawā*).[19]

[17] R. Khawam, p. 321: « Trois situations sont incapables de donner un profit, celle d'un fleuve qui ne contient pas d'eau, celle d'un pays où il n'y a pas de gouvernant et celle d'une femme qui ne possède pas de mari. »

[18] La traduction littérale du mot (*Ḥazm*) est la fermeté ou la détermination; Erwin I. D. Rosenthal dans son livre *Political thought in medieval Islam an introductory outline*, Cambridge, 1958, p. 252, note 27, le traduit par le pouvoir récemment établit [the will to power]. En effet ce pouvoir fondé sur la fermeté prend cette signification chez Ibn al-Muqaffa' quand celui-ci parle de l'établissement d'un état sans fermeté (*al-Adab al-Kabīr*, p. 50), ainsi la fermeté et la détermination deviennent une attitude nécessaire pour garantir la continuité ou la survie de l'état récemment établi.

[19] Ce troisième genre de pouvoir est appelé (*Mulk hawān*) que l'on peut traduire le pouvoir arbitraire et non (*Mulk hawā*): le pouvoir fondé sur la passion; quoi qu'il en soit ceci ne change pas grand chose à la signification puisque la traduction littérale de (*Hawān*) peut comporter: désir, amour, passion . . . comme le précise Rosenthal, p. 252, note 28. Malheureusement Ibn al-Muqaffa' ne développe pas à travers ses écrits, qui font l'objet de notre étude la conception de ce pouvoir. Il se contente de le qualifier d'[un plaisir d'une heure mais d'une catastrophe éternelle] (*La ʿib sāʿa wa damār dahr*) (*al-Adab al-Kabīr*, p. 49). Cependant nous pouvons réalisé après l'analyse des premiers genres de souverain, celui fondé sur la religion et celui fondé sur la fermeté, que ce type de pouvoir, fondé sur la passion, est l'opposé des autres genres de souverain; c'est un pouvoir qui s'écarte de toutes les recommandations et exigences que Ibn al-Muqaffa' avance pour décrire et construire les deux autres genres afin qu'ils soient stables et durables. Ainsi, le pouvoir fondé sur la passion retrouve sa véritable description dans les remarques qu' Ibn al-Muqaffa' avance à propos de la mise en garde contre le pouvoir dépourvu de fermeté (*fī al-taḥḍīr ʿinda ǧiddat dawla biǧayr ḥazm*) (*al-Adab al-Kabīr*, p. 50), dans lequel « les choses se dirigent avec insouciance, les auxiliaires attribuent les récompenses à ceux qui ne les méritent pas et les affaires réussissent sans effort ni fermeté . . . de telles apparences sont trompeuses, car la situation ne tardera pas à se renverser, alors la réalité réapparaîtra sous son véritable aspect, et le pouvoir sera condamné à périre et à s'écrouler, car il n'a pas été bâti sur des bases solides et résistibles. » Un gouvernant se fiant à ce genre de pouvoir ne peut qu'être le pire des gouvernants, et ne peut qu'être dépourvu de toutes les qualités recommandables et louables que doivent avoir les gouvernants dont l'autorité est fondée sur la religion et la fermeté, comme le démontrera notre analyse à venir, qui, doivent s'écarter des défauts qui marquent le gouvernant dont le pouvoir est fondé sur la passion tels que: être entouré de compagnons qui ne sont pas dignes de confiance (*Ġayr al-Ṯiqāt*), le monsonge, l'avarice ou l'exagération dans les dépenses concernant les jouissances du monde d'Ici-bas (voir *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba*), l'animosité (*al-Ḥiqd*), faire recours au serment (al-Hilf) pour que le peuple croît ce qu'il dit, l'injustice, le non-respect des engagements, l'oubli des amitiés . . . (voir *al-Adab al-Kabīr*, p. 51—4). En un mot « le pire des gouvernants est celui que craint l'innocent. » (R. Khawam, p. 292.)

1-1- L'autorité fondée sur la religion

En tant qu'adorateur de la religion, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ n'hésite pas à considérer le pouvoir fondé sur la religion comme le meilleur des pouvoirs qu'un roi peut fonder; d'ailleurs il le place en premier rang dans sa classification précédente. Ainsi considère-t-il que l'une des grandes tâches du gouvernant est celle de veiller à ce que ses sujets suivent la bonne voie tracée par la religion, de même qu'il est invité à exécuter les peines et les sentences rendues selon le Livre et la Sunna,[20] chose qui procurera la sécurité et la sûreté de l'état et fera régner l'ordre et la justice parmi la population parce que la religion est adorée par tout le monde et grâce à la justesse des rois « elle rend aux gens ce qu'il leur appartient et leur réclame ce qu'ils lui doivent »; et comme les gens sont conscients de ce fait, ils seront satisfaits d'être gouvernés de la sorte, ce qui transformera l'attitude des personnes mécontentes (*al-Sāḫiṭ*) et les fairont rejoindre les autres qui sont satisfaites (*al-rāḍī*) et se comporteront comme eux dans l'obéissance (*al-Taslīm*) et l'accord (*al-Iqrār*).[21]

Cependant *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* explique qu'il n'est pas facile de fonder un pouvoir sur la religion, car cela fait du roi un Imam qui doit être suivit et obéit par ses sujets; et pour obtenir cela il doit gagner leur respect et leur confiance, chose qu'il ne pourra atteindre que s'il commence par s'éduquer soi-même en veillant à ce que sa conduite, son opinion, ses paroles et ses compagnons (*Aḫḍān*) soient des plus exemplaires « ceci fera de sa conduite (*Sīra*) un moyen d'éducation (*taʿlīm*) plus efficace que ses recommendations verbales tout comme la parole des sages plait aux auditeurs [l'ouïe] de même que l'exercice de la sagesse plait aux spectateurs [aux yeux et aux cœurs] et la personne qui prend en charge son propre enseignement et sa propre éducation mérite plus de respect (*al-Iǧlāl*) et d'adoration que celle qui se contente de vouloir enseigner et éduquer les autres. »[22]

Cette invitation au calife à la détention de l'autorité religieuse se manifeste beaucoup plus clairement dans la *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba* dans laquelle *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* précise que seul l'Imam, qui n'est autre que le calife, peut jouer le rôle du législateur et delà il est le seul apte à se prononcer et à prendre des décisions, en usant de son opinion (*al-Raʾy*), en ce qui concerne les situ-

[20] *Al-Adab al-Kabīr*, p. 49: « *Faʾ mmā mulk al-dīn faʾ innah iḏā aqām liʾah ih dīnahum, wa kān dīnuhum huw al-laḏī yuʿṭīhim al-laḏī lahum wa yulḥiq bihim al-laḏī ʿalayhim, arḍāhum ḏālik, wa anzal al-sāḫiṭ minhum bimanzilat al-rāḍī fī l-iqrār wa l-taslīm.* »

[21] Al- *Adab al-Ṣaġīr*, p. 14: « *Man naṣṣab nafsah lil-nās Imām fī l-dīn faʿalayh an yabdaʾ bitaʿlīm nafsih wa taqwīmihā fī l-sīra wa l-tuʿma, wa l-raʾy wa l-lafẓ wa l-aḫḍān, fayakūn taʿlīmuh bisīratih ablaġ min taʾlīmih bilisānih, faʾinnah kamā anna kalām al-ḥikma yūniq al-asmāʿ, fakaḏālik ʿamal al-ḥikma yarūq al-ʿuyūn wa l-qulūb, wa muʿallim nafsih wa muʾaddibuhā aḥaqq bil-iǧlāl wa l-tafḍīl min muʿallim al-nās wa muʾaddibihim.* »

[22] *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba*, pp. 28—9.

ations qui n'ont pas été traitées par le Coran et la tradition, et ceci dans tous les domaines qui relèvent de la vie sociale ou politique, qu'il s'agisse du départ à la guerre (*al-Ġazw*), du retour des opérations (*al-Qufūl*), du ramassage (*al-Ğamʿ*) et du partage (*al-Qasm*) des resources de l'état, de la nomination (*al-Istiʿmāl*) et de la révocation (*al-ʿAzl*) des fonctionnaires . . . de la lutte armée (*Muḥāraba*) ou l'usage de la ruse (*Muḫādaʿa*) contre l'ennemi, de la perception (*al-Aḫḏ*) des tributs et du butin au profit des musulmans et de la disposition (*Iʿṭāʾ*) de ces resources en leur nom.[23] Ceci nécéssite que l'Imam prenne des décisions et des mesures qui relèvent de ces domaines, chose qui ne peut être inspirée que par l'opinion personnelle dont Dieu a réservé l'usage aux seuls détenteurs du pouvoir (*Wulāt al-Amr*) et non au peuple qui ne possède à cet égard d'autre droit que celui de conseiller quand on le consulte, de répondre quand on l'invite à donner son avis et de suggérer, mais discrètement, les conseils qu'ils jugent utils et sincères,[24] car seul l'Imam est apte d'assumer la responsabilité des décisions qu'il prend et les interprétations la responsabilité des décisions qu'il prend et les interprétations qu'il avance en matière de religion.[25]

A ce stade il s'avère légitime de se poser des questions en ce qui concerne ce pouvoir et cette autorité religieuse du gouvernant, a-t-elle des limites, ou bien est-elle de caractère absolu? L'obéissance du peuple doit-elle être aveugle ou bien a-t-il le droit de désobéir à son gouvernant? Si oui, quelles sont les conditions qui lui donne le droit à cette désobéissance? Qu'elles sont les limites de la soumission du peuple à l'autorité du gouvernant? Tout un tas de questions embarassantes qui surgissent devant *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* et qu'il essaye de traiter dans sa Risala.

1-1-1- L'autorité religieuse face au peuple

Gouverner un peuple est une lourde tâche,[26] *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* est bien conscient de ce fait, c'est pourquoi il a manifesté son soutien au pouvoir fondé sur la religion car celui-ci bénéficie des meilleures conditions possibles pour sa survie. Il s'agit surtout du caractère de l'accord (al-Muwāfaqa) qui rassemble le peuple autour de la religion qui représente la voix de Dieu en qui tout le monde croit et à qui tout le monde obéit; elle est l'ensemble des obligations divines et des sanctions légales (*al-Ḥudūd*) sur lesquelles Dieu

[23] Ibidem.

[24] Ibid. p. 31: «*Ṯumma ǧaʿal mā siwā ḏālik min al-amr wa l-tadbīr ilā l-raʾy wa ǧaʿal al-raʾy ilā wulāt al-amr, laysa lil-nās fī ḏālik al-amr šayʾ illā l-išāra ʿind al-mašūra wa l-iǧāba ʿind al-daʿwa wa l-naṣīḥa biẓahr al-ġayb.*»

[25] Ibid. p. 29: «*Wa hāḏih al-umūr kulluhā wa ašbāhuhā min tāʿat Allāh al-wāǧiba, wa laysa liʾaḥad min al-nās fīhā ḥaqq illā al-Imām.*»

[26] *Al-Adab al-Ṣaġīr*, p. 14: «*Wilāyat al-nās balāʾ ʿaẓīm.*»

n'a donné pouvoir à personne,[27] et autour du gouvernant qui doit s'assurer de l'accord de ses gouvernés avec lui dans l'opinion (*al-Ra'y*), la parole (*al-qawl*) et dans l'acte (*al-Sīra*),[28] faute de quoi il ressemblera à quelqu'un qui, monté sur un lion inspirant la terreur, serait lui-même encore plus terrifié.

Il est donc clair que le gouvernant ne pourra mériter l'obéissance de son peuple que s'il applique les dispositions révélées et les traditions qui jouent un rôle analogue.[29] Il ne doit cependant pas se fier aux exagérations de la grande partie de ses officiers qui prétendent, au cours de leurs déclarations, que le Commandeur des Croyants doit être aveuglement obéi dans tout ce qu'il dit, et suivi dans tout ce qu'il fait que ce soit en accord avec les principes et les instructions prescrites par la religion ou non. *Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ* met en garde le Commandeur des Croyants contre ceci et lui explique que de tels propos ne peuvent être acceptés par un individu quelconque; car des paroles telles que: « Si le Commandeur des Croyants ordonnait au montagnes de marcher, elles marcheraient, que s'il exigeait que la prière fût accomplie le dos tournée à la qibla, les fidèles s'exécuteraient » ne manqueront pas d'éveiller aux cœurs des auditeurs la souspicion (*al-Rayba*) et le doute (*al-Šakk*).[30] De telles personnes ne peuvent que nuire au pouvoir et à l'autorité du gouvernant qui doit compter plus tôt sur les musulmans modérés dont les opinions apportent au pouvoir et au gouvernement un soutien beaucoup plus fort et sont plus propres à faire plier les adversaires, à satisfaire les partisants et à assurer une justification auprès de Dieu.[31]

Cette modération dans les propos, les actes et les opinions est nécessitée par les divergences qui existent dans la population qui se divise en trois parties discutant les conceptions de l'obéissance et la désobéissance aux Imams. Les deux extrémistes d'entre eux ne peuvent éviter l'erreur parce que leurs opinions sont mal fondées, se sont:

a- Ceux qui appellent à «ne pas obéir au gouvernant (*la créature / Maḫlūq*) dans la désobéissance au créateur» ,[32] mais ils tirent de cet adage des con-

[27] *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba*, p. 29: « *Fa'inna ḏālik fī ᶜazā' im al-farā'iḍ wa l-ḥudūd allatī lam yaǧᶜal Allāh li'aḥad ᶜalayhā sulṭān.* »

[28] Ibid. p. 25: « *Wa man kān yaṣūl ᶜalā l-nās biqawm lā yaᶜrif minhum al-muwāfaqa fī l-raᶜy wa l-qawl wa l-sīra fahuw karākib al-asad al-laḏī yūǧil man raᶜāh wa l-rākib ašadd waǧal.* »

[29] Ibid. p. 31: « *Wa lā yastaḥiqq al-wālī hāḏih al-ṭāᶜa illā bi'iqāmat al-ᶜazā'im wa l-sunan mimmā huw fī maᶜnā ḏālik.* »

[30] Ibid. p. 25: « *Fa'inna kaṯīr min al-mutakallimīn min quwād amīr al-mu'minīn al-yawm innamā ᶜāmmat kalāmihim, fīmā ya'mur al-āmir wa yazᶜum al-zāᶜim, anna amīr al-mu'minīn law amar al-ǧibāl an tasīr sārat, wa law amar an tustadbar al-qibla bilṣalāt fuᶜil ḏālik, wa hāḏā kalām qall an yasmaᶜah man kān muḥālif, wa qallamā yarid fī samᶜ al-sāmiᶜ illā aḥdaṯ fī qalbih rayba wa šakk.* »

[31] Ibid. p. 24.

[32] Ibid. p. 25: « *Lā ṭāᶜa limaḫlūq fī maᶜṣiyat al-ḫāliq.* »

clusions erronées puisqu'ils pensent qu'il faut désobéir à l'Imam qui leur ordonne de désobéir à Dieu mais en revanche se soumettre à n'importe quel autre personne (*Ġayr al-Imām*) qui leur impose la soumission aux décrets de Dieu.[33]

b- Ceux qui appellent à l'obéissance aveugle des Imams en tout ce qui leur concerne, sans se préoccuper de savoir s'ils se conforment ou non aux décrets de Dieu; croyant qu'aucun d'entre eux n'a le droit de leur demander des comptes puisqu'ils sont les [Imams] les seuls détenteurs du pouvoir et possesseurs du savoir, alors que le peuple ne se constitue que de sujets (*Atbāʿ*) dont le devoir est d'obéir et s'incliner devant leur volonté.[34]

Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ critique ces deux opinions et trouve que tous les deux déforment la vraie signification des conceptions de l'obéissance et la désobéissance à l'Imam, puisque si l'on résiste lorsque l'Imam agit contrairement aux injonctions divines et si l'on obéit à quelqu'un d'autre qui les respecte, l'Imam et son rival auront droit à une égale obéissance[35] chose qui est tout à fait inadmissible et incensée; de telle opinion ne peut qu'être approuvée par Satan (*al-Šayṭān*) qui l'utilise comme moyen pour faire rejeter la soumission à *l'Imam* il est de son souhait que les gens se considèrent comme égaux aux niveaux des mérites et les aptitudes, ce qui les amène à penser qu'il n'ont pas besoin d'Imam pour diriger leurs affaires, ainsi ils ne pèseront aucun poids sur leur ennemi Satan.[36]

La deuxième opinion est aussi pernicieuse que la première car elle affaiblit (*Tawhīn*) l'autorité morale de l'Imam et donne à l'obéissance un caractère avilissant (*Tahǧīn*) puisqu'elle aboutit à un résultat odieux (*Faẓīʿ*) et abominable (*Mutafāḥiš*) qui consiste à déclarer licite (*Istiḥlāl*) la désobéissance à Dieu ouvertement (*Ǧihār*) proclamée (*Ṣirāḥ*).[37]

Ces deux opinions sont donc rejetées par *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, cependant il se met d'accord avec la troisième opinion, celle de ceux qu'il considère comme des gens de vertu et de bon sens (*Ahl al-faḍl wa l-ṣawāb*), qui disent que:

— l'obéissance n'est pas due à une créature dans la désobéissance au Créateur. Ceux-ci ont raison de dire cela mais ne sont pas dans le vrai quand ils rejettent l'obéissance aux Imams en la faisant apparaître comme une sottise. Ont également raison ceux qui maintiennent l'obligation d'obéissance à l'égard des Imams sur les points qu'ils définissent avec précision, mais ils ont tord s'ils visent l'ensemble de leurs attributions laissées dans le vague.[38]

[33] Ibid. p. 27: « *Fa qālū: in amaranā l-Imām bimaʿṣiyat Allāh fahuw ahl an yuʿṣā, wa in amaranā ġayr al-Imām biṭāʿat Allāh fahuw ahl an yutāʿ.* »

[34] Ibidem: « *Bal nuṭīʿ al-aʾimma fi kull umūrinā wa lā nufattiš ʿan tāʿat Allāh wa lā maʿṣiyatih, wa lā yakūn aḥad minnā ʿalayhim hasīb. Hum wulāt al-amr wa ahl al-ʿilm, wa naḥn al-atbāʿ, wa ʿalaynā l-ṭāʿa wa l-taslīm.* »

[35] Ibidem.

[36] Ibidem.

[37] Ibidem.

[38] Ibidem.

Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ continue à insister que l'Imam ne doit en aucun cas, être obéi si jamais celui-ci songe à prohiber (*Nahā*) la prière (*al-Ṣalāt*), le jeun (al-Ṣiyām) ou le pélerinage (*al-Ḥaǧǧ*), ou s'il ose interdire l'application des peines canoniques et autoriser les actes que Dieu a déclaré comme illicites (*Muḥarram*), car il n'en aurait absolement pas la faculté.[39] Cependant *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* maintient que l'obéissance à l'Imam, s'avère nécéssaire et obligatoire sur certains points où l'obéissance ne doit être accordée à nul autre que lui, parce qu'il est le seul habilité à le faire; il s'agit par exemple: des mesures, des dispositions et des décisions que Dieu a laissé à la discrétion des Imams et à propos desquelles personne d'autre n'a le droit d'émettre des ordres et d'être obéi.[40] Les tâches qui relèvent de la compétence de l'Imam et à propos desquelles ne se sont prononcés ni le Coran ni la Sunna font, selon *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, une partie intégrée du domaine de l'obéissance obligatoire de Dieu, et personne d'autre que l'Imam n'a le droit de s'en mêler.[41] Plus que cela encore, *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* met en garde toute personne qui songe à désobéir ou à trahir (*ḫaḏal*) l'Imam sur ces choses; elle risque alors de perdre son âme.[42]

Aussi le bon gouvernant est celui qui doit, en plus de l'accomplissement des tâches pour lesquelles il est destiné, veiller sur la bonne application des dispositions révélées et les prescriptions de la religion « cette parfaite faveur que Dieu a accordée à l'homme et grâce à laquelle il a réjouit le cœur de celui qui veut connaître sa voie. »[43]

En s'appliquant ainsi, le gouvernant peut espérer une complète obéissance et bénéficier d'une autorité religieuse incontestable puisqu'il sera certain que tout ce qu'il avancera ne manquera pas « d'arguments puissants et connus, qui portent mieux que tout ce que peuvent dire les thuriféraires (*al-Ġālūn*) les plus outrés. La preuve sera ainsi patente et la chose claire.[44]

1-1-2- L'éducation religieuse du peuple

Le passage dans lequel *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* expose son point de vue concernant l'éducation religieuse du peuple[45] contient deux objectifs: le premier est l'éducation religieuse que nous allons traiter ci-dessous; le deuxième entre dans le cadre des renseignements (*al-Istiḫbārāt*) que nous traiterons plus loin.

[39] Ibid. p. 28—9.

[40] Nous avions déjà cité ces tâches au début de ce paragraphe, voir aussi *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba*, p. 28—9.

[41] Ibidem: « *Wa hāḏih al-umūr kulluhā wa ašbāhuhā min ṭāʿat Allāh ʿazz wa ǧall al-wāǧiba, wa laysa li'aḥad min al-nās fihā ḥaqq illā l-Imām.* »

[42] Ibidem: « *Wa man ʿaṣā l-Imām fīhā aw ḫaḏalah faqad awqaʿ nafsah.* »

[43] Ibid. p. 30—1.

[44] Ibid. p. 32—3.

[45] Ibid. pp. 61—5.

Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ rappelle au calife que les hommes sont enclins au mal et au désordre (*al-Fasād*), c'est pourquoi le peuple a besoin d'être éduqué afin de redresser (*Taqwīm*) ses mœurs (*Adab*) et ses comportements (*Tara'iq*). Ce besoin d'éducation s'avère plus important pour le peuple que son besoin de nourritures (*Aqwāt*) pour subsister.[46]

Il est bien évident que l'éducation que propose *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* est de nature religieuse dont le manque est si évident qu'il représente un handicap (*Faqr*) qui ne peut être surmonté que grâce à des gens qualifiés pour de telles tâches et qui ont besoin d'être l'objet de faveurs et d'être aidés à appliquer leurs idées, et surtout de moyens de subsistance, chose nécessaire pour qu'ils puissent se consacrer complètement à cette lourde tâche en toute quiétude.[47] Ces gens doivent être choisis parmi les hommes distingués (*Ḫawāṣṣ riǧāl*) de chaque groupement humain (*Qawm*).[48] Ils doivent être des savants en matière religieuse, du Fiqh et de la Sunna ainsi que de la conduite exemplaire (*al-Siyar*) et des méthodes d'adresser les conseils (al-*Naṣīḥa*).[49] De telles connaissances leur permettront de mener à terme leur démarche éducative; celle-ci consiste à redresser (*Qawwam*), sermonner (*Ḏakkar*), montrer où réside l'erreur (*Baṣṣar bil-ḫaṭa'*), détourner (*Waʿaz*) de l'emportement (*al-Ǧahl*), interdire (*manaʿ*) les innovations (al-Bidaʿ) et mettre en garde (*Ḥaḏḏar*) contre les séditions (*al-Fitan*);[50] ce qui leur permettra, grâce au bon sens (*al-Ra'y*), de réagir avec modération (al-Rifq), de donner le conseil sincère (*al-Nuṣḥ*), d'améliorer la situation en corrigeant (*ʿālaǧ*) les actes qu'ils réprouvent (*istankar*).[51]

Cependant ces hommes de religion doivent savoir qu'ils ne sont que des représentants du gouvernant (l'Imam) qui est le détenteur de l'autorité absolue et qui est le responsable suprême de la prospérité (*Ṣalāḥ*) de la masse populaire (*al-ʿāmma*), car il est certain que celle-ci ne peut « trouver par elle-même [les conditions] de sa prospérité et que celle-ci ne pourra lui venir que de son Imam ».[52]

Ceci nous mène à la hiérarchisation religieuse proposée par *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* et que nous pouvons représenter comme suivant:

1- l'Imam.

2- *al-ʿulamā'*.

3- la masse du peuple.

[46] Ibid. p. 61: « *Inna bil-nās min al-istiǧrāḥ wa l-fasād mā qad ʿalim amīr al mu'minīn, wa bihim min al-ḥāǧa ilā taqwīm ādābihim wa ṭarā' iqihim mā huw ašadd min ḥāǧatihim ilā aqwātihim al-latī yaʿīšūn bihā.* »

[47] Ibid. p. 66.

[48] Ibid. p. 63: « *Wa fī kull qawm ḫawāṣṣ riǧāl ʿindahum ʿalā hāḏā maʿūna.* »

[49] Ibid. p. 61—2: « *Min ahal al-fiqh wa l-sunna wa l-siyar wa l-naṣīḥa.* »

[50] Ibid. p. 63.

[51] Ibidem.

[52] Ibidem.

Le schéma peut se lire à double sens:

1- Du haut vers le bas, il signifie que l'Imam pour mieux appliquer son rôle et son autorité religieuse a besoin des gens distingués parmi les hommes raisonnables et de religion (*Ahl al-ʿaql wa l-dīn = al-ʿulamā'*) qui sont qualifiés de (*Ḥawāṣṣ*) puisqu'ils constituent une élite choisie parmi le peuple qui est qualifié par (*ʿāmma* et *ʿawāmm*); ces (*ḫawāṣṣ*) s'occuperont donc des affaires et de l'éducation des (*ʿawāmm*).

2- Du bas vers le haut, signifie que la masse du peuple « qui compte une majorité d'êtres faibles et ignorants auxquels ne saurait suffir leur propre réflexion (*Ra'y*), qui ne possèdent nulle science (*ʿilm*) et nulle pénétration des choses. » [53] Cette masse a besoin d'une élite vertueuse, les Ulama qui forment une classe supérieure et qui grâce à leur sérieux, sincérité, perséverance et vigueur parviendront à réaliser la prospérité de la communauté (*al-Ǧamāʿa*) et le surcroît de prospérité au bien idéal.[54] A leur tour ses Ulama ont besoin de l'Imam par l'intermédiaire de qui, Dieu assure leur bonheur, tout comme la masse a besoin d'élite, car « c'est par l'Imam que Dieu rend cette élite prospère, retient les éléments agressifs à son égard, réalise l'union des esprits et des langues, lui montre la place qu'elle occupe au sein du peuple, lui inspire les arguments et les fortes paroles qu'elle doit employer contre qui s'écarte du chemin de ses devoirs envers elle » .[55]

Ceci constitue un enchaînement relationnel qui, selon *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, permettra de créer chez l'élite un désir unanime d'entraide (*al-Muʿāwana*) de solidarité (*al-Muʾāzara*) et de souci actif du bien publique. Un esprit que l'auteur espère se prolonger pour atteindre la masse du peuple.[56]

Ainsi l'Imam parviendra à accomplir l'éducation religieuse du peuple dont la finalité est « le retour des trublions à l'ordre et des fauteurs de discorde (al-Furqa) à la concorde (*al-ulfa*) « .[57]

1-1-3- L'éducation religieuse de l'armée

Les conseils de la mise en pratique et de l'installation de l'autorité religieuse apparaissent encore plus clairement dans le traitement du cas de l'armée en général, et plus précisément le cas des Hurasaniens à qui l'auteur

[53] Ibidem: « *Wa ḏālik anna ʿadad al-nās fī ḍaʿfatihim wa ǧahālatihim al-laḏīn lā yastaġnūn biraʾy anfusihim wa lā yaḥmilūn al-ʿilm wa lā yataqaddamūn fī l-umūr.* »

[54] Ibidem.

[55] Ibidem.

[56] Ibidem.

[57] Ibidem.

n'attribue que des qualités reposant surtout sur l'obéissance aveugle au détenteur du pouvoir: « *Wa ammā hum fa'ahl baṣar bil-ṭā'a . . . wa ḏull lil-wulāt.* »,[58] ou des qualités morales sans faire référence à la religion tel que: « *Wa 'afāf nufūs wa furūǧ wa kaff 'an al-fasād.* »[59] Plus loin *Ibn al-Muqaffa'* rappelle au khalife la nécessité de s'occuper de l'éducation religieuse de ces troupes en faisant de l'apprentissage du Coran (al-Kitab) et l'étude de la tradition (*al-Sunna*) le moyen le plus efficace pour leur faire comprendre ce que sont la fidélité (*al-Amāna*) et l'intégrité (*al-'iṣma*), pour s'écarter des hérétiques (*Ahl al-hawā*) et comprendre les bienfaits de se montrer économe (*al-qaṣd*), modeste (*Tawāḍu'*) et s'éloigner des habitudes et des apparences de ceux qui sont excessivement riches (*al-Nutrafīn*), une conduite semblable à celle que le Commandeur des croyants entreprend personnellement.[60]

1-1-4- La question de droit

Il est évident que la question du droit relève de la compétence de l'Imam soucieux de sauvegarder la pureté de la pratique du droit selon les règles conformes de la religion. Son autorité doit donc s'étendre pour toucher à ce domaine capital qui relève directement de l'application de loi islamique fondée sur le Coran et la Sunna.

Dans ce domaine *Ibn al-Muqaffa'* soulève un problème très grave, il s'agit du non respect par les (*Quḍāt*) de la Sunna en attribuant faussement à la Sunna des positions qui n'en sont point: « *Fa yaǧ'al mā laysa sunna sunna.* »[61] Cet acte sème le doute à propos de l'exactitude des règles que l'on prétend traditionnelles, ce qui entraîne des propos qui scandalisent les hommes raisonnables.[62]

Pour démontrer celà, *Ibn al-Muqaffa'* cite l'exemple de l'état de la justice dans les deux métropoles Kufa et Basra où le manque d'uniformité et d'horribles contradictions marquent clairement les jugements rendus (*al-Aḥkām*), concernant les délits et les crimes les plus graves tel que ceux qui relèvent de la condamnation à mort (*al-Dimā'*), des délits sexuels (*al-Furūǧ*) et des biens (*al-Amwāl*),[63] qui nécessitent grande réflexion et prudence de la

[58] Ibid. p. 23.

[59] Ibidem.

[60] Ibid. p. 34—5. Nous remarquons aussi dans le même passage l'insistance d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' sur le fait que l'Imam / le calife doit commencer par s'éduquer soi-même afin que sa conduite soit plus efficace que ses paroles.

[61] Ibid. p. 43.

[62] Ibidem: « *Fa'aqḥamahum dālik fī l-umūr al-latī yatabayyaǧ bihā man sami'ahā min ḏawī l-albāb.* »

[63] Ibid. p. 41.

part des Cadis avant de prendre les décisions les concernant et avant de prononcer les sentences.

Pire que cela les divergences n'existent pas seulement entre les cités (*al-Amṣār*) et régions (*al-Nawāḥī*) mais aussi au sein de la même cité, tel est le cas d'*al-Kūfa* où l'on juge licite (*mustaḥall*), dans un quartier, ce qui est jugé illicite (*muḥarram*) dans un autre.[64]

Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ apparaît scandalisé du fait que ces sentences, en dépit de leur fantaisie, entraînant la mort ou concernant les femmes, soient exécutoires à l'égard des musulmans rien que parce qu'elles ont été prononcées par des Cadis dont les ordres et les décisions sont considérés comme valables.[65]

Sur ce point, *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* ne cache pas son acharnement contre les Cadis dont il remet en question la validité de leur autorité en se basant sur deux raisons:

a- La diversité des écoles et des doctrines qui ne communiquent pas entre elles, ce qui aggrave la divergence existant entre les jugements prononcés par un Cadi ou par un autre. Il cite à ce propos le cas des gens parmi les Irakiens et les Higaziens « qui ont examiné ce problème, il n'y a pas une école qui n'ait la vanité de croire à la supériorité de sa doctrine et ne dédaigne toutes les autres ».[66]

b- L'existence de Cadis qui prétendent respecter la Sunna alors qu'ils ne le font pas. Ces Cadis se permettent ainsi de condamner à mort tout en étant incapables de présenter des arguments probants en faveur des règles qu'ils prétendent traditionnelles.[67]

Pour éviter ces divergences et harmoniser la pratique judiciaire, *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* conseille:

1- d'examiner (*al-Naẓar*) minutieusement les opinions avancées par chaque école ou groupe, et chercher lequel d'entre eux est le plus digne de confiance, et laquelle des interprétations est la plus proche de la justice.[68]

2- Veiller sur la bonne application du raisonnement par analogie (*al-Qiyās*), car il se trouve aussi que la divergence peut provenir suite aux erreurs (*Ġalaṭ*) commises dans l'application du raisonnement inductif (*al-Qiyās*), et qui se résument en deux points:

a- Soit parce que le principe du raisonnement a été fondé au départ sur l'assimilation d'un cas à un autre cas dissemblable.

[64] Ibidem.

[65] Ibidem: « *Ġayr annah ʿalā katrat alwānih nāfiḏ ʿalā l-muslimīn fī dimā'ihim wa ḥuramihim, yaqḍī bih quḍāt ǧā' iz amruhum wa ḥukmuhum.* »

[66] Ibid. p. 42.

[67] Ibid. p. 43: « *Ḥattā yabluġ bih ḏālik ilā an yasfik al-dam biġayr bayyina wa lā ḥuǧǧa ʿalā l-amr al-laḏī yazʿum annah sunna.* »

[68] Ibid. p. 44—5.

b- Ou parce que son auteur a poussé trop loin le raisonnement par analogie.[69]

Ces erreurs conduisent l'homme « à tomber (*Waqaʿ*) dans les embarras (*al-Waraṭāt*), passer sur des équivoques (*al-Šubuhāt*) et fermer les yeux sur des abominations (*al-Qabīḥ*) que l'on connaît pourtant et dont on se rend compte, mais qu'on refuse d'écarter parce que l'on répugne à abandonner cette forme de raisonnement ».[70]

Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ condamne cette attitude car, pour lui, en matière de religion (al-Dīn) et de justice (*al-Ḥukm*), ce raisonnement (*al-Qiyās*) doit être utilisé en tant que guide (Dalīl) dont il se sert pour découvrir ce qui est bon.[71] Cette considération laisse à l'homme la liberté de l'accepter s'il mène à un bon résultat, ou de l'abandonner s'il conduit à des résultats mauvais (*Qabīḥ*) et réprouvables (*Mustankar*). Car le but n'est pas le (*Qiyās*) en lui-même mais l'obtention des « solutions qui soient bonnes et admissibles, qui rendent justice aux gens en leur droit » .[72]

Suite à cet état déplorable de la pratique judiciaire souffrante d'une imprécision d'une tradition devenue douteuse à cause de la libre interprétation des juges dont l'opinion personnelle joue un rôle néfaste, parfois fondée sur un mauvais raisonnement par analogie, *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* suggère au Commandeur des Croyants de prendre en charge la jurisprudence et cela en ordonnant de recueillir dans un dossier (*Kitāb*) toutes « les sentences et les pratiques judiciaires divergentes . . . accompagnées des traditions et des solutions analogiques auxquelles se réfère chaque école ».[73]

Ainsi, après l'examen de chaque affaire (*Qaḍiyya*), le calife, devra décider de l'opinion à adopter et interdire aux Cadis de s'en écarter dans leurs jugements.[74]

Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ suggère que le calife réunisse ces décisions concernant les affaires traitées par son soin dans un recueil qui sera l'unique référence judiciaire à suivre dans la pratique juridique et « qui permettra de transformer ces jugements, où l'erreur se mêle à la vérité, en un code unique et juste ».[75]

Après cette analyse nous pouvons dire que si *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* refuse, dans le cadre de la religion, que les Cadis utilisent l'opinion personnelle (al-

[69] Ibidem.

[70] Ibidem.

[71] Ibidem: « *Wa innamā l-qiyās dalīl yustadall bih ʿalā l-maḥāsin.* »

[72] Ibidem: « *Li'anna l-mubtaġī laysa ʿayn al-qiyās yabġī wa lākinn maḥāsin al-umūr wa maʿrūfahā wa mā alḥaq al-ḥaqq bi'ahlih.* »

[73] Ibid. p. 43: « *Falaw ra'ā amīr al-mu'minīn an ya'mir bihāḏih bl-q ḍiya wa l-siar al-muḫtalifa, faturfaʿ ilayh fī kitāb wa yurfaʿ maʿahā mā yaḫtāǧǧ ih akull qawm min sunna aw qiyās.* »

[74] Ibidem.

[75] Ibidem.

Ra'y), c'est parce qu'il a remarqué l'absence du principe de l'harmonisation (*al-Iǧmāʿ*); et parce qu'il considère que le (*ra'y*) ne peut être validé sans le (*Iǧmāʿ*) qui permet d'éliminer les divergences, d'éviter l'erreur et de faire régner la justice. La preuve à cela est sa suggestion faite au calife de recueillir non seulement les sentences et les pratiques judiciaires, mais que celles-ci soient accompagnées des traditions et des solutions analogiques auxquelles se réfère chaque école; ces interprétations formeront à la fois une matière à examiner par le calife et lui permettront de juger lesquelles d'entre-elles renferment la vérité et la justice et lesquelles représentent l'erreur.

L'usage d'al-ra'y est donc admis, du point de vue de *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, pour les (*Fuqahā'*) et les Cadis comme pour l'Imam, mais le résultat ne peut être validé qu'après l'acceptation par l'Imam dont le rôle est de réaliser cet (*Iǧmāʿ*) grâce à son (*Ra'y*) qui ne doit être discuté en aucun cas après l'avoir prononcé, et qui doit être applicable dans toutes les cités et les régions parce qu'il représente « un code unique et juste »[76] représentant d' (*al-Iǧmāʿ*).

Une démarche qu'*Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* souhaite qu'elle soit respectée par tous les Imams qui se succéderont jusqu'à la fin des temps.[77]

2-L'autorité fondée sur la fermeté

La classification de ce type de pouvoir en second lieu ne signifie pas du tout une diminution de son utilité, au contraire la fermeté et la détermination (*al-Ḥazm*) doivent caractériser l'autorité et les attitudes des gouvernants dans l'exercice de leur pouvoir surtout si celui-ci a été établi récemment.

Ce caractère de fermeté et de détermination permet l'établissement d'une autorité stable même si celle-ci ne peut échapper, comme toute autorité, à être confrontée à des oppositions (*al-Ṭaʿn*) et des révoltes (*al-tasaḫḫuṭ*). Ce caractère de fermeté procure au pouvoir une force qui le rend capable d'échapper aux atteintes (*al-Ḍarr*) dues aux attaques des faibles (*Ḏalīl*).[78]

Dans le livre de *Kalīla wa Dimna* nous trouvons la définition de l'attribut (*Ḥāzim*), il est tout d'abord le contraire de faible (*ʿāǧiz*) comme il apparaît d'après la classification des types d'hommes cités dans ce livre, où la distinction est faite entre trois types d'hommes: celui qui est doux de caractère [ferme] (*Ḥāzim*), celui qui est encore plus ferme (*Aḥzam*) et enfin celui qui est dépourvu de fermeté [faible] (*ʿĀǧiz*).[79]

[76] Ibid. p. 45: « *Ḥukm wāḥid ṣawāb.* «

[77] Ibidem: « *Wa narǧū an yakūn ǧtimāʿ al-siyār qarīna ligimāʿ al-amr bira'y amīr al-mu'minīn wa ʿalā lisānih ṯumma yakūn ḏālik min Imām āḫar āḫīr al-dahr in šā' Allāh.* »

[78] *Al-Adab al-Kabir:* « *Wa ammā malik al-ḥazm fa'innah yaqūm bih al-amr wa lā yaslam min al-ṭaʿn wa l-tasaḫḫuṭ, lan yaḍurr ṭaʿn al-ḏalīl maʿa ḥazm al-gawiyy.* »

[79] R. Khawam, p. 148. *Fāruq Saʿd, Kalīla wa Dimna,* Bey 3. éd.routh, 1983, p. 157.

Dans la fermeté (*al-Ḥazm*), on distingue donc deux niveaux: un premier qui est marqué par le superlatif (*Aḥzam*) et un second désigné par le participe actif (*Ḥāzim*). Il est clair que le premier est celui qui a atteint le plus haut degré de fermeté (*al-Ḥazm*). *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* définit celui-ci comme suit: « celui qui est ferme prévoit le danger à l'avance, fait ses apprêts, sait à l'avance les risques de l'épreuve avant qu'elle n'arrive. »[80]

Il n'y a point de ressemblance entre celui-ci et le troisième type qui est (*al-ʿāǧiz*). Ce sont deux types opposés; ce dernier est défini ainsi: « quant à l'homme qui manque de fermeté, il ne cesse d'être en proie aux retours en arrière, aux hésitations continues, aux ambiguïtés, jusqu'à ce qu'il succombe. »[81]

Le second, qualifié par (*Ḥāzim*) ou l'homme doux, est celui qui « quand le danger se présente n'en est pas étonné, ne laisse pas les éléments de son courage s'éparpiller, ne renonce pas à trouver, au moyen de son jugement et de sa ruse, ce qui lui permettra de ménager une issue pour échapper au péril ».[82] Dans le conte des trois poissons qui illustre les trois situations,[83] celui-ci — (*al-ḥāzim*) — illustre une situation intermédiaire entre (*al-aḥzam*) et (*al-ʿāǧiz*). Tout comme (*al-ʿāǧiz*), il ne se souciait pas de son sort bien qu'il fût au courant du danger qui le guettait [les pêcheurs]; tous deux n'ont pas essayé de fuir quand il était encore temps; mais la disjonction se manifeste une fois que ces deux types se retrouvaient face au danger. C'est alors que le premier (*al-Ḥāzim*) se rendit compte de sa négligence alors il s'efforçait de trouver une ruse pour échapper; et grâce à son intelligence, son courage et son obstination il réussit enfin à tromper les pêcheurs et à leur échapper. Alors que le troisième (*al-ʿāǧiz*) ne savait plus quoi faire, il ne cessa d'avancer et de reculer jusqu'à ce qu'il fût capturé.

D'après les illustrations de ces trois types nous pouvons dire, que le second doit être plutôt qualifié d'habile, vu son intelligence et sa ruse qui lui ont permis de trouver une issue, et pas de ferme (*Ḥāzim*), vu l'absence de la prévoyance du danger qui est le caractère principal de ce type d'homme. Ainsi nous éliminons l'ambiguïté de ce qualificatif et la distinction devient claire:

— (*Aḥzam*) = ferme.
— (*Ḥāzim*) = habile ou rusé.
— (*ʿĀǧiz*) = faible, qui manque de fermeté et d'habileté.

Ceci conserve la supériorité du premier sans négliger le défaut du deuxième.

Ainsi le caractère de fermeté (*al-Ḥazm*) réunit les qualités des deux types d'hommes, celles du (*Ḥāzim*) et d' (*al-Aḥzam*) ou ceux que *Ibn al-*

[80] Ibidem.
[81] Ibidem.
[82] Ibidem.
[83] Ibid. p. 149.

Muqaffaʿ appelle (*al-Ḥāzimayn*).[84] Le gouvernant doit donc s'armer de fermeté et de volonté s'il veut éviter d'être classé dans le type du (*ʿāǧiz*) et subir son sort, car son pouvoir (*Sulṭān*) est comparable à une construction dont l'armature (*al-ʿImād*) et les piliers sont la fermeté et la volonté de gouverner; si cette armature n'existait pas et qu'elle ne fût pas respectée, la construction risquerait de s'écrouler (*tatadāʿā*) et de s'effondrer (*Taṣaddaʿ*).[85] (*Al-Ḥazm*) est alors un caractère indispensable dans tout exercice d'autorité et de pouvoir, surtout si celui-ci a été récemment établi; car les apparences de celui-ci risquent fort bien d'être fausses et trompeuses. Le gouvernant ne doit ni s'y fier ni y faire confiance car les gens, face au nouveau pouvoir, restent perplexes et hésitants; ils se partagent ainsi en deux groupes: Ceux à qui ce pouvoir inspire la crainte (*al-Mahāba*) et ceux qui y éprouve un certain plaisir (*Ḥalāwa*). Le balancement entre ces deux sentiments pousse les gens à aider (*Aʿān*) le pouvoir en s'alliant à lui et en lui attribuant leurs biens; ceci permettra au pouvoir de s'installer et à la nouvelle autorité de s'établir, mais pas pour longtemps car les choses ne tarderont pas à retourner à leur état premier (*Uṣūl*), et à retrouver leur vrai aspect dissimulé auparavant, avec tous les défauts et les dangers qui le caractérisaient dont la menace n'a cessé de guetter la nouvelle autorité.[86]

C'est pourquoi *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* conseille au gouvernants se trouvant dans de telle situation d'être fermes et méfiants; il dit: « Si tu as acquis le pouvoir lors du début d'un règne et t'as remarqué que l'ordre s'est établi sans avoir eu besoin de votre intervention personnelle, les auxiliaires (*al-Aʿwān*) servir sans s'attendre à être récompensés et les affaires réussir sans avoir besoin de fermeté, ne te laisse pas tromper par cela, et ne t'y fie pas. »[87]

Donc l'établissement, la force et la continuité d'un pouvoir ne peuvent exister sans ce caractère de fermeté qui est la seule garantie pour son existence. Ce (*Ḥazm*) doit donc dominer toute pratique politique dans tous les domaines qui entrent dans la compétence du gouvernant, et surtout en ce qui concerne la justice sociale et le choix des fonctionnaires auxquels *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* accorde un intérêt particulier.

[84] *Fārūq Saʿd*, p. 157.

[85] *Al-Adab al-Kabīr*, p. 50: « *Famā kān min al-amr buniy ʿalā ġayr arkān waṯīqa, wa lā ʿimād muḥkam, awšak an yatadāʿā wa yataṣaddaʿ.* »

[86] Ibidem: « *Iḏā kān sulṭānuk ʿind ǧiddat dawla, fara'ayt amr istaqām biġayr ra'y, wa aʿwān ǧazaw biġayr nayl, wa ʿamal anǧaḥ biġayr ḥazm, falā yaġurrannak ḏālik wa lā tastanīm ilayh.* »

[87] Ibidem: « *Fa inna l-amr al-ǧadīd mimmā takūn lah mahāba fī anfus aqwām, wa ḥalāwa fī anfus āḫarīn, fayu'īn qawm bi'anfusihim wa yuʿīn qawm bimā qibalahum, wa yastatibb biḏālik al-amr ġayr ṭawīl, ṯumma taṣīr al-šu'ūn ilā ḥaqā' iqihā wa uṣūlihā.* »

2-1- La justice sociale

Dans le domaine de la justica sociale, *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* conseille au gouvernant d'éviter surtout le jugement hatif et de ne prononcer de sentences qu'après un examen sérieux du cas des accusés car « tuer un innocent est un des plus grands péchés puisque l'innocent n'a pas commis de faute et qu'on a utilisé le mensonge et la calomnie pour arriver à cette fin. »[88] Ainsi, en réagissant avec prudence et fermeté « le peuple saura que son gouvernant ne se précipite pas pour prononcer un jugement que ce soit une récompense ou un châtiment, ce qui nourrira le sentiment de crainte ou d'espérence chez ceux, parmi le peuple, qui l'éprouvent. ».[89]

Le livre de *Kalīla wa Dimna* illustre très bien cette attitude conseillée par *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*. Dans le chapitre V, « L'enquête sur le cas de Dimna »,[90] nous trouvons que le roi [le lion], malgré l'évidence de la culpabilité de Dimna refusait de prononcer un jugement concernant son cas, en raison de l'absence de témoins [le guépard et la panthère] qui répondirent lorsque le lion les interrogea sur ce qui les avait empêché de donner leur témoignages: « Nous savions que la disposition d'un seul témoin, sans qu'il y ait un autre avec lui, n'est pas admise juridiquement pour établir la vérité . . . »; c'est alors que le lion ordonna que Dimna soit exécuté.[91]

En plus, le procès de Dimna met en garde contre plusieurs méthodes injustes ne permettant pas la découverte de la vérité telle que: le fait de se fier aux apparences des accusés pour les condamner, comme l'exprime la déclaration du « chef des sangliers » qui a essayé de convaincre les juges qu'ils sont capables de connaître les justes d'après leurs signes extérieurs et leurs formes apparentes.[92] Il les a invité à chercher ces signes dans l'apparence extérieure du corps de Dimna afin qu'ils arrivent à des certitudes et qu'ils se reposent de leurs scrupules.[93] Ainsi le sanglier s'est permis de juger Dimna d'après son apparence en disant: « Les savants ont écrit et donné à connaître ceci: à savoir que celui dont l'œil gauche est plus petit que l'œil droit et ne cesse de l'attirer à lui par strabisme, celui dont le nez est penché vers le côté droit, est quelqu'un dont on peut dire qu'il a été marqué profondément par la malchance et l'hypocrisie, unissant la tromperie au dévergondage. ».[94] Ces paroles lui ont coûté l'humiliation de la part de Dimna qui a réussi à la fois à montrer qu'elles sont sans fondement et à entraîner la disgrâce du chef des sangliers. Cependant le

[88] R. Khawam, p. 189.

[89] *Al-Adab al-Kabīr*, p. 48: « *Liyaʿrif al-nās fīmā yaʿrifūn min aḫlāqik annak lā tuʿaǧil bil-ṭawāb wa lā bil-ʿiqāb, fa'inna ḏālik adwam liḥawf al-ḫā'if wa raǧā' al-rāǧī.* »

[90] R. Khawam, pp. 180—203.

[91] Ibid. p. 203.

[92] Ibid. p. 192.

[93] Ibid. p. 193.

[94] Ibidem.

procès repose sur un conseil capital prononcé et par la mère du lion et par le juge, il s'agit d'être ferme dans l'accomplissement du devoir de la justice: « Il ne faut pas que l'homme retarde l'accomplissement zélé de ses devoirs envers Dieu, ou plutôt il ne convient pas qu'il empêche le coupable de subir le châtiment qu'il mérite pour son crime.»;[95] agir ainsi serait « un refus de contribuer à la politique générale consistant à cesser de montrer de l'indulgence pour les gens blâmables et vicieux. »[96]. Ceci après avoir éliminé le doute car « les justes parmi les juges, sont ceux qui ne décident pas d'une affaire quand ils sont dans le doute, qui ne se fondent pas là-dessus ni pour juger les gens de l'élite, ni pour juger les gens du commun, car ils savent que le doute ne permet pas de se passer de la vérité. ».[97]

2-2-Le service des renseignements

C'est l'un des outils fondamentaux pour garantir la continuité du pouvoir fondé sur la fermeté.

Nous pouvons commencer en ce lieu par le domaine de l'armée en rappelant la suggestion d'Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ faite au calife concernant la rédaction d'un (*Amān*)[98] qui est avant tout un *statut* qui doit être respecté et suivi à la lettre par les officiers qui doivent s'y conformer dans leur commandement. Cet (*Amān*) que proposait *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* doit être: « clair (*Balīğ*), succinct (*Waǧīz*) contenant tout ce que ces troupes ont à mettre en pratique ou dont elles doivent s'abstenir; il doit être à la fois fort, persuasif et modéré. ».[99] Il est clair qu'il relève de la fermeté que de prévoir une telle démarche. Ceci permettra au gouvernant d'obtenir la cohésion de son armée et éliminer tout ce qui risque de causer le désaccord et le mécontentement dont les conséquences peuvent être d'une extrême gravité. C'est dans cette perspective que se place l'importance qu'accorde *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* à la nécessité de l'établissement d'un service de renseignement; un service fort et d'une grande compétence parce qu'il n'est pas supposé s'infiltrer exclusivement dans le domaine de l'armée mais aussi parmi le peuple.

Ces agents secrets implantés dans l'armée doivent être sélectionnés parmi les gens fidèles et sûrs, des gens de confiance (*al-Tiqāt*) et de bons conseils

[95] Ibid. p. 189.

[96] Ibid. p. 190.

[97] Ibid. p. 198.

[98] La signification du mot (*Amān*) est sauvegarde, comme il est rappelé par Goitein, p. 134, note 21; cependant il la remplace par « catéchisme » (p. 124) considérant que la question centrale en est « l'étendue et la nature de l'autorité religieuse du calife; » (ibidem). Ch. Pellat le traduit par «réglement» tout en signalant qu'il s'agit plutôt d' « un exposé succinct des devoirs, plus que des droits, des militaires de tout grade ». (p. 6)

[99] Ch. Pellat, p. 24—5.

(*al-Nuṣṣāḥ*) sans accorder une grande importance aux dépenses que ce choix demandera; « réagir ainsi, est plus ferme et plus prudent (*Aḥzam*) que de se fier à des agents douteux, car le résultat serait faux et laisserait [le gouvernant] dans l'ignorance [de la situation réelle][100] alors que le but visé est de ne rien ignorer de ce qui se passe dans l'armée à Hurasan, al-'askar et aux frontières. ».[101]

Les autres agents implantés parmi la masse du peuple sont ces agents spéciaux qui ont été choisis par le calife pour l'éducation du peuple, il s'agit dans ce lieu du deuxième rôle qu'ils sont destinés à remplir et qui consiste à renseigner et informer le calife sur tout ce qui se passe dans le milieu de la masse populaire; leurs rapports doivent être détaillés et d'une extrême précision, à tel point que: « personne ne peut faire un mouvement à propos d'une affaire touchant la masse sans être observé par un homme loyal, personne ne peut murmurer sans qu'une oreille compatissante ne se tende vers lui. ».[102] Le but visé par cette observation continue de la masse est de créer les conditions dans lesquelles « les fauteurs de désordre (*ahl al-fasād*) ne peuvent guetter les occasions et les féconder (*Talqīḥ*); or si elles ne sont pas fécondées, le produit (*Nitāǧ*), grâce à Dieu, en est inoffensif (*Ma'mūn*). ».[103]

C'est pourquoi le calife doit aussi assurer son aide, ses faveurs et les moyens de subsister à cette deuxième catégorie d'agents afin qu'ils puissent se consacrer entièrement à leur tâches. » [104]

Cependant *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* propose une troisième catégorie d'agents secrets, ou plutôt un troisième type d'observation sur lequel il insiste dans toutes ses œuvres; celui-ci est lié directement à l'entourage du gouvernant et vise ses collaborateurs. Il s'agit de ce que *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* appelle (*al-Taʿahhud*) que l'on peut traduire par l'inspection ». Dans *al-Adab al-Ṣagīr*, il le considère comme l'une des quatre qualités sur lesquelles se fonde le pouvoir et acquiert la stabilité.[105] Les gouvernants doivent donc observer leurs collaborateurs et serviteurs et examiner tout ce qui s'attache à eux jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient au courant de tous leurs actes qu'ils soient bons ou mauvais.[106] Il ajoute que grâce à (*al-Taʿahhud*) le gouvernant devient capable de tout entendre et de tout observer, et ce fait incite le fontionnaire, employé à son service, à être chaste (*Ḥaṣīn*) et circonspect (*Mutaḥarriz*).[107]

[100] Ibid. p. 36—7.

[101] Ibidem.

[102] Ibid. p. 62—3.

[103] Ibidem.

[104] Ibidem.

[105] *Al-Adab al-Ṣagīr*, p. 15.

[106] Ibidem: « *Wa ammā l-taʿahhud, fa'inna l-wālī iḏā daʿal ḏālik kān samīʿ baṣīr, wa inna l-ʿāmil iḏā fuʿil bih ḏālik kān mutaḥaṣṣin ḥārīṣ.* »

[107] Ibid. p. 16: « *Ṯumma ʿalā l-mulūk baʿd ḏālik taʿahhud ʿummālihim wa tafaqqud umūrihim, ḥattā lā yaḫfā ʿalayhim iḥsān muḥsin wa lā isā'at musī'.* »

La même invitation se répète dans *al-Adab al-Kabīr* avec un ton plus insistant démontrant l'importance d'agir ainsi, il dit: « Veille attentivement à ce que tu sois informé sur tout ce qui concerne tes fonctionnaires. Le malfaisant (*al-Musī'*) d'entre eux craindra alors ta connaissance avant qu'il ne soit atteint par le châtiment [que tu lui infligeras], et le bienfaisant (*al-Muḥsin*) se réjouira du fait que tu sois au courant [de ses actes] avant de toucher ta récompense. » [108]

Tout ceci montre l'importance de ce système des renseignements proposé par *Ibn al-Muqaffa'*. Il devient un instrument de base pour conserver la stabilité et la force du pouvoir et pour protéger et garantir l'autorité du gouvernant ferme qui doit être au courant de tout ce qui se passe qu'il soit désirable ou blâmable, grand ou petit, car « l'homme raisonnable ne doit sousestimer ni la petite erreur dans l'opinion ni la divagation (*al-Zalal*) en matière religieuse (*al-'ilm*) ni l'omission (*al-Iġfāl*) dans les affaires (*al-Umūr*), car celui qui déprécie (*Istaṣġar*) ce qui est exigu (*al-Ṣagīr*) risque d'y mêler d'autres choses aussi petites jusqu'à ce que l'exigu devient énorme (*Kabīr*); car toutes ces petites erreurs sont des brèches (*Tulam*) causées par la défaillance (*al-'aǧz*) et la négligence (*al-Taḍyī'*), et si elles ne se réparent pas, elles risquent de causer des pertes insurmontables. »[109]

Ceci est une règle dont l'exactitude est confirmée par l'expérience; tous les faits confirment sa validité. A ce propos *Ibn al-Muqaffa'* cite les exemples suivants: « Nous avons remarqué que la destruction de la santé est souvent causée par la maladie non soignée, de même que les rivières (*al-Anhār*) sont issues du ruisseau (*al-Ǧadwal*) que l'on croit sans importance.[110] »; « De même que nous avons su que la perte du pouvoir (*al-Mulk*) est souvent causée par l'ennemi dédaigné (*al-Muḥtaqar*). »[111]

Tous ces faits doivent inciter les gouvernants à protéger avec plus de fermeté leur pouvoir, de crainte de le perdre car « si une chose s'attachant au pouvoir, bien qu'elle soit minime (*Ṣaġīr*), est perdue, elle causera sûrement la perte d'une autre qui sera énorme. » [112]

[108] *Al-Adab al-Kabīr*, pp. 46—7: « *Iḥriṣ al-ḥirṣ kullah 'alā an takūn ḫabīr bi'umūr 'ummālik, fa'inna l-musī' yafraq min ḫibratik, qabl an tuṣībah 'uqūbatuk, wa inna l-muḥsin yastabšir bi'ilmik qabl an ya'tiyah ma'rūfuk.* »

[109] *Al-Adab al-Ṣaġīr*, p. 13—4: « *Wa 'alā l-'āqil allā yastaṣġir šay' min al-ḫaṭa' fī l-ra'y, wa l-zalal fī l-'ilm, wa l-iġfal fī l-umūr, inna man staṣġar al-ṣaġīr awšak an yaġma' ilayh ṣaġīr wa ṣaġīr, fa'iḏā l-ṣaġīr kabīr, wa innamā hiy ṭulam yatlumuhā l-'aǧz wa l-tadyī', fa'iḏā lam tusadd awšakat an tanfaǧir bimā lā yuṭāq.* »

[110] Ibidem: « *Wa ra'aynā l-ṣiḥḥa tu'tā min al-dā' al-laḏī lā yuhfal bih, wa ra'aynā l-anhār tanbaṭiq min al-ǧadwal al-laḏī yustaḫaff bih.* »

[111] Ibidem: « *Qad ra'aynā l-mulk yu'tā min qibal al-'aduww al-muḥtaqar.* »

[112] Ibidem: « *Wa aqall al-umūr iḥtimāl lil-ḍayā' al-mulk, li'annah laysa min šay' yaḍī' wa in kān ṣaġīr illā ittaṣal bi'āḫar yakūn 'aẓīm.* »

En plus des renseignements (*al-Istiḫbārāt*) et de l'inspection (*al-Taʾahhud*) surgit un autre moyen qui est aussi efficace et protecteur car il diminue les risques de perte de pouvoir du gouvernant. Il s'agit du choix des fonctionnaires et des collaborateurs du gouvernant; chose à laquelle *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* accorde une importance particulière dans ses conseils adressés au calife dans toutes ces œuvres.

2-3- Le choix des fonctionnaires et des collaborateurs

En effet, le gouvernant a besoin de ministres (*al-Wuzarāʿ*) et d'auxiliaires (*al-Aʿwān*) dont il ne peut se passer; la raison en est que « ses tâches sont nombreuses, et pour les assurer toutes, il a besoin de beaucoup de préfets et d'auxiliaires »[113] car il est rare qu'une seule personne réunisse toutes les bonnes qualités exigées pour mener à terme toutes ces fontions que le pouvoir est censé assurer dans les différents domaines qu'il cerne.[114] Ceci fait que le pouvoir ne peut être exercé d'une manière solide qu'avec le concours des ministres et des auxiliaires.[115]

Cependant tous les hommes ne sont ni capables d'assumer cette responsabilité ni dignes de mériter un tel honneur et une telle faveur que d'être collaborateurs du gouvernant. *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* conseille au souverain de s'armer de méfiance vis-à-vis des gens qui désirent entrer dans son entourage car ceux-ci constituent différents types (*aǧnās*) de gens; parmi eux, il existe le vertueux (*al-Sāliḥ*) et le vicieux (*al-Ṭāliḥ*), l'homme de bonne éducation (*ḏū al-Adab*) et celui qui est dépourvu d'éducation (*Man lā adab lah*), le puissant (*al-Qawiyy*) et l'incapable (*al-Ḍaʿīf*), le bienfaisant (*al-Muḥsin*) et le malfaisant (*al-Musīʾ*);[116] ce qui prouve que son entourage devient un rassemblement de gens sincères (*Barr/Abrār*) et de crapules (*Fāǧir/Fuǧǧar*), de savants (*ʿālim/ʿulamāʿ*) et d'ignorants (*Ǧāhil/Ǧuhhāl*), des gens nobles (*Šarīf/Šurafāʿ*) et de ceux qui sont d'origine humble (*Waḍīʿ/Wuḍaʿāʿ*).[117] C'est d'ailleurs cette remarque faite dans *al-Adab al-Ṣaġīr* qui devient dans la *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba* une

[113] R. Khawam, p. 156; voir aussi *Al-Adab al-Ṣaġīr*, p. 15: « *Wa 'aʿmāl al-sulṭān kaṯīra . . .* «

[114] Ibidem: « *Wa qallamā tustaǧmaʿ al-ḫiṣāl al-maḥmūda ʿind aḥad.* »

[115] Ibidem: « *Lā yanfaʿ al-sulṭān illā bil-wuzarā' wa l-aʿwān.* » ; voir aussi R. Khawam, p. 294; Fārūq Saʿd, p. 357.

[116] Ibidem, p. 17: « *Qad yasʿā ilā abwāb al-sulṭān aǧnās min al-nās kaṯīr: ammā l-ṣāliḥ famadʿuw wa ammā l-ṭāliḥ famuqtaḥim, wa ammā ḏū l-adab faṭālib, wa ammā man lā adab lah famuḥtabis, wa ammā l-qawiyy famudāfiʿ, wa ammā l-ḍaʿīf famadfūʿ, wa ammā l-muḥsin famustaṭīb wa ammā l-musīʾ famustaǧīr.* »

[117] Ibidem: « *Fahuw maǧmaʿ al-barr wa l-fāǧir wa l-ʿālim wa l-ǧāhil wa l-šarīf wa l-waḍīʿ.* »

des principales préoccupations d'*Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, celle touchant les fonctionnaires etl 'entourage du calife, ou ce que *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* appelle (*al-Ṣaḥāba*).[118]

Dans le chapitre concernant « les collaborateurs du souverain », *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* ne cache pas son regret de constater qu'avant le califat du Commandeur des croyants le rôle de ces (*Ṣaḥāba*) « a été joué par des vizirs (*Wuzarāʿ*) et des secrétaires (*Kuttāb*) qui l'ont tenu d'une façon détestable, abominable, préjudiciable à la dignité, à la bonne éducation et à la politique, d'une façon qui attirait les mauvais et chassait les bons. La compagnie du calife était devenue alors une chose futile à laquelle ont pu prétendre des gens de rien et aspirer des hommes qui se seraient bien contentés d'un honneur moindre. »[119]

Le fait que ces gens se trouvaient en compagnie du souverain a choqué les gens de mérite qui trouvaient cela injuste et scandaleux ce qui les a poussé à tenir les propos suivants: « En voilà un qui ne peut se réclamer d'une éducation de noble, ni d'un mérite personnel connu; c'est un homme dont le jugement est réprouvé, qui est célèbre parmi ces concitoyens par son immoralité, qui a passé la majeure partie de sa vie comme artisan, à travailler de ses mains, qui, en outre ne peut faire état d'aucune prouesse à la guerre, mais qui a pu faire bon chemin et parvenir là où il voulait grâce à quelqu'un dont il avait l'oreille, sui est ainsi parvenu à réaliser ses désirs et a fini par être introduit auprès du calife. »[120]

Des collaborateurs de ce genre n'ont aucune des qualités exigées pour accéder à ce rang, ce sont des gens méchants qu'il faut éviter car « il n'y a pas de cas où quelqu'un ait subi le dommage d'obéir à des ministres méchants sans causer sa perte. »[121]

C'est pourquoi *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* conseille au gouvernant d'être prudent dans le choix (*al-Taḫayyur*) de ses préfets (*al-ʿUmmāl*) et vizirs (*al-Wuzarāʿ*) et de n'employer à son service que des gens qui possèdent « la chasteté, la bonne éducation, l'intelligence et la vertu de la religion. »;[122] des qualités que *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* ne manque pas de rappeler dans la *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba*[123] et dont il ajoute les liens de parenté (*Riʿāyat al-raḥim*), les prouesses notoires accomplies autrefois à l'encontre de l'ennemi, les exploits récents, les aptitudes qui rendraient la personne désignée indispensable, les capacités spéciales, le fait d'être guerrier (*Fāris*), orateur (*Ḫaṭīb*) ou grand savant (*ʿAllāma*) ou homme de religion et de dignité.[124] Il n'y a que les gens de ce calibre qui méritent d'entourer le souverain et d'être ses amis de fraternité (*Iḫwān*), ses auxiliaires

[118] *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba*, pp. 51—7.
[119] Ibid. p. 50—1.
[120] Ibid. p. 52—53.
[121] R. Khawam, p. 235.
[122] Ibid. p. 297.
[123] *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba*, p. 57.
[124] Ibid. p. 53.

(*Aʿwān*) et ses agents de confiance (*Ṯiqāt*)[125] parce qu'ils sont les seuls « dans lesquels sont réunies les qualités de bon conseil, de jugement solide et de sobriété. [126] Des gens comme eux sont peu nombreux ce qui incite encore plus le gouvernant à être ferme dans son jugement et son choix, car celui-ci influera de toute évidence le choix de ses collaborateurs et de ses fonctionnaires qui s'attacheront à leur tour aux mêmes critères qui leur ont permis d'être sélectionnés, dans le choix de leurs agents et ainsi de suite.[127]

Ainsi le pouvoir du roi ferme dans le choix de ses ministres et collaborateurs augmentera grâce au bon jugement de ceux-ci dont la qualité principale sera la fermeté, « tout comme le volume de la mer augmente grâce aux eaux des rivières. »[128]. Et si nous revenions à la *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba* qui ne se contente pas de rester au niveau du conseil adressé au calife mais le dépasse à une critique de la situation désastreuse de laquelle souffre l'entourage du calife; une situation qui, à l'époque d'*Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ*, l'ancien calife Abbasside, a poussé, selon le récit d'Ibn al-Muqaffa', un groupe de gens vertueux, des notables de Basra à refuser de se rendre auprès de celui-ci, « les uns se sont cachés et n'ont point paru devant le calife, d'autres ont pris la fuite après s'être présentés, préférant un acte de subordination à une position détestable. »; ils tenaient les propos suivants: « c'était une situation [si élevée] que des gens plus nobles que nos pères en briguaient de moins hautes auprès de dignitaires plus humbles que les Emirs de nos gouvernants d'aujoud'hui, mais c'était alors une dignité, un honneur car les hommes qui en bénéficiaient étaient soumis à un examen, et l'on faisait une enquête à leur sujet. »[129]. C'est en ces termes durs que *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* met le calife en garde contre la détérioration de la situation en rappelant qu'il s'agit là d'une injustice immense qui « affecte particulièrement les Quraysites mais touche beaucoup de gens et fait subir aux hommes de mérite et de dignité une pénible épreuve et de grâves dommages. »;[130] et en lui rappelant aussi que dans ce domaine là il ne s'agit pas du tout « de quelque chose de semblable à des faveurs particulières, des situations ou des fonctions délicates que le maître confie spécialement à qui bon lui semble, mais d'un aspect important et général de la justice en vertu duquel on doit décider en faveur des descendants des anciens qui ont des antécédents méritoires et des contemporains qui possèdent des titres de gloire ou sont de

[125] *Al-Adab al-Kabīr*, p. 45: « *Iʿrif ahl al-dīn wa l-murū'a fī kull kūra wa qarya wa qabīla, fayakūnū hum iḫwānuk wa aʿwānuk wa biṭānatuk wa ṯiqātuk.* »

[126] R. Khawam, p. 156.

[127] *Al-Adab al-Ṣaġīr*, p. 15: « *Fa' innah ʿasā an yakūn bitaḫayyurih raǧul wāḥid qad iḫtār alf, li'annah man kān min al-ʿummāl ḫiyār fasayaḫtār kamā ḫtīr, wa laʿalla ʿummal al-ʿāmil wa ʿummāl ʿummālih yabluġūn kaṯīr.* »

[128] Ibid. p. 33: « *Al-malik al-ḫāzim yazdād bira'y al-wuzarā' al-ḫazama kamā yazdad al-baḥr bimawāddih min al-anhār.* »

[129] *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba*, p. 50—51.

[130] Ibid. p. 54—55.

valeureux combattants, en leur appliquant la justice ou ce que l'on croit être la justice. »[131]

Ainsi, *Ibn al-Muqaffa'* transforme le choix de l'entourage du calife d'une simple question de faveur à un délicat objet de justice, qui doit être rendu à ceux qui le méritent parmi les descendants des anciens et les contemporains afin de rendre à ce privilège sa supériorité et aux collaborateurs du Commandeur des Croyants un honneur insigne propre à rejaillir sur leurs familles et leur descendants qui méritent d'être préservés et défendus.[132]

Ensuite *Ibn al-Muqaffa'* précise bien les types de gens dignes de bénéficier de ce privilège. Il les limite à six[133] qui sont:

— Ceux qui possèdent auprès du Commandeur des Croyants des titres provenant de leur parenté avec lui, ou des services rendus. Sont comptés dans ce type les princes de la propre famille du calife, ses frères consanguins et les descendants de *'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib et d'al-'Abbās* b. *'Abd al-Muṭṭalib*, car: « il existe parmi eux des hommes qui, si on les laissait exercer des charges et des fonctions importantes, pourraient s'acquitter seuls de certaines tâches et participer activement à d'autres. » .

— Ceux qui se distinguent par une qualité particulière.

— Ceux dont la noblesse, l'intelligence et les actes peuvent les rendre dignes de la société du Commandeur des Croyants, de la faveur de converser avec lui et de le conseiller.

— Les soldats braves dont le courage qui a fait leur rénommée s'accompagne de mérites personnels et d'honnêteté et peut être à tout instant mis à contribution, de sorte qu'on puisse les retirer de l'armée pour les placer dans l'entourage du calife.

— Les hommes instruits en matière religieuse et vertueux, que l'on envoie au sein du peuple afin que ce dernier puisse profiter de leurs connaissances.

— Les nobles qui ne sauraient se corrompre ni corrompre autrui.

Ibn al-Muqaffa' conseille alors au calife de s'occuper lui-même de ses (*Ṣaḥāba*), et de veiller à ce qu'ils soient maintenus à leurs places et dans leurs

[131] Ibidem.

[132] Ibid. p. 56—7.

[133] Goitein les avait limité en trois: — Les officiers dévoués. — Les fuqaha'. — Les gens de naissance noble.

On se demande pourquoi n'a t-il pas cité les autres types; peut-être considérait-il que ces trois types sont les plus importants de tout les autres qu'Ibn al-Muqaffa' cite dans sa *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba*, mais ceci ne relève rien de l'ambiguïté de cette limitation surtout si nous savions que « la noblesse de naissance n'est citée qu'une seule fois (p. 55) alors qu'il n'a pas mentionné les gens d'illustration personnelle (*al-Ḥasab*) bien que celle-ci est fréquemment citée (voir pp. 51, 53, 55, 57).

attributions,[134] et de n'accorder ce pouvoir ni à un secrétaire ni à un chambellan (*Ḥāǧīb*).[135]

En examinant la formation de l'entourage du calife comme le propose *Ibn al-Muqaffa'*, nous pouvons remarquer qu'elle est plutôt basée sur les valeurs personnelles (*al-Ḥasab*) que sur la naissance (*al-Nasab*). De même qu'elle est fondée sur un pluralisme qui a pour but que les différents éléments constituant la communauté soient représentés, dans cet entourage, par des personnalités éminentes. Ainsi il cite: (*al-Muhāǧirūn*), (*al-Anṣār*), les grandes familles Arabes, les (*Banū Hāšim*) et les Quraysites sans négliger les Irakiens et les Hurasaniens qu'il avait déjà privilégié, et dont il glorifiait les qualités nombreuses qui font d'eux les meilleurs soldats;[136] c'est à eux qu'il faisait sûrement allusion quand il parlait d' « hommes braves dont le courage a fait leur renommée s'accompagne de mérites personnels et d'honnêteté . . . de sorte que l'on peut les retirer de l'armée pour les placer dans l'entourage du Calife. » . De même que les Irakiens, ses compatriotes, qu'il ne cite pas dans le chapitre concernant les (*Ṣaḥāba*) mais il leur reconnaissait plusieurs qualités dont la connaissance en matière religieuse, l'honnêteté, les valeurs morales et l'éloquence, et dont il regrette le fait qu'ils aient été mal traités par les pires gouverneurs alors que le Commandeur des Croyants peut compter sur eux pour tout ce dont il a besoin, et leur confier toutes sortes de fonctions.[137] Même les Syriens pour qui il a manifesté l'hostilité,[138] il n'hésite pas à conseiller au calife de privilégier une élite d'entre eux.[139]

Cependant, réussir la formation de tel entourage ne peut se réaliser sans le choix judicieux et la connaissance profonde de ces éléments qui sont censés le constituer car le calife devra s'assurer que ceux-ci possèdent une bonne éducation, sont de bon conseil et loyaux envers lui; s'il ne se comporte pas ainsi, le calife ressemblera à quelqu'un qui, monté sur un lion inspirant la terreur, serait lui-même encore plus terrifié.[140]

A ce propos, il nous semble important de parler de l'un des domaines dans lequel le choix des agents est une des grandes mesures à prendre et s'avère aussi comme l'une des grandes nécéssités. Il s'agit du domaine de l'impôt foncier (*al-Ḫarāǧ*).

[134] *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba*, p. 56—7.
[135] Ibidem.
[136] Ibid. pp. 23—5.
[137] Ibid. p. 39.
[138] Ibid. p. 47.
[139] Ibid. p. 49.
[140] Ibid. p. 25; voir aussi *Al-Adab al-Kabīr*, p. 51.

2-4- L'impôt foncier (al-Ḫarāǧ)

Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ exprime clairement la nécéssité de prendre de telles mesures concernant les agents du fisc en disant à la fin du chapitre où il traite le problème d' (*al-Ḫarāǧ*): « Nous ne voyons à propos du (*Ḫarāǧ*) d'autre mesure que celle que le Commandeur des Croyants a prise, alors qu'aucun de ses prédécesseurs n'en avait eu l'initiative, [je veux parler du] soin apporté à choisir les agents du fisc, à les contrôler, à les sanctionner et à les remplacer (le cas échéant). »[141]

Ce passage réunit à lui seul les quatre principes piliers du pouvoir fondé sur la fermeté comme ils ont déjà été cités par *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* dans *al-Adab al-Ṣagīr*. Il s'agit du:

— Choix minutieux des fonctionnaires (*al-Iǧtihād fī al-taḫayyur*).

— Le contrôle sévère (*al-Taʿahhud al-šadīd*).

— La prudence dans la délégation du pouvoir (*al-Mubālaġa fī al-taqaddum wa l-tawkīl*).

— La juste rétribution (*al-Ǧazāʾ al-ʿatīd*).[142]

Nous insistons en ce lieu sur le troisième principe[143] qui concerne la délégation du pouvoir (*al-tawkīl*). Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ tient à rappeler que toute personne possédant une intelligence ou une personne de confiance n'est pas obligatoirement capable de savoir diriger toutes les affaires et à remplir toutes les fonctions;[144] c'est pourquoi il faut nommer à chaque fonction des agents qualifiés et spécialisés dans les domaines auxquels ils pourront être affectés, car tout homme possède des défauts (*ʿUyūb*) et des qualités, et le fait de lui confier le travail qui correspond à ses qualités et à ses compétences rend ses défauts non-nuisibles à la fonction dont il est chargé et dans laquelle il usera de son savoir-faire avec dévouement et loyauté.[145] C'est dans cette perspective que se place la suggestion d'*Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* de ne charger aucun militaire d'une fonction ayant une relation avec l'impôt foncier (*al-Ḫarāǧ*)[146]. Ainsi si

[141] Ibid. p. 50—51.

[142] *Al-Adab al-Ṣaġīr*, p. 15.

[143] Parce qu'il est le seul que nous n'avons pas traité jusqu'à présent dans le chapitre concernant le pouvoir fondé sur la fermeté, et vu son importance parmi les recommandations qu'Ibn al-Muqaffa' adresse au calife.

[144] *Al-Adab al-Ṣaġīr*, p. 15.

[145] Ibid. p. 16: « *Wa aʿmāl al-Sulṭān kaṯīra wa qallamā tustaǧmaʿ al-ḫiṣāl al-maḥmūda ʿinda aḥad, wa innamā l-waǧh fī ḏālik wa l-sabīl ilayh al-ladi yastaqīm bih al-ʿamal an yakūn ṣāḥib al-sulṭān ʿālim bi'umūr man yurīd al-istiʿāna bih, wa mā ʿinda kull raǧul min al-ra'y wa l-ġanā', wa mā fīh min al-ʿuyūb; fa'iḏā staqarr ḏālik ʿindah ʿan ʿilmih wa ʿilm man ya'tūh, waǧǧah likull ʿamal man ʿaraf anna ʿindah min al-ra'y wa l-naǧda wa l-amāna mā yaḥtāǧ ilayh fīh, wa anna mā fīh min al-ʿuyūb lā yaḍurr biḏālik.* »

[146] *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba*, p. 32—3.

les hommes désignés à être soldats étaient qualifiés pour occuper cette position de combattants qui leur procure considération et dignité, ces qualités ne sont toutefois pas suffisantes pour leur permettre d'être de bons agents du fisc. De même que le fait de leur confier l'administration du (*Ḫarāǧ*) risque fort bien de les corrompre. En effet les soldats aussi ont des défauts qu'il ne faut pas négliger; « ce sont des gens qui en prennent à leur aise, des fauteurs de malheur qui, lorsqu'ils perçoivent des pièces d'or et d'argent, n'hésitent pas à s'en emparer; et quand ils tombent dans la révarication (*al-Ḫiyāna*), toute leur conduite se retrouve entachée de défauts, leur loyauté comme leur discipline. Si on les empêche d'augmenter le (*Ḫarāǧ*), la fierté les pousse à la révolte,[147] car ils n'accepteront pas l'humiliation, l'avilissement et la bassesse qu'entraîne l'administration de l'impôt foncier ».[148]

Ainsi Ibn al-Muqaffa' se montrait hostile à l'idée de confier l'administration de l'impôt foncier à l'armée, il n'est d'autant pas satisfait de ceux qui la détiennent qu'il critique les méthodes que ceux-ci utilisent et les classe dans deux types d'agents:

— Le premier type est celui des agents qui prennent sans discernement et par la violence partout où ils découvrent quelque chose à prendre, et imposent abusivement les particuliers ainsi que les cantons ruraux et les paysans qui s'y trouvent.

— Le deuxième type est celui des agents qui, en appliquant la méthode de l'arpentage, perçoivent le (*Ḫarāǧ*) sur les cultivateurs qui ont semé et en dispensent les autres, de sorte que ceux qui ont cultivé la terre sont soumis à l'impôt, tandis que ceux qui la laissent inculte y échappent.

En faisant ces remarques *Ibn al-Muqaffa'* soulève un autre problème qui ne manque pas d'importance. Il s'agit de la désorganisation et du désordre qui marque ce domaine par l'absence d'une réglementation (*Amr*) à laquelle les agents du fisc puissent se référer; en plus d'un manque de contrôle (*al-Ta'ahhud*) qui les aurait incité à respecter le règlement en demandant des comptes et en les empêchant de commettre des exactions à l'égard des paysans après que ces derniers aient exploité la terre avec soin dans l'espoir de tirer un bénéfice du travail de leurs mains.[149]

C'est à cause de ce manque de réglementation et de contrôle que l'assiette des contributions imposées aux circonscriptions administratives (*al-Kuwar*) est marquée par l'instabilité, voir même menacée par la disparition;[150] et c'est le même motif qui poussait à rendre les prix plus chers afin que le (*Ḫarāǧ*) soit aisément perçu. Tel est le cas de l'Iraq où le produit du (*Ḫarāǧ*) n'atteint

[147] Ibidem.
[148] Ibidem.
[149] Ibid. p. 58—9.
[150] Ibidem.

une grande valeur que parce que les prix sont élevés. Ceci ne constitue pas une bonne solution aux yeux d'*Ibn al-Muqaffa'*, car si la cherté des prix facilite la perception du (*Ḫarāǧ*), elle entraîne nécéssairement le marasme et la mévente[151] ce qui pousse les fonctionnaires à réclamer de fortes soldes à cause de la vie qui devient de plus en plus chère.[152]

Et enfin c'est à cause de ce manque de réglementation que les paysans les plus médiocres ou ceux dont les terres ne devaient pas être cultivées régulièrement[153] se retrouvent obligés de subir les injustices des agents de l'impôt, et contraints à verser des contributions qui dépassent leurs capacités et leurs productions à cause de la médiocrité du rendement des premiers et à cause des terres laissées incultes qui coutent quand même « beaucoup de peines aux agriculteurs assez entreprenants pour les mettre en valeur. »[154]

Devant tous ces problèmes liés au (*Ḫarāǧ*), au mauvais choix des fonctionnaires du fisc, à l'absence de réglementation et du contrôle ce qui entraîne le manque de justice dans la perception de l'impôt, *Ibn al-Muqaffa'* ne manque pas de faire des suggestions et de proposer des solutions qui permettront de hanger l'état du (*Ḫarāǧ*). Nous les notons comme suit:

— Ne charger aucun militaire d'une fonction relative à l'impôt foncier.[155]

— Adapter les soldes à l'état du trésor et au rendement de l'agriculture.[156]

— Etablir une réglementation à laquelle puissent se référer, les agents du fisc, dans l'exercice de leur fonction.[157]

— Etablir un contrôle sur les pratiques de ces agents en leur demandant de rendre des comptes et en les empêchant de commettre des exactions: (*al-Muḥāsaba*).[158]

— Mettre au point une meilleure organisation de l'administration du fisc en établissant l'assiette des impôts des cantons ruraux, des villages et des terres appartenant à des particuliers; et ceci en enregistrant les documents les concernant par les bureaux, et en déterminant officiellement leurs rôles.

— Que le calife s'occupe personnellement de choisir soigneusement les agents du (*Ḫarāǧ*), de les contrôler, de les sanctionner ou de les faire remplacer le cas échéant.[159]

[151] Ibid. p. 34—5.
[152] Ibidem.
[153] Ibid. p. 58—9.
[154] Ibid. p. 10.
[155] Ibid. p. 32—3.
[156] Ibid. p. 36—7.
[157] Ibid. p. 58—9.
[158] Ibidem.
[159] Ibid. p. 60—1.

Toutes ces suggestions réformatrices permettront d'établir la justice fiscale qui va devoir tenir compte et de la qualité de terrains, de la quantité de la production et de l'effort pénible des agriculteurs « qui espèrent tirer un bénéfice du travail de leurs mains. »[160] Et enfin, de telles réformes pousseront les contribuables à consacrer leurs soins à l'exploitation des terrains où il trouvent un avantage, car ils sauront qu'ils ne seront contraints de verser qu'un impôt qu'ils connaissent et garantissent.[161]

Il est à noter que *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* sentait, que ses suggestions et ses idées ne pourront être entendues par des oreilles attentives ni trouveront les hommes de bonne volonté pour les partager avec lui, car ceux-ci sont peu nombreux et parce que la réalisation et la mise en pratique de ces idées avancées seront pénibles et leur fruits n'en apparaîtront qu'à terme;[162] c'est pourquoi il met tous ses espoirs dans l'intervention personnelle du calife dans ce domaine d' (*al-Ḫarāǧ*) comme il l'avait déjà fait en ce qui concerne les domaines précédents que nous avions déjà discuté à savoir l'armée et la justice.

C'est ainsi que le Calife pourra aboutir à la formation d'un entourage éfficace et digne de confiance; un entourage loin de tout soupçon. Cet entourage sera constitué exclusivement d'une élite[163] soigneusement choisie par le Commandeur des croyants lui-même et non par l'intermédiaire d'un vizir ou d'un secrétaire. Ceci était le cas avant le califat d'*al-Manṣūr* où le choix des (*ṣaḥāba*) était « tenu d'une façon détestable, abominable, préjudiciable à la dignité, à la bonne éducation et à la pratique, d'une façon qui attirait les mauvais et chassait les bons, de sorte que la compagnie du calife était devenue une chose futile à laquelle ont pu prétendre des gens de rien et aspirer des hommes qui se seraient bien contentés d'un honneur moindre. »[164] C'est pourquoi *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ* conseille vivement au calife de s'en occuper lui-même et de n'en confier la charge à personne d'autre que lui: « Ces collaborateurs dévoués devront être maintenus à leur place et dans leurs attributions; il ne faut pas qu'un secrétaire ait le pouvoir d'augmenter une pension ou de la diminuer et qu'un chambellan ait la faculté d'avancer ou de retarder une audience. »[165]

Cette analyse montre qu'entrer dans l'entrourage du calife devient une tâche lourde, et pleine de dangers, parce que la personne désignée à servir le pouvoir et entrer en relation directe avec son représentant suprême, qui est le

[160] Ibid. p. 58—9.

[161] Ibidem.

[162] Ibid. p. 60—1: « *Wa hāḏā raʾy maʾūnatuh šadīda wa riǧāluh qalīl wa nafʿuh mutaʾaḫḫir.* «

[163] *Risāla fī al-Ṣaḥāba*, p. 51: « Fa'inna awlā amr al-wāli bil-tatabbut wa l'taḫayyur amr aṣḥābih al-laḏīn hum bahā' finā'ih wa zīnat maǧlisih, wa alsinat raʿiyyatih wa l'aʿwān ʿalā ra'yih wa mawadiʿ karāmātih wa l-ḫāṣṣa min ʿāmmatih. »

[164] Ibidem.

[165] Ibidem.

calife, sera sûrement soumise à de rudes épreuves et à une observation constante et à un contrôle sévère et ferme. Pour cette personne la moindre erreur, aussi petite qu'elle puisse être, devient intolérable; c'est pourquoi *Ibn al-Muqaffa'* invite chaque personne désireuse de pénétrer dans cet entourage de compter parmi les (*Ṣaḥāba*) de bien réfléchir et méditer sur son cas afin d'être capable de mesurer la lourdeur de cette tâche et de prévoir les dangers qui l'accompagnent et la guettent.

N. B.: En ce qui concerne les épîtres *al-adab al-kabīr* et *al- adab al-ṣagīr*, nous nous sommes référé à l'édition de M. Kurd 'Ali, *Rasā'il al-bulagā'*, Caire, 1946? alors qu'en ce qui concerne la *risāla fī al-ṣaḥāba*, nous nous référons à la version de M. Ch. Pellat.

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LE "QUARTERLY ORIENTAL MAGAZINE" DE CALCUTTA ET SON ARTICLE "LANGUE ET LITTÉRATURE DU TIBET" DE MARS 1825

BERNARD LE CALLOC'H

(Paris)

C'est aux *Mines de l'Orient* (Fundgruben des Orients) publiées à Vienne à partir de janvier 1809 par le professeur Josef Hammer grâce à la générosité du comte polonais Wenceslaw Rzewuski, que revient l'honneur d'avoir été la première revue orientaliste au monde. Malheureusement, elle cessa de paraître en 1818 après seulement neuf ans d'existence, faute de moyens financiers suffisants.

Devant le vide ressenti par les milieux savants à la suite de la disparition de cette première publication périodique, le docteur Horace Hayman Wilson secrétaire de la Société Asiatique du Bengale depuis 1810, homme énergique et courageux, infatigable promoteur de l'orientalisme, décida de reprendre le flambeau tombé des mains de son collègue autrichien. Ainsi naquit en 1821 le *Quarterly Oriental Magazine.*

Il devait connaître, lui aussi, des vicissitudes et finalement disparaître en 1827, avant de renaître en 1829 sous la forme de la revue « Gleanings in Science ». Trois ans plus tard, celle-ci disparut à son tour pour faire place en janvier 1832, à l'instigation de James Prinsep, au « Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta », qui en revanche connut une carrière d'une belle longévité puisqu'il existe encore de nos jours.

En mars 1825, le Quarterly Oriental Magazine fait paraître en pages 160 et 161 un article intitulé *Langue et littérature du Tibet.* C'est le premier en date de tous les articles qui ont été consacrés à Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös. Malgré sa primauté, ou peut-être à cause d'elle, il est rarement mentionné par les biographes du tibétologue. Certains l'ignorent manifestement, d'autres semblent n'y attacher aucune importance. Ce qui est surtout frappant, c'est que, même lorsqu'il en est fait mention, il ne donne jamais lieu à une citation, encore moins à un commentaire ou à un développement quelconque.

Théodore Duka, par exemple, ne le cite pas, bien que le titre de la revue apparaisse à quatre reprises dans des textes de lettres qu'il reproduit en pages 72, 74, 85 et 90 de son édition anglaise. Il est évident qu'il n'a pas pris la peine de le consulter ou que, l'ayant fait, il a jugé inutile d'en parler ou n'a finalement pas pensé à s'y référer.

Ni Ervin Baktay, ni Elek Csetri n'y font la moindre allusion dans leurs biographies pourtant très complètes. L'article ne figure pas dans la *Documentation sur Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös* (*Kőrösi Csoma Sándor Dokumentáció*) d'Ernő Heténvi et József Estéli. József Terjék ne le reprend pas non plus dans ses *Souvenirs sur Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös* (*Emlékek Kőrösi Csoma Sándorról*), alors que pourtant, en fin de volume, il rappelle que « le numéro de mars 1825 publie la lettre de Csoma du 28 janvier 1825 » (1825 márciusi száma közli Csoma 1825 január 28-i levelét), ce qui n'est d'ailleurs pas exact. L'article en question n'est pas la lettre elle-même, mais une paraphrase qu'en a fait Wilson.

Ferenc Szilágyi dans *Ainsi vécut Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös* (*Így élt Kőrösi Csoma Sándor*), le passe sous silence. Il le cite en revanche dans son ouvrage ultérieur *Le coffret à lettres d'Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös* (*Kőrösi Csoma Sándor levelesládája*), en pages 140 et 141, sous la rubrique N° 102, mais pour n'en donner que le court extrait publié en septembre 1826 par la revue *Tudományos gyűjtemény* de Pesth à partir d'une traduction allemande.

Ce dernier fait paraît bien corroborer ce que m'avaient déjà révélé mes propres investigations dans les bibliothèques et les institutions savantes de Hongrie, à savoir que ni la collection du *Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, ni l'article dont il s'agit, n'existent dans ce pays. Ceux-là mêmes qui s'y refèrent dans leurs ouvrages le font sur la foi de citations antérieures, et non pas après en avoir pris personnellement connaissance. C'est ce qui explique qu'ils en ignorent le caractère particulier puisque, comme il a déjà été dit, il s'agit d'une paraphrase de la lettre du 28 janvier 1825.

Dans ces conditions, je crois rendre service aux historiens de l'orientalisme hongrois et singulièrement à ceux qui étudient la vie d'Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös, en donnant ci-dessous le texte intégral que j'ai pu retrouver à Paris dans les collections de la bibliothèque de l'Institut de France.

Les notes abondantes dont il m'a paru nécessaire d'accompagner ce texte n'ont pas seulement pour but d'en rectifier les erreurs, elles visent aussi à le compléter et à le commenter. Il ne faut pas perdre de vue, en effet, qu'il a été composé à partir de la lettre au capitaine Kennedy, laquelle comporte elle-même des lacunes, des assertions douteuses, et des inexactitudes. Or, cet article n'en constitue pas moins un premier essai de biographie d'autant plus intéressant pour l'histoire de la tibétologie que Csoma de Kőrös en était alors encore au début de ses travaux lexicographiques. Somme toute, nous sommes en présence de la première tentative pour sortir de l'ombre le mystérieux pélerin sicule parti à la recherche des ancêtres de sa nation et qu'un concours surprenant de circonstances est en train de transformer en le fondateur d'une nouvelle branche de la philologie orientale.

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Quarterly Oriental Magazine

1825. March, Literary and Scientific Intelligence.
pages 160 and 161

Language and Literature of Tibet

Since giving insertion to the observations on the Language of Tibet, to be found in the preceding pages, we have been favoured with information respecting an enterprising individual, from whose exertions we may hope to obtain the means of acquiring correct views on this subject.

Mr. Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, a native of Austrian Transylvania and a Hungarian by origin, has succeeded in effecting a journey from Europe to Tibet, and has been engaged for some time past, with the assistance of Mr. Moorcroft, in prosecuting his studies in Ladakh.

Mr. Csoma de Kőrös, we understand, completed between 1815 and 1818, a course of philological and theological studies, partly in the Dehlten College[1] at N. Enyed, and partly at the university of Goettingen: his attention being attracted to the elucidation of Hungarian antiquities, he repaired in 1819 to Temesvar, to study the Slavonic language,[2] visiting also Agram in Croatia, to familiarise himself with the different dialects.[3] The acquirements thus obtained, contributing only to excite his enthusiasm, he resolved to quit his native country, and to explore the remote regions of the east in order to obtain

[1] Il s'agit du Collège Gabriel Bethlen de Nagyenyed, fondé par le prince de Transylvanie du même nom en 1622 et considéré comme le principal foyer de rayonnement intellectuel du protestantisme calviniste. Installé à l'origine à Gyulafehérvár, il fut transféré « provisoirement » en 1662 à Nagyenyed après la destruction de la ville par les armées turques en 1658. Le 13 mars 1704 il fut incendié par les troupes impériales du colonel lorrain comte Tige, lors des guerres de Rákóczi. Reconstruit en 1711 avec l'aide des protestants anglais, il devait être détruit encore une fois le 8 janvier 1849, pendant la guerre d'indépendance hongroise.

[2] La langue ecclésiastique des orthodoxes slaves est dite « slavonne ». Basée sur les parlers archaïques des différents peuples concernés, elle constitue un idiome artificiel, comparable au latin du Moyen Age, mais propre à chaque peuple. Il y a donc un slavon serbe, un slavon bulgare, et un slavon russe. On peut s'interroger sur l'intérêt que pouvait avoir Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös à étudier le slavon de Serbie plutôt que le russe, alors qu'il s'apprêtait à traverser la Russie jusqu'à Irkoutsk. Quel voyageur étranger, désireux de traverser la France, aurait l'idée d'apprendre le latin d'église de préférence au français ? Il y a souvent dans la biographie de Csoma de ces étrangetés qu'on arrive mal à expliquer.

[3] Il semble que Csoma de Kőrös ait appris surtout le serbe, très peu de croate (il n'a séjourné à Zagreb que deux semaines), et un peu de russe. Mais pourquoi apprendre le serbo-croate quand on se prépare à partir en Russie ?

more precise information, respecting the Asiatic origin of the Hungarians, and the oriental affinities of the Sclavonic tongue.[4]

With these views, Mr. Csoma left N. Enyed for Bucharest in Walachia in November 1819; thence crossing the Danube at Rushhok,[5] he accompanied a party of Bulgarian traders returning home to Sophia, the capital of Bulgaria; from that city he proceeded to Philippopolis in Romania,[6] intending to visit Constantinople, but being deterred from that purpose by reports of the prevalence of the plague,[7] he turned aside to Enos[8] and there embarked for Alexandria. He reached Alexandria in February, but the plague then raging there, he speedily quitted Egypt for Palestine by Sea; from Latakia where he landed, he proceeded to Aleppo on foot, and safely arrived there on the 13th April 1820.[9]

[4] Ce détail a été inventé par l'auteur. Il n'a jamais été dans l'intention de Csoma de Kőrös de se préoccuper des origines de la langue slavonne (laquelle, d'ailleurs?), ni des langues slaves en général. Il est même invraisemblable qu'il ait imaginé que celles-ci pouvaient avoir une origine orientale, au sens où lui-même entendait ce mot. Au reste, ses connaissances slaves sont demeurées très limitées.

[5] Il s'agit de la ville de Roustchouk (aujourd'hui Roussé), où se trouve toujours le principal point de passage sur le bas Danube, entre la Valaquie (Giurgiu) et la Bulgarie.

[6] C'est Roumélie qu'il faut lire. Philippopolis (aujourd'hui Plovdiv) est la principale ville de la Roumélie. Elle en fut la capitale de 1878 à 1885, c'est à dire avant la reconstitution d'un Etat bulgare unifié en septembre 1885.

[7] Il y a lieu de s'étonner que Csoma de Kőrös ait attendu d'être arrivé à Andrinople pour constater qu'il ne lui serait pas possible de se rendre à Constantinople à cause de la peste. Celle-ci sévissait, en effet, à l'état endémique en Turquie depuis plus de dix ans. Les voyageurs qui venaient de là-bas ne manquaient certainement pas d'en informer les habitants de la Hongrie et de la Transylvanie. Déjà en 1813 Claudius-James Rich, résident britannique à Bagdad, en parle dans les lettres qu'il adresse à ses amis au cours du voyage qui le ramène en Europe. Après lui, bien d'autres en feront autant, tels Walpole, Ker Porter, Kinneir, Alexander, Fontanier, par exemple.

Si une quarantaine très stricte était imposée au point de passage de la Tour Rouge (Vörös torony) sur la frontière carpathique, aux voyageurs arrivant du Sud, c'était justement en raison de cette endémie. Dans ces conditions, Csoma ne pouvait pas ne pas savoir qu'il lui serait pratiquement impossible de se rendre dans la capitale ottomane, non à cause des mesures de prophylaxie des Turcs -ceux-ci n'en prenaient aucune-, mais à cause du risque de contamination qu'il ne manquerait pas de courir, lui qui ne pouvait fréquenter que les plus pauvres caravansérails.

[8] Enos, sur l'embouchure de la Maritsa, était alors un port important. Encore sûr et commode à l'époque où y passe Csoma, il avait même vu son trafic commercial gonfler brutalement au moment du « Blocus continental ». En 1820, il était redevenu le port d'embarquement habituel pour les îles de la mer Egée et le débouché maritime d'Andrinople. En revanche le climat y était malsain et la malaria y sévissait tout autant que la peste ou le choléra. Quand il y passe en avril 1814, Rich note que les villages alentour sont « misérables, vermineux » et que la ville est « très dépeuplée du fait de la peste ».

[9] Ce n'est pas le 13 avril, mais le 12, que Csoma de Kőrös est arrivé à Alep. Cela nous est confirmé par la lettre que József Kováts, professeur au Collège de Nagyenyed, adressa le 21 mars 1821 au conseiller du gouvernement de Transylvanie Zsigmond Katona.

Our travellers's stay at Aleppo was very brief,[10] and assuming a plain asiatic dress, he set out on foot from thence on the 19th of May. Travelling with different Caravans by way of Orfa, Mardin and Mousal,[11] he reached Bagdad in July. The resident, the late Mr. Rich,[12] was then absent in Curdistan, but his Secretary Mr. Bellino,[13] in consequence of the letters Mr. Csoma brought from Aleppo, promoted his views and enabled him to proceed to Tehran, where he arrived in the month of October. He remained four months at Tehran, through the assistance afforded him by the British resident Mr. Willock,[14] and in that period acquired some knowledge of the Persian language. Mr. Willock's liberality also enabled him to proceed on his route, for which purpose he left Tehran in March, 1821, in the Persian dress, and in the character of an Armenian.[15]

Upon his arrival at Meshhed in Khorasan, the disturbed state of the neighbouring districts rendered it impossible for Mr. Csoma to proceed on his

[10] Le séjour de Csoma à Alep a été long, et non pas « très bref », comme l'écrit l'auteur. Csoma y est resté, en effet, trente-huit jours.

[11] Il s'agit des villes d'Ourfa et de Mardin, qui se trouvent aujourd'hui en Turquie, et de Mossoul, qui est en Irak. Csoma de Kőrös a été obligé de faire ce long détour par le Nord du fait des continuels brigandages des tribus Wahabbites le long et au Sud du cours de l'Euphrate, qui rendent impossible le trafic caravanier entre Alep et Bagdad par la voie la plus courte. Cela ne signifie pas, toutefois, que Csoma ne courait aucun risque d'être attaqué, pillé, dévalisé, en empruntant l'itinéraire qu'il a choisi. Là aussi, l'insécurité était grande, notamment dans le Kourdistan. Tous les voyageurs qui l'ont précédé ou suivi se plaisent à souligner les dangers qu'ils couraient en traversant cette partie de l'empire ottoman. Beaucoup y furent volés, brutalisés, et quelques uns y périrent même.

[12] L'auteur écrit « feu M. Rich », parce que celui-ci est décédé du choléra le 5 octobre 1821, alors qu'il était à Chiraz, en Perse. Sa mort est intervenue moins d'un an après celle de son secrétaire wurtembergeois Karl-Anton Bellino, décédé à Mossoul le 13 novembre 1820.

[13] Voir à ce sujet: « Karl-Anton Bellino, pionnier de l'assyriologie, élève de Silvestre de Sacy », par B. Le Calloc'h, dans le Bulletin de l'association des anciens élèves des Langues Orientales, Paris octobre 1988.

[14] Henry Willock (1790—1858), officier de cavalerie du corps de Madras, était le chargé d'affaires de la Compagnie britannique des Indes Orientales auprès du shah de Perse Fath Ali depuis 1816. Après son retour en Angleterre en 1826, il devint l'un des directeurs, puis en 1846 le président de l'« honorable compagnie ». Il ne fut pas seul à témoigner de l'amitié à Csoma de Kőrös pendant le séjour de celui-ci à Téhéran; son frère George, qui résidait plutôt à Tabriz puisqu'il était conseiller militaire d'Abbas Mirza, l'héritier présomptif, lui apporta une aide précieuse, ainsi que le médecin de la résidence, le docteur Richard Sharp.

[15] En réalité, c'est quand il était à Téhéran que Csoma de Kőrös portait un vêtement iranien. A son départ, il le quitta pour endosser un vêtement arménien, sur le conseil des frères Willock, afin de passer pour un marchand en déplacement d'affaires, Les Arméniens étant nombreux en Perse et généralement adonnés au commerce, le Hongrois pouvait espérer voyager plus facilement incognito.

journey, and he was detained at that city till the 20th of October,[16] he then started for Bokhara, and arrived there in November. The unfounded report of the hostile approach of a Russian army filling the place with alarm, Mr. Csoma found it advisable to resume his journey, and accompanying a Caravan, he travelled to Balkh, Khulm, and thence by Bamian to Kabul, where he arrived in January 1822.

An opportunity of joining a Caravan occurring, Mr. Csoma left Kabul for Peshawer. At Decka[17] he encountered two Europeans in the service of Runjeet Sinh,[18] whom he accompanied to Lahore. He staid, however, but ten days at Lahore,[19] being anxious for the final accomplishment of an object now

[16] Il n'a jamais été possible jusqu'à présent de savoir ce qu'il a fait pendant ces six mois qu'il a passés dans la cité sainte du chiisme iranien. Le voyageur anglais James Baillie Fraser qui avait, paraît-il, reçu mission de le rechercher, n'est arrivé à Mechhed que le 2 février 1822, c'est-à-dire quatre mois après le départ du Hongrois. Il ne pouvait donc pas le rencontrer. Du moins pouvait-il essayer de savoir ce qu'il était devenu. En vérité, il est peu probable qu'il s'en soit préoccupé. S'il l'avait cherché, il nous en aurait fait part dans son « Récit d'un voyage au Khorassan » (Narrative of a journey into Chorassan). Nous savons, en effet, par lui-même qu'il se renseigne sur le moyen de gagner Boukhara. Il apprend du vizir Mirza Abdul Jawat « qu'un Européen est passé par Mechhed au mois de mars précédent (1821), dont le comportement et les actes étaient entourés de mystère ». Cela pourrait faire penser à Csoma, personnage passablement mystérieux, ainsi que nous le dit Victor Jacquemont. Mais cela n'est pas possible à cause de la date, d'une part, et d'autre part parce que Fraser apprend bientôt que ce voyageur est un Anglais de l'Inde nommé William Shawe, envoyé par lord Rawdon-Hastings, gouverneur-général. Bref, Fraser n'a à aucun moment donné suite à la commission dont il avait été chargé par les Willock. C'est d'autant plus regrettable qu'il était le seul voyageur européen susceptible de nous éclairer.

[17] Dakka est un village situé entre Djellalabad et la passe de Khaïber. Là se trouvait alors le camp de Mohammed Azim Khan (1791—1823), ancien gouverneur afghan du Cachemire et frère aîné de Dost Mohammed, maître de l'Afghanistan, avec lequel il venait de rompre.

[18] Les deux Européens en question étaient deux officiers des armées françaises qui venaient de quitter clandestinement la Perse et s'efforçaient de gagner secrètement le Pendjab dans l'espoir de se faire recruter dans les forces armées du maharadjah Randjit Singh. Ils se nommaient Jean-François Allard (1785—1839) et Jean-Baptiste Ventura (1790—1858), et devaient faire une carrière brillante au service du conquérant sikh. Voir à ce sujet « Kőrösi és két katona » par B. Le Calloc'h, dans « Képes-7 » N° 15 du 9 avril 1988, pages 28 à 30, et aussi du même auteur « Kőrösi Csoma Sándor francia ismerősei » dans la revue « Somogy » de Kaposvár № 1/1991.

On notera que l'expression « au service de Randjit Singh », est évidemment erronée, puisque, au moment où Csoma les retrouve au camp de Mohammed Azim, ils n'appartiennent pas encore aux armées du Pendjab.

[19] Csoma de Kőrös n'est jamais entré à Lahore. Il est arrivé avec Allard et Ventura jusqu'à Shahdehra, de l'autre côté de la rivière Ravi, et y est resté. Les deux Français attendaient là la réponse de Randjit Singh à la lettre qu'ils lui avaient envoyée sitôt parvenus en face de Lahore. Csoma repartit pour Amritsar avant que le sort des deux officiers ait été règlé. Nous le savons de façon certaine par Victor Jacquemont, lequel le

so near attainment[20]. Procceding by Jammu he reached Cashmir[21] on the 14th May, and travelling thence with four other persons on foot, he reached Lei the capital of Ladak[22] on the 9th June 1822.

Mr. Csoma's intention was to have next proceeded to Yarkand, but he was disappointed in his expectation, and compelled to forego his purpose by the arduous character of the road, and the danger to which Europeans were exposed by the jealousy of the Chinese Government.[23] He found it equally difficult to continue at Lei, and had determined, however, reluctantly[24] to return to Lahore.[25] He was actually on his way back, when he fell in with Mr. Moorcroft

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otenit de Csoma lui-même (voir Acta Orientalia XLI-1987, page 97, « Un témoignage aapital sur la vie d'Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös, le journal et la correspondance de Victor Jacquemont »). Il faut encore ajouter à cela que le rapport de police rédigé par un agent secret de Randjit Singh envoyé à Shahdehra au reçu de la lettre d'Allard et Ventura, fait expressément état de « la présence de trois Européens qui parlent entre eux persan » (cité par Jean-Marie Lafont, thèse de doctorat ès lettres soutenue en Sorbonne le ler juin 1987, « La présence française dans le royaume sikh du Pendjab », tome II, page 58, note 32, page 649).

[20] Il peut paraître singulier de dire que le but poursuivi par Csomas réota tial « sur le point d'être atteint » (near attainment) alors qu'il en était encore si loin. Cependant, nous devons nous souvenir que, dans la lettre qu'il avait adressée de Téhéran, le 21 décembre 1820 à « Ces Messieurs les membres du conseil de patronage du Collège de Nagyenyed », il se croyait en mesure de promettre à ses correspondants que, s'il obtenait le secours sollicité, il pourrait être de retour chez lui « dans moins d'un an » (esztendőre odahaza leszek). C'est assez prouver que, dans son esprit, il s'imaginait être parvenu à portée de son but.

[21] On écrivait alors souvent Cachemire pour Srinagar, et Ladakh pour Leh, la capitale étant confondue avec la province comme on dit encore « en Avignon » quand il s'agit du Comtat Venaissin.

[22] On aura remarqué que l'auteur écrit tantôt Ladakh et tantôt Ladak. Cette transcription du terme tibétain La-dvags (le pays des cols) n'exige nullement le h final qu'on y met généralement et qui a fini par devenir officiel.

[23] Ce n'est pas « la jalousie du gouvernement chinois » qui est en cause dans le cas de Csoma de Kőrös, mais son manque d'argent, d'une part, d'autre part le risque qu'il aurait encourru de se voir réduit en esclavage, ou même assassiné. On pense au prince Bekovitch, empalé à Khiva en 1717; à Arthur Conolly et Charles Stoddart, pendus à Boukhara le 17 juin 1842; ou à Adolf Schlagintweit, décapité à Kachgar le 27 août 1857.

[24] La virgule entre « however » et « reluctantly » est de trop. Il s'agit d'une forme concessive.

[25] Les auteurs expliquent rarement que s'il voulait retourner à Lahore, qui n'était manifestement pas sur sa route, c'est parce qu'il avait été très aimablement et généreusement acceuilli par les deux officiers Allard et Ventura lors du voyage qu'ils avaient fait ensemble de Dakka à Shahdehra. Il espèrait donc obtenir d'eux quelque moyen de poursuivre sa marche vers le berceau supposé des Magyars, ayant peut-être entendu parler du succès de leur démarche auprès de Randjit Singh.

at Himbat,[26] to whom he made himself known, and by whose liberality he was immediately encouraged, and assisted to resume his projects.[27] Mr. Moorcroft took our traveller with him to Lei, and on his own departure, left Mr. Csoma at that city furnished with facilities for the study of the language of Tibet.[28] Mr. De Csoma[29] afterwards joined Mr. Moorcroft in Cashmir, but after a short interval[30] returned to Lei, being supplied by that gentleman with money for his support, and recommendations to the Prime minister at Lei, and the Lama of Tangla.[31] The minister forwarded Mr. Csoma to the same Lama, at whose establishment in Tanskar,[32] the south-western province of Ladak, our traveller resided from June, 1822, to October, 1824, applying himself solely to the study of the Tibetan Language, under the tuition of the Lama.[33]

In this period Mr. Csoma acquired a grammatical knowledge of the language, and obtained a general notion of the contents of a large collection of Tibetan Books, three hundred and twenty volumes, which form the basis of the

[26] Himbat doit être lu Himbabs. C'est le nom tibétain du village plus généralement indiqué sur les cartes sous le nom de Dras. C'est aussi celui de la rivière qui coule à cet endroit, venant du col de Zodji-La, et qui est un affluent de l'Indus.

[27] L'expression n'est pas exacte. William Moorcroft n'a ni encouragé ni aidé Csoma de Kőrös « à reprendre ses projets ». Il lui a seulement suggéré d'abandonner temporairement les projets en question et de se mettre à l'étude du tibétain, avant d'envisager de se remettre en route vers le lieu de sa destination. Ce que nous en dit Csoma lui-même dans sa lettre à Kennedy du 28 janvier 1825 montre bien que Moorcroft n'a exercé aucune pression sur son compagnon de voyage.

[28] Ce n'est pas Moorcroft, mais son adjoint George Trebeck, qui procura au Hongrois cette « personne intelligente connaissant bien les langues tibétaine et persane », grâce à laquelle il put s'initier très vite au tibétain parlé au cours de l'automne 1822. (voir l'article de Pérer Buza intitulé „Kőrösi Csoma első tibeti tanára" (le premier professeur de tibetain d'Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös) dans le journal „Magyar Nemzet" du 16 décembre 1989). Il est vrai, en revanche, que Moorcroft lui prêta l' « Alphabetum tibetanum », qui était à l'époque le seul ouvrage jamais publié sur le Tibet et sa civilisation. Il s'agissait d'un énorme livre de près de mille pages (914 exactement), rédigé en un mauvais latin par un moine de l'ordre érémitique des Augustins, à l'esprit aussi confus qu'érudit, le père Georgi (1711—1797). Il n'avait jamais été au Tibet et ne savait pas même lire le tibétain. Le livre avait été publié au frais de la « Congregatio de propaganda fide » de Rome en 1762.

[29] Il s'agit très certainement d'un lapsus calamae, car Csoma n'a jamais fait précéder son nom de famille de la particule.

[30] Le « court intervalle » auquel il est fait allusion dura tout de même plus de cinq mois, puisque Csoma de Kőrös quitta Srinagar le 2 mai 1823, après y être arrivé le 26 novembre procédent.

[31] En réalité Zangla (tib.: bZang-la).

[32] En réalité Zanskar (tib.: Zangs-dkar).

[33] Le lama Sangye Phuntsog (tib.: Sangs-rgyas phun-chogs), son maître, fut aidé aussi occasionnellement par deux autres religieux, l'abbé du monastère de Dzong-khul (Rǰong-khul) Kundga Tcheuleg (tib.: Kun-dga' čhos-legs), et un rab'byams-pa nommé Tsultrim Gyatso (tib.: Chul-khrims rgya-mcho).

whole system of Tibetan Literature, and Religion. They are said to have been all translated from Sanscrit, and the original name of the work as well as the names of the author and translator are specified. They are provided[34] with Indexes of which Mr. Csoma has had copies taken, and they include also several collections of Sanscrit and Tibet words, the largest of which, occuping 154 pages, has been transcribed for him.[35]

In the beginning of last winter Mr. Csoma proceeded from Tanskar to Sultanpur in Kullu,[36] and thence by Mendi, Suketi and Belaspur,[37] he reached Subathu, at which station we understand he at present resides, purposing if no unexpected impediments intervene, to return to Tibet[38] to prosecute the researches he has, with so much enterprise and good fortune, thus far pursued — there can be no question of the desirableness of encouraging him in his views, as we have already seen, that little or nothing is yet known of the language or literature of Tibet, and consequently its history and religion must have been but inaccurately and imperfectly investigated. It matters not whether the knowledge to be derived from their more successful investigation will be of intrinsic value or not: most probably it will not: but a Grammar and Dictionary of the language will supply a blank in philology, and facilitate international communication, and a familiarity with the local subjects of belief or veneration will render that communication more intimate and mutually advantageous. These are obvious practical benefits. The full illustration of the religious system of Tibet, and of its fabulous or real history will in like manner fill up an important chasm in the history of nations and of the human mind, and the importance of such accession to literature cannot be questioned by cultivated intelligence. Who expects that commerce will ever find a ready transit by the north west

[34] Ecrit « provid » dans le texte original, par suite d'une faute typographique.

[35] Il y a là une erreur d'interprétation de l'auteur, qui parait avoir mal compris que des listes de mots tibétains ont été dressées par le lama Sangye Phuntsog à l'intention de son élève, alors que les mots sanscrits auxquels il se refère ne concernent que la traduction d'expressions religieuses, telles que celles qui figurent dans la « Mahāvyutpatti ».

On aura noté que le mot « Tibet » doit être lu « Tibetan ».

[36] La petite ville de Sultanpur, principale agglomération du Kulu, servait en ce temps-là de résidence d'hiver aux familles riches du Ladakh et du Zanskar. C'était aussi la résidence habituelle du radjah local.

[37] Mandi, Suket et Bilaspur ou Bilaspore, selon la transcription en usage sur les cartes modernes. On remarquera que la principauté de Mandi fut conquise par le général Ventura pour le compte du maharadjah de Lahore, ce qui lui valut le titre de « comte de Mandi », sous lequel il était connu à Toulouse, dans les dernières années de sa vie, lorsqu'il rentra d'Asie pour y prendre sa retraite.

[38] Il faut entendre le mot « Tibet » comme signifiant ici « Régions habitées par des populations tibétaines ». De fait, Csoma, fondateur de la tibétologie, ne connaîtra jamais le Tibet central ou Tibet proprement dit.

passage,[39] or that the regions of eternal ice will become the scene of civilised life, — yet who condemns the noble efforts made to ascertain the practicability of such a route, or admits not, that as a question of scientific truth alone, it justifies exposure to hardship, and even the imperilling of existence.[40] The claims of literature are no less imperious than those of science, and it may be asserted of both with equal propriety, that it becomes enlightened man to leave nothing unknown, which may be known, on the earth which he inhabits, or the race of which he is a part.[41]

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[39] Le passage du nord-ouest auquel il est fait ici allusion est la voie maritime reliant l'océan atlantique à l'océan pacifique au nord du Canada. Cet itinéraire a toujours opposé de tels obstacles à la navigation qu'il n'a été vaincu qu'au début du XX-ème siècle par le norvégien Amundsen. Ce passage est resté jusqu'à nos jours le domaine exclusif des explorateurs. Autrement dit, il n'a jamais pu en être fait une utilisation pratique.

[40] Il faudrait ici un point d'interrogation qui manque dans le texte original.

[41] Ce texte n'est pas signé, mais on sait qu'il a été écrit par Horace Hayman Wilson (1786—1860) qui était alors le secrétaire de la Société asiatique du Bengale. Il nous apporte la démonstration que le célèbre médecin sanscritiste n'ignorait rien des faits et gestes d'Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös, même s'il ne se manifestait pas à lui pour le moment. C'est, en effet, seulement quatre ans plus tard qu'il commencera à s'intéresser à lui, lorsqu'il lui fera proposer par la savante compagnie une mensualité et l'envoi de livres. Nous connaissons bien le détail de la séance au cours de laquelle fut prise cette initiative. car Victor Jacquemont y assistait. Cela se passait le 1-er juillet 1829. (Voir le texte du journal de Jacquemont dans Acta Orientalia XLI-1987 déjà cité, pages 110 et 111),

Le Hongrois, alors parvenu au terme de ses travaux et sur le point de quitter l'Himalaya avec la matière de son dictionnaire, de sa grammaire et de ses articles, lui opposera une fin de non-recevoir qui surprendra et blessera Wilson. Du coup, leurs relations, lorsqu'il sera à Calcutta, demeureront plutôt froides, et même distantes.

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UN PASSAGE DU RÉCIT DE VOYAGE DE JOSEPH WOLFF RELATIF A CSOMA DE KŐRÖS

BERNARD LE CALLOC'H

(Paris)

En novembre 1845 paraît à Londres chez John Parker la première édition en deux volumes (629 pages) du récit du voyage à travers l'Europe et l'Asie jusqu'à Boukhara qu'a effectué entre le 14 octobre 1843 et le 12 avril 1845 le pasteur anglican Joseph Wolff, docteur en droit et en théologie, sous le titre « Narrative of a mission to Bokhara in the years 1843—1845 to ascertain the fate of colonel Stoddart and captain Conolly ». Ce livre remporte un tel succès qu'il est réédité sept fois. L'opinion publique anglaise s'est, en effet, passionnée pour la tentative désespérée du courageux missionnaire qui n'a pas hésité à mettre sa vie en jeu et à s'exposer à mille périls pour tenter d'arracher à la mort ses deux compatriotes. Wolff y avait eu d'autant plus de mérite qu'il ne connaissait même pas Stoddart. En revanche il avait entendu parler de Conolly en 1831 lorsqu'il était allé visiter la communauté juive de Mechhed, dans le Khorassan. En décembre 1832, il l'avait rencontré par hasard à Cawnpore, et il l'avait revu en Angleterre en 1838. D'où une amitié qui explique finalement la décision du pasteur. « A l'instant où la nouvelle me parvint de sa captivité à Boukhara, j'offris d'aider à sa libération dans des lettres que j'envoyais à sa famille », précise-t-il en page 26 du premier volume de son récit.

Qui était Joseph Wolff

Joseph Wolff était un homme peu commun à bien des égards. Fils d'un rabbin allemand, il s'était senti très tôt attiré par le christianisme, et il s'était fait baptiser catholique à l'âge de dix-sept ans, le 13 septembre 1813 à Prague. Ayant été envoyé en 1816 à Rome pour y achever les études de théologie qu'il avaient commencées à Vienne et poursuivies à Tübingen, il entra au Collegio di Propaganda dans l'intention d'embrasser la carrière sacerdotale. Mais cet esprit original avait cru pouvoir attaquer publiquement la doctrine de l'infaillibilité papale, ce qui lui valut de se faire renvoyer. Il essaya quelque temps en Suisse de la vie monastique, mais il dut rapidement convenir qu'il n'était pas fait pour la contemplation ni pour la discipline. C'est alors qu'il se rendit

en Angleterre et ne tarda pas à se rallier à l'église anglicane dont la doctrine épiscopalienne lui plaisait. Il allait en devenir l'un des représentants les plus universellement connus à son époque.

Tout comme Csoma de Kőrös, qui lui aussi avait songé à se faire pasteur, Wolff révéla dès son enfance un don remarquable pour les langues, et il entreprit de son propre chef d'ajouter au latin, au grec et à l'hébreu, l'arabe, le syriaque et le chaldéen. Plus tard il y ajouta encore le persan, sans parler de l'allemand, de l'italien, du français et de l'anglais.

C'était un homme débordant de vitalité et d'enthousiasme que rien ne pouvait abattre. Son activité incessante et sa curiosité intellectuelle insatiable le contraignirent à mener des études plutôt décousues, passant d'une ville ou d'un pays à l'autre, s'inscrivant ici, puis là, au hasard des rencontres qu'il faisait, reprenant ses études orientales et théologiques en Allemagne, en Autriche, en Italie, en Suisse, et finalement en Angleterre.

Il avait une assurance qui le mettait à l'aise dans tous les milieux. Il fréquentait avec la même facilité les savants les plus éminents, des poètes, de hauts dignitaires ecclésiastiques, des ambassadeurs, des ducs, des princes et même des rois. Il fut l'ami de Madame de Staël, de Pestalozzi, mais aussi du comte poète Stolberg, de Friedrich von Schlegel, du prince Dalberg, et même du pape Pie VII.

C'était un esprit profondément original, dont l'originalité s'exprima notamment dans ce qui fut l'œuvre principale de sa vie: l'apostolat chrétien parmi les Juifs. Pour mener à bien sa vocation, il se fit voyageur; il fut un véritable nomade de l'évangélisation, ce nomadisme le poussant toujours plus loin à la rencontre de ses anciens coreligionnaires. Il commença cette étrange carrière itinérante en 1821, en se rendant en Egypte, puis en Palestine, en Syrie, en Grèce, en Turquie, restant cinq ans sur les routes à prêcher la bonne parole. Doué d'un aplomb imperturbable, ayant réponse à tout, animé d'une foi à renverser les montagnes, il ne craignait jamais d'aller au devant des rebuffades les plus cinglantes.

Rentré en 1826, il repartit en 1828 pour une seconde expédition « à la recherche des dix tribus perdues », et malgré d'innombrables avanies, sa force morale et sa robuste constitution triomphèrent des pires obstacles. Empruntant un itinéraire analogue à celui que Csoma de Kőrös avait suivi quelques années auparavant, il s'aventura jusqu'en Asie centrale, allant littéralement au devant de tous les dangers. Il pénétra à Mechhed, la ville sainte du chiisme iranien, où il fut réduit en esclavage par des fanatiques dix ans après que Csoma de Kőrös ait dû lui-même s'y terrer pendant six mois. Libéré sur ordre du prince Abbas Mirza, qui le tenait en haute estime, il s'empressa de se jeter dans la gueule du loup en gagnant, contre l'avis de tous, le khanat de Boukhara. Et là, il fut sur le point d'être assassiné. Mais l'incorrigible vagabond n'en poursuivit pas moins sa route vers l'Afghanistan, prêchant inébranlablement

l'Evangile le long du chemin à toutes les communautés israélites qu'il rencontrait. Dépouillé de ses biens et de ses vêtements par des pillards, il fut contraint de marcher dans le désert plusieurs centaines de kilomètres dans le costume d'Adam avant d'être tiré de ce mauvais pas par des paysans compatissants. Il n'en fut que plus déterminé à poursuivre sa mission coûte que coûte. Il se rendit ensuite à Simla où il fut l'hôte du capitaine Charles P. Kennedy, comme l'avait été deux ans plus tôt Csoma de Kőrös, et profita de l'occasion pour se présenter sans plus de façons à Lord Bentinck, le gouverneur général. Puis il gagna Calcutta, où il rencontra sans doute Csoma de Kőrös lors de la visite qu'il fit à la Société Asiatique. De là, il gagna le Cachemire avec l'intention de pénétrer au Tibet. Ayant dû y renoncer, il descendit à Madras, où le choléra faillit avoir raison de lui. Il rentra par Goa et Bombay, l'Egypte et Malte, ne cessant pas un instant d'inviter les Juifs à se faire Chrétiens.

En 1836, il repartit pour l'Abyssinie. En Arabie et au Yemen, il eut des discussions théologiques avec les Wahhābites et avec les colonies israélites. Puis il s'embarqua pour les Etats-Unis, où il fut admis à prêcher devant le Congrès. Après avoir été fait docteur en théologie d'une université du Maryland, il fut consacré diacre de l'église episcopalienne. A son retour en Europe, il fut ordonné prêtre de l'église anglicane en 1838 par l'évêque de Dromore, en Irlande, et proclamé docteur en droit par l'université de Dublin.

On pouvait croire que cette ordination et cette flatteuse nomination universitaire allaient mettre fin à la carrière du missionnaire, qui venait d'être désigné à un vicariat dans le Yorkshire. Mais ce diable d'homme ignorait ce que repos veut dire.

L'affaire Stoddart-Conolly

En 1843, il apprend que deux officiers anglais, le colonel Charles Stoddart et le capitaine Arthur Conolly, qui avaient reçu mission de se rendre à Khiva par Boukhara, sont en danger d'être exécutés dans le khanat de Boukhara sous l'accusation d'espionnage et d'activités hostiles. Aussitôt, il reprend son bâton de pélerin, bien qu'entre temps il ait fondé une famille. Parti de Londres le 14 octobre 1843, il ne parvient à Boukhara que le 1-er mai 1845, après avoir risqué la mort plusieurs fois du fait même de l'audace qu'il met à prêcher l'Evangile jusque dans les lieux saints de l'Islam. Cent fois il a été mis en garde par ses hôtes, anglais ou étrangers, chrétiens, juifs ou musulmans, y compris par des personnages aussi importants que le gouverneur de Mechhed ou le calife de Merv, contre les dangers extrêmes auxquels il va inutilement s'exposer, notamment s'il prétend braver la colère de l'émir Nasrallah Bahadour, seigneur féodal redoutable, qui n'hésite jamais quand il s'agit de trancher des têtes.

Rien n'arrête Wolff. Au contraire, plus on lui montre les périls qui le menacent, plus il paraît désireux de rechercher le martyre.

Pourtant, lorsqu'il parvient enfin au terme de son voyage, c'est pour apprendre de la bouche même de l'émir que Stoddart et Conolly ont été exécutés le 17 juin 1842, et que ses efforts pour les sauver ont donc été vains.

Ses affaires ne s'en arrangent pas pour autant. Au lieu d'être autorisé à repartir rapidement, il est retenu sous les prétextes les plus fallacieux pendant plus de trois mois, et bientôt menacé ouvertement de connaître le même sort que ses deux compatriotes. Confié aux soins de l'un des confidents de l'émir, le persan Abdul Samut Khan, chef de l'artillerie et des troupes régulières, commandant de l'arsenal, il se voit menacé par celui-ci de perdre la vie lorsqu'il prétend obtenir du moins la libération des esclaves russes et iraniens qui se trouvent dans le khanat. Il passe bientôt par toutes les transes de l'angoisse. Lui qui n'a jamais eu peur de rien, le voilà qui par deux fois envoie un message d'adieu à sa famille, car il croit vraiment que sa dernière heure est venue. Finalement, il pourra quand même quitter Boukhara le 3 août avec la tête sur les épaules, mais craignant encore pour sa vie jusqu'au moment où enfin il franchira de nouveau la frontière persane.

Wolff était doté d'une personnalité singulièrement forte qui lui donnait le moyen de se sentir chez lui en Asie comme en Europe, chez les Mahométans comme chez les Chrétiens ou les Juifs, chez les plus fins lettrés comme au milieu des rustres. Il surprenait ses auditeurs par la facilité avec laquelle il s'exprimait en huit langues différentes. Sa vitalité communicative, son énergie indomptable, sa force de caractère, fascinaient plus qu'elles ne charmaient. Elles lui valaient des succès même dans les milieux les moins préparés à l'entendre. Il finit bien souvent par briser les méfiances les plus tenaces, tant il avait de courage tranquille.

C'est alors qu'il se trouvait à Boukhara dans l'attente de pouvoir en sortir qu'il reçut la visite d'un groupe de Musulmans, arrivés peu avant du Cachemire, qui lui parlèrent de Csoma de Kőrös. Il le nota dans son journal, mais sans cette minutie et ce goût du détail qui font de celui de Victor Jacquemont une source de renseignements irremplaçable. Il ne semble pas à cette occasion s'être souvenu d'avoir rencontré le savant hongrois dans les locaux de la Société Asiatique du Bengale, quand il se trouva à Calcutta du 22 au 31 mars 1833. Il se rendit aussi à Serampour pour y rencontrer William Carey et Joshua Marshman, les éditeurs du « dictionnaire bhotanta » de Schroeter en 1826.

Après son retour de Boukhara, il se consacra pendant plusieurs années à la rédaction du récit de ses aventures et de ses pérégrinations qui n'avaient pas duré moins d'un quart de siècle. Ses livres connurent un vif succès et le rendirent encore plus célèbre. En 1860, il publia le récit complet de tous ses voyages sous le titre « Travels and Adventures of Joseph Wolff », qui fut aussi plusieurs fois réédité et qui fut de plus traduit en allemand. Deux ans plus tard, le 2



Le rev. Joseph Wolff en 1860, deux ans avant sa mort

mai 1862, il mourut subitement dans son presbytère d'Ile Brewers, dans le Somerset, alors qu'il préparait un nouveau voyage missionnaire en Asie.

Quels enseignements tirer?

En ce qui concerne Csoma de Kőrös, l'entreprise de Joseph Wolff a le mérite de mettre en lumière deux faits jusqu'ici rarement ou pas suffisamment soulignés, à savoir:

— que Csoma de Kőrös fut l'un des tout premiers Européens à pénétrer à Boukhara, en novembre 1821,

— que cela comportait de très sérieux dangers de mort pour quiconque s'y aventurait, même muni de lettres de recommandation et de passeports.

C'est en effet seulement à partir de 1825, avec William Moorcroft, George Guthrie et George Trebeck, que les Anglais se sont présentés dans le

khanat, suivis en 1831 par Wolff lui-même à l'occasion de son premier voyage au Turkestan, puis en 1832 par Alexander Burnes et le docteur James G. Gerard (l'auteur de la fameuse lettre à William Fraser sur Csoma de Kőrös du 21 janvier 1829). Ce fut ensuite le tour du médecin saxon de Transylvanie Johann Martin Honigberger, lorsqu'il rentra du Pendjab en 1833.

Après cette date, l'entrée du khanat de Boukhara devint encore plus difficile et périlleuse que par le passé. En 1835, le lieutenant anglais Wyburt y est assassiné. En 1842, le chevalier sicilien Pietro Naselli Florey, venu de Téhéran par Merv, y disparaît sans laisser de trace; cependant que cinq voyageurs anglais sont égorgés en 1844 aux portes de Tcharjoui, près de l'Amou Darya. Encore s'agissait-il là de personnes n'ayant reçu nulle mission officielle. Il n'en allait pas de même pour Stoddart et Conolly. Le premier avait été envoyé en mission diplomatique par l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre en Perse, Sir John Mac Neil (anciennement le docteur Mac Neil, successeur du docteur Richard Sharp, l'ami d'Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös); et le second par Sir William Hay Macnaghten, ministre plénipotentiaire auprès de la cour de Caboul (celui qui avait fourni le 14 décembre 1835 un passeport à Csoma de Kőrös pour se rendre dans le haut Bengale), dans le but d'obtenir de l'émir la libération de Stoddart. C'est assez dire combien le deuxième voyage de Wolff à Boukhara était risqué, et combien grand est son mérite de l'avoir quand même accompli avec autant d'obstination que de témérité.

Le passage du récit du rev. Joseph Wolff relatif à Csoma de Kőrös

(Volume II, chapitre XIV, pages 48—49)

« Avant ma visite au Nayeb[1] mentionnée au chapitre précédent,[2] des Mahométans du Cachemire[3] vinrent me voir et me fournirent quelques infor-

[1] Le Nayeb est un dignitaire de la hiérarchie militaire dans le système administratif et gouvernemental du khanat de Boukhara, une sorte d'ingénieur général commandant l'artillerie et les armements de type européen. Celui qui est en fonction au moment où s'y trouve Joseph Wolff, Abdul Samut Khan, est un personnage sans scrupules et sans dignité morale, d'une cruauté redoutable. Il a incité l'émir à exécuter les deux officiers anglais Stoddart et Conolly. A longueur de pages, le missionnaire anglican dénonce l'immoralité, la rapacité et la perfidie d'Abdul Samut, qu'il décrit comme un gredin (rascal), un scélérat (scoundrel) de la pire espèce, indigne de la confiance que lui accorde son souverain. A l'en croire, le Nayeb n'avait qu'un désir, celui de lui faire trancher la gorge à la première occasion. Finalement, Abdul Samut n'a été retenu sur le chemin de ce nouveau crime que par la main de l'émir lui-même, pourtant peu porté à la clémence, mais aussi peu soucieux d'ajouter de nouvelles complications à celles que lui valait déjà la double execution de Stoddart et de Conolly.

[2] La visite à laquelle l'auteur fait allusion ici a eu lieu quelques jours plus tôt, entre le 13 et le 15 mai 1844. Elle avait pour but d'obtenir d'Abdul Samut l'autorisation



Dessin de Mirza Abdul Wahab, compagnon persan de Joseph Wolff, extrait de son livre, vol. II, p. 78

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de sortie du khanat que l'émir Nasrallah Bahadour lui avait promise le 5 pour le 9 et que le Nayeb s'évertuait à lui refuser sous les prétextes les plus divers. Boukhara ayant entre temps déclaré la guerre à Khokand, par exemple, il fut décidé que Wolff ne serait autorisé à partir qu'après la fin du conflit. Cela donne un semblant de motif à la surveillance dont le pasteur est l'objet jour et nuit et le Nayeb en profite pour lui exorquer tout l'argent qu'il peut. Finalement, après de nombreuses péripéties, ce n'est que le 3 août suivant que Wolff quitte Boukhara avec un immense soupir de soulagement. Mais ce n'est que lorsqu'il sera parvenu à la frontière de l'empire perse, au delà de Sarakhs, douze jours plus tard, qu'il se sentira de nouveau en relative sécurité. Relative, en effet, s'il faut en croire le journal de route que nous a laissé son compagnon, le peintre persan Mirza Abdul Wahab, dans lequel on relève cette phrase révélatrice des dangers que le missionnaire anglais courait: « Nuit et jour, la seule pensée qui occupait l'esprit (des caravaniers) était si possible de tuer Joseph Wolff et de lui prendre son argent » !

[3] A l'époque dont il s'agit l'on appelle communément Cachemire non seulement la haute vallée de la Jhelam, celle où se trouvent Baramoula et Srinagar, mais aussi les principautés de Djammou, de Mandi, de Tchamba et du Koulou, ainsi que l'ancien Etat du Ladakh, lequel regroupe, outre le Ladakh proprement dit ou haute vallée de l'Indus, le royaume du Zanskar, le Pourig, le Spiti et le Lahoul. Par « Cachemiriens » Wolff peut donc vouloir désigner non seulement des habitants du Cachemire, mais aussi des musulmans du Pourig et des autres principautés périphériques, annexées au cours des

mations sur les grands désastres que les Sikhs[4] ont subis lors de leur marche sur Lhassa,[5] alors qu'ils tentaient de s'emparer du Tibet[6] et de la résidence du Grand Lama.[7] Plusieurs milliers d'hommes de l'armée sikhe moururent gelés et un grand nombre de soldats furent trouvés gelés dans l'attitude même où ils étaient quand ils essayèrent de se défendre,[8] de sorte que, effectivement, les Chinois,[9] quand

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trente années précédentes à l'empire du Pendjab. Le contexte ne permet pas de se prononcer sur l'origine exacte des hommes qui sont ses interlocuteurs, mais étant donné qu'ils lui parlent sans interprète, cela veut dire qu'ils peuvent s'exprimer en persan, langue que Wolff connaissait fort bien. Et s'ils parlent le persan, c'est qu'il s'agit d'habitants de la vallée du Cachemire, selon toute vraisemblance.

[4] Le mot « Sikh » est pris ici en un sens très large. Il ne s'agit point tant des sectateurs du gourou Nānak, largement majoritaires dans la plaine du Pendjab, que des habitants de l'ensemble de l'empire fondé par le maharadjah Randjit Singh (1780—1839). En fait, l'initiateur de la campagne militaire qui devait mener à l'invasion du Tibet n'était pas un prince sikh, mais son principal vassal hindou, le radjah « Dogra » de Djammou, Goulab Singh. C'est lui qui avait ordonné à son général, Zorawar Singh, lequel était aussi hindou, d'attaquer le pays du Dalaï-lama. Quant aux troupes, elles étaient composées pour partie d'Hindous et pour partie de Musulmans, mais ne comprenaient à peu près pas de Sikhs. Il y a donc là un abus de terme dont les Anglais de l'époque étaient coutumiers. Pour eux, tout ce qui dépendait du Pendjab était « sikh ».

[5] La marche sur Lhassa à laquelle il est fait allusion fut la conséquence de l'intervention militaire tibétaine dans le conflit qui opposa en 1841 les Ladakhis aux envahisseurs Dogra du Djammou. Elle intervint après que les armées de Zorawar Singh eussent reprimé un nouveau soulèvement populaire. Le gouvernement de Leh avait fait appel à celui de Lhassa, dont il se reconnaissait vassal au moins en ce qui concernait les questions spirituelles, et il avait reçu le renfort de l'armée du Tibet.

[6] Ayant battu les Ladakhis et les Tibétains venus à leur secours, Zorawar Singh commit la faute fatale de se laisser entraîner à la poursuite de l'armée tibétaine en retraite dans les vallées himalayennes et les régions quasi désertiques du Ngari. Cela se passait à la fin de l'automne, à des hauteurs où le climat est dès avant l'hiver d'une rigueur polaire. Ce fut la déroute. Zorawar périt et toute son armée avec lui, vaincus plus encore par le froid que par les armes. Il disparut le 14 décembre 1841 près de sTar-la-mKhar.

[7] Le Grand Lama en question est, bien entendu le Dalaï-lama, ou plus exactement l'enfant qui en tenait lieu à l'époque, car, du fait du système, particulier au Tibet, de dévolution par réincarnation, le royaume n'avait pas alors de souverain en âge de régner. L'enfant assis sur le trône du Potala et qu'assistait un Régent, était né au pays de Kham le 18 octobre 1838. Il avait donc trois ans au moment des évènements rapportés ici. Il avait été tiré au sort le 8 septembre 1841, à la veille de l'invasion Dogra, et ce n'est que le 25 mai 1842, en raison des évènements de guerre, qu'il put être intrônisé sous le nom de mKhas-grub-rgya-mtcho. Il devait régner dix mois seulement, de mars 1855 à janvier 1856 comme XI-ème Dalaï-lama.

[8] Dès qu'elle s'est trouvée au delà de Gartok, vers l'Est, l'armée de Zorawar, isolée, manquant de ravitaillement et d'équipement, a dû passer de l'offensive à la défensive, sans qu'il y ait eu de combats importants. Quand les Tibétains sont réapparus, elle n'avait plus d'autre issue que la fuite; mais ses soldats étaient trop affaiblis pour le faire, de sorte qu'ils se laissèrent massacrer pour la plupart. Il y eut au moins cinq mille morts.

[9] Le Tibet dépendant alors de la Chine, et celle-ci ayant envoyé des renforts, les « Chinois » en question sont en fait surtout des Tibétains, seuls capables, par une accou-

ils les approchèrent, se demandèrent s'ils étaient vivants ou morts et n'osèrent pas les déranger.[10] Ils me racontèrent aussi que le peuple du Tibet avait une prophétie selon laquelle tout le pays devait tomber sous la domination anglaise.[11] Quelques uns de ces Cachemiriens avaient connu le voyageur hongrois Csoma de Koros,[12] qui séjourna longtemps[13] dans l'un des monastères lamaïques situés près de Ladakh,[14] où il fit des recherches sur l'origine de la langue hon-

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tumance millénaire, de supporter la rigueur implacable du climat hivernal. On notera que ces évènements se passent au moment où Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös se prépare à quitter Calcutta pour Lhassa.

[10] L'expression de Wolff est surprenante et pourrait être un lapsus. Une armée victorieuse qui « n'ose pas déranger » l'ennemi lors d'une contre-attaque, ce n'est pas normal. A moins qu'il ne faille voir là l'expression d'une terreur superstitieuse de la part d'hommes qui croient couramment aux esprits, aux revenants, et à la magie.

[11] N'oublions pas que les informateurs de Wolff sont des mahométans, qui jugent avec dédain les pratiques religieuses des bouddhistes. Or, il est certain qu'avant d'entrer en guerre le gouvernement de Lhassa a procédé à la consultation de l'Oracle d'Etat, selon un usage qui est demeuré en vigueur jusqu'au XX-ème siècle. L'Oracle n'a pas, comme il est dit, annoncé la domination anglaise, mais seulement mis en garde les dirigeants du Tibet contre les dangers que la présence des Anglais en Inde et leur expansion quasi indéfinie en Asie pouvaient faire courir un jour au royaume. Plus tard, une prophétie analogue sera reprise, et cette fois elle sera confirmée par les événements, puisqu'en 1904 la colonne commandée par le colonel Younghusband envahira effectivement le pays presque sans coup férir à partir du Bengale et parviendra à Lhassa, imposant le traité du 7 août.

[12] Si l'on fait abstraction des trémas, qui sont des signes inconnus de l'orthographe anglaise, le nom de Csoma de Kőrös est remarquablement bien transcrit. C'est étonnant quand on sait que même ses collègues de la Société asiatique de Calcutta l'écrivaient souvent de façon erronée. Cela suppose que Wolff l'a recopié dans quelque document que ses interlocuteurs cachemiriens lui auront peut-être fourni.

[13] Le séjour de Csoma de Kőrös au Ladakh, ou plus exactement au Zanskar, a duré du 26 juin 1823 au 22 octobre 1824 (soit seize mois), puis de juillet 1825 à novembre 1826 (soit à nouveau seize mois). Au total, il y est donc resté un peu moins de trois ans.

[14] Ladakh signifie ici la capitale du pays, c'est-à-dire Leh. On ne peut raisonnablement pas dire que les monastères lamaïques où Csoma de Kőrös séjourna étaient « situés près de Leh », car si la distance kilomètrique n'est théoriquement pas énorme, les obstacles qu'il s'agit de franchir sont parfois insurmontables. Le Zanskar est isolé du Ladakh pendant la moitié de l'année avec aucune autre possibilité de gagner Leh que celle qui consiste, au milieu des plus grands dangers, à cheminer sur le fleuve Zanskar gelé, à travers des gorges vertigineuses, où il n'existe aucun abri. En été, les choses sont plus faciles, relativement, mais il faut tout de même traverser des chaînes de montagnes qui atteignent et dépassent les 5000 mètres, ou faire un long détour par le Pourig, sur des chemins à peine tracés, le long de pentes qui s'éboulent, sous un soleil torride pendant la journée et dans un froid intense pendant la nuit; et même là les cols à franchir au milieu des chaos de rocs dépassent, comme au Pansi-la, les 4.400 mètres. Bref, les distances au Zanskar et au Ladakh ne se mesurent pas en unités de longueur mais en somme des dangers qu'il faut vaincre à chaque instant.

groise[15] et sur celle des Huns.[16] Cet homme extraordinaire était parti en 1826,[17] si je ne me trompe pas, dans ce but,[18] de Paris,[19] et vint par Constantinople[20] en Perse,[21] sous le déguisement d'un derviche.[22] A son arrivée à Téhéran,[23]

[15] Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös n'était pas venu en Asie pour faire des recherches sur la langue hongroise, mais sur les origines supposées de son peuple. Il imaginait que les anciens Magyars étaient issus des Huns et que ceux-ci l'étaient des tribus nomades de haute Asie que les annales chinoises du temps de la dynastie des Han appellent les Hiong Nou.

[16] La mention des Huns par les visiteurs cachemiriens de Wolff laisse penser qu'il s'agissait de personnes relativement bien au courant des intentions de Csoma de Kőrös, peut-être de personnes qui avaient eu avec lui des entretiens sur le sujet qui l'intéressait en premier lieu, celui justement des origines hunniques des Magyars. Il est dommage que l'auteur ne se soit pas montré plus prolixe et qu'il soit impossible de déduire du contexte dans quelles circonstances ces entretiens eurent lieu. On en est réduit seulement à des conjectures dont la plus vraisemblable est, à mon avis, que les Cachemiriens en question auraient fait la connaissance du voyageur hongrois au cours de l'hiver 1822—1823, alors qu'il se trouvait à Srinagar, l'hôte de William Moorcroft. Sa présence dans la ville n'a pas dû passer inaperçue pour au moins deux raisons. D'une part, il n'y était pas seul mais en la compagnie du Dr Guthrie, de George Trebeck et du factotum cachemirien de l'expédition Mir Izzet Ullah (میرعزّة الله). D'autre part, justement du fait de ce dernier, des relations assez étroites étaient entretenues par le petit groupe avec des habitants de Srinagar. Mir Izzet Ullah était un homme plein de ressources et de contact facile qui faisait, en quelque sorte, « les relations publiques » de l'expédition. Il est donc vraisemblable qu'il ait servi d'intermédiaire auprès de ses compatriotes, d'autant que c'était un homme à l'esprit très ouvert que l'entreprise singulière de Csoma de Kőrös n'a pas dû manquer d'intéresser.

[17] On sait qu'Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös quitta la Transylvanie le 28 novembre 1819 au col de la Tour rouge, ainsi qu'en fait foi le visa de sortie apposé sur son passeport. En 1826, il était au monastère de Phuktal.

[18] Ce n'est pas dans le but de se livrer à des recherches linguistiques que Csoma de Kőrös était parti, mais parce qu'il croyait pouvoir retrouver en haute Asie les traces d'une nation et d'une civilisation oubliées. Sans doute hanté par le souvenir du moine dominicain Julien (Julianus) qui, au XIII-ème siècle, avait rencontré dans la région de la Volga et de la Bielaia des hommes parlant encore le hongrois, il s'était convaincu qu'une expérience analogue pouvait survenir six siècles plus tard à des distances infiniment plus grandes, en des régions quasiment ignorées. N'oublions pas que nous étions en pleine époque romantique.

[19] Csoma de Kőrös n'est jamais allé à Paris ni en France. Il y a là une erreur que commet Wolff, sans doute par une mauvaise interprétation des propos qui lui ont été tenus.

[20] Constantinople était effectivement sur l'itinéraire qu'il comptait emprunter, mais il en fut empêché alors qu'il se trouvait déjà à Andrinople, quand il sut que la peste sévissait dans la capitale ottomane. Il prit alors la résolution de contourner l'obstacle en traversant la Méditerranée entre Enos et Alexandrie.

[21] La Perse n'a jamais été dans son esprit une étape décisive, mais il est vrai qu'elle le devint sous l'empire des circonstances, puisque, au total, il y séjourna du 10 septembre 1820 (entrée à Pol-e-Zorab, venant de Bagdad) au 28 octobre 1821 (sortie à Tcharcha, venant de Mechhed), soit pendant plus de treize mois. Cela lui valut certainement bien

il reçut l'aimable hospitalité[24] de Sir Henry Willock.[25] De là il gagna Boukhara,[26] Lahore,[27] Ladakh et Calcutta.[28] Il écrivit le seul dictionnaire de la langue tibétaine existant, je crois,[29] et puis il mourut.[30] Les Cachemiriens me parlèrent aussi de Mr. Vigne[31] et du baron Hügel.[32] » (traduit de l'anglais).

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des impatiences et des angoisses, mais cela lui permit aussi d'y apprendre à parler couramment le persan, langue qui allait lui servir plus tard de truchement pour ses premiers pas dans l'apprentissage du tibétain parlé.

[22] A aucun moment Csoma de Kőrös ne s'est déguisé en derviche, c'est-à-dire en religieux musulman. En revanche il revêtit plusieurs fois des vêtements asiatiques: à Alep pour se rendre à Bagdad dans une robe de bédouin, à Téhéran pour se rendre à Mechhed dans un costume iranien, à Mechhed enfin pour gagner l'Asie centrale quand il prit l'habit d'un Arménien. C'est dans ce dernier habit qu'il était lorsqu'il rencontra, le 16 juillet 1822, le voyageur anglais William Moorcroft, dans la vallée de la Dras.

[23] Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös est arrivé à Téhéran le 14 octobre 1820, venant de Bagdad par Kermanshah, Hamadan et Saveh. Il a pris rapidement contact avec la résidence britannique dans l'espoir d'en obtenir une aide, comme il l'avait fait à Bagdad; mais il ne fut reçu dans un premier temps que par un appariteur persan, en l'absence du chargé d'affaires qui se trouvait alors à Tabriz.

[24] C'est seulement après trois semaines de séjour à Téhéran qu'il se décida à écrire au major Henry Willock, lorsqu'il apprit que celui-ci venait de rentrer de Tabriz. Sa lettre est du 3 novembre.

[25] Henry Willock, qui n'avait pas encore droit au titre de « Sir ». puisqu'il ne sera fait chevalier (knight) qu'en 1827, était un officier de cavalerie du corps de Madras que sa bonne connaissance du persan avait fait désigner pour commander l'escorte de Sir Harford Jones Brydges, envoyé en mission à la cour du shah en 1810. Au départ de ce dernier, il resta à Téhéran comme premier secrétaire auprès de son successeur, Sir Gore Ouseley. Quand Sir Gore fut rappelé à son tour, Willock fut nommé chargé d'affaires. Cela se passait en 1816. Il resta dix ans dans cette fonction, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à la nomination comme ministre plénipotentiaire du colonel John Macdonald Kinneir, en 1826. Willock était le représentant non de la cour de saint James mais de la Compagnie anglaise des Indes Orientales, laquelle entretenait plusieurs postes diplomatiques en Asie à cette époque. Il devait achever sa carrière comme membre du conseil suprême de l'honorable Compagnie, dont il fut même le président en 1846—1847.

[26] Il est vrai que, de Téhéran, son intention était de gagner immédiatement Boukhara, parce que de là il aurait pu rejoindre l'itinéraire de l'ancienne « route de la soie », par Samarcande, Khokand et Andidjan, jusqu'à Kachgar. Mais il fut retenu six mois à Mechhed par l'impossibilité où il se trouva de se joindre à une caravane en partance pour Merv et Tcharjoui, tant étaient grands les désordres qui règnaient a lors au Khorassan.

[27] Csoma de Kőrös n'est jamais entré à Lahore. Il s'est rendu jusqu'à Shahdehra, en face de la ville, de l'autre côté de la Ravi, en la compagnie des deux officiers français Jean-François Allard et Jean-Baptiste Ventura qui venaient proposer leurs services à Randjit Singh; puis il gagna directement Amritsar, sans attendre la réponse du maharadjah à la lettre de ses deux compagnons. Nous le savons de façon certaine grâce au journal de voyage de Victor Jacquemont (« Voyage en Inde », Paris Didot 1841, volume II, page 395).

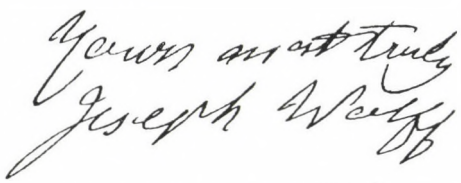
[28] Il ne se rendit à Calcutta qu'au printemps 1831. Son séjour dans l'Himalaja se situe entre les années 1822 et 1830.

[29] Ce n'est pas tout à fait exact puisqu'un premier essai de dictionnaire de la langue tibétaine fut publié en 1826 par la mission baptiste anglaise de Serampour, que dirigeaient

les pasteurs William Carey et Joshua Marshman, à partir d'un manuscrit laissé inachevé par le missionnaire allemand Schroeter. Mais le dictionnaire tibétain de Csoma de Kőrös est néanmoins reconnu comme le premier du genre parce qu'il est le seul vraiment utilisable et complet.

[30] Le raccourci est excessif. Entre la publication du dictionnaire tibétain, le 5 janvier 1834, et la mort de Csoma de Kőrös à Dardjiling le 11 avril 1842, il s'est écoulé huit années pendant lesquelles le voyageur a publié un bon nombre d'études sur la civilisation bouddhique du Tibet. Il s'est rendu deux ans à Titaliah, dans le haut Bengale, à la lisière du Terai, pour y étudier non seulement le bengali, mais aussi le hindi et le mahratti. Puis il a exercé les fonctions de bibliothécaire en chef de la Société asiatique du Bengale du 3 mai 1838 au 1-er mai 1841, avant de reprendre son bâton de pélerin et de monter pour y mourir jusqu'à Dardjiling, au printemps 1842.

[31] Godfrey-Thomas Vigne est essentiellement l'explorateur du Cachemire et des régions circonvoisines: Gilgit, Hounza, Swat, Baltistan et Ladakh, ainsi que des principautés du Tchamba et du Mandi, alors que tous ces petits Etats étaient encore quasiment indépendants. Il s'était d'abord orienté vers le barreau. C'est un voyage en Amérique du Nord, entrepris en 1831, qui décide de sa véritable vocation. A peine rentré en Angleterre, il repart le 16 octobre 1832 pour les Indes orientales, où il arrive en juin 1833. Il gagne Simla où il est l'hôte du capitaine Kennedy et rencontre le gouverneur général Lord Bentinck. Celui-ci l'incite à porter de préférence ses pas vers les régions de l'extrême Nord-Ouest du sous-continent, encore inexplorées. Il se rend au Baltistan, petit Etat tibétain converti à l'Islam chiite au XVI-ème siècle, où il est le premier Européen à séjourner. Grâce à l'accueil aimable que lui réserve son dernier roi Ahmed Shah, il peut en faire la visite complète jusque dans les vallées les plus reculées du massif du Karakorum. Rentré à Loudhiana un an plus tard, il en repart le 1-er juin 1835 pour le Cachemire, d'où il se rend dans le Hazara, le Swat, le Kohistan, le Diamir et le Gilgit, jusqu'à Hounza. Après quoi il séjourne de nouveau au Baltistan, en août et septembre. A Iskardo, la capitale, il recopie une inscription tibétaine dont il confie ensuite l'interprétation à Csoma de Kőrös (J.A.S.B. N° 73, janvier 1838, pages 38 et 39). Puis il visite le Caboul et rentre à Lahore le 30 mars 1839, au lendemain de la mort du général Allard (23 janvier) et à la veille de celle de Randjit Singh (27 juin). Il publie le récit de ses pérégrinations indiennes dans deux ouvrages intitulés respectivement « A personal narrative of a visit to Ghazni, Kabul and Afghanistan » (Londres, George Routledge and C°, un volume 1840), et « Travels in Kashmir » (Londres Colburn deux volumes 1842). Il voyagea par la suite en Amérique centrale et s'éteignit le 12 juillet 1863.



Autographe de Joseph Wolff

[32] Le baron Karl von Hügel avait d'abord fait des études de droit à Heidelberg. En 1814, bien que sujet du roi de Bavière, il s'engage dans l'armée autrichienne et participe à la dernière campagne contre Napoléon. Dix ans plus tard, alors qu'il a déjà le grade de major et qu'il est attaché militaire Impérial et Royal à Naples, il renonce à la carrière des armes pour se consacrer aux sciences naturelles. Le 2 mai 1831, il s'embarque à Toulon pour l'Asie. Il visite l'Inde, Ceylan, l'Insulinde, les Philippines, Macao, Canton. De là, il rentre à Calcutta en 1834, et rencontre Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös à la Société

asiatique, alors que viennent d'être publiés le dictionnaire et la grammaire du tibétain classique qui fondent la tibétologie. D'octobre 1835 à fin janvier 1836, il est au Cachemire. Revenu en Allemagne, il fait paraître à Stuttgart en 1840—42, chez Hallberger, les quatre volumes de sa relation de voyage intitulée « Kaschmir und das Reich der Sikhs ». Il y parle de Csoma comme de son ami en page 165 du deuxième volume et en page 56 du quatrieme, mais il en parle de façon inexacte, ce qui amènera plus tard Théodore Duka à le critiquer en pages 16—17 et 20—21 de sa biographie de Csoma de Kőrös.

En 1845, il publie à Londres chez John Petheram « Travels in the Cashmere and the Punjab, containing a particular account of the government and character of the Sikhs ». Ses récits sont vivants, mais manquent de sérieux, car il est plutôt un dilettante qu'un véritable savant.

Le 14 mai 1847 il est élu membre de l'Akademie der Wissentschaften de Vienne et l'université d'Oxford le fait docteur h.c. pour ses travaux naturalistes.

En 1849, il devient ministre d'Autriche à Florence, avant de se retirer définitivement de la vie active. Il meurt le 2 juin 1870, laissant à sa patrie d'adoption une impressionnante collection de monnaies, statues, étoffes, bijoux, livres et meubles, représentant plus de 32000 pièces.

Lorsqu'il était à Srinagar, le 27 novembre 1835, il décida avec les explorateurs anglais Vigne et Henderson d'élever un monument à la mémoire de ceux qui les y avaient précédés, à savoir François Bernier en 1663, George Forster en 1786, William Moorcroft, George Trebeck et George Guthrie en 1823, Victor Jacquemont en 1831 et Joseph Wolff en 1832. Théodore Duka leur reproche de ne pas avoir retenu le nom de Csoma de Kőrös. Mais c'est oublier que celui-ci ne nous a laissé aucun document (lettres, impressions, mémoires, récits, journaux) sur les périodes qu'il a passées à Srinagar. La seule chose qu'il ait écrite à propos du Cachemire, c'est qu'il y séjourna du 14 avril au 19 mai 1822 et qu'il y revint du 26 novembre 1822 au 22 mai 1823, dans sa lettre du 28 janvier 1825 à Kennedy (Duka, op.cit. p.33), mais sans y ajouter de commentaire.

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VENTURA, Jean Baptiste 1790—1858
VIGNE, Godfrey Thomas 1801—1863
WILLOCK, Henry 1790—1858
WYBURT —1835
WOLFF, Joseph 1795—1862
ZORAWAR SINGH —1841

NARRATIVE

OF A

MISSION TO BOKHARA,

IN THE YEARS 1843–1845,

TO ASCERTAIN

THE FATE OF COLONEL STODDART AND CAPTAIN CONOLLY;

BY THE

REV. JOSEPH WOLFF, D.D., LL.D.

SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE PARIS

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Document A

CHAPTER XIV.

Disasters of the Seikh Army in Lassa. Csoma de Koros; his Researches; publishes a Dictionary of the Thibet Language. The Surveillance over Dr. Wolff grows more rigid. Barhurdar, an Armenian, ordered not to visit Dr. Wolff by the Ameer. Nasir Khayr Ullah, a Kaffer Seeah Poosh, mistaken for Colonel Stoddart from the fairness of his complexion. Conversation between Dr. Wolff and the Nayeb. Letter of Sir Richmond Shakspeare. The Nayeb detains in his possession the Letter of Lord Ellenborough to the Ameer. Nayeb alarmed; advises Dr. Wolff to communicate to the Ameer the fact of the Letter having arrived; Dr. Wolff does so. Hassan Caboolee dispatched. Dr. Wolff discovers that, though apparently sent, he did not really go. Affghaun Bear Leader imprisoned as a Spy; he tells Dr. Wolff that the Ameer sent a Lion to Russia as a Present to the Czar, for which his Ambassador was munificently rewarded; but that the Czar refused after the Execution of the British Officers to hold any further Intercourse with the Ameer. The Ameer goes to war with Khokand and Oratepa; orders in his absence the Guards over Dr. Wolff to be doubled, and tells him that his Departure will depend on the success of his Expedition. Dr. Wolff writes to Lady Georgiana and his Son. Conversations with Dil Assa Khan, Abdullah, and others. Dr. Wolff bribes the Guards. Previous War with Khokand; King made Prisoner and put to death by the Ameer of Bokhara; his Wife and Child barbarously murdered. Abdul Samut Khan the chief Agent in the Slaughter. At the news of the Death of Stoddart and Conolly the Inhabitants of Khokand renew the War. The Ameer retreats before them and the Khivites. Dr. Wolff contrives to acquaint the British Envoy at Teheraun of the movements of the Ameer, and warns the Town of Shahr Sabz of the King's intention to attack them. Ameer says that nothing prospers with him since the Death of the English Officers. The King of Khokand offers Dr. Wolff an Asylum in his Dominions.

PREVIOUS to my visit to the Nayeb mentioned in the preceding chapter, Muhammedans from Cashmeer called on me, and gave me some information respect-

Document B

ing the great disasters which the Seikhs had experienced on their march to Lassa, the capture of Thibet, and residence of the Grand Lama. Several thousands of the Seikh army had been frozen to death, and many soldiers had been found frozen in the very attitude of defence, so that actually the Chinese, when approaching them, doubted whether they were alive or dead, and dared not disturb them. They also told me that the people of Thibet have a prophecy, that the whole country will fall under the English sway. Some of these Cashmeerians were acquainted with the Hungarian traveller, Csoma de Koros, who spent much time in one of the convents of the Lamas near Ladack, where he made researches into the origin of the Hungarian language and of the Huns. This extraordinary man set out in 1826, if I do not mistake, for this purpose, from Paris, and went *vid* Constantinople to Persia, in the disguise of a derveesh. On his arrival at Teheraun, he received the kind hospitality of Sir Henry Willock. Thence he went to Bokhara, Lahore, Ladack, and Calcutta. He wrote the only Dictionary of the Thibet language, I believe, extant, and then died. The Cashmeerians spoke to me also of Mr. Vigne and Baron Hügel.

Document C

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus XLV (1), 149—158 (1991)

MISCELLANEA

JURČHIN NOTES

[DANIEL KANE, *The Sino-Jurchen vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters.* Indiana University, Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 153. Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Bloomington, Indiana, 1989, xi + 461 p., with 57 illustrations]

This nine-chapter monograph represents a most important tool for Manchu-Tungus research and adjacent fields, including Mongol-Khitan and wider Altaistic studies; and the student of Chinese phonetic history will also profit from the book.

Chapter 8 (pp. 99—131) describes the late Jurchin language as it appears in the 15th century Sino-Jurchin vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters of the Ming. Chapter 9 (pp. 132—271) contains the phonetic reconstruction of the Jurchin words in the 1154 entries of the Vocabulary according to the Awanokuni-MS.

In contrast to the Vocabulary of the Bureau of Translators (for which see Kiyose's *Study*, 1977, and Dorǰi's and Kesig's *Nüzhen yiyu yanjiu*, Kökeqota 1983), this material does not contain Jurchin characters. The Jurchin words here only appear in Chinese transcription, without any diacriticals, which would help to avoid ambiguities (e.g. Chin. *l* for Jur. *l* and *r*).

The similarly late Jurchin given in the Vocabulary of the Bureau of Translators, classical Written Manchu and Shibe ("Spoken Manchu") are quoted in order to confirm the reconstruction. In most cases, this apparatus proves to be sufficient and results in a generally fair and mostly reliable or usable phonetic decipherment. A wider selection of the comparative data could offer a better solution of several problematic cases, but some entries remain unsolved despite all efforts. The following numbers mark the location of the words in the Awanokuni-MS of the Vocabulary in which they are listed in 17 thematical sections.

No. 4 "thunder": Kane's alternative reconstruction *akdian* seems to be more acceptable than *akdien*.

No. 5 "sun": read *šiwun*, cf. Tungus *siyun*, etc., Cincius II 78.

No. 6 "moon": perhaps to be read *bia(a)*; the Chinese had no adequate syllable; < *biya* < *biya* > Tung. *biēγa*; Cincius I 78.

No. 8 "frost": perhaps to be read *semenggi* (Chin. *mang* for Jur. *meng*; Chin. *meng* for Jur. *mung*); cf. Nanai *suŋgu* "hoarfrost", Ewenki *siŋilgen* "snow", Cincius II 90, Nanai/Onenko *sunieče* "hoarfrost".

No. 11 "dew": ? read *šilui*; cf. Nanai *silemse*, etc., Cincius, *loc. cit.*

No. 18 "rainbow", **ǰuelemo* ?: reconstruction of a hapax legomenon; *r* is as possible as *l*. Manchu *nioron* "rainbow" is discussed *s. v.* Ewenki *noγon*, . . . Manchu *niowanggiyan* "green", etc., in Cincius I 602; Nanai has a metaphoric expression for "rainbow": *agdi poikani apsāni* (Onenko—Avrorin) "the multicoloured edge of the lasso of the thunder";

Daur *šeeruu* (also written *xieeruu*, *fe:ru:*) "rainbow" (Enhbat) < Ewenki *sērūn*, etc., "rainbow; lightning".

No. 19 "dark", **farxun*: read G (=Grube) 609 *fargian*.

Nos. 29, 71 "bright", **getie*: perhaps to be read *gete*.

Nos 60, 66: *ǰalu* "full", noun, ≠ No. 65 *ǰala-* "to fill", verb.

No. 62 "the sun shines": read *šiwun šiučuxa*.

No. 68 "round": perhaps *mu'eli* or *muyeli* instead of *muli'e* of the text.

No. 69 "to wane", **eče*: ?cf. Manchu *eše-* "to curve"; Mong. *eče-* "to become tired/exhausted" cannot be cognate, because of its Middle Mong. initial *h-*.

No. 70 "year": here and elsewhere *anie* is to be read *ania* (no direct Chin. equivalent for *nia*).

No. 72 "day after day" **inenggilen*: this form proposed by Herbert Franke is plausible, but the final morpheme *-n* is not parallel with the "gerund" or verbal adverb of Written Manchu *biyalame*.

No. 73 "(the thunder) roars", *a[k]dian gumbi*: cf. Nanai *guen-guen*, Orok *gūn-*, Ewenki *guŋ-*, Cincius I 172, with *-n*-stem.

Nos 97, 98: it is difficult to decide if the Chin. transcription *sai-yin* marks a dissyllabic or monosyllabic form.

No. 133 "road", **ǰu*: probably with long vowel, cf. G *ǰuɣu*.

No. 140 "earth", **beho*: read *boixo*; for *boi* there is no other possible Chin. equivalent than *bo/bai*.

No. 144 « sand » **ǰoro*: ?read Chin. *shuo* (with radical « wood »?) instead of *zhuo* of the text (cf. no. 231 « bitter » *gošo*) and thus *šoryo* instead of *ǰoryo* (Chin: transcr. *zhuo-er-wo*), and cf. Nanai *siron*, Ewenki *siruɣi/sergi*, *siruktan* « sand », Cincius II 96.

No. 148 « close, **ǰakara*: ?read *ǰaxala* or *ǰakala*, cf. *amban* dan *ambula*.

No. 162 « foot », **betie*: ?read *bete*.

No. 173 « green », **niengia*: read *niongia*, or, rather *ñongia*; there was no direct Chin. equivalent for Jur. *ñon-* or *ñun-*.

Nos 208, 223, 224 "the road leading to the imperial palace", **hirle*: this word without any cognate is written thrice with the same Chinese characters; for the relatively rare intervocalic cluster *-rl-* cf. Manchu *sarla*, *urlu*, *arluna*.

No. 212 "to sow", **tali-*: read *tari-* as in Manchu and Mong.

No. 224 "on", **dolo*: the Chinese transcription *wai-luo* renders *wailo* or *oilo* "surface", cf. Manchu *oyilo* id., Nanai *oila* "on; about", etc., Cincius II 8—9, s. v. *oyo*.

No. 233 "spring, source", **se*: read *se*[*ri* or *-re*], cf. also Nanai *sire*. The full entry contains the word *ali* "mountain" and probably it is a scribal error that the second syllable of *seri* (the same Chin. *li* as in *ali*, or Chin. *le* for *-re*) is omitted. Cf. s. v. *sie*, Cincius II 101.

No. 235: correct the double typescript error and read *oloxo*.

No. 242: correct the double typescript error and read *uliangǧa uši* for the Chin. transcription *wu-liang-ha wu-shi* "uncultivated land/field", cf. written Manchu *waliya-* in *waliyaχa usin* "aufgegebenes Feld" (Hauer), "zabrošennye . . . pašni" (Zacharov); *waliya-* < *uliya-*; *uliya* + *n* = **uliyan*, deverb. noun, *uliyangǧa*, denom. noun.

No. 248 "flying", **de-re*: ?read *deire* (*dei* for modern Chin. *de/dei*) or Chin. *yi* is omitted between *de* and *le* (= *re*).

No. 249: Chin. "broken bridge", Jur. "(the) bridge (is) broken"; read *la*[*k*]*ǰaxa*, cf. Manchu *laqča-*.

No. 261 "mud", **tipa*, Manchu *čiǰaχan*: read Jur. *tipā*? Cf. also Mong. *siba-*.

No. 266 "summer", **ǰuanri*, read *ǰuari* (there is no unambiguous Chin. equivalent for Jur. *ǰua*).

No. 273 "night", *dobori*: read G 78 *dolowo*, cf. Nanai *dolbo*.

No. 274 "cold", **simu'u*: ?read *simɣu*, G 91 *simɣun*, cf. Nanai *siŋmun* "shadow; cool place", Ewenki *simŋun*, etc., Manchu *silmen* "shadow", Cincius II 87.

No. 276 "hot": read *xalu'u* or *xalɣu*?

No. 283 "the day after tomorrow", * *iaorunenggi*: read *iorunenggi*.

No. 300 "four", *duin*: as in nos. 97, 98, a dissyllabic Chin. transcription, *dui-yin* may represent a dissyllabic *duyyin* and a monosyllabic *duin* as well.

No. 309 "half": read *dulya* instead of *dulu'a*?

Nos 311, 312 "several" or "some": ?read "a few" *uxiaxu* and cf. Manchu *ekiyexun* "too little; few".

No. 346 "flower", **il*[*h*]*a*, Manchu *ilxa*: read *ilā*?

No. 348 "pear", **sil*[*h*]*u*, Manchu *šulxe*: read *silū*?

No. 349 ' plum", **fuyo*: read *foyo* (Chin. *fo/fu*).

No. 350 "date" (fruit): read *jaur*.

Nos 351, 388 "apricot", *gui*: an interesting "truncated" form, cognate of Manchu *guilexe*, which is a diminutive derivation of *guile-*, the stem of Mong. *güilesün*; G 110 **guiɬala* or **guilaɬa* (not *guwi*°) remains enigmatic.

No. 353 "scallion", **sekule*: a non-nasal or denasalized form vs Manchu *sengkule/semkele*, or read *se*[*ng*]*kule*?

No. 365 "mushroom", *fixe* or *fexe*: cf. Manchu *fuxen* "Schimmel . . .; Heu von Ula-Gras zum Feuermachen" (Hauer), Wuti nos. 14739, 15098; also no. 11809 Manchu *fenexe* "tinder" = Mong. *ula* = Chin. *huorong*; Oroch *puneǰi*, Cincius II 43.

No. 374 "turnip", **nienmuǰu*: read *niamǰu*, i.e. *ñamǰu*? G. 132 gives *naǰu* (or *na*[*m*]*ǰu*?).

No. 380: correct triple typescript error and read *orχoda*.

No. 382 "the plant Asarum sieboldi", **šišimen* [or *-mun*?] *da*: the Manchu equivalent for Chin. *xinxin* is *morin torxo/turgun/turgen*, Wuti 14247, 14248 (Mong. *unaɣan-u turuɣu/sigira*; Hauer 667: "gelb blühende Arzneipflanze, deren dicke ovale Blätter etwas Ähnlichkeit mit Pferdehufen haben", 932: "eßbare Pflanze mit gelben Blüten", etc., as for the second element of the compound see Mong. *tuɣurai/turuɣu* "hoof"; Hauer's definition, which is quoted from authentic Manchu sources, indicates yellow flowers, while all the three Asarum species (blumei, caulescens, sieboldi) mentioned in the *Zhiwuxue dacidian* of the Shangwu yinshuguan are said to have dark red or purple flowers. According to the 18th century *Qorin nigetü tayilburi toli* the Mong. plant name *unaɣan-u sigira* = *u. turuɣu*; the latter has two meanings: 1. "that which is like the pterodium of the elm-tree and floats on water" (Lemna?), 2. "a grassland plant with yellow flowers and leaves like a horse's hoof, it is the *si-sin* used for medicine". Nanai has *sisime* "flitch" (Russian "tonkaja jukola (iz verchnego sloja kety bez kožи)" and "gorbyl' ", (Onenko—Avrorin), Orok *sisime* "stomach (of a fish)", Cincius II 98, but these words hardly have any connection with the plant name, which "is possibly from Chinese *xi xin*", as Kane stated.

No. 385 "chestnut", **xusa*: ?read *χusā* (cf. also 379 id. and 367 *χusu* "walnut", Manchu *χûsiχa*, Cincius II 291, s. v. *usikta*).

No. 398 "yellow rice": read *fise* (vs Manchu *fisixe*, diminutive?)

No. 417 "deer", **bu'u*: ?read *buɣu*.

No. 422 "goose", **niunieha*: read *niuniaxa* = *ñuñaxa*.

No. 429 "small bird", **seče*(*he*): read *šeče-* with palatal initial.

No. 436 "donkey", **ehe*: ?read *e*[*i*]*xe* or *e*[*l*]*xe*.

No. 438 "ermine", **unie*: perhaps *une*; Wuti Mong. *üne* = Manchu *soloxi* ≠ Mong. *kürene*; cf. also Mong. *üyen* "ermine".

No. 440 "mule": read *lausa* instead of *laosa*.

No. 441 "squirrel": read *ulxu* instead of *uluxu*?

No. 442 "fox", *dobi*: cf. also G 151 *dobi bonon* "monkey"; *-li-* in G 153 may be an error.

No. 445: Chin. *kema* is not "mule", but "mare"; *luo ma* (not in the Vocabulary) means "mules and horses", thus Chin. *kema* = Jur. *geu muri* "mare".

No. 449 "foal, colt", **urha/ulha*: read Chin. *nai* "also, then" instead of *er* "child" in the transcription and thus *una⟨i⟩xa*, i. e. *unaxa* ~ Manchu *unaχan*. Or read Jur. *murixa* with Chin. *mu* "wood" instead of *wu* and compare the Jurchin word with Nanai *morikān* "colt"?

No. 456 "cormorant", **ǰasaxa*: this form is nearer to Manchu *yasχa* "large bird" (Nanai *gasa* "bird" and "duck") than to Manchu *yowasixiya* "heron" = Mong. *degelei*. For the last-mentioned Manchu word cf. *yočixiyasa-* "to hunch/cringe; to jerk/writhe" *yoči-*.

No. 459 "gerfalcon": ?read *šimko* instead of *šimuko*; cf. also Manchu *šongqoro*.

No. 460 "heron", **waša*: cf. Nanai *wāčaka* and *ede-w.* id. (Onenko—Avrorin), Orok, Ulcha *waša* id., see Cincius I 636, s. v. Ewenki *načakī*.

No. 464 "turtle-dove": Chin. *yahu/yagu* also means "falcon"; without further data it is impossible to confirm or reject Kane's reconstruction **huiholo* or Kiyose's **guwiholo* (read *gui-* or *gwi-*: Chin. *hui* cannot render a dissyllable). Manchu *qoqoli* proposed by Herbert Franke corresponds to Mong. *salalǰi* and seems to mean a white-tailed snipe (Wuti no. 15703).

No. 466 "tortoise", **ai'uma*: ?read *aiyuma*.

No. 468 "kite", **file*: as for the quoted Manchu words, *fiyelen* "yellow-beaked young bird" is phonetically acceptable, but semantically too far; *xiyebele* "black-eared kite" (Hauer: "Weihe") is semantically plausible, but phonetically difficult if not impossible. Cf. Manchu *fiyele-* "to hover/ring" (bird of prey), *fiyelen* "hazel-hen, hazel-grouse", *fiyelenggu* id., semantically parallel to Nanai *pīčuen* "kite" and *pīčien-* "to fly low over the surface of the water" (Onenko—Avrorin), "to ring" (Cincius II 323, s.v. Ewenki *hiyen* "kite", a heterogeneous entry).

No. 470 "crab", **ičuxe*: cf. Manchu *yečuxe* "black fly", in old usage = *asχangγa yerxuwe* "winged ant", according to Wuti no. 17011 = Mong. *simaγul*; cf. also *matar* "water monster" and *ǰögei* "bee/wasp" forming a compound in Mongolian Buddhist texts and meaning some monstruous worms.

No. 474 "butterfly": read *gepe*.

No. 477 "horn", **weixe*: *uixe* is also possible.

No. 482 "dragonfly", **ǰologu*: cf. Manchu *ǰoro-/ǰoγo-* "to turn"?

No. 483 "cricket", **guruǰi*: ?read *gurǰi*? Cf. also Manchu and Mong. *gürelǰi*, Mong. *gürelǰegene*.

No. 484 "pigeon": read *xutē*? Cf. Mong. *kučiye*, *kütege*, Zhiyuan yiyu *küčē*, Hua Yi yiyu *küče'e*.

No. 497 "small dog": read *niaxa*, i.e. *ñaxa* instead of *nieha*.

No. 499 "glow-worm", **ǰušimpo*?: perhaps to be read *ǰušimpe*, despite Manchu *ǰučiba/ǰučuba* id., cf. no.-474 *gepe*; cf. also Manchu *sesimpu/sesimpe/sešepe/sesempe* "hornet" < *sesi/seše-* "to bite/sting", a clear etymology (Cincius II 431—432) which suggests to seek a similar solution, to find a verbal stem meaning "to glow/gleam". Maybe Ewenki *ǰuse-* in *ǰuseme* "glowing, glaring, bright", *ǰusene-* "to glow" (cf. Cincius I 278) is connectable with the stem of the Jurchin/Manchu word. Negidal *ǰoǰakta* "glow-worm" is derived from a different (verbal? nominal?) stem.

No. 500 "wether", **a[k]tala xoni*: this is one of the entries in which a verbal stem appears in a nominal function. Is this a truncated form for *aktalaxa*? Is it to be read *aktalā*?

No. 508 "falcon", **gudi*: Manchu *xuksen* "a falcon kept in the house" and "hood, (of a falcon)" and Ewen *xusen* "koršun" (Rišes and Cincius—Rišes) are phonetically too far; Manchu *yâǰe* "a call for the falcon" is not an appellative.

No. 510 "bat", **eǰume*, no. 513 "carp", **tuše nimaxa*, and no. 515 "shrimp", **xite*: three isolated words without cognates.

No. 519 "fat": read *tar*[*γ*]*u* here and in no. 719.

No. 522: read **aǰia* as in no 432 "lion".

No. 566 "inkslab", **se*: it seems desperate to connect this form (also attested in G 225) with Chin. *shi* "stone". Cf., however, Manchu verbal stem *suyi-* "to mix/dissolve", *bexe s.* "to rub Chinese ink" (Cincius II 121, s. v. *suili-*)?

No. 572 "chopsticks" (correct Chin. *chin* for *zhu*), **sab*[*k*]*a*: ?read *sabā*.

No. 581: as Kane stated in his note, Chin. *me/mo* might be a mistake for *bu*, thus read *buleku* "mirror".

No. 582 "scissors": cf. also Nanai *xaja*.

No. 586: correct Chin. *hei* and read *feng* "wind".

No. 605 "small bell": read *honggo* instead of *hunggo*.

No. 619 "saddle-cushion", *saufu*: cf. Zhiyuan yiyu *sauqur* < **sayuγur* < Mong. *sayu-* "to sit".

No. 620: correct Chin. character *xing* and read *li* (as in the transcription).

No. 622 "saddle": read *enggemu* instead of *an-* (Chin. *an* for Jur. *en*).

No. 633 "lampstand", **ǰi'ulagu*: ?read *ǰiulagu*; cf. Nanai *piolan* "a piece of birch-bark for lighting fire; a burning piece of birch-bark; a bundle of slivers for light (at night fishing); a torch of slivers" (Onenko—Avrorin), a deverbal noun.

No. 636 "fly whisk", *derxue bodo*: add Nanai *bodogo-* "to chase/expell" to Franke's Manchu *bodo-*. Is *bodo* a noun-verb?

No. 639 "net for small game hunting", **saxada ile*: add meaning. The first word seems to be another noun-verb. Manchu *saχada-* is not only "to hunt in autumn", but also "ein kleines Kesseltreiben abhalten" (Hauer) < *saχa*.

No. 640 "a stringed musical instrument" (Chin. *huqin*), **kiǰari/kiǰali*? A hapax. Manchu *ongγočon/ongγočun* (Wuti no. 2729 = Mong. *kigili* = Chin. *huqin*) is not necessarily a Mongol loan-word, but the dissyllabic root of the Manchu *ongγočon* "Chinese violin" and Mong. *ongγoča* "trough; boat" seems to be identical (meaning "hollow"; cf. also Manchu *ongγon* "the space between the saddle and the back of the horse, etc.", Nanai *oŋgolo* "hollow, cavity, cave", Cincius II 21).

No. 641 "horn: not necessarily a military wind-instrument", Chin. *boluo*: the Jurchin equivalent is a verb, **burudumbi* "to blow on horn". Manchu *burde-* "to blow on a horn/conch". etc., < *buren* "horn/conch", several kinds in Wuti nos. 2702—2705, 4092, Mong. *büriyen/büriye* > *bürē*: it is interesting to notice the loss of the second syllable in the Manchu verb. Mong. *büriye* is cognate with *buryui* "syringe" and Turk. *boryuy* "trumpet", see Doerfer *TMEN* II 735 and Clauson *ED* 361.

No. 642 "*suona*, a trumpet-like wind-instrument", **yarxi*: in Wuti no. 2708 this "Western" instrument (see Turkī *surnay* < Persian; Russian *zurna* < Turk.) is rendered by Manchu *bileri* (< Mong. < Uig, and Chin., another "Western" term). The analogy of Manchu *čarki* "castanet, bones", *čarki-* "to clink/chink", Mong. *čargil* "castanet", *ǰargi-* "to make a harsh sound" may lead us to an assumption connecting Mong. *yargi-* "to make a harsh sound" (Kalm. *yark-*, Khalkha *yargi-*) with the Jurchin name of the *suona*. But this is a mere assumption without any firm Tungus background (Ewenki *yargida-* "to plash/gurgle" is hard to suffice; cf. Cincius I 343).

No. 657 "leader", **daxala nialma*: Kane's note offers two Manchu cognates: *da* "chief" and *daχala-* "to escort". Neither gives a satisfying solution. With *da* the rest of the

first word remains undeciphered. With *daxala-* (a verbal stem in nominal function or a noun-verb in Jurchin, as in several entries of this vocabulary?) it is difficult to get the meaning "chief, headman, leader", cf. Manchu *daχalara cooχa niyalma* "soldiers of the escort". Manchu *daχa-* "to obey follow; to surrender", etc., and *daχala-* have the common root of Mong. *daγa-* (not in Cincius I 191, but quoted, e.g., by Hauer). Nanai *daxala-* is synonymous to its Manchu equivalent, but Cincius (loc. cit.) lists Oroch *daxala-/daxuli-/daxau-* "to subdue/conquer/subjugate" with Ulcha parallels; the last Oroch form = Manchu *daχabu-*. Thus one may suppose that the Jurchin word *daxala-* had a meaning similar to those of its Oroch, etc., homonyms (1) or one has to think about an analogy with such a construction as, e.g., *wečere ulχa* "the animal *to be* sacrificed", in our case *"the man to be obeyed" (2). Another maybe too audacious attempt: change the order of the two Chinese characters at the beginning of the expression and read *kadala* which corresponds to Manchu *qadala-*, Nüzhen guan zazi id., "to govern", as in Manchu *tuwame qadalara χafan* "inspector".

No. 659 "army/soldier", **čauxa*: the range of meanings of the Jurchin (and Manchu) word is as wide as that of its Chinese equivalent, *jun*.

No. 667 "younger sister", **neu'u*: read *newu*; G 291/Kiyose *niyohun*: read *nexun* or *neγun*. cf. Cincius I 617—618 (without any trace of a palatal nasal initial).

No. 681 "father's younger brother", **esehe*: read with *-š-*.

No. 672 "ugly", **eusun*: ?cf. Nanai *ebesun* "miser, greedy". G 716/Kiyose *eru* should be a different word.

No. 680 "sister-in-law", **aže*: read *aža* (no direct Chin. equivalent for Jur. *ža*).

No. 704 "pockmarks", **bietu*: ?read *biatu*; Manchu *biyantaχa* "von Moxabrennen oder Schwären herrührende kahle Stelle auf dem Kopfe" (Hauer) and *fiyartun* "Fleck, Makel; Narbe, Mal" (Hauer), "pjatno, rubec, šram, znak ot rany, strupina, pjatno posle moksy, . . ." (Zacharov), both words, quoted by Kane as *biyataha* and *fiyatun*, can be cognate with the Jurchin form and with each other, but it is a phonetically difficult case.

No. 719 "fat": read **taryu* here and **ta[r]γun* for G 518.

No. 728 "servant", **sugu*: ?read *su[r]gu* and cf. Nanai *suruku/surkun* "servant".

No. 729 "husband", **ei'e*: the Chinese transcription suggests *e'i'e*, but *e'i* is indeed a dissyllabic rendering of the Jurchin monosyllable/diphthong *ei*, read however, *eiγe* (and *sar[γ]a*).

No. 732: read *monggo[l?] nia[l]ma* "a Mongol".

No. 742: Chin. *kangkai* is not only "generous, liberal", but also "energetic" (Wuti no. 5762 Manchu *xoo xio*, opposite to *ǰendu* "secretly" or "low-voiced"). Cf. Manchu *ǰingǰi* "heavy; honest, generous" (+ *le*)?

No. 746 "not; else than", **oqa*: it corresponds to Manchu *waqa* (not to *aqô*).

No. 748 presents a difficult case: Jurchin **gosu nialma* for Chin. *e ren* "evil man" to be changed *ai ren* "favorite; lover" as Kane suggests quoting Manchu *yosi-* "to love". Or cf. Manchu *guču* "friend, companion" (Jurchin G 295 *guču* "servant"; Solon *gusu* "friend", etc., cf. Cincius I 175)?

No. 765 "to feast", **bara-*: in spite of Kane's doubt, the reconstruction and the Chin. transcription is valid, see Nanai *bārāči-*, Oroch, Ulcha *bārači-* "to rejoice, to be glad" (Nanai also "to jubilate/exult", see Onenko—Avrorin, *Nanai-loča xesenkuni*), Cincius I 73 (*-či-* is a durative in Nanai; Manchu *bara-* "to mix together" in Kane's entry, Korean *parada-* "to hope/will" in Cincius' loc. cit., and Ewenki *baraw-* "to eat" with Ewen *barām-* "to be satiated" have nothing to do with the Jurchin word).

No. 772 "to weep": ?read *songgu-* instead of *sunggu-* and G 460 *songgoru* instead of Kiyose's *sangoru* (there was no direct Chinese equivalent for Jurchin *song*).

No. 784 "to get angry", *fuxi-*: read G 373, 386 *fixila* instead of Kiyose's *feshila*; cf. also Manchu *fukiye-*, *fuče-*, verbs, and *fuxun*, noun.

No. 785 "to ask for", **baiši*: verb or noun? (*-ši-* may be a durative).

No. 786 "intoxicated": correct transcription and read *so*[*k*]*toxo* as in G 786/Kiyose.

No. 792 "to live at, to reside", **tahasu*: read Chin. *ta* instead of *ha* in the transcription and so Jurchin *tatasu*, cf. Manchu *tata-* and Jurchin G 268/Kiyose *tata-* "to camp/lodge", Manchu *tatan* "camp"; delete Manchu and Sibe *te-* "to sit/live at".

No. 797 "to steal": read *xulxa-* instead of **hulaha*, in spite of Mong. *qulaγu-*. Chin. *lu* renders here the syllable final *l*.

No. 799 "to buy": Jurchin and Manchu *uda-* cannot be compared with G 417 hapax **aiwandu-* which looks like a reciprocative stem.

No. 802 "to rob": read *duri-*. Is G 457 *dauli-* the same stem? Or cf. Middle Mong. *dawuli-* "to conquer/rob"? See no. 818.

No. 809 "to be born", **bandi-*: for earlier Jurchin read, with Ligeti, *baldi-*.

No. 821 "to capture", **dauri-*: read, with G 457 and Middle Mong., *dauli-*, also in no. 860.

No. 824 "reason/wit/virtue", **tungme*: hapax. Cf. Negidal/Cincius *tumkun/tunkun* and *tuigen* "skilful, smart", Nanai *tuinkur(ku)* id., Oroch *tumne-* "to understand", Ewenki *tumnačī* "clever", Cincius II 213, 216 (s. v. *tumnačī* and *tuŋke-*)?

No. 828 "to search": read *bayimbi* (Chin. transcription: *bai-in-bi*).

No. 829 "to send": read *bendi-* (Chin. *ban* for Jur. *ben* and *ban*; cf. modern Chin. *ben* for Jur. *bun* in G).

No. 838 "to agree/assent to", **danara*: cf. Manchu *danu-* "gemeinsam besorgen, einander behilflich sein" (Hauer)? Otherwise the normal value of modern Chin. *da* "big" is *dai* for Old Mandarin.

No. 839 "to consider", **funieǰa-*: read *funieǰe-* or *funiaǰa-*? The latter is more probable, see Manchu.

No. 850 "dream/to dream", **tolihi*: read *tolxi/tolxi-* (Sibe non-first syllable vowels do not always represent the old form; see also Li Shulan et al., *Xibo yu kouyu yanjiu*, Beijing 1984, p. 252: *tölhin* "dream".)

No. 853: a double puzzle with Jurchin **meile hinda-* "do not worry" for Manchu *muǰilen sinda-*; Jurchin **meile* here and in no. 941 vs. Jurchin **mužile* "heart" in no. 942. Manchu *meyire* "shoulder" in fact "does not seem to be related" (Kane); phonetically the same can be said about Nanai *murun* "mind, soul", a back vowel word.

No. 861 **ǰerme* "line": ?read Chin. *hei* "black" instead of *mo* "ink" in the Chinese transcription and *ǰerxe* or *ǰerxi* in Jurchin with Manchu and Nanai *ǰergi* "order, line", etc., Mong. *ǰerge*, Cincius I 285.

No. 865: read *ume nialmai uli durire* "do not steal other people's property" (*uli* is omitted in the reconstructed form).

No. 866 "too much", **ǰuce*: ?read *ǰuse* and cf. Manchu *ǰuse* "unwillkürlich" (Hauer; Wuti no. 6489 *ǰ. inǰexe* = Mong. *pid kitele iniye-* "to burst in a loud laugh, to burst out laughing", *ǰuse* meaning "suddenly; involuntarily").

No. 868: correct typescript error and read *uš*[*x*]*un* (or *ušun*?).

No. 869: the morphology of *tukuši-* "to lift up" is unclear. Manchu *tukiyesxun* "looking up" is a derivation of the verb *tukiye-* "to lift up", like *bargiyasχôn*, *daχasχôn*, *gidasχôn*, etc., from *bargiya-*, *daχa-*, *gida-*, etc. Cf. Ewenki *tukti-* "to be lifted", etc., Cincius II 209?

No. 889 "foot": read *bete*, *betē*, or *bet*[*x*]*e*?

No. 890 "throat": read *bila*, *bilā*, or *bil*[*x*]*a*?

No. 908 "waist", **do'e*: irreconciliable with *dara/darama* "back", cf., however, Nanai *dewe* "taz" = "pelvis" (Onenko—Avrorin) and Manchu *du*, Cincius I 218.

No. 916 "thigh": ?read *su[k]sixa*.

No. 925 "marrow": ?read *umxa*.

No. 928 "bald", **gitaxun*: too far from Manchu *ginčixiyan/giyančixiyan*; ?read Chin. *huo* "to live" instead of *ji* and Jurchin **xotaxun*, cf. Manchu and Nanai *xoto* "bald".

No. 934 "to rinse": read *šilxia-* instead of *šilihia-*.

No. 936 "to sigh": probably *sedelesi-*, with the same *-ši-* as in no. 869?

No. 964 "jacket" (or "coat, robe"), **tologan*: hapax, *-r-*? The last syllable in the Awanokuni-MS is not *-gan* (Mathews no. 3235), but *-o* (Chin. *guan* and *wo*, Mathews no. 3570, in the Vocabulary for Jurchin *-o*). cf. Nanai *tulgu* "coat" (Russian *tulúp*; Onenko—Avrorin)?

No. 965 "belt", **učie* (Chin. transcription *wu-qie*): read *učе*, cf. also Cincius II 290—291, s.v. Ewenki *usī*, also Nanai *usi*.

No. 968 "boot": probably *gulxa*.

No. 985 "to patch", **nietie-*: read *niete-*? As to Muromski's Sibe (Kałużyński) *imči-* id., its phonetical relationship to Manchu *niyeče-* is to be demonstrated.

No. 986 "mattress quilt", **sis[x]e*: cf. Middle Mong. *sisgei*, Mong. *isegei*, etc., "felt".

No. 990 "Korean", **sulo'o*: changing Chin. *su* (Mathews no. 5490) into *suo* (Mathews no. 5459), read *soloyo*.

No. 992 "felt robe": read *nemurye* or *nemur'e* instead of *nie-*.

No. 1002 "shawl", *sampa*: cf. Mong. *sambai* "a low quality scarf for ritual purposes"?

No. 1012 "fire", **ta*: Chin. *ta/tuo*, read *to* (or *tō*)? G 21, Chin. transcription *tuo-wei* is rather *towu* (with a superfluous final *i*) than *tuwe* as given by Kiyose. Cf. Nanai *tawa*, *tawu*, *tō*, etc., Cincius II 190.

No. 1014 "salty", *xatu*, Manchu *χatuχôn*: cf. Dagur *kataa* "salt".

No. 1016 "sour": correct typescript error and read *ǰušu*.

No. 1025 "honey", **hitsu* (Chin. transcription *xi-cu*): read *xibsu* (as suggested in Kane's note) in accordance with no. 1010 *dabsu* "salt".

No. 1026 "bean-curd", **nuxa*: cf. Manchu *miyeku/miyexu* id. or Nanai *noxo-* "to knead/mould" (dough)?

No. 1051 "to light (a fire)", (*to*) *nidu-*: cf. Dagur (*gali*) *nendee-* id.?

No. 1076 "ring", **hulu*: hapax; *-r-* or *-l-*?

No. 1086 "imperial decree", **arwa*: or **alwa*? Cincius I 28 compares this enigmatic word (G 548) with Manchu *ala-*, Nanai *alō-*, Ewenki *alawu-/alayu-*; the latter means "to teach"; Manchu *ala-* is "to speak/report".

No. 1096 "to learn writing" (Chin. *xue zi*), **bit[h]e arambi*: if *ara-* is right, the Jurchin term differs from Chin., see Manchu *ara-* "to make", etc. Or cf. Nanai *alō-* "to learn" (as quoted above)?

No. 1099 "green, blue", **niengia*: read *ñongia* or *ñonggia*.

No. 1112 "four": the Chin transcription, *dui-yin* suggests *duyin* or *duin*, the monosyllabic form seems to be more probable.

No. 1137 "slice", **ǰute*: read **ǰu[k]te*, Manchu *ǰuġte*, Cincius I 271, Zacharov 1002a, Hauer 552.

No. 1145 "north", **ǰuhi[r]ge*: there is an obvious discrepancy between this Vocabulary and the *Nüzhen guan zazi* (G) as to the terms of the four directions; "east" and "west" (*šiwun tutire[r]ge* and *šiwun tuxere[r]ge*) are descriptive terms ("sunrise-side" and "sunset-side") here, "south" is marked by *ǰule[r]ge* "front side", and so it would be rea-

sonable to look for a stem meaning "back", but also used for "north". G 590—593 have *ǰuleši* for "east" (and not "south"), **ǰuliši* for "west", **ǰanti* for "south" and **uliti* for "north" according Kiyose's reconstruction. From these only *ǰuleši* has a sound Manchu parallel, the three other words, with ambiguous elements in their Chin. transcriptions, badly need the support of some comparative data. Nevertheless it seems to be possible that our word for "north" is related to G's term for "west". If so, cf. Cincius II 48 Nanai *perxi/ferxi*, etc., Ulcha *perxi(n)* "west" (in Ulcha also "southwest") and read G 591 **ǰur*[*x*]*iši* "west", here **ǰu*[*r*]*xi*[*r*]*ge* "north".

The rest of the book (originally a Ph.D. dissertation): Preface (pp. x-xi), the introductory Historical Background (Chapter One, pp. 1—10), a ten-page study of the Khitan scripts (Chapter Two), a description of the Jurchin script (Chapter Three, pp. 31—37), Jurchin glosses preserved in Chinese historical sources (*Jinshi* and *Da Jin guo shi*; Chapter Four, pp. 38—41), an annotated list of nine inscriptions in Jurchi script (Chapter Five, pp. 42—69), other Jurchin script monuments (MSS, seals, dictionaries; the study of Jurchin in Korea; Chapter Six, pp. 70—89), the two Jurchin vocabularies of the Hua-Yi yiyu: the Bureau of Translators Vocabulary and the Bureau of Interpreters Vocabulary (Chapter Seven, pp. 90—98). The Appendix contains the facsimile of the Awanokuni-MS of the latter vocabulary. It is preceded by an index of the English equivalents of the Sino-Jurchin entries (pp. 372—387), a glossary of the Chinese, Japanese and Korean names and terms in *pinyin* and in Chin. characters (pp. 388—395), and an ample bibliography (pp. 396—436), unfortunately without the lexicographical literature concerning the Manchu-Tungus languages other than Jurchin and Manchu, see Vera Ivanovna Cincius' *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-man'čžurskish jazykov* I—II (Leningrad 1975—1977), which is so often quoted in these notes. In the twelve years that passed after Cincius' Comparative Dictionary appeared there were further important works published by Doerfer, Ikegami, Kałużyński, Onenko and other scholars.

Some comments to Chapters One-Seven:

P. 1: There is no proof of the Mongols' writing Mongolian in Chinese characters. The Secret History was originally written in Uigur letters (Ligeti; Murayama).

Pp. 1—2: The translation of the passage from the *Liaoshi* is quoted from Wittfogel's and Feng's monograph; this fact should have been indicated even if the transcription of the Chinese terms in the passage was changed according to the *pinyin*-system and some words omitted. Otherwise the first two sentences of the translation are from chapter 2, and only the rest is from chapter 64 of the *Liaoshi*.

Table 1, line 2, character 5 corresponds to Chin. *wu* "horse" (in the duodenary cycle) without *jia* (first of the Ten Stems), i.e. the Khitan only has "horse"; its "large script" character, an ideogram is derived from its Chinese equivalent.

Table 2: "Large script" character "dragon" occurs in both dates; formally it is identical with the "small script" syllabogram attested, e.g., in the block meaning "country, empire", and this syllabogram has nothing to do with the "small script" ideogram (syllabogram?) meaning "dragon".

Table 3: As to the first two Khitan blocks, (*ab*) and (*cd*) correspond indeed to Chin. *shangshu* "a high official"; their real phonetic value is however *č.ang š.u* (or *š. ü*); previous researchers stated that character 4 is a "vertical block" of this "small" or "assembled" script. The upper element represents a bilabial initial (*p. or b.*?), the lower element is *wang/uang*. Thus this block reads *p.wang* or *b.wang*, the Khitan pronunciation of an Old Mandarin equivalent of modern Chinese *fang*. Character 8 is here slightly distorted, the right form is also seen as second element in *g.ing*, block 8 of line 1 on the Da Jin huangdi inscription.

P. 11: There are not four, but nine dates on the "large script" Xigushan inscription

in lines 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17 (with two dates in line 10). Kane quotes the dates in lines 17 and 4 in Table 1, and the dates in lines (8—)9 and 5.

P. 15: In Khitan "small/assembled script" Chinese *shan* is transcribed *š.a.an* (not *š*-an-an), cf. *š.a.li* (or *al*, or *ri*, or *ar*?). Some Khitan signs on this and the following pages are reproduced in distorted forms (e.g. *č.* and *ši* in *čišideben* "filial piety").

P. 17: Character 2 hardly can represent **rulugu*, which is the modern standard Chinese reading of the Old Mandarin transcription of a Khitan word meaning "gold" (see Ligeti: AoF 13). — Block 3 of Table 4 "empire" presumably cannot render *k.ue.en*. As Chin. *guo* (its Old Mandarin form) is transcribed in this Khitan script *g.ui* (with the same initial as in the block in question and in block 8, *g.ing*), my assumption for block 3 is *g.**ur.*ʔn*, cf. Manchu *gurun* and Mong. *gürün*, *gürqan*.

P. 18: If **po* is "time", it is obvious that the same Khitan dialect cannot have **hon* "year", which is a Middle Mongolian form of the same morpheme (with *-n* final); cf. also p. 16.

P. 19: Chin. *jia*, the first of the Ten Stems, usually corresponds to element "wood" and not "tin"; if Liu Fengzhu's reconstruction *d.uan.da* "middle" for block 10 of Table 5 is valid, one has to read *g.uan-* "empire" (see above), otherwise the same block seems to render "Liao" or "Khitan" and it is not impossible that it is to be read *da.***ur.-*, see modern Dagur *daur* and perhaps Mong. *ǰayura*(*du*), although this latter now means "intermediate" and not "middle/central", and there is no evidence for the otherwise well-known *ǰ* < *d* and *ǰ* ~ *d* change/alternation in this word.

P. 24, Table 12: Formal identity does not necessarily mean functional identity. E.g. the last character of the list is attested in both Khitan "assembled/small script" and Jurchin script, but its Khitan phonetic value is (a syllable with) *w* initial (*w.*), while in Jurchin it renders *ǰa*.

The last two characters of the two seals reproduced on p. 83 are not only identical, but also identifiable with two characters of the Khitan "large/linear script": 

The rock inscription reproduced on p. 85 and described on p. 84 is written in the "large/linear script". Its date is "a day of the fifth lunar month of the tenth year of the Great Peace [= Chin. *Da'an*] period". Here the Khitan linear equivalent of the Chinese character for *an* "peace" is clearly the same as in the Xigushan inscription of 1087 (*Da'an* 5). This 3 + 1 line monument of *Bičigt xana* was first discovered by Radloff (see in his *Atlas*), but wrongly described as Chinese. The site was subsequently revisited by Rinchen, Perlee, Kljaštornyj, and Šagdarsürüng. The last mentioned Mongol scholar discovered a larger Jurchin rock inscription (8 + 1 lines) in the same province of Xentei (he reported on this finding in a paper delivered at the International Congress of Mongolists, Ulan Bator, 1987). According to its first words, *AMBA=an DULI=in . . . ALČU=un GUR=un ča=ang-šu yeu-či=eng . . .* "The right-side chancellor, *shangshu* (of the) Great Middle Golden Empire . . .", this monument belongs to the Jin period. The eighth line contains a date, it seems to have a seventeenth year; if so, the inscription was compiled in the 17th year of the Dading period (1161—1189), as the other periods of the Jin did not last as long. However until receiving further information, at present it is impossible to assure the reading of the date.

For these notes I did not use Professor Ligeti's unedited Jurchin studies, but I hope to be able to publish them according to his will. And then, with his results, we may return to the remaining problems (there are many), and we shall be able to take some steps further. But until then and even thereafter we shall have Daniel Kane's honest work: a long-time guide to the Jurchin knowledge of the Ming Bureau of Interpreters.

G. Kara

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CRITICA

MEMETOV, AJDER, Russko-krymskotatarskij razgovornik. Simferopol': Tavrija 1990. 112 + 1 p.

This is the first Crimean Tatar phrase book published in the Soviet Union and one of the first books with the ethnonym "Crimean Tatar" in the title that appeared in the Crimea after 1944.

Memetov, a professor associated with Tashkent University, is known to readers as the author of a practical Crimean Tatar grammar (1984), a book on Crimean Tatar lexicology (1988) and several papers devoted to this language. For details see my report in TULIP 2/1990 and my outline of Crimean Tatar linguistics and language teaching in *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 1990, 141—5.

Excerpts from the book under review were formerly published in *Dostluq*, a Crimean Tatar weekly annexed to *Krymskaja Pravda* in 1989, along with other teaching materials in the column *Rusča-Qrymtatardža laqyrdy sözlügi*.

The publication of the book was financed by the author himself, which gives an interesting insight into the processes going on in the former Crimean ASSR.

Memetov's phrase book is a strange publication. Strange because the normal aim of a prase book is to facilitate contacts between heterolingual speakers, more specifically to assist the use of a foreign language. However, this is not a phrase book for Crimean Tatars, teaching users how to use Russian, neither a phrase book for Russians instructing them how to, say, buy bread in a Crimean Tatar shop, which actually does not exist. This is a book that teaches Crimean Tatars how to make good use of any opportunities for practising their own mother tongue.

This is because over the last 40 years, this population had neither the autonomy nor the social, cultural, economic institutions where their native language might have been used. In other words, until recently, there has been no real situation to practise most of the dialogues offered by Memetov. Therefore, the present publication should be regarded as an attempt at the restitution of the autonomy of the Crimean Tatar language, as a strong act of self-determination, and the realization of the national language policy. For this reason, the title Russian — Crimean Tatar and not the opposite was given.

Memetov's phrase book is composed of two main parts, of dialogues, pp. 8—83, preceded by an introduction *Kiriš sözü jerine*, and the Russian — Crimean Tatar glossary, pp. 84—112 + 1.

The dialogues are arranged according to a thematical principle, which is the normal practice in such publications, e.g. Greeting, Addressing, Invitation, Hotel, Town, Shopping, Services, Cinema, and Theatre etc.

The major short-coming of the phrase book seems to be the extensive use of Russicisms. These appear as lexical, semantic and syntactic borrowings, hereafter LR, SEMR and SYNR.

In the following, the most striking instances of these, as well as instances of inaccuracy in translation, spelling mistakes, misprints and other short-comings observed in the text will be enlisted, each preceded by page number. The basic reference work is the dictionary by Asanov (et al.), 1988 the single modern lexicological aid.

Occasionally, other works will also be quoted.

Russian words are left in transliteration, while the Crimean Tatar ones, due to inadequacy of spelling, are converted into a phonetic transcription.

Dialogues

8 there is no answer to *selam alejkum* 'peace with you' (*alejkum selam*)

9 *Ja priechal* (*-a*) *iz* . . . does not correspond to *Men* . . . *keldim*, but to *Men* . . . *DEn keldim*
Džezakrdan should be *Džezairdan* 'from Algiers'; 'from Algeria'

10 *Ja živu v* . . . does not correspond to *Men* . . . *jašajym*, but to *Men* . . . *DE jašajym*

13 *Vy ko mne obraščaetes'*? should be *Siz maŋa my muradžaat etesiz*? and not *Siz maŋa muradžaat etesiz mi*? 'Is it me whom you ask?' and not 'Are you asking me?'

14 *kȯrüšermiz* should be *kȯrüšürmiz* 'we will meet'

16 (also p. 30 etc.) *stol* in the sense of 'dining table' LR, cf. CTat. *qona*, (Ar.) *sofra* 'ib' and (It.) *masa*, Asanov 81; 112
bujuryŋ more polite form is *bujuryŋyz* 'please'

17 *men qaršy degilim* 'I do not object', a separate verb *erin-* 'to object' may also be used
siz aqsyz should be *siz aqlysyz* 'you are right'

19 (and passim) *nijerde* 'where' this form is characteristic for Southern dialect, not attested by Asanov; CTat. standard form is *ne jerde* or (more frequent) *qa jerde*, as on p. 28

21 *Musafirhane šeerniŋ merkezinde jerlešken* 'the hotel is to be found in the centre of the city', the *-KEn* auditive modal form, corresponding to the Turkish *-mIş*, does not express resultative meaning, this reviewer would suggest *jerleše*; *jerlešmekte* or more usual *-dir*; *pejda oluna*; besides, the usual occurrence of the verb *jerleš-* is shown in the sentence 5 lines below: *Siz qačyndžy qatta jerleštiŋiz*? 'what floor have you stayed on?'
nomer/hane 'hotel room' *nomer* LR should be avoided

23 *kvartal* 'quarter' LR should be (Ar.) *maalle*
demir jel misprint, instead of *demirjol* 'railway'

24 *avtobusqa otur-* 'to take a bus' SEMR, see also *samoljotqa otur-* (p. 26) 'to take a plane'; 'to go by plane', cf. CTat. *avtobusqa min-*

26 the sentence *vy vychodite na sledujušščej ostanovke*? 'do you get off at the next stop?' seems to be a bit humourous in the section "Airplane"

27 *dždedvelni baq-* (see also p. 37 *buny baq-* etc.) 'to look at the schedule', the verb *baq-* normally requires dative case suffix, e.g. *četke* (*anasyna*) *baq-* 'to look aside (at one's mother), when following a noun marked by the accusative case suffix *-ny*, *baq-* means 'to take care of', e.g. *balalarny* (*buzawlarny*) *baq-* 'to take care of children (calves)'

28 *pojezdden qal-* 'to miss a train' SEMR, SYNR (*otstat' ot poezda*), CTat. *pojezdni kečiktir-*
konvert 'envelope' LR, CTat. (Ar.) *zarf*, cf. Asanov 55

29 *kafe* 'café' LR, CTat. *qavehane*

30 *gorčica* 'mustard' LR, CTat. (Ar.) *hardal*, cf. the list of vegetable and fruit terms in *Lenin Bajraġy* 87/1987
Russian *tarelka* should not be translated *tepsi* which is the word for 'tray', but *saan*; *čanaq* or *tabaq*; besides, on p. 46 *tarelka* is translated as *tarelka*; *tepsi* as *bljudce* 'dish'; 'tray',

it is to be noted that the general word for 'dish' is *sawut*, collective *saba-sawut* 'dishes'

31 *rediska* LR for 'turnip', CTat. equivalent is *turp* ~ *turup*, Asanov 130 Russian *studen'* 'jelly' LR is replaced by another Russian word *cholodec* 'ib', just like the Russian *seld'* 'herring', LR matched with *seledka* 'ib' LR *menden ne qadar* 'how much shall I pay' SEMR, similarly to *bu ne qadar tura*, instead of *bu ne qadar* or *bunyŋ fijaty ne*; however, *tur-* in the meaning 'to cost' is now in every day use *zakuskalar* 'snack; starter dish (meal)' LR, Ctat. *meze(ler)*, Asanov 89

32 *boršč* is rendered as *boršč/qapystaly šorba* 'cabbage soup'; in fact, *boršč* is made of beet, CTat. *čükündir*

36 *baš kijimler* should be *baš kijimleri* 'head-coverings'; *hoziajstvo mallary* 'household wares; goods' LR, could probably be rendered as *ev hodžalygy mallary*

37 . . . *saba saat sekizden aqšam saat sekizgedže čalyšalar* '. . . are open between 8 am and 8 pm' SYNR, CTat. . . . *saba saat sekiznen aqšam saat sekiz arasynda čalyšalar* (also p. 40) *ùjlelikke toqtaw* 'lunch break' SYNR (Russian *pereryv na obed*); *ùjlelik toqtaw(y)* would be better

38 *bulka* 'roll' LR; there is a lot of Crimean Tatar words for bread and other baked products, e.g. *kòmeč* 'a kind of cake', *bally* (*soġanly, syzyqly, džewizli*) *pite*; *takoš*) *furun pitesi*, one of them could easily be adopted for the 'breadroll'

40 *tufljalar* LR, there is no need for this loan word, CTat. *ajaqqaplar* 'shoes', as on p. 71 is a common word for all the kinds of shoes, in the meaning of 'slippers' *papučlar* is suggested
razmer 'size' LR could be replaced by a general *ólčü* or other specific terms like *bolluq* 'wideness, size', *uzunlyq* 'length', *keŋlik* 'breadth; width' etc.

44 *jurġan* should be *jorġan*, Asanov 54

52 there is no need for introducing *zakaz etmek* 'to book; to make reservation', since there is a verb *symaryšla-* (*symaryš et-*)

56 *jyr ve ojun ansambli* LR 'vocal and dance band', CTat, *jyr ve ojun taqymy*

60 *disskusija* 'discussion' LR should be replaced for (Ar.) *muzakere* or CTat. *tartyšuw* 'ib'
doklad 'speech, communique, lecture' is to be replaced by a Russian semantic loan *čyqyšuw* (from *wystuplene*), broadly used in the Crimean Tatar official mass media, since the doklad is reserved for 'lecture'

61 *tynčlyqny qoruw iċün kùreš-* litt, 'to struggle for the defence of peace', this reviewer suggests that during the fundamental reconstruction going on in the USSR, people reformulate their thinking schemes that led to such contraditional statments like this and do not fight for something, which so sharply contrasts with fighting

59—62 among numerous festivals, ceremonies, there is nothing about traditional Crimean Tatar ones, e.g. *derviza, nawrez, bereket, qydyrlez, tepreč* ~ *tepreš* etc.

66 *mende tymaw* (*òksürük*; *juqusyzlyq*) *bar* 'I have cold in my nose'
(I am coughing; I cannot sleep)' SYNR, Ctat. *tymawga oġradym* (*òksürem*, coll. *òksürüklejim*; *juqlap olamam* ~ *juqlajalamam* or a common expression *juqum qačty*)

67 *ap* 'tablet' and *iladžhane* 'pharmacy' is unnecessarily doubled by *tabletka* LR res. *apteka* LR

70 *material* 'textile, fabric' LR, CTat, *toquma*

71 *qončusyny* is a wrong form, the right form should be *qonučyny*, an oblique case from *qonuč* 'top part of a boot between the heel and the upper end'

76 fractions are examplified in an unusual way, following the . . . *DEn* . . . pattern, while in his grammar Memetov (1984 : 84) gives the usual one, i.e.

... *DE* ...; consequently, we have *ekiden bir* '1/2' instead of *ekide bir*, it is to be remarked that neither Samojlovič (1916), nor Sevortjan (1966) nor Asanov (in the grammatical sketch annexed to the dictionary) give evidence for fractions

77 *sekunda* 'second' LR, CTat. (Ar.) *sanije*
sutka '24 hours' LR, CTat. *gedžekündüz*

78 *čislo* 'date' LR; although Asanov (120) labels the entry *tarih* as 'dated', this is largely used by Crimean Tatars there is no indication that *janvar*' 'January' LR ought to be pronounced without palatalization in all oblique forms, therefore, 〈'〉 sign is omitted in spelling, cf. Kurkči (1988a: 4)

80 *čabik*, frequently pronounced [čabuq] 'fast; quick' is undoubtedly less common than *tez*
Russian *mladšyj* 'younger', along with *kǘčük*, should be translated *kendže*

83 personal pronouns have only ordinary forms, polite forms *bizler* 'wePOLITE' and *sizler* 'you PL POLITE', standardized by the current use, are lacking

Glossary

84 *abunedži* LR 'one who books; makes reservation', CTat. *symaryščy* or *symaryš etidži*
avtor 'author' LR is unnecessary by *mǘellif* (Ar)
akcent 'stress' LR is unnecessary by *urǧu*
Russian *administracija* should not be translated *memurijet*, but *idaredžilik*; by the way, CTat. *memurijetčilik* is used for bureaucracy
bagaž 'luggage' LR is unnecessary by *jük*

85 Russian *bereg* is matched with the following equivalents: *kenar*; *sail*; *jaly*, while the first meaning 'brink, edge of sth' corresponds to CTat. *čet*
biblioteka 'library' LR is unnecessary by *kitaphane*
bassejn 'swimming pool' should also be translated (Ar.) *havuz*, Asanov 140

86 on p. 32, Russian *bul'on* has a CTat. equivalent *sorpa*, here it is translated as *et suwu* 'bouillon'; both are alike, nevertheless a more precise explanation would be required

90 Russion *vygavor* (it should be stressed that the linguistic term is *proiznašenie* 'pronunciation') is translated as *ajtuw*, *teleffüz*, the corresponding Crimean Tatar term is *ajtylyš* ~ *ajtyluw*

92 *delegat* 'delegate' LR is unnecessary by (Ar.) *vekil*

93 *direktor* 'director' LR is unnecessary by (Ar.) *mǘdir*

95 Russian verb *zvat'* in the enlisted 2nd meaning should be translated by *ad qoj-* and not by *ad ber-* 'to name; to give a name'

96 *iniciativa* 'initiative' LR emerges as (Ar.) *tešebbüs* Russian *istočnik* 'spring; source' has two equivalents: *menba*; *češme*, but not *čoqraq* 'ib'

102 Russian *perestrojka* 'perestroika, reconstruction' seems to be an uncountable noun, though the phrase book presents the plural genitive form *perestroek*

103 Russion *potomu* does not cover the meaning of *šunyŋ*, but *šunyŋ ičün* ~ *šunyŋčün*; *šynyŋnen*

112 the Russian loan word *čotka* (from *ščotka*) in *Asanov*'s dictionary (p. 147) has the form *čötkü*

In introduction, p. 7, the Russian letter "šča", a sign for *šč*, is explained as a Crimean Tatar consonant, which is a typical spelling-backed mistake in the evaluation of the Crimean Tatar phonological inventory.

In some sections, Russian words have been rewritten in the Crimean Tatar column, for instance several machine, tool and device names in the section "Household", furthermore many cultural terms in the sections "Theatre, Circus". This is partially due to the real lack of Crimean Tatar correspondances.

One can also blame the author for the absence of certain words and expressions, e.g. there is nothing about a petrol station, one will not know how to have his/her car serviced, and how to change trains, etc. However, the author has a right to determine what is within and what is beyond the scope of his book.

This reviewer would not like to argue with the author about the arrangement of the phrase book. The expression 'good appetite' (*aš tatly olsun*) should have probably been placed in the section "Café, Restaurant" and not among the "Wishes", pp. 14—5, but this is the question of secondary importance.

In addition, the glossary helps. For example, even if one cannot find such adjectives as 'bitter', 'sweet' at meals, one can easily find them in the glossary.

Memetov's phrase book is one of the first steps on the path to the restitution of the Crimean Tatar language in the Crimea. Readers must take this into account and expect further steps.

Henryk Jankowski

GARKAVEC, A. N., 1988 *Ana Tili* (mother tongue). Kiev: Radjans'ka Škola, pp. 167.

As the subtitle shows (*Qrymtatar tilini fakultativ øgrengen 7-dži synyf talebeleri ičün synama derslik*), this is an experimental textbook for 7th form pupils who facultatively learn the Crimean Tatar language.

The question of education in the Crimea was seriously raised as soon as the newsletter *Terdžüman* (1883—1915) started to appear. A detailed table of contents of all its issues was prepared by Seitġazy Gafarov in *Jyldyz* 4 (1989), 131—144.

During the Crimean ASSR, a separate pedagogical scholarly journal (*Oquw išleri*) appeared and many textbooks were published for schools, e.g. Rašid Bağčevan's *Fizika dersligi*, Edem Fevzi's *Džoġrafija dersligi*. Scholars can find some of those publications in Hazai's bibliography, cf. Hazai, György (ed.) 1960 *Sovietico—Turcica*. Budapest: Akadémiai.

After the Second World War and the great deportation, textbooks for Crimean Tatar children began to appear in Tashkent, see my survey indicated in the review of the phrase book in this volume.

The present book was published simultaneously with the dictionary by Asanov (et alii), reviewed in the previous volume, and the chrestomathy *Ana tilinde* (in the native language).

Later on, two other textbooks printed in Kiev followed these three publications. One was a primer by E. S. Aqmollajev (1989 *Elifbe*. Kiev: Radjans'ka Škola), reviewed in *Lenin Bajraġy* 111/91. 09. 1989, the other was a music handbook by V. V. Urginovič and N. D. Ennanov (1989 *Qrym-Tatar* (!) *muzikasynyη chrestomatijasy*. Kiev: Muzyčna Ukraina), reviewed in *Lenin Bajraġy* 22/17. 10. 1989 and noted in *Emel* 177 (1990), 39.

In fact, *Ana Tili* is a practical grammar with quotations taken over from literature and an extensive body of Crimean Tatar poetry and prose texts. Divided into 44 sections, it chiefly follows the subdivision of the grammatical sketch in the dictionary and then that of Memetov's grammar.

Hence, there are sections dealing with spelling and phonetics (2—9, 11—13), word classes and adherent categories (14—19, 21—44). Amid word classes, noun, adjective, numeral, pronouns and verb are discussed. It is the verb that remains in the focus of the analysis, which complies with the number of catagories adjacent to it. Unlike the grammatical sketch, non-autosemantic viz. synsemantic word classes are analyzed at those with which they co-occur, e.g. postposition at noun, auxiliaries at verb. The adverb is neglected. In contrast, some syntactic problems were taken into account, namely the word order (12) and the so-called izafet construction that covers several determinative constructions (20). Section 21 is devoted to nominal predicative suffixes, and section 10 to semantics.

Except for the first two introductory sections (1. On the Crimean Tatar language; 2. The Crimean Tatar alphabet), which can be read in both Crimean Tatar and Russian, the remaining part of the book was written in Crimean Tatar. However, at some points Crimean Tatar grammatical terms were provided by Russian equivalents. For instance, section 14 (*Söz češitleri*) that classifies words, supplies Russian equivalents of the Crimean Tatar terms used for parts of speech, p. 62.

In the Appendix, the author presents examples of a phonetic, semantic and syntactic analysis, pp. 155—164.

A short bibliography of reference works on the last page of the appendix, followed by the key to riddles concludes the book.

Each section consists of the same parts, first grammatical explanations, then questions, exercises and drills, 112 in all, and at the end: texts to practise.

In addition, some sections comprise tasks to do.

Although the textbook was printed from a taped manuscript, the printing work was carefully carried out. The book is well readable, pleasant to work with. Tables, symbols and diagrams facilitate an understanding of discussed points.

Below is the list of remarks and observations on some items dealt with in the textbook.

p. 35 such words as *Meriem* (female proper name); *kjar* 'profit', 'revenue'; *dünja* 'world'; *džöreme* 'expenditure; deficit' are transcribed with palatalized *-r'-*, *s'-*, *-k'*, *d'-*, *-n'- -r'-*, which stands in disagreement with the statement on p. 13 that palatalized [t' d' n'] occur in newer loan words, actually, these are not new loan words, moreover no palatalized [s' k' r'] were indicated

p. 86 if (*bir*) *nesne* . . . was once used for 'something', this could also be used for 'object' in the place of the Russian *predmet*, p. 101;

in section 22, all the paragraph "privative forms of noun" displays in fact privative adjectives, e.g. *arsyz* 'shameless'; *adsyz* 'nameless, unsigned', the correspondent nouns would have the forms *arsyzlyq* 'shamelessness'; *adsyzlyq* 'anonymity'.

p. 87 *oğrunda* 'on behalf of' labelled "noun (nominal) postposition" is not comparable to *alt*, *art* and *arfe*, but to *aldynda*, *artynda* and *arfesinde*

p. 88 *-dajyn/-daj*, *-nen* (*ile*) and *-čŮn* (*ičün*), comparative/instrumental /comitative and purposive/causative, respectively are called "affixed postpositions", an approach deserving attention.

The book occasionally provides information on dialects, e.g. p. 150 *bunda* 'here', Southern dialect, as opposed to standard *mynda*.

It is worth noting that on p. 102 Garkavec pointed to a word subclass well characteristic for Turkic (and other Altaic) languages, the "verbal pronouns" or proverbs, in order to avoid contradiction, e.g. *nasa-* 'what to do, lit. to what', *šajtip* 'so doing, lit. so-ing' etc.

On the same p. 102 there is no indication of the semantic difference between *-siz* and *-siŋiz*.

Like the dictionary, the textbook does not discuss aspect, either. However, some kinds of modality were involved in the analysis Thus, on p. 115 a paragraph is devoted to possibility and permission.

The number of spelling mistakes is moderate. For instance: p. 4 *qaraim* is certainly better than commonly used *karaim* 'Karaim', yet *kuman*, as a Turkic word, should have been spelt *quman* 'Kuman'; matching *polovec* with *kuman* suggests that these are different peoples, whereas this is not the case;

p. 8 *oqupŋyz* should be *oquŋyz*;

p. 86 *jùzküz* is wrong, the correct form should be *jùzsüz* 'impertinent';

udžsuz-budžan"syz should be *udžsuz-budžaqsyz* 'endless'.

Lastly, we can also witness an inexact

statement in the dictionary. Namely, the dictionary claims that it comprises the vocabulary of the textbooks published to date. Unfortunately, many words from the textbook cannot be found in the dictionary. To test the truth of this statement, this reviewer chose one text from the book at random. The text is nearly 3 page-long (pp. 126—129). The following words could not be found in the dictionary:

p. 128 *qašaġalaj-* (which is the correct form in the place of the wrong *qašalaġaj-*) 'to curry (a horse) with a curry-comb'; *chamyt* 'collar (in the harness)', a Slavonic loan word, cf. Polish *chomąto; avla-* 'to bark'; *frenči* 'European; Frank'; *ġyrylda-* 'to creak; to rattle'; *aġajt-* 'to open the mouth wide (the dictionary notes the form *aqajt-*); *munarly* 'sad; suffering', instead of *muŋarly* < *muŋa-* 'to suffer' + *-r* + adjectivizer *-ly*, such derivatives are attested in Crimean Tatar, cf. *sezilirli* 'sensitive', *qanaatlenirli* 'satisfying, satisfactory' (from my own dictionary); *metij* a kind of 'water-container; barrel'; p. 129 *nedžaset* 'excrement'.

Furthermore, a number of derived words could not be found in the dictionary, e.g. *türlen(dir)-* 'to convert; to change', *tašy(l)-* 'to be transported; to be carried', etc.

In conclusion, it is to be stressed that the observations above do not diminish the value of Garkavec's textbook. The experiment must be highly evaluated. What was left out should be included in future editions. Eventually, any concept must be developed, and any prototype must be tested by application. And that will only be done by the work of schools, teachers, methodologists and learners.

Henryk Jankowski

POHL, WALTER, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa*. 567—822 n. Chr., Verlag C. H. Beck, München 1988 (Frühe Völker), 530 p. mit vier Karten.

The author set himself the aim to write the history of the Avars, using the theoretical and methodological framework sketched by Reinhard Wenskus and Herwig Wolfram, the latter being his Professor in Vienna. The book has three merits, its sensitivity to theoretical problems, a profound knowledge of the Western sources and secondary literature, and the ability to give a well proportioned overview digestable for historians and scholars of other fields.

The introduction gives the intentions, aims, the theoretical framework and hints to the sources. The second chapter discusses the problems connected with the genesis of the European Avars, they Eastern origins and their appearence in Europe. The third chapter sketches the foundation of the Avar Empire (pp. 567—590), and the fourth the historical interaction of the Slavs and the Avars. The fifth chapter outlines the connections with the Byzantine Empire (pp. 591—602). The sixth chapter collected and evaluated all data known to the author on the structure and way of life in the Avar Empire. A small subchapter is included here on the history of the other groups, such as the Bulgars, Gepids (and other Germanic tribes), Romans, Valachians and Slavs. The seventh chapter deals with the events of the 7th century and the great problem of the continuity between the early and late Avars. An inserted small subchapter investigates the ethnogenesis of the Croatians. The last, 8th chapter deals with the history and foreign contacts of the Late Avars, the wars with the Franks and the much debated question of the disappearence of the Avars. A rich bibliography, a chronology, a Table of the annual tributes paid to the Avars by Constantinople, four maps and a detailed index conclude the work.

The book is a major achievement and it has to be understood that it would be impossible for the author to be well versed in all branches of scholarship, needed in such a work. It was perhaps inevitable that all the oriental sources and all linguistic data connected with the steppe are used from second and third hands. Though the critical sensibility of the author is in many

cases strong enough to protect him from unfounded conclusions, it can be well observed that he was lost in the flood of printed papers and had no opportunity to consult experts. In one or another way this reflects the weak point of oriental studies in Vienna. I would like to point to a few examples:

p. 26 Pohl writes: "Die verschiedenen Deutungen stimmen darin überein, dass 'ogur' 'Stamm' bedeutete." It was the idea popularized by J. Németh that *ogur, oguz* denoted 'tribe'. This is, however, not supported by any source or linguistic data. The supposed etymology from *oq* 'arrow' has serious problems, because the chronology of a change $q > \dot{g}$ and the unprecedented use of the suffix *-z/r*. This is the reason why the etymology was not accepted by competent scholars, though we find it repeated in many works. Thus the idea that *oguz/ogur* were used as a *terminus technicus* can hardly been substantiated.

p. 35. After having cited the Tonyukuk inscription, Pohl mentions the Orkhon inscriptions as somewhat earlier ones. The Tonyukuk inscription has to be dated around 726, the Orkhon inscriptions (Kül tegin and Bilge kaghan) about 732, 735 resp.

p. 222. The two wings of the army should have been called 'barangar' and 'juangar' quoted from Togan's Ibn Fadlan edition. In fact they were called in classical Mongolian *barayun γar* and *ǰegün γar* 'right arm' and 'left arm'. The form in Togan written as Žuangar is a simple mistake, perhaps going back to Kozin's edition of the Secret History. The Middle Mongolian form of *ǰegün* was *ǰewün, ǰe'ün*, the modern forms *ǰün* or *dzün* (cf. the Dzungars, a form mediated through Russian) and thus can have nothing to do with the name Zhuan-zhuan, as Togan supposed, and very cautiously mentioned by Pohl ("Die Namensähnlichkeit verlockt in der Tat zu Spekulationen" p. 414).

p. 223. The claim that the Mongolian language is not detectable before the 13th century was refuted long ago. Some scholars have unnecessary doubts about the Mongolian character of the language of the Tabgach (4th—6th centuries), but no competent scholar questions the Mongolian character of the language of the Khitan/Khitai (10th—12th centuries). I am afraid that this statement is due to an overhasty reading of Heissig's words cited on p. 415.

p. 297 *Kutadgu Bilik* is correctly *Kutadgu Bilig*

p. 301 The title *tudun* has nothing to do with the Chinese "*tu-to* oder *tu-t'ung*", which would have been clear after a more thorough reading of Ecsedy's paper quoted on p. 453.

It is inevitable to make such and similar slips working with thousands of data, sources and papers. Nevertheless this book is the hitherto best one written on the history of the Avars and accessible to a large circle of readers. The careful editing also qualifies as a desk top handbook.

A. Róna-Tas

NOVGORODOVA, E. A., *Drevnjaja Mongolija (Nekatorye problemy chronologii i êtno-kuljturnoj istorii)*. Moskva 1989, "Nauka". 384 p.

This interesting book is essentially based on archaeological research, studied for decades by Novgorodova, the eminent expert of Inner Asian archaeology. In addition to archaeological data, she utilizes other sources as well, namely informational material of paleoanthropologic, ethnographic, and written sources. The time researched by her follows the process of the change of ethnic character of "old Mongolia" — a special term of Soviet archaeologists concerning both Central Asian and Inner Asian archaeology, including North and West of China, too, — and her studies in Eurasia, especially upon paleographic drawings of Asian rocks, and she concludes in a division of the territory concerned in two parts: an Eastern one with Mongolid population and a Western one with Europid

peoples. She is widely informed — see her bibliography, pp. 349—376, consisting of 863 items — and in addition to the photographs published from the material referred to, she uses her own illustrations, Tables and other summary material. (The reader may regret that a list of the drawings, and maps, illustrative with comparative Tables cannot be found in this volume.)

The traditional title referring to Mongolia primarily represents the results of joint Soviet—Mongolian expeditions, or sometimes the results of Soviet archaeologists — working with the help and permission of their Mongolian colleagues — in the territory of the modern Mongolian People's Republic, i.e. information mostly from the decades after the Second World War, and not much earlier. In addition to that, this summary offers a unique comparative material from the second and third millennium B.C. in the first place, but sometimes referring to much later phases of development as well. It is rich in considerations concerning the ethnic map, anthropological structure and ethnographic details reflected by the archaeological finds of this territory. When considering the territory and traditional geographic simplification concerned, readers may hesitate to describe all the Silk Road, with its different kinds of tribal population, many languages, and various ways of life just "Mongolian", but the authoress explains several times the complex nature of the territory with its population. In spite of her clear analysis and frequent remarks concerning the separate tribes and countries in question, perhaps it is misleading that the title deals with a survival of "Mongolian" tribes and peoples, and several times this is reflected in the treatment of the whole territory, though the other languages of the so-called Altaistic group are also concerned, with the different tribal background. Perhaps these millennia and this type archaeological material are unable to inform us about the ethnic character of the territories excavated and analyzed; and the quoted geographic area has to be considered, rather than the Mongolia mentioned in the title. By the way, archaeologic and paleoanthropologic material alone are unable or at least not satisfactory for deciding ethnic problems that developed later on in the final form known to us, so first of all the impression of Novgorodova, the well-experienced archaeologist, is to be noted and readers have to remember the division of the inner side of Asia to this effect.

After a short Introduction, the first chapter deals with the basic sources for the research of Central Mongolia, i.e. a short survey of the research of old Mongolia. The good maps of the authoress outline the monuments of ancient Mongolia, indicating the frontiers of the country, dividing the archaeological findings. The second chapter gives a manysided picture of the natural conditions of Mongolia, with the effect of climatic conditions on the nomadic economy, specifying it. The third chapter describes the findings excavated from neolithic Mongolia, while the fourth chapter deals with the late neolitic period. The fifth chapter gives a detailed picture about the territory of Mongolia in the Bronze Age, again giving the reader a simplification of geography, adding the chronological archaeology problems of other territories as well, the Bronze Age differring in space and time all over our planet, but when quoting the places and excavations in question, in a detailed form, one cannot blame the authoress for this usual denomination of the period.

The sixth chapter considers the development among tribes of Central Asia: after certain achievements, first and foremost the invention of the wheel that made the cart of special importance in settling and moving, in transport and battle, and we become acquainted with the peoples, knowing or even using the new vehicles. The seventh chapter gives a summary of the special stones on the Steppe, with the drawings of deers, with the burials and struggling tribal populations belonging to them from the Scythian times on,

already in the second millennium B.C. Finally, findings of the first millennium B.C. are indicated the last time the appearance of the Hsiung-nu population of the Chinese sources is mentioned, (i.e. the so-called Hun period of the Steppe region, with the due indifference of Soviet archaeologists about whether the Asian Huns or their Western offprings were involved).

Permit the researcher of Chinese sources and written characters to mention only one misleading point in this work, which is rich in information and consideration, on pages 100 and 101, when a comparative illustrating Table of the authoress can be found with her aim of giving the impression that in that ancient time — second millennium B.C.? — the drawings on the rocks (where, by the way, it is difficult to decide their traditional form concerning the exact time of realization of the artistic work itself) depict first of all women in a birth position, female gods and some kind of alleged "matriarchate". This point, beyond the authoress's expertize and the margin of her arguments, a Sinologist can easily contradict, not because the well-known dates of the characters are not mentioned and harmonized with the drawings on rocks, but the timeless character of them can be rightly suspected (some comparative drawings are quoted from the last century), but not even the time of the invention of Chinese characters is taken into consideration, the second part of the second millennium B.C.; sometimes the identification itself is not at all without question and so on. By the way, the question of the Chinese characters — a system of symbols suiting the aim of communication — and the related problems, e.g. the time of the beginning of Chinese art are not even mentioned, neither its comparative late character, nor its separation from the pictograms, not artistic, but ideographic character and so on. Thus Chinese (and naturally, Korean) pictograms are simply to be taken out of the depicting, realistic (or ritually remembering, divining, etc.) material. And what is even more worthwhile to mention: the social conclusion to be drawn from these written characters characterize a masculine, male-centred, patriarchal society, that of Chinese history, having no relationship with a so-called "materiarchate", not easy to find elsewhere either, except for primitive or special or sporadic cases. Cf. my recent article in the volume edited by Professor Steinkellner in Vienna, dedicated to Géza Uray's 70th birthday: "Pictographic Evidence of Early Chinese Social History".

The work is followed by a conclusion, by a summary of the recent archaeological findings in Mongolia, in the neighbourhood of Tuva, notes to the text of the book, a list of the books referred to, a geographical index, and by an English summary, after the eminent analysis of this important book of archaeology of Inner Asia in the 1st—3rd millennia B.C.

Ildikó Ecsedy

PEARSON, MARGARET J., *Wang Fu and the Comments of a Recluse*. Monograph Series No. 24. Center for Asian Studies. Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 1989, XIII + 195 p.

The authoress is well versed in the history of Chinese literature and thought — see her career at the end of this publication — and is not the first to present the philosophical treatise "Comments of a Recluse" from around 150 A.D.; the topics and the political criticism included were considered to be timely, not only by the authors of several recent presentations of parts from this work, but because the author reviewed late Han period (he lived around 90—165 A.D., according to Étienne Balázs, who was almost the first to interpret his life and merits; see the related bibliography pp. 179—195). This work was judged to be so timely by the author that it was dedicated — in addition to her grandparents — "To the Memory of Chinese Martyrs for Democracy in Beijing,

June 1989" (a new and more objective summary of the events, more understandable on the basis of traditional Chinese history and the traditional slowness of the historical processes, reflecting the understandable impatience of youth, which offended and frightened the authorities, can be read in the book *Mi történt? Tienanmen-tér '89* [What happened? T'ienanmen Square '89] by the Hungarian Sinologist Péter Polonyi, 1990, March).

After an acknowledgement for the assistance received during 8 years of work during the preparation of this work, which was completed in 1983, the authoress first reviews the historical background of the weakened Han dynasty, the many social problems, and the administration that was incapable of solving them, which were rightly criticized by Wang Fu, the scholar writer of this treatise, who was dismissed after a small position, like other meritorious officials of the time. After presenting the scholar Wang Fu and his complaints from his solitude, concealed from the troubles of official life, a review of "Comments of a Recluse" follows. (*Ch'ien-fu lun* — unfortunately the book is published without the Chinese character, except for the calligraphic decoration, i.e. the title on the covering page.)

The text of the political and philosophical work presented here is shown from the aspects of cosmic contexts and religion, human nature and education, the selection of officials, the state structure and officials' needs, and concludes that the criticism of Wang Fu was not only justified, but concisely and elegantly done. These comments on the presentation are brief and expressed in a laconic manner, with an effort to say as little as possible, leaving the old author to speak. By the way, the reader would expect the authoress with her thorough knowledge to give more deatils about the historical background and philosophical neighbourhood of this important work, reflected in the works of later scholars in China and in Western Sinology of modern times.

The main assignment was considered to be the translation of the philosophical work in question — in an easily readable form, with a few short comments — without mentioning the philological problems concerned, clarified and solved before the translation by the authoress and other experts of Wang Fu. A good and enjoyable translation is given of certain chapters of the *Ch'ien-fu lun*; the contents of the work in question are given with an indication of the chapters translated by the authoress of this presentation and by other experts, respectively (pp. 94—95). She translated Chapter I: *In Praise of Learning*, Chapter II: *Attending to the Basics*, Chapter VIII: *Thinking of Worthies*, Chapter IX: *The Basis of Government*, Chapter XIV: *On Recommendation of Substance*, Chapter XVII: *Three Models*, Chapter XVIII: *On the Grudging of Days*, Chapter XX: *Declining Orders*, Chapter XXXII: *Instruction on the Roots*; afterwards the five chapters, of shorter text, published in Wang Fu's biography of the Hou Han-shu by Fan Yeh (398—445): Chapter XI: *Valuing Loyalty*, Chapter XII: *On Excessive Luxury*, Chapter XIV: *On Recommendations of Substance*, Chapter XVI: *Amnesties*, Chapter XVIII: *On the Grudging of Days*.

Finally the history and edition of the *Ch'ien-fu lun* are given; the names are given in the Wade-Giles system, with a few necessary changes.

This translation of the Comments of a recluse can correctly claim to be a more complete or even a complete translation, with more comments and a historical analysis or philosophical (literary historical, etc.) treatment as well; for all these researches, this book will serve as a solid basis.

Ildikó Ecsedy

SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, HELWIG (hrsg.), *Lebenswelt und Weltanschauung im Frühneuzeitlichen China*. Münchener Ostasiatische Studien Band 49, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1990. XII. 265 p.

This book is based on the papers submitted to the conference of Werner-Reimers-Stiftung (Bad Homburg v.d.H.) held in the March 1986, a collection of studies of different size (1–3 printed sheets). According to its title, the authors endeavour to explain "The Way of Life and Aspect of Life in the early Period of Modern China", but in the Introduction the editor found it necessery to refer to a book of a similar topic recently published (1988) by James T.C. Liu "China Turning Inward. Intellectual-Political Changes in the Early Twelfth Century", Cambridge, Mass., Harvard U.P. This well reflects the real sense of the poetic title: only the age connects the papers, without a real conclusion, the spirit of the age being expressed by the privacy, i.e. by the lack of official obligations in the treated aspects of the persons and groups touched upon. That is, the authors see the characteristic change of the period in the distance of the outstanding intellectuals from the bureaucratic assignments and ambitions, jointly describing the age by different aspects of this independent life and thought. The reader concludes, that not so much the distance from official ideas, but the relationship to the official and general or customary aspect towards the present and past, with its written documents or prescriptions, is treated in this volume. Instead of the details of everyday life, expected from the studies of different topics, the changes in adhering to tradition and new ways of forming the traditional way of living and thinking are most interesting in this high standard scholarly work, almost independently from the intentions of the authors, which are sometimes regretted by the reader.

The introduction of the editor deals first of all with the motives of the Sung age centred research, included in this volume. Schmidt–Glintzer points out that only the Han-times are represented in more works than the Sung period, and recently the latter period and its explanation have become more timely. She finds the reasons for the special development in question explainable by the economic processes and the vigorous trade characterizing these centuries, with religious and other intellectual impacts of foreign visitors and commercial or diplomatic partners of the Chinese Empire. Those who have met the theoretical problems of Chinese history, will not be surprised by the two most popular periods, since the age of the birth of Chinese policy and its governing system, official philology and literature, language and ethnic issues are involved in the Han period, but the second period of change requires more thorough analysis. Étienne Balázs already noticed the innovation in religion, and in the economy, etc., that made a representative are of the Sung period — the reason why he founded the Sung Project for manysided documentation and research of the important phenomena bringing about innovation. But neither in his related studies nor in his theoretical works did he forgot to mention or declare that the colourful material and spiritual life of the Sung age did not have an effect on the historical path of China, which later on developed or rather under-developed on a historical by-way, distant from the main stream of world history. It is a pity that the editor praises the Sung period to the effect that it was the second time that something decisive happened to the Chinese economy and society, forming the fate and essence of China for a thousand years; thus tacitly admitting — without saying so and unfortunately without thinking so — that later on no development of this kind can be noticed, thus this "new age" essentially differed from that of Europe and world history by representing a unique age, not leading to higher development, but remaining outside the devel-

opment of the world, isolating the Empire from the other parts of the world until the real modern age, when this became impossible. To be sincere, no other author is really interested in historical-theoretical problems.

The editor endeavours to explain that every author depicts aspects of the age from various point of view. Michael Friedrich Surveys "tradition and intuition", and the ideas of the school, i.e. the famous pupils of Chu Hsi, the father of Neo-Confucianism in the 12th century, the age most frequently dealt with in this volume, in the large introductory study concerning the literacy of ancient or even mythic times.

Conrad Schirokauer examines Chu Hsi's relations and commentary ideas concerning history and historiography.

In the paper of Erling von Mende, we become aquainted with the life and thought of numerous officials and private scholars of the Ch'ing-yüan era (1195—1200/1201) based on the examples of the members of the Kao-family in Mingchou, the southern part of genuine Chinese culture in the Sung-period.

Monica Übelhör analyzes the everyday life of the provincial officials, according to the reference books, and diaries, etc., of the Sung-times.

A plan of the neighbourhood of Hangchou follows the description of officials' travel and local residence by Achim Mittag.

In the next study, planning is dealt with in Chinese thought and tradition by Michael Lackner: the world *t'u* "pictures", "paint/ing", etc., is shown in Chinese tradition, the Heavenly origin being responsible for the model role of the ancient building, i.e. for the picture of the *plan*.

Klaas Ruitenbeek describes different aspects of architecture and its practice in Sung-period China.

A physician's life and diseases, the forms of treatment and medical knowledge of the Sung-period are covered in the study of Paul U. Unschuld.

Women and the female role in the Sung-period thought is dealt with by Gudula Linck.

Finally, historiography and its Buddhist aspects are illustrated by Tsuneki Nishiwaki, based on the example of the autobiography of monk Hui-hung of Ch'an Buddhism (1071—1128).

The title page picture represents the emotional or intellectual structure of man as seen in the reference-book of that age. The authors of the 10 studies that follow are not completely silent about the foreigners who attacked or visited China in this period: they briefly describe the role of foreign influence, but primarily highlighting the autochthonous culture, especially the literature or rather literacy of China.

This volume will obviously be needed by everybody dealing with Sung-period China. It concludes with an index, which also includes the Chinese characters concerned.

Ildikó Ecsedy

MALJAVKIN, A. G., *T'anskie chroniki o gosudarstvach Central'noj Azii. Teksty i issledovanija*. Otvetstvennyj redaktor doktor istoričeskich nauk JU. M. BUTIN. "Nauka", Sibirskoe otdelenie, Novosibirsk 1989. 432 p.

This paramount monograph, with the modest title "T'ang-time chronicles about the empires of Central Asia. Texts and research", by A. G. Maljavkin, the well-known eminent Soviet scholar of the steppe empires and Central Asian history, presents us with Chinese dynastic chronicles, especially their geographical material concerning 7th—8th century Central Asia. The official Chinese sources with their parallel passages from other historical works, collections and encyclopedias are interpreted in Russian with abundant commentaries concerning the geographical background of the T'ang Chinese Empire (618—907), revealing the character of the political relations of the Chinese empire's

administration and the imperial power concerned with the western neighbourhood, and the influence of Chinese policy and culture on the "Western countries", i.e. those seen from China in the Central Asian sphere. The aim of the author to complete and correct his numerous earlier volumes on this topic, especially his book "Historical geography of Central Asia", published in 1981, with the military policy of the related powers and periods, and alongside Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan also in other parts of Inner Asia, namely in Afganistan, Pakistan, Iran, India, and Tibet. In addition to geographical facts, he endeavours to pay attention to the peoples and empires, and ethnic groups, etc., of the geographical chapters of the Chinese sources, paying attention to passages of social history concerned; which explains why he can well offer his work not only to historians and geographers, but to ethnographers as well. For instance, his orientating comments, and the terminology of his translation — e.g. concerning "country" and "empire", the latter is seeming more convenient for the author to reflect the vague and complicated political entities nominated by the Chinese text as *kuo* — in the orientating Foreword, pp. 3—7.

The aim and title of the work is a thoroughly commented translation of the two excellent sources concerning the historical geography and its political aspects within China and the Chinese sphere of Asia, as seen in the two dynastic histories of the T'ang House (618—907). The related chronicle material, edited around 945 A.D. in the case of the Old History of the T'ang House *Chiu T'ang-shu* and around 1060 in the case of the New History of the T'ang House *Hsin T'ang-shu*, respectively, presents the best official information about the Chinese Empire in the 7th—8th centuries. In addition to the geographical or even ecological aspects it shows the administration of ethnic, and ethnographic groups, the difficulties of the tributary system related to such a complex and large population, the control of such a numerous and multicoloured area and so on. The nominal scope of the textual information is the 38th chapter of the Old *T'ang-shu* with the 37th, 43th B chapter and 40th chapter, respectively, of the New *T'ang-shu* (pp. 9—106). The clear and expert translation of the chronicle chapters is followed by commentaries twice as long as the translated text itself (pp. 107—326), provided with a very useful, respectable quantity of Chinese characters and short or long Tables for orientation among the numerical data of the population groups, armies to be fed or controlled, etc. The geographical text is filled with life and actual history of that time by the related details or whole reports of a topic or name, representing the part of a "country" within or outside China, a tribe or a whole empire. In many cases, we are given many new details or the whole concatenation of events necessary to clarify the presence of a population in a certain Chinese district, formulating — by the way — the best or sometimes the only Russian interpretation of a certain text, passage, and so on.

Instead of footnotes to the notes, the usual manner of Russian philological works is utilized to indicate other good translation(s), the source of the information in question by referring to a text or study, etc., relating to the detail or problems in question. This method, no matter how economic it is, and how easy to use and control, unfortunately may conceal the personal contribution of an author to the treated problem or text, eliminating the possible and necessary disputes concerning philological problems or just the question treated, even if within a work of such eminent expertness prepared with conscious care. It is to be regretted that sometimes the reader must know all the related technical literature to discover the author's excellent points of interpretation (the method obscures the possibilities of a false interpretation in the case of a less careful translation, interpretation or reference). Naturally, readers will be grateful

to the author, that regarding the Asia of the T'ang-times, a creditable geographical picture in general is given and instructive details connected with it, in a form to be taught and learnt, are available for further historical study and conclusion.

After the conclusions of the author — a successful attempt to present a history of the period with a personal touch — pp. 327—345, there is a list of sources (pp. 346—350), and references to their publications, parts, chapters or even lines are given in the text; the literature of the research concerned (pp. 351—359), with its richness and multifariousness, is followed by an index to the text: names, denominations, terms (pp. 363—428), and finally an index (in Latin letters) to the Oriental names, terms and words of Turkic, Tibetan, and other languages' origin.

Ildikó Ecsedy

MATTOS, GILBERT L., *The Stone Drums of Ch'in. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series* XIX. Steyler Verlag — Wort und Werk, Nettatal 1988. XI, 497 pp.

A careful and thorough presentation with linguistic-philological (epigraphical) elaboration of the enigmatic inscriptions, considered to be the earliest stone inscriptions found in China and possible to date. This doctoral dissertation was made upon the suggestion of Professor Paul L-M. Serruys, on the basis of research work in Taiwan in 1969—1970 (cf. the Acknowledgements, p. 1).

As explained in the Introduction of the work (p. 3.), the ten Stone Drums were discovered in the 7th century A. D., and traditionally attributed to King Hsüan of the Chou House (11th—3rd centuries B. C.) who ruled in 827—782 B. C., but both the stones and the inscriptions on them were a matter of dispute in China, and among the experts of ancient Chinese culture, both in China and abroad. Fortunately, despite the erosion of the stones and damage to the inscriptions on them, rubbings were made of them during the Northern Sung Dynasty, which were found in the early 1930s. That is how the modern elaboration of this volume could be realized, in spite of the poorly preserved texts on the stones in question.

After the list of maps of the archaeological discovery, the first part of the work gives a list of plates of the stones as they are to be seen today, etc.; acknowledgements, the Introduction, Signs and Abbreviations (of the sources and works cited), respectively — the "Background and Problems" concerned: the story of the discovery and survival of the stone drums.

Unfortunately even the forms resembling drums are uncertain — they are similar to a Chinese "steamed roll" (*man-t'ou*) —, but they must have been used, or at least one of them was used as a mortar as well (this was the reason for the damage to an inscription), and the lack of any document concerned makes it improbable that the small pillars were drums. The inscriptions (from a height of 58 cm to 87.5 cm) containing about 700 written characters which were severely damaged, preserved 272 graphs giving no direct and clear answer to our questions concerning the exact use of the stones, why the inscriptions were made, and why both were manufactured and written, respectively. The contents of the inscriptions imply some references — as deciphered in ancient China — to hunting scenes, and beginning of the rule of a Son of Heaven, but it is very improbable that it was really King Hsüan who was the king in question, because apparently the texts were carved much later — according to the experts in the 6th—4th centuries (see the conclusion, pp. 367—369), when the king of the Chou House was neither in the capital of the earlier Chou Kings nor in the area where the drums were found. According to the place the drums were found, near the ancient capital Yung of the Ch'in Principality, in Shenhsi, it could be attributed to the kings — rulers — of that princi-

pality, who ruled from about 777 B. C. to 251 B. C., but who left this old capital in the 4th century B. C. This is the reason why the stones are considered the "drums of Ch'in" in spite of a lack of related reference within the text of inscriptions.

The characters, which it is possible to decipher here, can be connected with the songs of the *Shih-ching*, describing aristocratic life with hunting, ornamented chariots, nice fields and places for excursions and hunting as well — giving, by the way, no direct reason for creating the drums, the use of the stones considered drums, the reason why they were hidden in the earth, the purpose of the text carved in the stone, and so on !

The texts on the stones, written not earlier than in the 6th century B. C. and not later than 401 B. C., cf. the author's conclusion on p. 368, are compared to all the poetical or historical texts of the times in question or from earlier periods that could be relevant to the content of the inscription, or could be known at the time the texts were carved; and the author takes into consideration only those possibilities, which give correct grammatical forms when deciphering the Chinese characters of ancient and sometimes hardly visible forms. Thus after the general notes on the discovery, and general description of the stone drum inscriptions, the author describes the rubbings made a millennium ago and those made of the today's stones with partial loss and deficiency — of the stones that were carried from city to city at the time of the civil war in the 1930s, so they could be preserved after the war in Peking, and can be seen there in an exhibition today.

After the transcriptions of the text of the stone drums, their dating and content problems are discussed, fragment by fragment (entitled by their two first decipherable characters). Finally the possible date of the stone drums and their inscription is discussed. As appendices, the reader is presented with a concordance to the stone drum inscriptions, with a Character Location Index, facsimiles of the inscriptions, a bibliography of the material dealing with the Stone Drums and other works related to the topic.

The main result of the present work, a word-by-word (character by character) presentation of the inscriptions, with a textual comparison and philological explanation, is complemented by an index of the presented character material, every one of them being conferred by the new edition in 1985 of the *Chin-wen-pien* (compiled by Jung Keng and edited originally in 1959). The entire volume will be of good service for further research.

Ildikó Ecsedy

Japanische Studien zur Kunst der Seidenstrasse. Herausgegeben von HANS-JOACHIM KLIMKEIT, übersetzt von RENATE HEROLD. *Studies in Oriental Religions* 16. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1988. XV, 199 pp., Tables with coloured pictures.

With the historical discoveries and their archaeological testimonies, the term "Silk Road" has been used from the turn of the century — the time when the expeditions in question were made — in an increasingly large sphere of historical events and cultural connections, economical and religious history, beyond Chinese Turkestan and Inner Asiatic regions of its traditional sphere —, more or less the whole steppe region between China and Inner Asia, sometimes as far as to the Carpatian Basin. Being linked with the most precious goods originating from the Chinese Empire, and conveyed by merchants or their nomadic rulers to the Roman Empire and to Mediterranean spheres of its political influence as well, the Silk Road became the term for the intercultural influence of the Asiatic territories. In this sense, the road continued even beyond the land of the Asian continent, over the sea to Japan as well. Buddhism played an important role in the

culture of Japan, having its roots in the West, through Chinese monasteries, sects, official and unofficial ways, and over the course of centuries, Japan became one of the most significant stations — the end station, the most lasting source and reserve — of foreign goods and discoveries, religious and cultural benefits originating from one or the other part of the sphere with the roads of steppe warriors, monks and merchants, whose roots or places of habitation were on or around the so-called Silk Road.

After an early enthusiastic period of research, the need for an analyse seemed more and more timely, and later on the absence of it made the small number of comprehensive efforts even more important and valuable. Since in recent decades, for financial reasons, fewer possibilities could be provided for the archaeological, etc., discovery of the Eastern stations of the Silk Road, especially in the traditional Western sphere of experts, and on the other hand, as more and more successful discoveries were made in this respect and sphere by experts of the Far East — China, Korea, and especially Japan, the most important end points of the Silk Road —, a need arose to interpret the results of Far East researchers in Western languages, to inform Western readers and stimulate similar research in the West. That is how this volume was edited, mainly with a religious interest in the art monuments reflecting the cultural interrelations of the countries and peoples in the history of the Silk Road. A German translation of a few excellent Japanese treatises, published in the last two-three decades, is offered here with many illustrations (but without the Chinese characters concerned, in the original form of the text, with the old comments and references). Introducing the five papers, there is a list of the pictures (pp. VII—XII, indicating a dozen coloured pictures among the 150 black-and-white ones sometimes reproducing the poor quality reprints of original pictures, with information concerning the museums of Europe and Asia where the originals can be found). A short preface gives the details concerning the principles of the edition with a few comments on the topic, by Hans-Joachim Klimkeit. (One page of Corrigenda is added to the volume, and an index of the place names mentioned, on pp. 198—199; the different size pictures are published throughout the volume, the colour pictures being at the beginning and end of the volume, respectively.)

Two articles are published from the Monumenta Serindica, vol. 5 (*Seiiki bunka kenkyū*), Kyoto 1962. Namely, an introduction is given to the Buddhist art of East Turkestan by Hadani Ryōtai; and the sculptures of East Turkestan are shown and analyzed by Ueno Teruo. The latter treatise presents a survey of the sculptures of different parts and ages of East Turkestan, with a description and report of the material discovered by the expedition of Kōzui Ōtani (1876—1946), from the two Ōtani expeditions in 1908—1912. This endeavours to give the genealogy of the sculptures in East Turkestan, according to their stylistic history and ramification: the classical-occidental, Oriental and Iranic, then their Gandharic style, producing a lasting and characteristic Indian style, followed by the East Turkestan and Chinese tradition of art.

Three articles by Ueno Aki are translated here from the Art Studies (*Bijutsu Kenkyū*) No. 230, 1963; No. 279, 1971; and No. 292—293, 1974, respectively. The first research by Aki gives a report about the fragmentary paper pictures in colour from the Turfan region; the second describes and presents wall paintings of Buddhist scenes discovered in Bäzäklik (in the Turfan region), owned by the Hermitage Museum (Leningrad). Finally the third paper gives and analyzes a comprehensive collection of art representations of East Turkestan related to the two cultural heroes of Chinese tradition, the "couple" of the "Emperor" and discoverer of divination, etc., of Fu Hsi, and the Mother of the world, his "wife" in folklore,

etc. Nü Kua, represented in artistic pieces of several religious forms of art in the territory; here we are given their pictures and sculptures of Turfan's neighbourhood, namely in Astana. A report of the material in question of the Ōtani-expedition and that of the Stein-collection, respectively, is followed by a description of these figures in Chinese archaeological findings, especially in ancient wall paintings, then in grave-pictures and other representations discovered in Astana.

The value of these papers is increased by the fact that the time that has passed since their original publication did not make them untimely. It is to be hoped that they will stimulate further similar studies in East and West research.

Ildikó Ecsedy

KUHLMANN, KLAUS P., *Das Ammoneion. Archäologische Geschichte und Kultpraxis des Orakels von Siwa. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 37. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Abteilung Kairo. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1988, 177 p., 20 figs, 52 pls, XII coloured pls.

AHMED FAKHRY'S *The Oases of Egypt I, Siwa Oasis*, Cairo 1973, was the last major review of the history and archaeological sites of the Siwa Oasis. Another book of Fakhry on the same topic appeared in 1944. Since then little progress was achieved in clearing up the enigmas of this remote oasis.

While the books of Fakhry were mainly based on the monuments and archaeological remains in the Oasis, K. P. Kuhlmann makes wide use of the works of the Greek authors too. The central subject of his book is the origin and the history of the oracle of Amun in the main temple of the Oasis of Siwa in Aghurmi. The author correctly recognized that in the absence of reliable material and textual evidence before the Saite Period (7th—6th cent. B. C.), the key problem lies in the interpretation of the exotic, so-called "aniconic" form of Amun (Ammon) in Siwa. He comes to the conclusion that the cultic image of Siwa can be identified as one of the popular forms of the Theban Min-Amun, either Kematef or Amenemope (p. 119 ff). This image covered with a veil could well recall an *omphalos* in a Greek mind. If the sacred image of the oracle temple was indeed a Theban ithyphallic god, it is a natural inference that the priesthood of Thebes must have played an important role in establishment of the worship of Amun (Ammon) in Siwa.

The theory of Punic influence on Siwa, discussed more than once in the last decades, is refuted by the author (p. 97 ff). While an identification of Amun and Baal-Ḥammōn may have occurred in various places of the Mediterranean in the centuries of religious syncretism (cf. p. 99) there is no evidence whatever from Siwa for an amalgamation of Egyptian and Semitic cults. Thus the Egyptian character of the oracle stands as an indisputable fact, and the date of the introduction of Amun still remains open to debate.

The relationships with the Greek world were, on the other hand, of decisive importance for the history of the Oasis. The vicinity of Kyrene not only led to close contacts with this colony, but also with other polis states. The oracle was at the height of its fame in the 6th—4th cent., when the god was celebrated by Pindarus in a hymn, who went so far in his respect as to send a copy of this text to the Ammoneion in Siwa. The oracle was consulted by Kroisos, Kimon, Alkibiades, and Lysandros. It was, however, the dramatic pilgrimage of Alexander the Great that left the most lasting impression to future generations and historiography. The visit of the Macedonian conqueror takes an important place in the present book. The author set himself a rather difficult task in making an attempt to reconstruct the progress of events during the stay of the King and his retinue in the temple. In the author's view, the ritual must be

divided into 1). a royal oracle and 2). a public oracle.

As to the course of events during the royal oracle, the author makes use of new evidence gained from the analysis of the structure of the temple. Architectural elements in Aghurmi indicate the existence of a secret room above the inner sanctuary. This was a listening post intended to eavesdrop on the question put by visitors to the statue of the god. (p. 21 ff, 144 f.) Having stayed for a while in the sanctuary, Alexander was hailed by the eldest of the priests as a son of the god. The king's followers who were hindered from entering the sanctuary, could attend the public procession-oracle, which may have taken place at the dromos (procession-way) connecting Aghurmi with the temple of Umm ʿUbayda.

It is well known that the visit to Siwa was of utmost importance, not only for the career of Alexander, but also for the deification of the monarchs of the Hellenistic empires. The author examines this phenomenon from an Egyptian point of view in some rather lengthy chapters, occasionally digressing from the main subject. The fact that the priests of Amun in Thebes were fully aware of the significance of the conqueror's pilgrimage came to be demonstrated in a spectacular manner by the erection of the Alexander-sanctuary in the temple of Luxor. As related by Plutarch (*Al.* 27), Alexander conversed with an Egyptian philosopher named Psammon. Everybody, Psammon reported, was ruled by the deity, because every ruler was of a divine nature. This was an additional confirmation of the ideology of the divine monarchy.

While the focus of the author is principally on the oracle of Amun, the reader will also find major contributions to the political history, administration and economy of the western desert. One of the chapters, which in addition to Egyptologists, will also prove valuable to specialists of Greek history, deals with the kinglets or governors, who practically had an absolute authority over the Oasis (p. 102 ff). The following rulers from the 6th—4th cent., are known by name thus far: Pharerotnebi(?), Sethirdis, "Etearchos", Libys, Nakht—Tit, Wenamun and Nabis. As demonstrated by the author, Etearchos (Herodotos II. 32—33) must not be taken as a personal name, it is much more a title "the true ruler".

I append some notes on points of detail.

The dating of the painted tomb of Siamon (p. 83 ff) remains doubtful. The depictions of the owner of the tomb and of his son show a clear Greek influence. The orthography of the hieroglyphic texts is bad and again suggests a late date. The rhomboidal pattern of the mummy-wrapping is characteristic of the late Ptolemaic and Roman Age. As demonstrated by L. CASTIGLIONE (Acta Antiqua Hung. IX. 1961 209 ff), the "double-style", which depicts the gods according to the pharaonic tradition in contrast to the deceased who appears in Greek style, became fashionable in the Roman Age. It is not possible here to pass in review all the arguments and counter-arguments; at any rate, the suggested date (4th cent. B. C. p. 85) seems to be too early. The author himself does not claim the matter to be settled.

The assumption that the legend of the foundation of the oracles in Siwa and Dodona (Herodotos II. 54—55) originates in the myth of Osiris (p. 53—55), rests on a meagre basis and will hardly be accepted.

In addition to the Greek myths dealt with in the book, it is worthy of note that the oracle of Ammon appears in the myth of Andromeda. Ammon promised Aethiopia to get rid of the sea-monster if Andromeda, the king's daughter would be chained to a rock on the seashore (Apollodorus, *Myth.* II, 4, 3, cf. Ovidius, Metam. IV. 670—671).

Two additions to the bibliography: L. STEIN—W. RUSCH, *Die Oase Siwa*,[2] Leipzig 1978 and J. P. BOUVERIE, *Siwa under Siege* (Cairo Today, February 1989, 59 ff), both of them relevant to recent life in the Oasis.

To sum up, there is plenty in the book to interest Egyptologists as well as specialists of history and archaeology and to stimulate the reader to further researches in this neglected field.

L. Kákosy

DESMET-GRÉGOIRE, HELÈNE, *Les objets du café dans les Sociétés du Proche-Orient et de la Méditérranée*, Presses du CNRS Paris 1989. 135 p., 129 ill.

L'auteur, H. Desmet-Grégoire, titulaire d'un doctorat d'études islamiques est chargée de recherches au CNRS, au sein du Groupe de recherches et d'études sur le Proche-Orient, département de l'institut de recherches et d'études sur le monde arabe. Formée dans le département de technologie comparée du Musée de l'Homme, créé par André Leroi-Gourhan, elle se consacre à l'étude des objets des sociétés proche-orientales, pistes privilégiées d'une réflexion pluridisciplinaire qui vise à rapprocher l'histoire et l'anthropologie.

H. Desmet-Grégoire poursuit des recherches en dehors de la France: en Turquie à l'institut d'Études Anatoliennes, au Musée de Topkapı, au Musée des Arts Turcs et Islamique, au Département d'Éthnologie, au Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture à İstanbul; elle a fait des recherches approfondis en Hongrie au Musée National Hongrois, au Musée d'Éthnographie, au Musée des Arts appliqués et à la Chaire de la Turcologie de l'Université de Budapest, etc.

Dans l'ordre thématique de ce livre: premièrement c'est « L'avant-propos » (pp. 7—8) où l'auteur confirme l'affirmation d'André Leroi-Gourhan, selon laquelle « l'imagination est le fondement du travail scientifique, mais le premier usage qu'il faut en faire est pour imaginer les moyens matériels de lui donner des limites raisonnables. »

Dans « L'introduction » (pp. 9—18), l'auteur examine comment le café s'est répandu des Hauts Plateaux d'Ethiopie et de l'Arabie aux deux rives de la Méditerranée, en même temps que les objets servant à sa préparation. Pélerins, émissaires, soldats en campagne les diffusèrent jusqu'à İstanboul, où les Européens découvrirent « la boisson à la sultane », ainsi que les grilloirs, mortiers, moulins, cafetières et tasses nécessaires à sa consommation. Objets somptuaires ou frustes, qui nous restituent des odeurs, des saveurs, des usages, les lieux d'ancrage des rites révélateurs de la civilisation, ils évoquent la convivalité propre aux pays du Proche-Orient.

Le chapitre intitulé « Les objets-rencontre » (pp. 19—48) de l'ouvrage de H. Desmet-Grégoire s'occupe des grilloirs ouverts, des grilloirs fermés, de la torréfaction, des mortiers, des moulins à café.

Dans le chapitre dont le titre est « La cafetière un objet ambigu » (pp. 47—70) l'auteur s'arrête en détail en décrivant les cafetières du Proche-Orient et la préparation du café, diffusion de la cafetière à partir de la Turquie.

Dans le chapitre « L'objet dépaysé » (pp. 71—86) caractérise la rencontre de la porcelaine et du café; les « zarf », la tasse objet multiple; elle donne la signification de « çini », « fağfuriye », « çömlekçik, « fakkar », « mukaffat », « fincan », on peut lire des grands centres du faienciers d'İran, de Syrie, d'Egypte ou de Turquie ou centre des porcelaines à İznik, en Chine comme lieux de provenance.

Le sixième chapitre — « Le language du café » (pp. 87—110) — examine l'objet porteur d'informations, et des proverbes concernants le café, par exemple: « une tasse de café entraîne quarante années d'amitié ».

Le dernier chapitre — « Les Kahvehâne » (pp. 111—125) — est consacré aux « kahvehâne » ; lieux de rencontre, de bavardages, d'écoute ou d'oisiveté, ou la tasse de café est encore au cœur des échanges, des mots, des silences et de la rêverie, espaces publics ouverts sur la rue ou la route, qui semblent accessibles à tous, en n'importe quelle circonstance, où les règles

du jeu sont différentes de celles que l'on suit chez soi: telles étaient les « maisons de café » en Turquie, les kahvehâne, au siècle passé . . .

« La conclusion » de cet ouvrage (pp. 126—128) est la suivante: enfin, le café tant qu'aliment renvoie, nous l'avons vu, non seulement aux techniques culinaires et aux valeurs esthétiques de chaque groupe, mais aussi aux rites enracinés au plus profond de l'être social, qui sont le lien entre les membres de la communauté, mais aussi le lien avec ce qui la transcende.

« Les notes » (pp. 129—131) et « La bibliographie » (pp. 132—134) s'appuient sur une vaste documentation, l'auteur cite un grand nombre d'exemples qui prouvent le bien-fondé de cette conclusion.

La partie finale de l'intéressante bibliographie nous montre les régularités générales concernant l'approche méthodologique, l'approche linguistique et les éléments de bibliographie à propos du café dans les pays de Proche-Orient.

Le glossaire (p. 135) est consacré aux explications des mots-clés, par exemple: bakraj, berrad, bunn, cezve, dalla, fincan, güğüm, hawun, ibrik, kanaka, mahmeseb, marabout, kahve, kahveci, rakwa, sitil, sini, tajin, tanaka, tas, tava, zamzamiya. etc.

Les chapitres sont abondamment illustrés par des photographies artistiques et des citations littéraires (de Halide Edip Adivar, de Chateaubriand, de Joseph Conrad, de Nâzim Hikmet, de Colette etc.)

En lisant cette magnifique publication, on sent partout l'intérêt et l'enthousiasme qui ont inspiré l'auteur d'étudier et analyser, pourtant il faut noter, que la bibliographie pourrait être bien complétée par des œuvres des auteurs turcs, comme: Osman Cemal Kaygılı: İstanbul'da Semaî Kahveleri ve Meydan Şairleri, 1937, Üsküdarlı Vasıf Hoca: Çalgılı Kahveler, 1979, Salah Birsel: Kahveler Kitabı (olaylar—anılar), 1976, Evliya Çelebi Seyahatname: Peçevi Tarihi I—II. (1968—1969) I—II. (1971—1972); Sahbiha Tansuğ: Türk kahvesi töreni (Türkiyemiz: 46, 1985, 7—12 P).

La richesse des problèmes examinés, la structure mobile et originale de l'ouvrage, le brillant style d'essaiste de l'auteur susciteront beaucoup d'intérêt tant parmi les spécialistes qu'au sein des vastes cercles de lecteurs.

M. T. Nyiri

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MUSLIM CULTURAL ENCLAVES IN HUNGARY UNDER OTTOMAN RULE

GÁBOR ÁGOSTON

The Ottoman empire's Hungarian provinces differed from the other regions of the empire not only from the economic and social but also from the cultural point of view. As a result of the joint Ottoman — Hungarian rule, i.e. the *condominium*, the Ottomans never succeeded in consolidating their power in Hungary during their 150-year occupation of the country. Neither peaceful methods nor the application of sheer force could make Islam victorious in Hungary. There were no mass conversions to the Muslim faith similar to those in the Balkans. Nor did force Islamization take place here. Sporadic cases reported by our sources were nothing but the abuse of power by some over-enthusiastic local official. By the time of the Ottoman occupation of Hungary even the number of Turkish ethnic groups that had been settled en masse in the Balkans with a view to the Islamization of the region in previous centuries[1] had dwindled. Very few of them reached Hungary at all. Although no analyses pertaining to the ethnic distribution of the Muslim population in occupied Hungary have been prepared, in the light of the scarce data available from narrative and other sources we may assume that the majority of the Muslim population were not of Turkish origin but belonged to the Muslim inhabitants of the Balkans.[2] This also resulted in significant changes in local Muslim culture.

[1] Cf. Ömer Lüfti Barkan, Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler. *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 11. 1949—1950. pp. 524—561., 12. 1950—1951. pp. 67—131., 13. 1951—1952. pp. 56—79 and 15. 1953—1954. pp. 209—237.

[2] For example Marco Antonio Pigafetta who visited Buda in 1567 wrote that the Croatian language "was spoken by almost every Turk". (*Itinerario di Marco Antonio Pigafetta. Starine* XXII. Zagreb, 1890. p. 88.) One hundred years later Evliyâ Çelebi found that "The inhabitants of Buda are Bosnians from Bosnia, yet they speak quite good Hungarian". (Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâḥatnâme*, Vol. VI. İstanbul 1318/1900. pp. 247—248.) As far as the Turkish troops in Buda are concerned, Fekete Lajos thought that "not more than a quarter of the soldiers listed in the pay register can be taken for native-born Turks. The majority of the Mohammedan soldiers were of Slav origin, Bosnians, Croatians, Serbians, etc." (On the above issues see Lajos Fekete, *Buda and Pest under*

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The fact that the conquered Hungarian population was in majority and their religious institutions and the bodies of Hungarian local administration survived, the victories of Reformation in the 16th century[3] and the appearance of Counter-Reformation in the 17th century, were the major factors that hindered the wide-scale introduction of the Islamic faith in Hungary. There were no villages in Hungary where Muslims and Hungarians lived together and where the interaction of the two cultures could have been facilitated by the coexistence of the two peoples. Such coexistence was limited to a few fortified towns. Throughout the long period of Ottoman rule in Hungary the Muslim population of this country lived separately from the local people in provincial centers protected by massive walls and guarded by soldiers. They formed enclaves of Islamic culture in a country where Christianity never ceased to prevail.[4]

In the present study I endeavor to describe the religious and cultural life of the Muslim population in Hungary and I will direct my remarks towards these Muslim cultural enclaves. In spite of the fact that I fully agree with those who claim that the achievements of local Muslim culture were modest not only in comparison with the central regions of the empire but also in comparison with the cultural achievements in the Balkans, I have to refute a view that is widely held by Hungarian historians, namely that except for Ibrahim Peçevi, the chronicler, there were no significant figures of Muslim culture in Hungary. This view can be put down to the fact that studies related to Muslim culture in Hungary are trailing behind studies in the economic,

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Turkish Rule. Studia Turco—Hungarica III. Ed. Gy. Káldy-Nagy. Budapest, 1976. pp. 19—20.) It is characteristic that several *beylerbeyi*s and *sancâḳbeyi*s who served in Hungary were of Bosnian or Serbian origin (cf. Safvet Beg Bašagić, *Znameniti Hrvati, Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u Turskoj Carevini.* Zagreb, 1931. passim.) The findings of archeological excavations that have been started recently also support the view that the population was of Balkan origin (*cf.* Gál, Attila, Török palánkvárak a buda—eszéki út Tolna megyei szakaszán. [Turkish palankas along the Tolna county section of the Buda—Eszék road]. In: *Magyar és török végvárak, 1663—1684.* [Hungarian and Turkish border fortresses] (eds.) Sándor Bodó—Jolán Szabó. Eger, 1985. pp. 185—189.)

[3] Cf. Mihály Bucsay, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn 1521—1978. Ungarns Reformationskirche in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Teil I: Im Zeitalter der Reformation, Gegenreformation und katolischen Reform.* Wien—Köln—Graz, 1977.

[4] Concerning the specific features of Ottoman rule in Hungary and the condominium cf. Franz Salamon, *Ungarn im Zeitalter der Türkenherrschaft.* Leipzig, 1887. pp. 223—326., Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *Macaristan'da 16. yüzyılda Türk yönetimi.* Studia Turco—Hungarica I. Ed. Gy. Káldy-Nagy. Budapest, 1974., Klára Hegyi, Le condominium hungaro—ottoman dans les eyalets hongrois. In: *Actes du Premier Congrès International des Études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes,* III. Sofia, 1969. pp. 593—603., Ferenc Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás a török hódoltságban* [Hungarian taxation in Hungary under Ottoman rule]. Budapest, 1981.

political and military aspects of Ottoman rule in Hungary and that the first preliminary results have only been published recently. Consequently, Muslim culture in Hungary cannot yet be described in a full and comprehensive manner. In the light of earlier publications related to this theme and primarily on the basis of my own studies, the scope of the present study is limited to the description of several Muslim cultural enclaves in Hungary, the centers of which were outstanding *câmi'*s, *medrese*s or *tekke*s.

The religious and cultural life of the Muslims in Hungary was organized around the same religious buildings as in the other provinces of the empire. The *câmi'*s were the most important centers of orthodox Islamic faith in the Hungarian provinces of the Ottoman empire, as in the other regions of the empire. As well as serving the religious life of the local Muslim population, these buildings also played an important role in their moral education. The Friday midday prayers, which could be held only in these big mosques, were excellent occasions for educational purposes as well. In the first sermon, termed *ḫuṭbe*, during these Friday services the *ḫâṭib* could beseech the members of the congregation to observe the teachings of the Ḳur'ân. Furthermore, *câmi'*s were also of great political importance, since the *ḫâṭib* mentioned the name of the Sultan of the Ottoman empire in the second *ḫuṭbe* and reminded the Muslim population of this faraway region of the Sultan's power and also reminded them in this manner that they owed the Sultan their unconditional allegiance.

The *câmi'*s in Hungary also played a significant role in the education of Muslim children. Primarily, it was the Ḳur'ân that was studied in the *câmi'*s and it was the related *tafsîr*s that were taught here. Frequently, it was the *câmi'*s where students acquainted themselves with disciplines that were related to the previously mentioned studies, primarily with Arabic language and grammar. The traditions of the Prophet (*ḥadîṯ*) could also be taught in the *câmi'*s. The *ḥadîṯe*s were studied in the *câmi'*s in Mitrovica, in the Szerémség region, too. In this *câmi'*, Islamic law (*fiḳh*) and the law of inheritance (*farâ'iż*) were taught as well.[5]

Most of the *câmi'*s in the Ottoman empire, like the social and cultural buildings next to them, owed their existence to religious endowments, (*vaḳf*), which were common in the Islamic world. Because of the high number of pious foundations in every part of the empire, Lajos Fekete said that "... Turkish cultural history ... can be summarized in one single chapter under the heading: *vaḳf*."[6] In the Muslims' view Allah was pleased if someone tied up real estate for religious or social purposes, or if somebody established a foundation and the Muslims believed that the person in question was to be rewarded for

[5] Evliyâ Çelebi, *op. cit.* p. 174.

[6] L. Fekete, Un chapitre de la vie religieuse Mahométane. Souvenirs turcs en Hongrie. Tirage à part de la *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie*, octobre 1943. p. 11.

his noble act after his death. As well as the deeply religious feelings of the endowers, it also must have been an important motivating factor that by turning real estate holdings (*mülk*), into a form of pious foundation named *evlâdlık vakf*, the person who made the endowment could pass at least a part of his property down to his heirs, thus avoiding its confiscation by the Sultan.[7]

During the 12 years when Sokollu Muṣṭafâ Paşa was *beylerbeyi* of Buda (1566—1578) he made rich religious endowments and added four *câmi'*s, six *meşçit*s, two *medrese*s, 12 hostels for travellers and 16 baths to the architectural treasures of this part of the empire.[8] The related literature attributes the *câmi'* in Buda, one of the *câmi'*s the paşa caused to be built, to Mi'mâr Sinân.[9] A watercolor that is assumed to have been painted by a French military engineer in 1770 shows the richly ornamented facade of the *câmi'* in detail.[10] No other *câmi'* in Hungary that we know of from contemporary illustrations or descriptions surpassed this one in terms of its architectural beauty. Sokollu Muṣṭafâ Paşa's *câmi'* resembles the facade of the big *medrese*s in Turkestan. The richly elaborate ornamentation of its facade makes it outstanding among the surviving *câmi'*s in Hungary.

The majority of the *câmi'*s built in Hungary were simpler and their ornamentation was less elaborate. Some of them must have been built of wood in a hasty manner and were re-built by some well-to-do local official only after the Muslims had settled permanently. No wonder that the condition of the hastily erected *câmi'*s started to deteriorate before long. The case of the Sultan Süleymân *câmi'* in Szigetvár is an important example of this phenomenon. Having occupied Szigetvár, the Ottomans set to the construction of

[7] Concerning *evladlık vakf*s see: Ömer Lütfi Barkan, Türk—İslâm mülkiyet hukuku tatbikatinin Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda aldığı şekiller I. Şer'î miras hukuku ve evlâtlık vakıflar. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası* 6. 1940. pp. 165—181.

[8] The construction projects of Sokollu Muṣṭafâ Paşa are enumerated in his vakıfnâme. İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi D. 7000. Cf. Gy. Káldy-Nagy, Macht und Immobilialvermögen eines türkischen Beglerbegs im 16. Jahrhundert: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXV (1972), pp. 441—450. Concerning his biography see: Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Mss. Turk. O. 215., His biography based on Hungarian and Latin sources: Alexander Takáts, Vezir Sokolli Musztafa Pascha (Der große Musztafa). *Ungarische Rundschau* 4. (München—Leipzig, 1915) pp. 788—813.

[9] It was mentioned in the *Tezkiret ül-bünyân* that Mi'mâr Sinân was the architect of the *câmi'* that was built by Muṣṭafâ Paşa and which stood on the bank of the River Danube where the Fő street is now, on the present site of the Church of the Erzsébet nuns (cf. L. Fekete, *Budapest a törökkorban* [Budapest during the Turkish Period] Budapest, 1944. pp. 92—93.). According to Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi it is only the above-mentioned *câmi'* and the *medrese* also named after Sokollu Muṣṭafâ Paşa that can be regarded as the authentic design of Mi'mâr Sinân in Hungary. See: E. H. Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı mimârî eserleri. Romanya, Macaristan.* İstanbul, 1979. p. 93.

[10] István Genton, Török Műemlékek [Turkish architectural monuments]. In: L. Fekete *op. cit.* [1944] pp. 328—329.

the *câmi'* right away.[11] An order dated approximately four years later informs us that the *câmi'* was in a rather dilapidated condition. The *minâre*, which had been built of wood, was about to collapse and rain seeped into the building through the roof, which testifies to shoddy workmanship.[12] It seems that with the passage of time the condition of the *câmi'*s in Hungary deteriorated even further. The only means of preservation was if a well-to-do *sancâḳbeyi* or *beylerbeyi* came to the rescue and undertook the repairs and made avaible the funds required for the continuous operation and maintenance of the mosque. This is what Sokollu Muṣṭafâ Paşa did in the case of the *câmi'* in the Tabán, which had been built by Ibrâhîm Çâvuş and which was in a bad state of repair.[13]

In the 1630s, *câmi'*s, especially the ones that belonged to the state, must have been in a sadly dilapidated condition. A document dating from the period between 1626 and 1630 describes the repairs of Hungarian castles and makes several references to the condition of the *câmi'*s in the castles under consideration.[14] This document informs us that the roof of the Fetḥiyye *câmi'* in Buda and the roof of several *câmi'*s in Pest had to be repaired. In the castle of Vác the *câmi'* was in disrepair. In Székesfehérvár the *câmi'*, which belonged to the state, and especially its roof, needed mending. Furthermore, major repairs had to be carried out on the *câmi'*s in Palota, Zsámbék, Paks, Újlak (Ilok) and Eger.[15]

The continuous warfare did not foster the religious life of the population. In time of need, *câmi'*s were used as warehouses or arsenals, which proves that the supply of food and the storage of weapons and ammunition for the army

[11] *Târiḫ-i Selânikî*, İstanbul 1281/1863. p. 46 Cf. Gy. Káldy-Nagy, Selānikī als Augenzeuge des szigetvárer Feldzuges (1566). *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* Bd. 76. 1986. pp. 171—177.

[12] İstanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme defterleri Vol. 14. p. 173.

[13] Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Mss. Turk. O. 215. fol. 102/r.

[14] İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi E 895. A facsimile of this document can be found at the Department of Turkish Philology at the Eötvös Loránd University. The part of the text concerning Buda was described by L. Fekete (*op. cit.* [1944.] p. 89., p. 105., p. 217.) who attributed the document to Mûsâ Paşa of Buda and dated it to the period of his services as *beylerbeyi* (first: 1631—1634, second: 1636—1637, third: 1640—1644). However, on the basis of certain new data we must now assume that it cannot be dated to the time of Mûsâ Paşa, but to the period when Murteżâ Paşa was *beylerbeyi* of Buda (1626—1630). The passages concerning the repairs of Hungarian castles were elaborated on by Pál Fodor, Bauarbeiten der Türken an den Burgen in Ungarn im 16—17. Jahrhundert: *Acta Orient. Hung.* (1981), XXXV pp. 55—88; Hungarian translation: Néhány adat a török végvári rendszer állapotáról a 17. század középső harmadából. [Some data pertaining to the condition of the Turkish system of border fortresses in the mid-1600s]. In: (eds.) S. Bodó—J. Szabó, *op. cit.* pp. 165—172.

[15] P. Fodor, *op. cit.* [1985] pp. 167—170.

were at least as important in this faraway region as catering to the soul of believers. The Sultan Süleymân *câmiʿ* in Pécs, apparently a former basilica, was an arsenal and a food depot when Evliyâ Çelebi visited the town. Barley for the troops in Temesvár was stored in the Csanád *câmiʿ*. However, an order stipulated that the barley had to be stored so that it did not hinder the believers in performing the Friday prayer.[16]

*Câmiʿ*s that were not newly built but which had previously been Christian buildings, mainly churches, must have been in a somewhat better state of repair. Christian symbols were removed from these churches by the Ottomans (in Székesfehérvár even the tombs were thrown out of the redecorated Cathedral)[17] and the buildings were redesigned in compliance with the requirements of the Muslims. Celâlzâde Muṣṭafa described the transformation of the Church of Our Lady in Buda in great detail as follows: "One large church there [in Buda castle] was cleared of all the disgusting idols, its walls of all the daubs, pictures and paintings and was redesigned as *câmiʿ*. For the *ḫâṭib* a pulpit (*kürsî*) and a *miḥrâb* were put in, and also a platform for those reading out God's revelations, lights were hung up and all other necessary accessories fitted."[18]

It is premature to review the role of certain outstanding *câmiʿ*s in Hungary in developing local Muslim culture. The scarce data available to us prove, however, that in addition to the performance of their daily tasks, several *ḫâṭibs* and *vâʿiẓes* of the *câmiʿ*s showed a keen interest in various branches of religious sciences or literature. For example, Şeyḫ Süleymân Efendi, the *vâʿiẓ* of the *Câmiʿ-i kebîr* in Buda, read a copy of the *Maʿâlim at-tanzîl*, a well-known work on Ḳur'ânic exegesis of Baġavî (died in 510/1117 or 516/1122).[19] We might also cite the example of Receb b. Yûsuf, a *vâʿiẓ* in Eger, who owned a manuscript containing *fetvâs* as well as a great number of Turkish, Persian and Arab poems and various records concerning Islamic jurisprudence, Islamic mysticism and the interpretation of dreams.[20]

[16] İstanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme defterleri Vol. 5. p. 345.

[17] İstanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme defterleri Vol. 7. p. 929. From the architectural point of view the projects aimed at redesigning the original structures were studied by Gerő, Győző, *Az oszmán-török építészet Magyarországon.* [Ottoman-Turkish architecture in Hungary] Budapest, 1980. pp. 38—40. However, it was not only churches that the Ottomans changed into *câmiʿ*s in Hungary. Originally, the Uziçeli Hacci Ibrâhîm *câmiʿi* in Esztergom was the barbican of the city wall. (*cf.* Gy. Gerő, Az Esztergom-Víziváros öziceli Hadzsi Ibrahim dzsámi [The öziçeli Ḥacci Ibrâhîm *câmiʿi* in Esztergom-Víziváros]: *Archeologiai Értesítő* 92 (1965), p. 215.)

[18] Quotation in English by L. Fekete, *op. cit.* [1976] p. 87.

[19] Kasim Dobrača, *Katalog arapskih, turskih i perzijskih rukapisa.* Gazi Husrev-Begova Biblioteka u Sarajevu. Vol. I. Sarajevo, 1963. p. 142.

[20] Kasim Dobrača, *op. cit.* Vol. II. (Sarajevo, 1979) p. 867.

Education

The Muslims living in Hungary had to educate their children as well. In the empire young Muslims obtained their elementary education in *mekteb-i ṣibyâns*, which were an integral part of every important mosque. Reading and writing, the four basic arithmetical operations, the reading of the Ḳur'ân and the most important prayers to be recited during religious services were taught in these elementary schools.[21] The Ḳur'ân must have been the core of the curriculum. The reason why Sokollu Muṣṭafa Paṣa had a *mekteb* built next to the previously mentioned *câmiʿ* in the Tabán is that there was a great need for "a school where the words of God are taught".[22] The curriculum was just as comprehensive as that of European schools of the same level. As well as catechism, the basics of reading and writing and church songs needed for religious services were taught in Hungarian elementary schools. As it was pointed out in 1560 by the Council of Nagyszombat, which was presided over by Miklós Oláh, the archbishop of Esztergom, the objective of elementary education was the education of children "who are obedient to God, the higher clergy of the Church, the landlords, their parents and their teachers and are firm in their faith in God".[23] The Ottomans assigned great importance to the education of obedient and deeply religious children. Parents throughout the empire quoted the same words when they transferred the burden of their children's education to their teachers: "his flesh is yours, his bones are mine." In those days these words were just as well known here as in the eastern part of the empire and even as late as the late 1800s, fathers often quoted these words in Bosnia when they sent their children to school. In other words, they authorized the teachers to discipline the children lest they broke their bones.[24]

We do not have accurate information concerning the number of *mekteb*s in Hungary. In spite of the fact that the numbers quoted by Evliyâ Çelebi have often been called into question, and with good reason,[25] for lack of any

[21] Concerning the *mekteb*s see: Osman Ergin, *İstanbul mektepleri ve ilim, terbiye ve san'at müesseseleri dolayisiyle Türkiye maarif tarihi*. I—II., İstanbul, 1977., Özgönül Aksoy, *Osmanlı devri İstanbul sıbyân mektepleri üzerine bir inceleme*. İstanbul, 1968. Concerning Muslim Education in Hungary under Ottoman rule see: Ágoston, Gábor, Muszlim oktatás és nevelés a török hódoltságban [Muslim Education in Hungary under Turkish Domination]: *Keletkutatás* 1987. 1. pp. 47—65.

[22] Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Mss. Turk. O. 215. fol. 102/r.

[23] Mészáros István, *Az iskolaügy története Magyarországon 996—1777 között* [The history of education in Hungary between 996 and 1777]. Budapest, 1981. p. 259.

[24] L. Fekete, *op. cit.* [1976] p. 97. see also Hajrudin Ćurić, *Školske prilike muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini 1800—1878*. Beograd, 1965. p. 66.

[25] Among Hungarian historians it was Gyula Szekfű who criticized Evliyâ Çelebi's work. *Cf.* Kútfőkritikai tanulmány a hódoltság korabeli török történetírókról [Critical

more reliable figures we are compelled to rely upon his data. Evliyâ, Çelebi visited Hungary several times between 1660 and 1666. He found 165 *mektebs* in the 39 castles and towns under Ottoman rule. Obviously, the number of elementary schools was the highest in Buda: 18. There were 17 elementary schools in Eger and 12 in Mitrovica in the Szerémség region. There were 11 *mektebs* in Pécs. Evliyâ Çelebi found 7 *mektebs* in each of Temesvár, Székesfehérvár and Lippa, 6 in Kaposvár, Újlak and Zombor, 5 in Eszék, 4 in Csanád, Esztergom, Kanizsa, Várad and Titel. In seven towns, including such important places as Szigetvár, Visegrád or Pest, he found only 3 *mektebs* in each. Six settlements, including Hatvan, Mohács and Szeged, had two *mektebs* each and in ten towns there was only one *mekteb* in each.[26] In the light of the scepticism voiced in the related literature concerning Evliyâ Çelebi's data, it should be underlined that we may regard the above quoted figures as tentative. The figures above can only be checked and corrected if a large number of payrolls of teachers who once worked in the Hungarian province, the financial statements showing the income and the expenses of religious endowments as well as other archival sources are available to us. Nevertheless, I wish to remark that random checks support Evliyâ Çelebi's figures in the present case. For example, the great Ottoman traveller found seven *mektebs* in Temesvár. Four assistant teachers, two teachers and one instructor were mentioned on the payroll of the Temesvár *câmi'*.[27] Since only teachers who were paid by the treasury were mentioned in the accounts and various changes could have taken place over a long period, we can see that Evliyâ Çelebi's figures were not unfounded.

Pupils who wanted to continue their training after having obtained elementary education could find institutes of secondary education, *medreses*, also in Hungary. *Medreses* are referred to by Hungarian sources, and sometimes even in European historiography, as "Muslim theological schools of tertiary education" in spite of the fact that the majority of *medreses* offered training

study of the Turkish historians of the age of Turkish rule in Hungary]. In: *Török történetírók III*. Budapest, 1916. pp. 1—63. Szekfű's views were analyzed in the framework of a lecture by Gyula Káldy-Nagy, who pointed out that contrary to Szekfű's claim Evliyâ Çelebi had not been a chronicler, but he had been a writer of travel books whose detailed descriptions of faraway lands should be taken with a grain of salt but be used especially by researchers in the history of culture. *Cf.* Gy. Káldy-Nagy, A török hódoltság elbeszélő és okleveles kútfőiről [On the sources of narrative works and documents dating from the Age of Turkish rule in Hungary]. *Századok* 106, (1972). 3. pp. 648—649. and in Turkish: *op. cit.*, [1974] pp. 16—18.

[26] Császár, Mihály, A török közoktatásügy Magyarország hódolt területén 1543—1686 [Turkish public education in the part of Hungary under Turkish rule 1543—1686]. *Magyar Paedagogia* 1917, pp. 251—252.

[27] Velics, Antal, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek* [Defters of the Turkish Treasury in Hungary] I. Budapest, 1886., pp. 416—419.

on the secondary level only. Furthermore, it is a mistake to compare *medreses* to European universities for a number of other reasons.[28] In the Ottoman empire all educational institutions above the elementary level that offered training on the secondary and tertiary level mainly in Muslim theology, religious law and sciences were referred to as *medreses*.

The majority of *medreses* in Hungary were lower ranking schools, named *medâris-i resmîye*, with a stipend of 20—40 *akçes* a day.[29] In 1618/1619 the stipend of Ḥâccî Riżvân, one of the teachers in the Szigetvár *medrese*, was a mere 15 *akçe* per day. In Temesvár the teacher of one of the *medreses* received 20 *akçes*, while the teacher of another local *medrese* was paid 30 *akçes* a day.[30] According to a document dating from the 1660s the ʿAlî Paşa *medrese* in Szendrő (Semendire) paid 20 *akçes* and the teacher in the Oṣmân Beg *medrese* in Buda was paid 25 *akçes*.[31] However, Bâlî Paşa's *medrese* in Buda also belonged to the lower ranking schools, since Mevlânâ Aḥmed, its *müderris* performed his tasks for 25 *akçes* per day. Later on, when he proved himself to be worthy of a bonus, his stipend was increased by 5 *akçes*. The teacher who succeeded him was paid 40 *akçes*.[32]

[28] Concerning Ottoman medreses, see: Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*. Ankara, 1984. pp. 1—81., Cahid Baltacı, *XV—XVI. asırlarda Osmanlı medreseleri*. İstanbul, 1976., Mustafa Bilge, *Ilk Osmanlı medreseleri*. İstanbul, 1984., in English: H. A. R. Gibb—Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West. A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East*. Vol. I. Part 2. London, 1957. pp. 139—164., Halil Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300—1600*. London, 1973, pp. 165—172. Concerning the difference between *medreses* and European universities *cf.* George Makdisi, Madrasa and University in the Middle Ages. *Studia Islamica* 32, (1970), pp. 255—265. and the latest work that offers little new data: Aptullah Kuran, The Medrese and the University, *Turkish Review Quarterly Digest* 1. 4, (1986), pp. 91—101.

[29] In the mid-17th century the *medreses* above these low-ranking schools were classified as follows: 1. Ibtidâ-yı ḫâric (or Ḫâric elli) 2. Ḫareket-i ḫâric 3. Ibtidâ-yı dâḫil 4. Ḫareket-i dâḫil 5. Mûṣile-i Ṣaḥn 6. Ṣaḥn-i Ṣemân. In each of these *medreses* the stipend were 50 *akçes* a day. Above them were the *medreses* with stipend of 60 *akçes* a day. These were: 1. Ibtidâ-yı altmışlı 2. Ḫareket-i altmışlı 3. Mûṣile-i Süleymânîye 4. Ḫâmiṣ-i Süleymânîye 5. Süleymânîye 6. Dârü'l-ḥadîṣ-i Süleymânîye. Cf. Ali Uğur, *The Ottoman ʿUlemâ in the mid-17th century. An Analysis of the Vaḳā'i'ü'l-Fużalā of Meḥmed Ṣeyḫī Ef.* Berlin, 1986. pp. xlvi—xlviii. This *medrese* hierarchy obtained in the 18th century as well. Cf. Madeline C. Zilfi, The Ilmiye Registers and the Ottoman Medrese System prior to the Tanzimat. In: *Contributions a l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman*. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont-Paul Dumont ed. Paris—Leuven, 1983, p. 314.

[30] Velics A. *op. cit.*, p. 407., pp. 418—419.

[31] M. Kemal Özergin, Eski bir Rûznâme'ye göre İstanbul ve Rumeli medreseleri. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 4—5 (1973—1974), p. 283., p. 281.

[32] Karácson, Imre, *Török—magyar oklevéltár* [Turkish—Hungarian Archives]. Budapest, 1914, p. 124. This case proves what is known from the related literature, namely

The Pest *medrese*, which had been built by Sokollu Muṣṭafâ, the Paşa of Buda, and which consisted of one classroom and 8 cells (*ḥücre*), also belonged to this category, since in the first years after the establishment of the school its *müderris* received 30 *akçe*s per day.[33] The expenses of this *medrese* in Pest were covered by Sokollu Muṣṭafâ Paşa from his income from Nagyradvány and Bikács, i.e. two villages in Hungary. According to a deed of gift dated October 27, 1576, it was Kristóf Báthori, Voivode of Transylvania who gave these two villages to Muṣṭafâ Paşa.[34] The Sultan's *mülknâme*, which confirmed the transfer of ownership, assured Muṣṭafâ Paşa that all income derived from the property would be his and it gave him full authority over the two villages: "he was free to sell them or give them to someone as a gift or he could establish a pious foundation (*vaḳf*) from them".[35] Muṣṭafâ Paşa chose the latter alternative. However, the 10,170 *akçe* income from the two villages was not enough to cover the expenses of the *medrese*, since the *müderris* was paid 30 *akçe*s a day, the seven students received 5 *akçe*s per day each and the doorman was paid 5 *akçe*s per day, which amounted 25,500 *akçe*s per annum.[36] In spite of the fact that the income from the two villages was estimated at a somewhat lower level as compared to the other settlements of the *sancâḳ*, we may assume that the Paşa of Buda had to draw upon additional financial resources to cover the expenses of the *medrese*.

The most outstanding *medrese*s in the part of Hungary under Ottoman rule were those built by Sokollu Muṣṭafâ Paşa in Buda. From our historical sources we are aware of two *medrese*s in Buda that were named after him. One of them was in the castle of Buda in an area that was referred to by the Ottomans as 'middle section of the castle' (*orta ḥiṣâr*). The other one was in the 'Víziváros' area, which was called by the Ottomans 'Great city' (*büyük vâroş*).[37]

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that up to *medrese*s offering a daily stipend of 30 *akçe*, promotion (*terakḳî*) meant an increase of 5 *akçe* in the salaries, in higher classes of *medrese*s promotion resulted in an increase of 10 *akçe*s. Cf. C. Baltacı, *op. cit.*, p. 27. The Bâlî Paşa *medrese* in Buda is a good example which proves that lower ranking *medrese*s did not have a fixed rating and that their class changed frequently in accordance with the rank of the *müderris* who was appointed to perform his task there. Cf. M. C. Zilfi, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

[33] İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi D. 7000. fol. 4/v.

[34] The deed of gift of Kristóf Báthori was published by László Szalay, *Erdély és a Porta* [Transylvania and the Porte]. Pest, 1862, pp. 313–314. The German translation of the deed was published by Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *op. cit.*, (1972), pp. 447–448.

[35] İstanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Tapu Tahrir Defteri No. 580., pp. 217–218. In Hungarian translation published: Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *A gyulai szandzsák 1567. és 1579. évi összeírása* [The 1567 and the 1579 Tax Registers of the Sancak of Gyula]. Békéscsaba, 1982, pp. 395–396.

[36] Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *op. cit.* (1972), p. 448.

[37] Gábor Ágoston, Budin'de Osmanlı medreseleri ve müderrisleri. *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 58 (1989), pp. 141–150.

According to the *Tezkiret ül-ebniye*, the architect of the *medrese* was Mi'mâr Sinân.[38] Topographical data suggest that this *medrese*, which is also listed in Muṣṭafâ Paşa's *vakfnâme* and the location of which is described as follows: "in the town of Buda, on the bank of the River Danube" was next to the *câmi'* mentioned earlier.[39] The *medrese* had a classroom (*dersḫâne*) and 12 rooms, or cells (*ḥücre*). Muṣṭafâ Paşa wished to cover the expenses of this *medrese* from the income derived from two of this properties that he had turned into religious endowments, namely Püspökladány and Köröspeterd in the Szolnok *sancâḳ*. However, the 1591/1592 *taḥrîr defteri* of the Szolnok *sancâḳ* shows that the joint annual income from the two villages amounted to only 4,280 *aḳçes*.[40] This, however, could not have been enough to pay the expenses, since the *müderris* himself was paid 50 *aḳçe*s per day, which amounted to 18,500 *aḳçe*s per annum and this figure excludes the payment of 5 *aḳçe*s per day to the doorman and 2 *aḳçe*s per day to each of the students. Nor does the above figure include the other expenses of the *medrese*.

Sokollu Muṣṭafâ Paşa's other *medrese* was in Buda castle. As we have seen, Evliyâ Çelebi wrote about this *medrese* that it was in the "middle section of the castle". We can also determine its precise location, since it was this *medrese* which gave its name to the part of the Buda castle area next to the onetime Church of Our Lady, "Muṣṭafâ Paşa's market", "Muṣṭafâ Paşa's maḥalle".[41]

Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli must have seen the latter *medrese* in September 1686. He noted that "there was a great academy of science that was built of stone with a tin roof and it had a number of rooms that were right next to the above-mentioned big church (i.e. the Church of Our Lady) and that the Turks called it *medresse*. It remained intact."[42]

Unfortunately we cannot be sure but may only assume that it was this *medrese* which was referred to by 'Aṭâ'î as "new medrese". The construction of the *medrese* had been completed by the summer of 1575.[43] Since this *medrese*

[38] Rifki Melul Meriç, *Mimar Sinan. Hayatı, eserleri, metinler*. Ankara, 1965, p. 27.

[39] İstanbul, Topkapı Serayı Müzesi Arşivi D. 7000.

[40] İstanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Tapu Tahrir Defteri No. 634. p. 111. and p. 125. For the Hungarian translation see: Ágoston, G., A szolnoki szandzsák 1591—92. évi összeírása II. rész. [The 1591—92 Tax Register of the Sancak of Solnok. Part 2nd]. In: *Zounuk. A Szolnok megyei Levéltár Évkönyve* 4 (1989), pp. 224—226., 237—238.

[41] Fekete L., *op. cit.* [1944], pp. 83—84.

[42] "V'è una grande Accademia per lo studio, costrutta di pietra e coperta di piombo con molte stanze attaccate al soddetto gran tempio, detta in Turco: Medresse. Questa resta intatta." Veress, Endre, *Gróf Marsigli Alajos Ferdinand jelentései és térképei Buda-vár 1684—1686-iki ostromairól, visszafoglalásáról és helyrajzáról* [Count Alajos Ferdinand Marsigli's reports and maps about the siege and the occupation of Buda Castle in 1684—1686 and its topography]. Budapest, 1907, p. 42.

[43] Nev'î-zâde 'Aṭâ'î, *Ẕeyl-i Şaḳâ'iḳ un-Nu'mâniye*. İstanbul, 1268., p. 244. *Cf.* C. Baltacı, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

had belonged to the 50 *akçe* class in the 16th and 17th centuries,[44] Muslim scholastic theology (*kelâm*), Islamic jurisprudence (*fiḳh*) and the traditions of the Prophet (*ḥadîs̱*) must have ranked with the most important subjects among the disciplines taught here.[45] Muslim legal studies must have figured among the core subjects of the curriculum, since the *müderris* of the *medrese* was, at the same time, the highest religious officer of the Muslim population in Hungary under Ottoman rule and performed the tasks of the *müfti* of Buda.[46] Furthermore, we may assume that the students in Buda used a work entitled *al-Hidâye*, which had been written by a Hanefite legist, Marġinânî (d.593/1197), and which summarized his own legal compendia.[47] This work was used as a handbook for legal courses in several *medrese*s. Copies of this work and commentaries on it were kept in several *medrese* libraries throughout the empire.[48] The claim that this work was also known in Buda is supported by the fact that the first *müderris* of the Buda *medrese* ʿÖmer Efendi wrote a legal study, the most important source of which happened to be the al-Hidâye of Marġinânî.[49] We may thus assume that Marġnânî's work, which was considered the most comprehensive work on Islamic jurisprudence, was also taught in Buda.

As well as theological and legal studies, the students in Buda were also involved in the study of sciences, since several books related to these disciplines were available in the library of the *medrese* in the late 1600s. In addition to theological and rhetorical works and collections of poems, students could find the major geographical and astrological works in the library and even those interested in music or architecture could find books to their liking.

[44] Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Mss. Turk. O. 215. fol. 102/r. ʿAtâ'î, *op. cit.*, p. 244., C. Baltacı, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

[45] Cf. C. Baltacı, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[46] ʿAtâ'î, *op. cit.*, p. 244., C. Baltacı, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

[47] Concerning this work and the commentaries taught in Ottoman *medrese*s *Cf.* M. Bilge, *op. cit.*, pp. 48—49., I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, p. 22., pp. 29—30.

[48] As well as a 311-page copy of the *Hidâye*, a 112-page volume of the commentary (*Viḳâya*) to this work written by Ṣadr aṣ-Ṣarîʿa al-Avval (d. 13th century), and a 250-page copy of the super-commentary (*Nuḳâya*) written by Ṣadr aṣ-Ṣarîʿa a-ṣ-S̱ânî (d. 1346) can also be found in the Bayazid medrese in Edirne. *Cf.* Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV—XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*. İstanbul, 1952, pp. 44—45. (Vakıflar kısmı). Concerning the *medrese*s in Skoplje and Bitolj *cf.* Hasan Kaleši, *Najstariji vakufski dokumenti u Jugoslaviji na arabskom jeziku*. Priština, 1972, p. 106., p. 191.

[49] ʿAtâ'î mentioned (*op. cit.*, p. 244.) that ʿÖmer Ef. wrote a book entitled *Muḫtârât*. The work in question is the *Muḫtârâtu'l-fetâvî*. Its author is ʿAlî Cemâlî (d. 1525) *seyḫü'l-islâm*. (See: *Davḥatü'l-meşâyiḫ maʿa ẕeyl*, reprint, İstanbul, 1978, pp. 15—16., Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*. II. Leiden, 1949, p. 568.) The fact that ʿÖmer Ef. continued writing the book was reported by Kâtib Çelebi. (See: *Kaşfu' ẓ-ẓunûn ʿan asâmi'l-kutûb va'l-funûn*. II. İstanbul, 1362/1943, p. 1624. *cf.* also: G. Ágoston, Budin'de Osmanlı medreseleri, pp. 147—148.)

Needless to say, the works of the great figures of medical sciences, which had been highly developed in the countries of Islam for an extremely long period, were also available in the library. For example, one of the works of Galenus, the famous doctor of Pergamon (ca. 129—200) was also available in translation. Besides, the students interested in medicine could satisfy their scientific curiosity with the help of Dendani, the prominent 17th-century Ottoman scholar of medicine, who accompanied Canbulad-zâde Ḥüseyn Paşa to Hungary, and worked in Buda in 1672—1673, and was asked by his patron, Ḥüseyn Paşa, the *beylerbeyi* of Buda, to translate into Turkish Ibn Bayṭâr's book on medical botany entitled *Kitâb al-muġni fi'l-adviya al-mufrada*.[50] The materia which the students in the Buda *medrese* studied was determined by the *müderris* as well.

Unfortunately, we are familiar with only some of the *müderrises* of Sokollu Muṣṭafâ Paşa's *medrese* in Buda castle. I have already mentioned ʿÖmer Efendi, the first *müderris* of the *medrese*. He came from Konya and after he had finished his studies, he first taught in lower ranking *medrese*s. Then, in 1570 he became *müderris* in Silivri, in Piri Paşa's *medrese*. He worked there for more than three years for 40 *akçe*s per day. In 1574 he was appointed the teacher of the ʿAtîḳ Ibrâhîm Paşa *medrese* in Istanbul and was paid 50 *akçe*s per day. When Sokollu Muṣṭafâ's *medrese* in Buda was ready, he was appointed *müderris* of this school. He performed his duties here for two years until his death.[51] We have already mentioned that ʿÖmer Efendi, in a similar fashion to later *müderrises*, also held the office of the *müfti* of Buda. Legal disputes that could not be decided upon by the *ḳâżî*s could be referred to the *müfti*, who gave a legal opinion in a written form, i.e. *fetvâ*. In spite of the fact that

[50] On the basis of Marsigli's description that was entitled "Indice dalla maggior parte della Biblioteca di . . . Effendi Mufti di Buda" it was described by Kálmán Thaly. (A budai mufti könyvtára az 1684. és 1686. években [The library of the Mufti of Buda in the years 1684 and 1686]. *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1896, pp. 338—340.) Unfortunately Endre Veress failed to find the original document in Bologna in the early 1900s. There is only a faint hope that one day it may turn up and then we may have a more accurate knowledge of the books in the library. Especially, it is science books that would be of great importance, since they could be compared with the works taught in European schools. For example, we are aware of the fact that the works of Ibn Sina and Ar-Razi, the Latin translations of which were published in Europe in several editions and which we often come across in the statutes of European universities (see: Manfred Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine*. Edinburgh. 1978, p. 46., Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*. Vol. I. Oxford, 1895, p. 247., p. 430. Vol. II/1. pp. 123—124., Vol. II/2. p. 524., Joseph Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität*. Wien, 1865, p. 320.), were also available in the libraries of smaller medreses. Concerning Dendani see: *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*. Bd. XIII. 4, Manfred Götz *Türkische Handschriften*. Wiesbaden, 1979, pp. 382—383. *cf.* also G. Ágoston, Budin'de Osmanlı medreseleri, pp. 146—147.

[51] ʿAtâ'î, *op. cit.*, p. 244., C. Baltacı, *op. cit.*, pp. 322—323.

it was not mandatory to follow the *müfti*'s *fetvâ*, frequently it was his opinion that decided the case. Since *fetvâs* covered every conceivable aspect of human life from minor cases of family law or criminal law through the results of a witch's evil glance or issues related to entertainment or problems concerning the Muslims' ritual prayer, the composition of *fetvâs* called for thorough knowledge of the works of the outstanding figures of Muslim law as well as familiarity with various collections of *fetvâs*. ʿÖmer Efendi lived up to these requirements. Unfortunately we have scarce data concerning the literary achievements of later *müderrises*.

All that ʿAṭâ'î noted about Turâbî-zâde Meḥmed Efendi, the *müderris* who succeeded ʿÖmer Efendi and who also came from Karamania, was that he was a man of science. He held the office of the *müderris* of the Buda *medrese* until his death in 1582.[52] We have hardly any information relating to Hâccî Ibrâhîm Efendi, who was *müderris* and *müfti* in Buda for a long time in the late 1500s[53] nor do we know much about Sinân Efendi, who had both titles in 1590.[54] Ibrâhim al-Aḳḥiṣârî, *müfti* of Buda also must have been well-versed in Muslim law, since his *fetvâs* that have come down to us are quite numerous.[55] In spite of the fact that the manuscript collections of his *fetvâs* were selected on a random basis, their study may offer valuable pieces of information about the legal knowledge of a Muslim intellectual in Hungary. Furthermore, such scholarly work may also facilitate the better understanding of the everyday life of Muslims and Christians in Hungary.

The doctors of Muslim law in Buda also acquainted themselves with the minor legal issues of the conquered people. Thus, they became well-versed in the law of a foreign country and in the local legal procedures that were very much different from those of other regions of the empire. In addition to their knowledge of the local military and political situation, their familarity with the legal affairs of this country must have been the reason why the leaders of the Ottoman empire regularly drew on their services during diplomatic negotiations. ʿÎsâ, *müfti* of Buda, was twice a member of the Ottoman delegation that conducted successful negotiations with the representatives of Ferdinand II, first in May 1625 in Gyarmat and then in September 1627 in Szőny.[56] As a result of these negotiations, the Habsburg-Ottoman peace treaty of 1606 was prolonged for another 25 years in 1627.

[52] ʿAtâ'î, *op. cit.*, p. 273., C. Baltacı, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

[53] C. Baltacı, *op. cit.*, p. 323

[54] L. Fekete, *op. cit.*, [1944] pp. 183—184.

[55] Gustav Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien.* Bd. 3. Wien 1867, p. 247.

[56] Gévay Antal, *Az 1627-dik évi september 13-dikán költ Szőnyi békekötés czikkelyei deákul, magyarul és törökül* [The articles of the Szőny Peace treaty of September 13, 1627 in Latin, Hungarian and Turkish]. Bécs, 1837.

ʿÎsâ Efendi had a leading position in the Ottoman delegation. In spite of the fact that Murteżâ, Paşa of Buda, "the serdar of the army" was appointed to the rank of head of the delegation, in his absence the other delegates were authorized to conduct the negotiations. It cannot be mere coincidence that the text of the peace treaty, which was in strict compliance with the protocol, mentions ʿÎsâ Efendi first among the members of the delegation.[57] This can obviously be put down to his knowledge of law, since he was the only member of the Ottoman delegation who had such qualifications. This Ottoman jurist who was of Bosnian origin, is of particular interest for us because, to the best of our knowledge, his career soared the highest among the *müderrises* and *müftis* of Buda.[58] Having arrived in Istanbul with the envoys of Ferdinand II, he was appointed *ḳâżî* of Belgrad with the *pâye* of Selanik.[59] In the month of Ẕîl-Ḥicce 1040 (July 1631) he was appointed *ḳâżî* of Ebû Eyyûb Anṣârî a suburb of Istanbul. He became *maʿzûl* "out of office" in the month of Rebiʿ I 1042 (September—October 1632). However, his appointed successor, Ṣari ʿAbdullâh Efendi refused to accept ʿÎsâ Efendi's former offices and ʿÎsâ Efendi remained in his position until the month of Ramażân (March 1633). Then he was compelled to resign his post and was replaced by Meḥmed Efendi, who was also of Bosnian origin. In the month of Ṣafer 1044 (July—August 1634) he was appointed to the rank of one of the most important *ḳâżî*s of the empire, and became *ḳâżî* of the former capital, Bursa. In spite of the fact that he became *maʿzûl* in the month of Ṣafer 1046 (June 1636), soon afterwards, in the month of Ẕî'l-Ḳaʿde or Ẕî'l-Ḥicce (March—April or April—May 1637) he was appointed *ḳâżî* of Istanbul and in terms of rank it was only the *ḳâżîʿaskers* of Anatolia and Rumelia and the *şeyḫü'l-islâm* who preceded him.[60] In the meantime the enemies of the *ḳâżîʿasker* of Anatolia capitalized on one of his mistakes and caused his dismissal from office. On the recommendation of Rûznâmçeci Ibrâhîm, a Bosnian who had great influence over the young Sultan, the empty office was given to ʿÎsâ Efendi in the month of Muḥarrem 1048 (May—June 1638).[61] However, this was not the peak of ʿÎsâ Efendi's career. In the month of Rebîʿ I 1049 (July 1639) he was appointed *ḳâżîʿasker* of Rumelia and occupied the office of Ebü's-Süʿûd-zâde Meḥmed Efendi, who had died in Diyarbekir.[62]

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 3., p. 11. and the Turkish version p. 3.

[58] Meḥmed Şeyḫî Ef. mistakenly says that ʿÎsâ Ef. was *ḳâżî* of Budin (Buda). A. Uğur, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 56., *ʿUšâqîzâde's Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrte und Gottesmanner der Osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert* (*Ẕeyl-i Šaqâ'iq*), Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von H. J. Kissling, Wiesbaden, 1965, p. 80.

[60] A. Uğur, pp. 56—57.

[61] A. Uğur, p. 57., ʿUšâqîzâde, p. 80.

[62] *Ibid.* and Târîḫ-i Naʿîmâ. Ravżatü'l-Ḥüseyn fî Ḫulâṣati Aḫbâri'l-Ḫâfıḳayn. Vol. III. p. 331.

The onetime *müfti* of Buda achieved the highest position that was available to him. He had hardly anyone above him in terms of rank and authority, while he was in charge of hundreds of *ḳâżî*s and *müderrise*s. However, he was not permitted to hold his office for long. He was sent into retirement in the month of Muḥarrem 1050 (April—May 1640) and the *ḳażâ* of Geliboli was given to him as *arpalıḳ* "pension".[63] Less than half a year after his retirement the onetime *müfti* and *müderris* of Buda passed away.[64] *Müderrise*s who followed in his footsteps taught the children of Muslims in Hungary until the end of Ottoman rule and catered to the spiritual and cultural needs of local Muslims. The members of various *dervîş*-orders assisted them in their endeavors.

The *dervîş* orders and their *tekke*s in Hungary

Members of Muslim society who were not satisfied with the orthodox branch's view of life, the puritan services conducted in the *câmi*'s and the scholastic approach of the teachers in *medrese*s, wore outfits made of rough sackcloth (*ṣûf*), spent their lives in voluntary isolation far away from the lively world of oriental cities in their quiet *tekke*s and endeavored to achieve spiritual perfection through religious meditation (*murâḳaba*). These ascetics, whose gaze was focused on a faraway dreamland, were named *ṣûfî* after their plain clothes, and the religious and philosophical movement they founded was called sufism. Each of them claimed to have his own individual means of achieving the final objective of unification with God. In the terminology of Islamic mysticism the means of attaining the utmost aim of a *ṣûfî* is denoted by the Arabic word *ṭarîḳa*. The various mystical denominations that were referred to in Europe as *dervîş*-orders were called *ṭarîḳat*s by the Ottomans after the Arabic word that stood for 'the means of attaining a *ṣûfî*'s utmost aim'.

The *dervîş*es who lived in the part of Hungary under Ottoman rule belonged to the best known and the most important *ṭarîḳat*s in the empire. Although our sources refer to several *tekke*s in Hungary, in the majority of the cases not even the name of the *dervîş*-order to which they belonged has been established. In the present study I will direct my remarks toward three *tekke*s that were not only the most significant Hungarian centers of 3 different *dervîş*-order, but each of them also had a great influence on the Muslim cultural life of a small region.

Buda, the center of the Ottoman province of Hungary, was one of the most outstanding Muslim cultural enclaves. It was the Bektâşî *dervîş*es who

[63] ʿUšâqîzâde, pp. 80—81., A. Uğur, p. 57.
[64] *Ibid.*

assumed the greatest importance in Buda.[65] We are familiar with two of their *tekke*s. The Ḫiżir Baba *tekke* accommodated 15 *dervîş*es in the second half of the 17th century while 60 Bektâşî *dervîş*es used the Gül Baba *tekke*.[66]

The Gül Baba *tekke* was founded by Meḥmed Paşa, the *beylerbeyi* of Buda between 1543 and 1548. The revenue that ensured the continuous operation the *tekke* was derived from the income of various real estate holdings that had belonged to the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages. Besides, the whole village of Solymár was in the possession of the *tekke*. Furthermore, the *şeyḫ* of the *tekke* received a regular salary from the state budget. As well as promoting local Muslim religious life and culture, the *dervîş*es who lived here also participated in assisting needy visitors in Buda by supplying them with free accommodation and free food. The mausoleum (*türbe*) next to the tekke, also erected by Meḥmed Paşa, was a famous site of pilgrimage that was visited by Muslim travellers even after the decline of Ottoman rule in Hungary.[67] Visitors paid tribute to the memory of Gül Baba by reciting a short prayer and several pilgrims wrote poems in the honor of the holy man. Besides Evliyâ Çelebi's well-known poems we may mention the poem by Hisali of Buda as well.[68]

Another prominent Muslim religious center in Hungary under Ottoman rule was the *türbe* of Sultan Süleymân in the vicinity of Szigetvár.

This *türbe* commanded special importance since it is the tomb where the heart, the liver and some other organs of Sultan Süleyman, who died during the siege of Szigetvár, were buried. The tomb erected over the burial site was regarded as a holy place, an object of pilgrimage during the period of Ottoman rule. With the passage of time Süleymân's *türbe*, as well as the mosque and the *zâviye* that were built next to it, developed into the religious and cultural center of the region. An order of March 9, 1576 sent to the beg and the *ḳâżî* of Szigetvár testifies to the fact that the mosque and the *zâviye* that accommodated *dervîş*es had been built recently, since the compound is here described as being "newly built".[69] Another order of similar date was addressed to Sokollu Muṣṭafâ, the *paşa* of Buda, and reveals further valuable information pertaining to these religious buildings. The order described the compound as being protected by a small fort, i.e. a *palanḳa*. In his letter addressed to the government, ʿAlî, the *sancâḳbeyi* of Szigetvár requested that 50 people should be detailed for the defence of this small fort. Since it would have been a costly venture, the government decided that the *sancâḳbeyi* should assign the appropriate

[65] Concerning the *Becktâşî* order, see: J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London, 1937.

[66] Veress, E., *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[67] L. Fekete, Gül-Baba et le Bektāšī derk'āh de Buda: *Acta Orient. Hung.* IV. (1951), pp. 1—17.

[68] Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭâhir, *ʿOṡmânlı Mü'ellifleri*, II. İstanbul, 1333/1915. p. 165.

[69] İstanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme defterleri Vol. 27. p. 354.

number of soldiers from the outer defences of Szigetvár itself to the *palanḳa* defending Süleymân's *türbe*.[70] Our sources suggest that the number of defenders detailed to the *palanḳa* remained between 50 and 60 even in later days. According to a *neferât defteri* of the *eyâlet* of Kanija drawn up in late January or early February 1620, the *türbe* was defended by 26 *müstaḥfiẓes* as well as 37 soldiers referred to as *ʿazabs*. The daily pay of the 26 *müstaḥfiẓes* was 224 *akçes* in total, while the 37 *ʿazabs* were paid a daily sum of 267 *akçes*.[71] Thus, the pay of all soldiers detailed to the defence of Suleymân's *türbe* totalled 173,814 *akçes* a year.

In order to facilitate the assessment of the financial burdens imposed by the defence of Sultan Süleymân's *türbe*, I quote figures pertaining to Pécs, a neighbouring settlement where the annual revenue from *cizye* taxes was a mere 10,000 *akçes* in the year 1565.[72] The 55 *akçe* salary of the 6-member staff of the *türbe* was only nominal as compared to the pay of the soldiers. Memi Dede, the *vâʿiẓ*, received *15 akçes*, the highest daily pay among the members of the staff. The daily pay of the two *türbedârs*, Aḥmed Ḫalîfe and Memi Ḫalîfe taken together hardly exceeded the pay of the *vâʿiẓ*: Aḥmed Ḫalîfe received 9 *akçes* and Memi Ḫalîfe was paid 7 *akçes* for their services rendered in the *türbe*.[73] No matter how much they were paid, they must have liked their service in a holy place where one of the most famous Balkan *şeyḫs* of the 16th century, the Bosnian ʿAlî Dede, had once worked. His memory must have been cherished by older members of the staff, since he had been buried in Szigetvár only 20 years before.

In compliance with Islamic customs, ʿAli Dede's full name furnished detailed information about him. The name Şeyḫ ʿAlâuddin ʿAlî b. Muṣṭafâ al-Bosnavî al-Mostarî as-Sigetvârî reveals that its bearer was born in the town of Mostar in Bosnia and spent some time in Szigetvár as well. It was this latter town that he came to like the best. ʿAli Dede often signed his works by including his *nisba* as-Sigetvâri. He was commonly referred to by his contemporaries as well as people of later years as *şeyḫü't-türbe'*, i.e. the *şeyḫ* of Sultan Süleymân's *türbe* in Szigetvár.[74] The fact that ʿAlî Dede, who had visited Mekka and several cultural centers of the Ottoman empire, came to like Szigetvár so much must have been facilitated by his *mürşid* ('spiritual teacher') as well. It is worthy of mention that he had been educated by and had received

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 340.

[71] İstanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliyeden Müdevver No. 4177. pp. 55—56.

[72] Káldy-Nagy, Gyula, *Baranya megye XVI. századi török adóösszeírásai* [16th century Turkish Tax Registers of Baranya County], Budapest, 1960, p. 14.

[73] İstanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliyeden Müdevver No. 4177. p. 55.

[74] Concerning his life see Safvet Beg Bašagić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti*, Sarajevo, 1912. pp. 33—39., Hazim Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana Bosna i Hercegovine na orientalnim jezicima*. Sarajevo, 1973, pp. 96—101.

his *icâze* from Nûreddîn-zâde Muṣliḥeddîn Muṣṭafâ, the Ḫalvetîye-*şeyḫ*, who accompanied Sultan Süleymân on his last campaign to Szigetvár.[75] ʿAlî Dede might have followed in his footsteps when he took up residence in this town in the southern part of the Transdanubian region. We are sure that in 1589/1590 he served in Szigetvár as *türbedâr* and as the *şeyḫ* of the local *ḫânḳâh*. It was in this period that he wrote one of his greatest works, a historical study entitled *Muḥâżarât al-avâi'l va musâmarat al-avâḫir* "The story of the initial events and a discourse about the final ones". In Part I, which is divided into 37 chapters, the author discusses events that took place in the early days of the world. Part II consists of four chapters that deal with various empires and rulers. The popularity of ʿAlî Dede's work both in his own time and later is attested by the fact that several manuscripts of the original work have been preserved and as late as 1882/83 and 1893 his work was deemed worthy of being published in Egypt.[76] However, it was never forgotten in Szigetvár either. A copy prepared by a certain ʿAlâuddîn b. Ḥuram as-Ṣûfî in Sultan Süleymân's *türbe* in Szigetvár in 1610 on the basis of the authentic manuscript is at present in the possession of the Sarajevo Gazi Husrev Beg Library.[77] The name of the copyist alone does not reveal to us which *ṭarîḳat* ʿAlâuddîn belonged to. He might have been a Ḫalvetî *dervîş* himself, just like ʿAlî Dede, the author of the work under consideration.[78]

One of the most distinguished works of ʿAlî Dede reflects the main tenets of Islamic mysticism. His study entitled *'Ḫavâtim al-ḥikam va ḥall ar-rumûz va ḳaşf al-kunûz'* "The seals of wisdom, the deciphering of words of hidden meanings as well as the discovery of hidden treasures" consists of 360 questions and the appropriate answers. Among a number of themes the questions and the answers deal with subjects like the Ḳur'ân, the life and the acts of the Prophet Muḥammad, the creation of the world, Heaven and Hell the sky and the planets, Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Jesus and the Virgin Mary, the ritual prayer of the Muslims, the Fast, alms, wars, adultery, the Ramażân, as well as the importance of Friday, etc. Contrary to the claims of M. Tahir and M. Handžić it was pointed out in the preface by the author

[75] Concerning his life see ʿAtâ'î, *op. cit.*, pp. 212–214.

[76] H. Šabanović, *op. cit.* p. 99.

[77] K. Dobrača, *op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 524.

[78] Concerning the Ḫalveti order of *dervîş*es see H. J. Kissling, Aus der Geschichte des Chalwetiyye-Ordens. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, CII (1953), pp. 233–289., B. G. Martin, A Short History of the Khalwati Order of Dervishes In: *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis. Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500.* (ed.), N. R. Keddie, Berkley–Los Angeles–London, 1972, pp. 275–305. Members of this order must have been settled in other towns of Hungary. For example we are aware of the presence of a Ḫalveti *dervîş* in Székesfehérvár as well. His name was Pervane Dede. (*Cf.* Džemal Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi u jugoslovenskim zemljama sa posebnim osvrtom na Bosnu i Hercegovinu.* Sarajevo, 1986, p. 105.)

himself that the work was written by ʿAlî Dede in 1000 = 1591/1592 in the *türbe* of Sultan Süleymân in Szigetvár.[79]

The continuing relevance and popularity of this work of ʿAlî Dede is proven by the fact that the 1896 Arabic language edition was followed by its publication in Turkish translation in 1985.[80] A surviving copy suggests that it was read in the region in the period of Ottoman rule as well. In 1684 the original owner of the manuscript today preserved in the Antalya Library, Meḥmed Efendi, was the *ḳâżî* of Bács, which belonged to the Szeged *sancâḳ*. As well as the *ḳâżî*, the *imâm* of the Ulu-*câmiʿ* was the proud owner of another copy. Furthermore, there was another copy in the possession of a certain Nedayî Çelebi in Mitrovica. As is revealed by a note in the Antalya manuscript, besides reading the fascinating book, the *ḳâżî* of Bács endeavoured to compare his copy with the other two manuscripts mentioned above and he corrected mistakes made by copyists.[81] ʿAli Dede was not only appreciated by his contemporaries, but his memory was also cherished by people in later days. Furthermore, his works that were published in Arabic, especially those in print, influenced not only intellectuals in lands under Ottoman rule but were also widely read all over the Islamic world. The *şeyḫ*, who had once visited the great cities of the empire, was not attracted by lively cities in his twilight years any more. In his last will he asked to be buried in the border fortress of Szigetvár next to the grave of Ḳâsim *şeyḫ*, a holy man who had died during the siege of Szigetvár. When he passed away in 1598 in the vicinity of Gyula while he was at prayer, after a solemn ceremony his body was taken to Szigetvár and was properly buried there in accordance with his wishes.[82]

As well as the Ḫalveti *dervîş*es, members of the Naḳşbendî order also visited Szigetvár. In 1613 Mîrek Muḥammed Naḳşbendî-i Ṭaşkendî spent some time in Szigetvár. It was in Süleymân's *türbe* in Szigetvár that he wrote his work entitled *Şehri ve Güli*, in which he interpreted and discussed some obscure poems written by past and contemporary Persian poets. His work must also have been extremely popular, since it was passed down to later generations in several manuscripts.[83] He must have been well-known in the period of Ottoman rule in Hungary as well. It is worthy of mention that Miri (Huseyn Bey, Alaybeyi-zâde), the outstanding Ottoman poet of the 17th century, who was born

[79] H. Šabanović, *op. cit.*, pp. 99—100.

[80] Bosnalı Şeyh Ali Dede, *İslâmda hikmetler ve illetler*. İstanbul, 1985.

[81] *Türkiye Yazmaları Toplu Kataloğu* (henceforth TÜYATOK), 07, Antalya, İstanbul, 1982, p. 88.

[82] *Târiḫ-i Peçevî* Vol. II. İstanbul, 1283/1866., p. 219.

[83] TÜYATOK, *İstanbul Süleymaniye Yazmaları Merkezi, Ali Nihat Tarlan Dermesi*, Ankara, 1981, p. 113., M. Götz, *op. cit.*, pp. 424—425., F. Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmaları Kataloğu* II. İstanbul, 1961, pp. 71—72.

in Buda and died in 1690, incorporated a work written in Sarajevo in 1611 by Mîrek Naḳşbendi into one of his own works.[84]

Another center of Muslim culture in Hungary under Ottoman rule was the *mevlevî-ḫâne* of Pécs which was first mentioned in the mid-1600s.[85] Referring to a document, Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı wrote that the *mevlevî-ḫâne* had been founded by Gâzî Ḥasan Paşa in 1665.[86] Unfortunately, I failed to find an order to this effect during my studies in the archives of Istanbul. However, data found elsewhere suggest that such information must be erroneous, for during his visit two years before, Evliyâ Çelebi had seen the *mevlevî-ḫâne* and described it in detail.[87]

Thus, no conclusive proof has been found yet as to when the Pécs *mevlevî-ḫâne* was founded. We have reliable data only from the second half of the 17th century. The *mevlevî-ḫâne* that had been thriving during Evliyâ Çelebi's visit, in June 1668 was taken by force from the *dervîş*es by a certain person named Ḫalîl. Consequently, the *dervîş*es scattered. However, Ḥasan Paşa's son, Ḥaccî Memi took the Pécs *mevlevî-ḫâne* back from Ḫalîl, who had abused his power. In October 1680 Ḥâccî Memi requested that Maḥmûd Dede be appointed as the head of the Pécs *mevlevî-ḫâne*.[88] Soon after this *dervîş*es resumed their thriving religious life in the Pécs *mevlevî-ḫâne* under the leadership of Peçevî ʿÂrifî Aḥmed Dede.

Aḥmed Dede was one of the most noteworthy Mevlevî *şeyḫ*s of this region. In spite of the fact that one of our sources endeavoured to substantiate the importance of this *şeyḫ* by referring to his ancestors' noble descent and claiming that Muṣṭafâ Efendi, Aḥmed Dede's father was a descendant of the Ḳalavûniyya family, the onetime rulers of Egypt,[89] no reference to this can be found either in the work of Esrar Dede, who compiled the biographies of Mevlevî poets, or in any other source.[90] However, we are aware of the fact that Aḥmed Dede's father himself was a *şeyḫ* and belonged to the Gülşenî order.[91] Since our sources suggest that Aḥmed Dede was born in Pécs and spent

[84] Josef Blašković, *Arabische, türkische und persische Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek in Bratislava*. Bratislava, 1961, p. 365.

[85] Concerning the *mevlevî-ḫâne* in Pécs see: Gábor Ágoston, 16–17. Asırlarda Macaristan'da Tasavvuf ve Mevlevilik. In: *First International Mevlana Congress, Papers*, Konya, 1988, pp. 221–231.

[86] Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*. İstanbul, 1983, p. 247.

[87] Evliyâ Çelebi, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

[88] A. Gölpınarlı, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

[89] *Teẕkere-i Riyâżî, Ẕeyl*, Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Mss. Turk., O. 238. fol. 108/v.

[90] *Teẕkere-i Şuʿarâ al-Esrâr Dede*, Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Mss. Turk., Qu. 42. fol. 97/r–v.

[91] *Teẕkere-i Ṣâlim*, İstanbul, 1315/1897, p. 447.

his youth in this town, his father must have been the *şeyḫ* of one of the local *zâviye*s. Aḥmed Dede was trained both by his father and by Ḥâfiẓ Meḥmed Dede, the *şeyḫ* of the Pécs *mevlevî-ḫâne*.[92] Obviously, he was strongly influenced by Meḥmed Dede, since he absorbed the teachings of Mevlânâ, adopted the approach of the Mevlevî *dervîş*es and decided to continue his studies in the *âsitâne* of the Mevlevî *dervîş*es in Konya. Having graduated after extensive studies he obtained his licence to become the head of a *zâviye*. Later on he returned to his homeland and followed in the footsteps of his onetime master and became the *şeyḫ* of the Pécs *mevlevî-ḫâne*.[93] He continued to work here until the approaching war disturbed the peaceful life of the *dervîş*es. Three months prior to the recapture of Pécs, i.e. in July 1686 he left the *zâviye* for Filibe, where he became the *şeyḫ* of a *zâviye* of the same rank.[94] He went on to the capital city of the empire, where he became the eighth *şeyḫ* of the famous Yeniḳapı *mevlevî-ḫâne*. He worked here until his death in 1724.[95] The former *şeyḫ* of Pécs must have enjoyed his stay in the cultural center of the empire. He enthusiastically participated in the intellectual life, he frequented Ḫalîl Aga's home, which was next to the *mevlevî-ḫâne* and attracted several outstanding figures of the contemporary intellectual and religious life.[96] In his spare time he lectured, read extensively, translated religious literature and was busy writing his own works. One of his foremost achievements was the translation into the Turkish language of the work of ʿAbdülġanî an-Nâblusî, an outstanding figure of contemporary Islamic mysticism (d. 1731), about prayer, the recitation of the Ḳur'ân, the traditions of the Prophet, *mevlevî* religious services (*semâʿ*) and the famous mystic poems (*Meṯnevî*) of the founder of the order.[97] We can see that, similar to his compatriot Ibrâhîm Peçevî, who was much more widely known in Europe,[98] Aḥmed Dede assumed the rank of a prominent figure in contemporary Ottoman culture.

Persian was spoken by more people in the southern and central areas of Hungary under Ottoman rule than in any other parts of the country. We assume that this can be attributed to the work of *mevlevî*s, who had been active

[92] *Teẕkere-i Şuʿarâ al-Esrâr Dede, op. cit.*, fol. 97/r.

[93] *Ibid.*, *cf. Teẕkere-i Sâlim, op. cit.*, p. 447.

[94] *Teẕkere-i Riyâżî, op. cit.*, fol. 108/v.

[95] Zakir Şükri Efendi, *Die Istanbuler Derwischkonvente und ihre Scheiche* (*Mecmuʿa-i Tekaya*), Nach dem Typoskript von Mehmed Serhan Tayşi hrsg. von Klaus Kreiser, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1980, p. 31.

[96] A. Gölpınarlı, *Melamilik ve Melâmiler*. İstanbul, 1931, p. 175.

[97] A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra*, p. 194.

[98] Concerning his life and work see: Thúry József, Pecsevi viszonya a magyar történetíráshoz [Pecsevi's approach to Hungarian historiography]. *Századok* 1892, pp. 395–410, 476–488, 560–579, 658–677, 740–746, Şerafeddin Turan, Peçevi, *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 9. İstanbul, 1964, pp. 543–535.

in this region before as well. Among the local Muslim population we may point to ʿAlî b. Muṣṭafâ, a *sipâhî* who spoke Persian. In 1576, in his home in Koppány, he spent his spare time copying comments made by Ẓarîfî Ḥasan Çelebî (d. 1603) to Mevlânâ's famous mystic poem entitled *Meṣnevî*. Another of the Pécs copyists was Müftüzâde ʿAbdülkerîm Şeyḫ Ṣâliḥ. In 1627 he copied more than 10 works that dealt with the issues of Islamic mysticism.[100]

Even Evliyâ Çelebi emphasized that all the Ottoman residents of the Pécs region were "of the true faith and most of them read in Persian". Furthermore, he gave account of the fact that local Ottomans were familiar with several masterpieces of 12th and 14th century poetry written in the Persian language and they frequently read them.[101] Even some Hungarians might have been familiar with these works that were handed down to them by local Ottomans about whom Evlyâ Çelebi remarked that "they spoke excellent Hungarian". However, the tenets of Islamic mysticism might have entered Hungarian culture via other sources. In László Szörényi's view Bálint Balassi, the outstanding 16th century Hungarian Renaissance poet was well-versed in Turkish–Persian mystic poetry and his poem entitled "Some Turkish poems . . ." is, in truth and in fact, an attempt to transplant the mystic view of the world into Hungarian poetry.[102] Generations after Balassi's time could learn about the main tenets of the Muslim faith as well as those of Islamic mysticism from one of the best trained experts, Yazicizâde Aḥmed Bîcân (died after 1465), since the Hungarian translation of his famous work entitled *Anvâr al-ʿâṣiḳîn* was prepared by János Házi and was printed in 1626 in Kassa.[103]

No matter how strange it may seem that a Muslim theological treatise was translated into the mother tongue of a nation that took pride in being the bastion of the Christian faith, it is not much of a surprise if we bear in mind that the translation was prepared in the Transylvanian Principality of Gábor Bethlen, who was famous for his religious tolerance. The translator was Prince Bethlen's "Turkish scribe". As he himself pointed out in the foreword, in preparing the translation he was not guided by his desire "to weaken the firm disposition of self-respecting Christians and to distance them from the

[99] K. Dobrača, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. pp. 515–516.

[100] *TÜYATOK, Giresun, Ordu, Rize.* Ankara, 1980. No. 368., 369., 374., 375., 376., 378., 380., 381., 382., 396.

[101] Evliyâ Çelebi, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

[102] Szörényi László, Valahány török bejt . . . [Some Turkish poems . . .]. *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 1976. pp. 706–713., *cf.*, Julius Németh, Die türkischen Texte des Valentin Balassa, *Acta Orient. Hung.*, (1952), pp. 23–61., idem., Türkische Balassa-Texte in Karagöz-Spielen, *Acta Orient. Hung.* (1955), pp. 175–180.

[103] Machumet Propheta VALLASAN levo egy fo iras tûdo Doctornac irásából Torokbol Magyarrá forditatot Konyw, mellyet ENVARUL ASIKINnac hinac. HAZI IANOS által. CASSAN, 1626.

teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ". Instead of this, his chief objective was "to show the wise the light of righteousness so that they can differentiate it from the dark abyss of false teachings."[104] Furthermore, it is also characteristic that János Házi's translation was not prepared in the part of Hungary under Ottoman rule but in Transylvania, which was a vassal principality of the Ottoman empire, where Ottoman rule and Muslim culture seemed to be less threatening. János Házi's translation is an important source of the intermingling of Muslim and Christian cultures and is a pregnant example of the weak cultural influence exerted by the declining Ottoman rule.

Due to reasons outlined in the beginning of the present study *dervîş*es could not have been successful in their endeavours aimed at the diffusion of Muslim culture in Hungary. However, they played a key role in keeping the culture of the relatively small and isolated Muslim population in Hungary alive. We are confident that they carried out their mission in this field with good results.

Finally, may I underline the fact that in contrast to views about the insignificance of Muslim culture in Hungary as put forward in the related literature, several *müderris*es of the Muṣṭafâ Paşa *medrese* in Buda as well as several *şeyḫ*s who worked in Hungary succeeded in rising above the provincialism of local scholarship and surpassed the local character of the culture of this faraway region. Some of them later attained significant posts throughout the empire and contributed lasting masterpieces to the universal Muslim culture.

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

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GEDANKEN ZUR ERFORSCHUNG DER WORTBILDUNGSELEMENTE IM TÜRKISCHEN*

Á. BERTA

Jean Deny hat vor siebzig Jahren in seiner berühmten Grammatik des Türkeitürkischen[1] insgesamt[2] 16 Beispiele für das Suffixpaar *-man/-men* angeführt. Er hat das erwähnte Suffix für augmentativ gehalten und u. a. darauf hingewiesen, daß das behandelte Suffix nicht nur im Türkeitürkischen, sondern auch in den sonstigen Türksprachen ziemlich spärlich belegt ist.[3] Obwohl die von Deny zusammengestellten Musterbelege in den verschiedenen beschreibenden Grammatiken des Türkeitürkischen in einer kaum geänderten Zusammenstellung immer wieder auftauchen, ist es an dieser Stelle nicht nutzlos, alle von ihm angeführten Angaben der Reihe nach zu zitieren:[4]

1. *kocaman* 'énorme' — vgl. *koca* 'vieux, grand'
2. *karaman* 'très brun'[5] — vgl. *kara* 'noir'

* Vortrag am Türkisch-Deutschen Sprachwissenschaftlichen Symposium, Hamburg, am 7. Dezember 1991.

[1] *Grammaire de la langue turque* (dialecte osmanlı) Bibliothèque de l'École des langues orientales vivantes. Tome cinquième. Paris 1921. S. 326—327. (Reprintausgabe: Niederwalluf 1971)

[2] Bei der Behandlung des Suffixpaars *-man/-men* führt Deny am Anfang lediglich 7 denominale Ableitungen an. (Ob alle 7 Wörter tatsächlich denominale Ableitungen sind, kann in einigen Fällen bezweifelt werden.) Die weiteren neun Belege sind dann als Ergänzung zu dem kleinen Korpus der Wörter mit *-man* bzw. *-men* hinzugefügt.

[3] Er erwähnt zwei Angaben aus dem Tschagataischen (*ağırman* 'lent', *čüjümen* 'douceâtre'). Ferner vermutet er, daß das untersuchte *-man/-men* Suffix als Bestandteil des zusammengesetzten *-sïman/-simen* Suffixes im Kasanischen und Altaischen aufzufinden sei.

[4] In einigen Fällen füge ich zu den bei Deny angegebenen Bedeutungen kleinere Ergänzungen aufgrund des Wörterbuchs von K. Steuerwald (*Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Wiesbaden 1972) und *Türkçe Sözlük* im Fußnotenapparat hinzu. Dies geschieht allerdings nur dort, wo die Bedeutungsangabe bei Deny entweder irreführend ist oder fehlt.

[5] 1.'n. pr. Stadt u. gln. D. im Rbz. Konya'; 2. (~*koyunu*) 'Karaman-Schaf (mit großem Fettschwanz und stark riechendem Fleisch)'; 3. (vulgär) 'große, dicke Frau mit dunklem Teint' (Steuerwald). (Hier haben wir eigtl. einen geographischen Namen (1.) und ein substantiviertes Adjektiv (2.) vor uns, das nicht unbedingt zu dem geographischen Namen gehört. Aufgrund der semantischen Analogie von *kara yüzlü* können wir eventuell im Falle der 3. Bedeutung auf eine Zusammensetzung **kara bäñ* denken.)

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3. *türkmen* 'Turcoman' — vgl. *türk* 'Turc'
4. *kölemen* 'Mamelouk' — vgl. *köle* 'esclave'
5. *şişman* 'obèse' — vgl. *şiş* 'enflé, enflure'
6. *kösemen* 'le bouc, le bélier'[6] — vgl. *köse* 'qui a les poils de la barbe rare, qui porte une barbiche'
7. *değirmen* 'moulin' — vgl. tschag. *tekir* (sic !) 'rond'
8. *delişmen* 'folâtre' — vgl. *deli* 'fou'
9. *Dikmen* und 10. *Çölmen* Bergnamen auf dem Balkan[7]
11. *azman*[8]
12. *sarman*[9]
13. *kodaman*[10]
14. *talaşman*[11]
15. *türemen* (*toraman*)[12]
16. *sağman* (*sağmal*)[13]

[6] 1. 'Leithammel, -tier (z. B. Ziegenbock)'; 2. 'zum Kampf abgerichteter starker Widder od. Ziegenbock'; 3. fig. 'mutig, unerschrocken'; vgl. dial. 1. 'sürünün önünden giderek ona kılavuzluk eden koç veya teke'; 2. 'dövüşken iri koç veya teke'; 3. 'yol gösteren kılavuz'; *köse* (far = pers.) 'bıyığı, sakalı çıkmayan (erkek)' (TS).

[7] Deny gibt im Falle der beiden geographischen Namen keine etymologische Erklärung. Er hat aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die türkischen Wörter *dik* 'steil, abschüssig, aufrecht, gerade' und *çöl* '(Sand-)Wüste, Wüstenland, Wüstenei' als mögliche Wurzeln für die beiden Bergnamen in Betracht gezogen. Die semantische Seite der Etymologie des Namens *Çölmen* scheint nicht überzeugend zu sein. Was die Wortform *Dikmen* anbelangt, sei hier erwähnt, daß sie nicht nur als geographischer Name, sondern auch als ein dialektales Wort in der Bedeutung 'kegelförmiger Hügel' in Steuerwalds Wörterbuch vorkommt; vgl. *dikmen* 'koni biçiminde tepe' (TS).

[8] 1. 'riesig, monströs, ungeheuer; abnorm groß; Monstrum'; 2. 'durch Rassekreuzung entstanden; Bastard'; 3. 'großer Holzblock (Bauholz)'; vgl. *az-* 1. 'sich ungebärdig benehmen, über die Stränge schlagen'; 2. 'wütend werden'; 6. 'brünstig werden (Tier)'; 8. 'aus der Kreuzung (mit . . .) hervorgehen (Tier)' (Steuerwald); s. noch *azman* 1. 'çok gelişmiş'; 2. '(= *azma* 2) iki ayrı ırkın karışmasından doğan, kırma, melez, metis'; 3. 'kerestelik tomruk' (TS); *azman* 'fazla gelişmiş insan veya hayvan' (V. Hatiboğlu, *Türkçenin ekleri TDKY* 407. Ankara 1974. S. 116).

[9] 'riesig, riesengroß, hünenhaft, abnorm groß' (Steuerwald).

[10] Bei Steuerwald ist das Wort als hum(oristisch) bezeichnet, s. *kocaman*.

[11] 'streitsüchtig, zänkisch; Raufbold' (Steuerwald); s. noch Clauson *ED* 502a.

[12] 1. 'jung, wild, nicht zugeritten'; 2. 'kräftiger, aber plumper und unwissender junger Mann'; vgl. dazu jedoch: *tor* 4. 'nicht zugeritten (Pferd)'; *torlak* 1. 'jung, unerfahren und vergnügungssüchtig'; 2. 'Herdentier, das noch keiner Abrichtung od. Dressur unterworfen worden ist; spez. nicht-zugerittenes Pferd' (Steuerwald); s. noch: *toraman* 'tombul, iri yapılı, genç irisi' (TS); *tor* II 1. 'toy, işe alışkın olmayan, yabanî: *Tor hayvan*'; 2. 'olğunlaşmamış, ham'; 3. 'görgüsüz, çekingen, utangaç, acemi' (ebd.).

[13] 1. 'milchgebend, Milch-, Melk-'; 2. 'woraus man Kapital schlagen kann' (Steuerwald).

Ich möchte hier nicht auf die Stichhaltigkeit der einzelnen Beispiele in Denys Zusammenstellung ausführlich eingehen.[14] Selbstverständlich wußte Deny selbst sehr wohl, daß die von ihm vorgelegten Beispiele ziemlich heterogener Herkunft sind.[15]

Ich versuche hier nur auf einige Überlegungen hinzuweisen, die der Liste von Deny entgegengesetzt werden können:

1. Unter den angeführten Beispielen sind bei Deny Wörter zu finden, die offenbar sekundär entstanden sind: *kodaman* (<*kocaman*), *sağman* (<*sağmal*).

2. Es gibt in der Liste Wörter, die zumindest in der ersten Phase der Untersuchung mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit ausgeklammert werden sollten: *Çölmen*, *Dikmen* (d. h. die beiden geographischen Namen). Selbstverständlich gehören hierher auch die ethnischen Bezeichnungen (*Türkmen*, *Kölemen* und eventuell *Karaman*).

3. In die Liste wurde das Wort *delişmen* 'närrisch, reichlich verrückt, exzentrisch' aufgenommen. Deny gibt für das Wort als Ausgangspunkt *deli* 'verrückt, irre' an. In diesem Falle ist das Wort nicht am richtigen Platz.[16] Man kann die Wortform hier erst nach der Klärung der Herkunft und Rolle des *-ş-* behandeln, d. h. es sollte gesichert sein, daß das *-ş-* kein Teil eines zusammengesetzten Suffixes ist.[17]

4. Auf jeden Fall sollte man bei der Untersuchung auf die alternative Suffigierung der eventuell vorhandenen Synonyma hinweisen. Unter den Wörtern in Denys Zusammenstellung sind die folgenden einschlägigen Wortpaare zu finden: *kösem* = *kösemen*, *azma* = *azman*.

5. Die angeführten Wörter bieten trotz ihrer Mangelhaftigkeit und etymologischen Unsicherheit eine gute Möglichkeit für weitere semantische Einteilung, Aufstellung semantischer Untergruppen.[18] Diese Möglichkeit wurde leider nicht ausgenutzt.

[14] Außerdem wäre die sorgfältige kritische Analyse im Falle eines vor siebzig Jahren erschienen Werkes wohl ein wenig verspätet.

[15] Es ist kein Zufall, daß er seine Liste mit denjenigen denominalen Ableitungen (1—6) angefagen hat, die seiner Meinung nach zweifellos zu dem behandelten Suffix gehören und die weiteren Formen (7—16) (u. a. die geographischen Namen, die deverbalen Ableitungen) eher als Ergänzungen zu den am Anfang angeführten Wortformen hinzugefügt hat.

[16] B. Atalay hat in seiner kleinen Monographie (*Türkçemizde men-man*. İstanbul 1940. S. 5. Fn.) wegen der Aufnahme des Wortes *delişmen* in die Liste einen anderen Einwand erhoben. Er wies darauf hin, daß die augmentativische Funktion des Suffixes *-men* im Falle dieses Wortes kaum akzeptiert werden kann.

[17] Die Etymologie der angeführten Wörter scheint in vielen anderen Fällen dafür zu sprechen, daß sie kaum in die obige Liste gehören.

[18] In der Liste von Deny sind die folgenden Untergruppen zu unterscheiden: (1) ethnische Bezeichnungen; (2) auf die Beschaffenheit der Korpulenz hinweisende Wörter; (3) auf ungezähmte, ungezügelte Beschaffenheit hinweisende Wörter.

Wie erwähnt, hat Deny sein Werk vor 70 Jahren veröffentlicht. 70 Jahre bedeuten in der Wissenschaft eine ungeheuer große Zeitspanne, vor allem bei den Disziplinen, die sich auch heute noch in der Phase der Grundforschung befinden. Und wer weiß es besser als die Turkologen, daß sich unser Fach diesen Disziplinen zurechnen läßt. Es ist äußerst bedauerlich, daß man nach siebzig Jahren — anscheinend — kaum etwas mehr über das behandelte Problem weiß (und ich hätte hier um das Gesagte zu illustrieren viele-viele andere Probleme wählen können) als unsere berühmten Vorfahren.[19] Es scheint zumindest so zu sein, wenn wir die unterschiedlichsten nach 1921 erschienenen Arbeiten über die türkische Wortbildungslehre in die Hand nehmen. Man zitiert immer wieder die alten unsicheren oder sogar falschen Angaben früherer Generationen.[20] In erfreulicher Menge erscheinen neue Werke, aber es ist schade, daß sie mit kaum geändertem Inhalt, und noch bedauernswerter, daß sie mit alter Methodik erscheinen. Diese Probleme sind uns allen seit langem gut bekannt. Sir Gerard Clauson hat 1955 mit "ghost words" gekämpft[21], Prof. Lars Johanson hat 1979 das Axiom der alttürkischen Sonoritätsdissimilation überprüft.[22] Aufgrund meiner bisherigen Beobachtungen innerhalb der türkischen Wortbildungslehre bin ich der Meinung, das es höchste Zeit ist, auch einmal die Probleme der türkischen Wortbildung mittels sorgfältig ausgewählter Angaben und mit einer neuen Methodik zu überprüfen. Ich würde hier insbesondere die Wichtigkeit des neuen methodologischen Verfahrens betonen.

Kehren wir jetzt noch einmal zu dem türkischen *-man / -men* Suffix zurück. Die bisher vollständigste Liste der mit dem *-man / -men* Suffix gebil-

[19] Das ist umso bedauerlicher, weil 1940 sogar eine kleine Monographie erschien (s. Fn. 16.), die speziell der Frage des türkischen *-man/-men* Wortbildungselements gewidmet ist. Leider zählt der Verfasser dieser Monographie Wortstämme und Suffixe, türkeitürkische, kiptschakische, jakutische, kasakische, mongolische usw., schriftsprachliche und dialektale Angaben in einer inventarischen Reihe auf, ohne die eigentlichen Probleme gelöst zu haben.

[20] Um das Gesagte zu illustrieren vgl. Ahmet Cevat, *Türkçede kelime teşkili. Birinci kitap*. Ankara 1933. S. 41; Besim Atalay, *Türk dilinde ekler ve kökler üzerine bir deneme*. İstanbul 1942. S. 205—206; A. N. Kononov, *Grammatika sovremennogo tureckogo literaturnogo jazyka*. Moskva 1956. S. 105—106; Tahsin Banguoğlu, *Türkçenin grameri. TDKY* 528. Ankara 1986. S. 196—197.

[21] Sir G. Clauson, Turkish Ghost Words. *JRAS*. 1955. S. 124—138.

[22] Lars Johanson, *Alttürkisch als "dissimilierende Sprache"*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse. Jahrgang 1979. Nr. 2. Mainz—Wiesbaden. In dem einleitenden Teil schreibt er (S. 9.): "Der linguistischen Turkologie fehlen nicht selten auch in fundamentalen deskriptiven und sprachgeschichtlichen Fragen Zeit, Kraft und Interesse für gründliche Analysen, weshalb auch viele *ad hoc*-Urteile und Halbwahrheiten, die wegen mangelhafter Begründung weder bestätigt noch widergelegt werden können, an die Stelle argumentativer Diskussion treten und axiomatischen Rang erlangen."

deten Wörter ist bei B. Atalay zu finden.[23] Ich versuche hier, seine einschlägigen Angaben kritisch zu selektieren und in einer einfach durchschaubaren, alphabetischen Anordnung vorzustellen.[24]

Atalays Angaben:[25]

akman 'temiz, arı' (27) 'temiz adam, temiz kimse'; 'ak sakallı adam' (43)[26]

asman 'asılı, muallâk' (27)[27]

ataman 'reis, atakişi, başbuğ' (21)[28]

[23] Über das Durcheinander der türkischen Angaben in der Zusammenstellung von Atalay habe ich mir schon oben eine kleine kritische Bemerkung erlaubt (s. Fn. 19). Der Gerechtigkeit halber sollte aber auch hervorgehoben werden, daß die Liste von Atalay in vielen Hinsichten die Sammelarbeit späterer Erforscher der behandelten Frage erleichtert hat. Vgl. z. B. die türkischen Angaben auf *-man/-men* (*män*) bei É. V. Sevortjan, *Affiksy imennogo slovoobrazovanija v azerbajdžanskom jazyke. Opyt sravnitel'nogo issledovanija*. Moskva 1966. S. 197—199.

[24] Atalay selbst hat versucht, seine Angaben in einer "semantischen" Anordnung darzustellen. Er hat die folgenden Kategorien aufgestellt: 1. Substantiv (Zahl der einschlägigen Angaben: 104); 2. Adjektiv (85); 3. Personennamen (17); 4. Stammes-, Sippennamen (13); 5. Vergrößerung (8); 6. Namen verschiedener Geräte, Apparate (34); 7. Verkleinerung (9); 8. Ortsnamen (29); 9. Menschliche Beschaffenheit (11); 10. Ähnlichkeit (5); 11. Beruf (5); 12. Tätigkeit (14); 13. Adverb (3); 14. Täter (6); 15. Zeit (2). Seine Einteilung scheint in der Mehrheit der Fälle ziemlich willkürlich zu sein.

[25] Hier sind nur diejenigen türkeitürkischen Wörter aus Atalays Zusammenstellung angeführt, die — zumindest deskriptiv gesehen — tatsächlich dem zu besprechenden Suffix angehören können und die nicht allein in seiner Liste, sondern auch in den Standardwörterbüchern des Türkeitürkischen aufzufinden sind. Es war nicht meine Absicht, die aus anderen Türksprachen stammenden Angaben, die bei Atalay meistens unkritisch zitiert sind, in diese Liste aufzunehmen. Das wäre ein methodologischer Fehler, weil die zum Vergleich dienenden Angaben selbstverständlich nicht im Korpus der Belege der untersuchten Sprache zu behandeln sind. Ich lasse hier auch diejenigen Angaben außer acht, bei denen keine stichhaltige (oder zumindest hypothetische) Etymologie vermutet werden kann. In den Fällen, wo das Wort auch bei Steuerwald belegt ist, gebe ich im Fußnotenapparat auch die deutsche Bedeutung der einschlägigen Wörter an. Weitere Angaben (so z. B. aus dem *Derleme Sözlüğü* und *Tarama Sözlüğü*) sowie zusätzliche Kommentare sind ebenfalls im Fußnotenapparat zu finden. Die von Atalay stammenden Bedeutungsangaben weichen in einigen Fällen von denen bei Steuerwald, *DS*, *TS* ab. Diese Tatsache läßt sich in erster Linie dadurch erklären, daß eine große Anzahl der Wörter unter Atalays türkeitürkischen Angaben eine ziemlich lokale bzw. dialektale Prägung aufweist. Das ist auch der Grund dafür, daß einige seiner sehr interessanten Angaben nicht anderswo von mir aufgefunden werden konnten.

[26] Vgl. *ak* 1. 'weiß'; 2. 'rein, unbefleckt'; 3. 'hellfarbig'; 4. 'Weiße (z. B. im Auge) usw.' (Steuerwald); *akman* 1. 'temiz, beyaz, güzel'; 3. 'ihtiyar' (*DS*). Die 2. Bedeutung des Wortes im DS ist 'alnı beyazlı sığır'. Vgl. noch: Clauson *ED* 75ab (*āq*).

[27] S. in der Bedeutung 'Kronleuchter' bei Steuerwald. Vgl. *as-* 1. 'hängen, aufknüpfen (Person)'; 2. 'auf-, anhängen'; *asma* 'Hänge-, hängend, (auf-, an-)gehängt, freischwebend' (ebd); *asman* 'lâmba veya fener asılan yer' (*DS*); s. noch Clauson *ED* 240b (*as-*).

[28] '(Kosaken-)Hetman' (Steuerwald). Vgl. *ata* 1. 'Vater'; 2. 'ehrwürdiger Greis'; 3. 'Ahn, Vorfahr' (ebd.); 'eskiden Rus Kazakların başbuğuna verilen unvan' (*TS*).

ayakman 'nalın, takunye' (37)[29]
azman 'çok büyük, çok iri' (36)[30]
batman 'altı okkalık bir tartı' (21)[31]
çırakman 'bir türlü el feneri' (37)[32]
çöğmen, cöymen 'kulübe' (22)[33]
dalaşman 'çok kavgacı' (36)[34]

[29] Vgl. *ayak* 1. 'Fuß, Pfote, Tatze, Huf'; 2. 'Bein usw.' (Steuerwald); *ayakman* 1. takunya, nalın'; 2. 'merdiven, merdiven basamağı'; 3. (çocukların ve cambazların yükseltmek için ayaklarına takıp gezdikleri sırık' (*DS*); vgl. Clauson *ED* 45ab (*aḍaq*).

[30] Vgl. in der Liste von Deny, s. Fn. 8. In den türkischen Dialekten finden wir mehrere gleichlautende Formen, die aber offenbar nicht hierher gehören. So: *azman* I 1. 'beş yaşını geçmiş davar'; 2. 'İğdiş edildiği, enendiği halde erkekliğini kaybetmiyen keçi, koç, boğa'; 3. 'doğuştan tek hüsyeli hayvan'; 4. Enenmiş, iğdiç edilimiş koç, keçi'; 5. 'damızlık olarak ayrılmış erkek keçi, davar'; 6. 'Erkek hindi'; 7. 'Boğa, dört yaşını geçmiş boğa'; 8. 'Av köpeği'; 9. 'Mevsiminden önce doğan kuzu, oğlak'; 10. '3-4 yaşında dişi davar, keçi'; 11. 'Dört yaşında sığır; *azman* II 1. 'çalı ve dikeni bol tarla'; 2. 'bataklık'; *azman* III 'kilit'; *azman* IV 1. 'bitkilerde kök filizi, sürgünü'; 2. 'beyaz pancar kökü' (*DS*). Atalay erwähnt in seiner Liste (21) eine Form *azıman* 'erkek eşek', die ich in dieser Phase der Untersuchung in den Korpus der behandelten Wörter nicht aufgenommen habe. Ob das Wort mit dem oben zitierten *azman* I zusammenhängt, soll hier offenbleiben. Etymologisch betrachtet könnte *azıman* 'erkek eşek' eine Ableitung von *azı-* I 'yiyecek şeyleri çiğnemek' (*DS*) sein. Vgl. jedoch noch *azı* 'Backenzahn; Hauer', *azılı* 1. 'mit Hauern ausgestattet (Tier)'; 2. 'ungehorsam, widerspenstig, ungebärdig, unbändig, wild, rasend, vor nichts zurückschreckend'; 3. '(Wildschwein-)Eber'; *az-* II 1. 'sich ungebärdig (ungebührlich, aufsässig) benehmen, über die Stränge schlagen'; 2. 'wütend werden' usw. vgl. Fn. 8. (Steuerwald). Die etymologische Konfusion scheint älteren Datums zu sein: vgl. Clauson *ED* 279ab (*āz-*), 283b (*azġān, azġun*); und 283*a* (*azıġ*).

[31] va. 'türkisches Gewicht' (Steuerwald); vgl. *bat-* 1. '(ver-, ein-)sinken'; 2. 'untergehen' usw. (ebd.); *batman* 'miktarı bölgelere ve tartılacak şeylere göre değişen eski bir ağrılık ölçüsü' (*TS*); *batman* I 'büyük su testisi, büyük çömlek'; *batman* II 'büyük, ağır'; *batman* III '200 m²lik arazi ölçüsü' (*DS*); s. noch: Clauson *ED* 305b—306a (*batmān*).

[32] Vgl. *čıraġ* va. 1. 'Lampendocht'; 2. 'jedes Beleuchtungsmittel wie z. B. Lampe, Kerze, Fackel'; *čırakma(n)* va. 'Turm oder Eisenmast mit Fackel (Leuchtturm)'; 2. 'am Strand angezündetes Feuer (zum Anlocken von Fischen)'; 3. 'Laternenpfahl, Lichtmast, Leuchter, Stehlampe, Feuerrost' (Steuerwald); *čiraqman* 'şamdan' (16. Jh.) (*TarS*); *çırakman* I 'lamba, çıra konulan yer'; *çırakman* II 'lamba'; 'kandil' (*DS*). Vgl. noch: pe. *čiraġdān* 'çırakba'; pe. čerağpā 'üzerine çerağ vaz'olunacak nesnedir ki çırakma ve ilkmen dahi derler'; pe. ǰergand '. . . ve çırağ mânasına ve çırağdân mânasına da gelür ki çırağ koyacak zarftır, taşralarda olur, çırakma ve ilkmen dahi derler' (*TarS*); tü. čīra, čīraġ, čīraq 'ışık, kandil' (*TarS*; in vielen Quellen ab 13. Jh.). Vgl. noch Doerfer II, 1074.

[33] Vgl. dial. *çöğ-* 'in ballistischer Kurve niedergehen (Geschoß)'; *çök-* '1. sich senken; einsinken (Erdboden, Straße usw.); 2. hohl werden; einfallen (Wange); 3. einstürzen, zusammenbrechen (Zimmerdecke, Haus, Reich usw.'; vgl. noch *çökme* 'geol. Einsturz, Zusammenbruch' (Steuerwald); *çöğmen* 1. 'çoban evi'; 2. 'içinden su akıtılan küçük oluk'; 3. 'yüksek dalları veya otluktan ot çekmeğe yarayan çengelli ağaç' (*DS*). Auch das Wort *çökmen* 'kazma' (ebd.) kann wohl hierher gehören.

[34] Vgl. schon bei Deny, s. Fn. 11. S. noch: *dalaşçı, dalaşkan* 'kavgacı insan veya hayvan' (*DS*); *talašǧan* 'kavgacı' (15. Jh.) (*TarS*).

danışman[35] 'Ratgeber' (31)
değirmen (37)[36]
dikmen[37] 'şahika' (22)[38]
dilcimen 'tercüman' (27)[39]
dilmen 'çok dilci, çok geveze' (36)[40]
dolaman 'bir çeşit asker elbisesi' (22), 'bir türlü yeniçeri elbisesi' (37)[41]
eğirmen 'kirmen' (37)[42]
elemen, eleymen 'elek' (37)[43]
evcimen 'idareli, muktesit' (28)[44]

[35] Vgl. *danış-* 1. 'jn. befragen, um Rat fragen, zu Rate ziehen (wegen), sich bei jm. Rat holen, sich erkundigen (über), konsultieren (wegen)'; 2. 'sich beraten, beratschlagen' (Steuerwald); vgl. auch *danış* 'Besprechung, Unterredung, Beratung'; *danışık* 1. 'Besprechung, Beratung'; 2. mst. pej. 'vorheriges Übereinkommen; Verabredung, Abmachung' (ebd.); vgl. noch: Clauson *ED* 526b (*tanıš-*; *tanuš-*); Doerfer, *TMEN* III, 1175. Getrennt von diesem Wort vgl. *daniş* 1. 'Vernunft; 2. Wissen(-schaft)' *danişment* va. 1. 'gelehrt; Gelehrter'; 2. 'wer ein Studium an einer Medrese abgeschlossen hatte'; 3. 'Gehilfe eines isl. Richterkommissars bei einem kirchl. Gericht' (Steuerwald); s. noch die durch Kontamination entstandenen Formen: *danïšman* 'danışılan kimse, fakih, âlim' (13.—14. Jh.); *tanïšman* 'danışılan kimse, fakih, âlim' (15. Jh.) (*TarS*).

[36] S. schon bei Deny. Vgl. *değirmen* 1. '(Wind-, Wasser-, Öl-, Hand- usw.) Mühle'; 2. 'Taschen- oder Wanduhr'; *değirmi* 1. 'rund'; 2. 'Breite, Bahn (eines Stoffes)'; 3. 'ebenso breit wie lang; quadratisch' (Steuerwald); *değirmen* 'değirmen' (16. Jh.) (*TarS*); vgl. noch Clauson *ED* 485b (*tegrē*, **tegir-*), 486b (*tegirmē*), 386b—487a (*tegirmēn*).

[37] Vgl. *Dikmen* als geographischer Name bei Deny.

[38] Vgl. Fn. 7; und s. auch *dikmen* (I) 1. 'koni biçiminde sivri tepe'; 2. 'dağların en yüksek yeri'; 3. 'yayla'; 4. 'dik arazideki orman'; 5. 'dikilerek meydana gelen ağaçlık' (*DS*).

[39] Vgl. *dilci* 'wer sich beruflich oder außerberuflich mit Sprachfragen beschäftigt, wer an sprachlichen Problemen interessiert ist; Sprachforscher', *dil* 1. 'Zunge'; 2. 'Sprache, Worte' usw. (Steuerwald); vgl. noch: Clauson *ED* 489b—490a (*tïl*). Im Falle des Wortes *dilcimen* kann man die Analogiewirkung des Wortes *tercüman* nicht ausschließen. Vgl. noch: *dilcimen* 'hoş sohbet, tatlı konuşan' (*DS*).

[40] Atalays Angabe scheint korrekt zu sein, obwohl ich das Wort anderswo nicht finden konnte. Vgl. aber: in der Bedeutung 'tercüman' *dilban* (18. Jh.), *dilbend* (16. Jh.) (*TarS*), in der Bedeutung 'geveze' *dilcan, dilcek, dilceve, dilcik, dilicek* (*DS*).

[41] S. 'Dolman (langes, an beiden Seiten geschlitztes Prachtgewand der Janitscharen)' (Steuerwald); vgl. *dola-* '1. (herum-, ein-)wickeln; 2. einkreisen, umfassen, umgeben, einschließen, umzingeln'; *dolama* 'langes, vorne übereinandergehendes und mit Gürtel getragenes loses Gewand, Dolman' (ebd.); *dolama, tolama* 'eski zamanlarda giyinilmiş çuha elbise' (15. Jh.) (*TarS*); vgl. noch Clauson 497a (*tolğā-*).

[42] Vgl. *eğir-* 'spinnen (Wolle, Baumwolle usw.); *eğirmen* dial. 'Spinnrocken, Kunkel' (Steuerwald); *eğirmen* 'yün eğirmeye yarayan araç, kirmen' (*DS*); vgl. noch Clauson *ED* 113a (*egrim*), 113ab (*egir-*).

[43] Vgl. *ele-* 1. '(durch-, aus-)sieben'; 2. sieben, sichten, auslesen, ausscheiden, eine Auswahl treffen' (Steuerwald); *elemen, eliman, eleyman* 'elek' (*DS*).

[44] Bei Steuerwald ist das Wort in der Bedeutung 'häuslich, sein Heim liebend, haushälterisch, sparsam' belegt, vgl. *evci* 1. 'häuslich, das Haus hütend'; 2. 'wer das Wochenende bei seiner Familie verbringt (Internatsschüler)' (ebd.). S. noch die folgenden

göçmen 'muhacir' (28)[45]
işçimen 'işçi kimse' (43)[46]
ılıman 'ılık su; ılık hava; su kaynağı' (22), 'ılık' (28), 'az ılık su' (40)[47]
katman 'kaya tabakaları' (23)[48]
kilizmen 'kamışlık' (23)[49]
kedimen 'küçük kulaklı davar' (40)[50]
ketmen 'çapa, anahtar, kazma' (23)[51]
kıyıman 'pastırma çemeni' (23)[52]
kocaman 'iri yarı ('36)[53]
kölemen 'köle kimse' (43)[54]

Formen in der Liste von Atalay: *evcimen* 'id.', *evciment* 'evine düşkün, ailesini seven', *evcimli* 'id.'; *evjimen* (*evjümen*) (15. Jh.) (*TarS*); *evcimen, evciman* I 'ev işlerinde becerikli, çalışkan olan, derleyip toparlayan (kadın)'; *evcimen* III 'evde beslenen hayvan' (*DS*). Vgl. noch Clauson *ED* 6ab (*evčī*).

[45] 'Aus-, Ein-, Zuwanderer, Umsiedler' (Steuerwald); vgl. noch Clauson *ED* 694ab (*köč-*). Auch als Stammes- bzw. Sippenbezeichnung bekannt.

[46] Vgl. *iş* 1. 'Arbeit(-en)'; 2. 'zu erledigende Arbeit, Geschäft(-e)'; 3. 'berufliche Tätigkeit, Beruf'; *işçi* 1. '(Hand-)arbeiter(in)'; 2. 'Schwindler, Gauner, Betrüger'; *işcimen, işciman, işçimen* 'çalışkan, becerikli, iş bilen' (*DS*); vgl. noch Clauson *ED* 254ab (*īš*), 257a (*īšči*).

[47] S. *ılı, ılık* 'lau(-warm) (Wasser, Luft usw.); dial. *ılıman* 1. 'lauwarmes Wasser'; 2. 'mild, gemäßigt (Klima)'; vgl. noch: *ılıca* 1. 'lau(-warm)'; 2. 'natürliche heiße Quelle'; 3. 'Heil-, Thermalbad'; *ılıcak* 'lauwarm, überschlagen'; *ılıklık* 'lauwarmer Zustand; Lauheit'; *ılı-, ılın-* 'lauwarm werden' (Steuerwald); *ılıman* 'kaynak, suyun çağlamayan yeri' (*DS*); *ılıman* 'ılık, ılıkça' (20. Jh.) (TarS); *ılıman* 'sıçaklığı çok yüksek' (?) (*TS*); vgl. noch Clauson *ED* 925a (*yïlïğ*).

[48] S. geol.,-met. 'Schicht(-ung); vgl. *kat* 1. 'Stockwerk, Etage'; 2. 'Schicht, Lage, Reihe, Überzug, Anstrich, Bewurf'; 3. geol. 'Falte'; 4. geol. 'Schicht, Lage' usw.; *katma* 'hinzugefügt, zusätzlich, Zusatz-' (Steuerwald); *katman* 1. 'birbiri üzerinde bulunan yassıca maddelerin her biri, tabaka'; 3. 'bir topluluğu oluşturan kümelerden her biri, tabaka' (*TS*); vgl. noch Clauson *ED* 593b (*qat*).

[49] S. *kilizman, kilizmen* 'Röhricht, Rohrdickicht', *kiliz* 'Schilfrohr' (Steuerwald); *kilizman* 'sazlık, kamışlık' (*TS*).

[50] Vgl. *kedi* '(Haus-)Katze, Felis domesticus'; *kedicik* 'Kätzchen' (Steuerwald); *kedimen* 'küçük kulaklı keçi, koyun' (DS).

[51] Vgl. *gedman* 'Spitzhacke, Haue'; *ged-* 'eine Bresche schlagen; ein Loch verursachen' (Steuerwald); vgl. noch: Clauson *ED* 704a (*ketmēn*).

[52] Vgl. *kıyma* 'gehacktes Fleisch, Hackfleisch, Gehacktes'; *kıym* 1. '(Zer-)Hacken, Zerkleinern'; 2. 'Art des Hackens, Schnitt'; *kıy-*'(zer-)hacken, zerkleinern (Fleisch, Tabak)' (Steuerwald); *keyman, kıyman* 'pastırma çemeni' (*DS*); vgl. noch: Clauson *ED* 595ab, 677b.

[53] S. in der Liste von Deny; vgl. *koca* II 1. 'groß, riesig, enorm, kolossal'; 2. 'grob' 3. 'groß, berühmt' usw.; *kocaman* 'riesig, enorm, kolossal' (Steuerwald); *qoǰa* 'ihtiyar' (13. Jh.) (*TarS*); *kocaman* 'yaşlı erkek' (*DS*).

[54] S. schon in der Liste bei Deny. Atalay weist darauf hin, daß das *-men* Suffix in diesem Wort in der Bedeutung 'Mensch' vorkommt. Vgl. *kölemen* 'köle' (17. Jh.) (*TarS*).

kuzman 'kedi yavrusu' (40)[55]
sağman 'sağılan hayvan' (30)[56]
salman 'azat olunmuş, hür; âvâre' (30)[57]
sekmen 'seki; merdiven' (25)[58]
sıkman 'korsa' (38)[59]
sokman 'çizme' (38)[60]
süzmen 'yoğurt torbası' (38)[61]
şişman, şişmen (31)[62]
tutman 'hapsedilmiş kimse' (26)[63]

Nach der Selektion der Angaben von Atalay ist uns eine noch immer beträchtliche Gruppe von auf *-man / -men* ausgehenden Wörtern geblieben.[64]

[55] Vgl. *kuzu* 1. 'Lamm, Schäfchen'; *kuzucuk* 'Lämmchen, Schäfchen' (Steuerwald); *kuzman* 'kedi yavrusu' (*DS*); vgl. noch Clauson *ED* 681a (*quzī*).

[56] Vgl. Fn. 13; *sağma* 'sağılır durumda, sütlü, süt veren' (15. Jh.); *sağılurča* (16. Jh.); *sağılu* (17. Jh.); *sağın* 'sağım' (*TarS*); vgl. noch Clauson *ED* 809a (*saglïq*). Clauson (a. a. O.) hält das *-mal* Suffix im Osm. für mongolische Entlehnung. (Vgl. Clauson, *Studies* S. 203).

[57] Vgl. *sal-* 1. 'werfen, aus-, verbreiten'; 2. 'schieben, stoßen, (hin-)einschießen (z. B.) Brot in den Ofen); verschieben'; 3. 'offen hängen lassen (Haare); los-, freilassen, frei weiden lassen' usw.; *salma* 8. 'frei umherlaufend, frei weidend'; (Steuerwald); *salman* I, *salma* XII 'başıboş, serbest' (*DS*), *salma* 'başı boş, yularsız, serbest' (14. Jh.) (*TarS*); vgl. noch Clauson *ED* 824b (*sal-*).

[58] S. noch *sekitmen* 'arkalıksız iskemle', *sekmen* 'iskemle', *seymen* 'küçük tahta iskemle' (Atalay 38); vgl. dial. 1. 'Stuhl ohne Lehne'; 2. 'Stufe' (Steuerwald); *sekmek* 1. 'arkalıksız iskemle'; 2. 'basamak' (*TS*); *sekmen* I 'tarla ve bahçelerdeki basamak biçiminde düzlükler'; 'meyilli, su tutmayan yer'; *sekmen* II 'sedir, kerevet'; 'ahır ya da ağıllarda çobanın yatması için yapılan yüksekçe yer'; *sekmen* III 'merdiven, merdiven basamağı'; *sekmen* IV 'alçak ayaklı, arkalıksız iskemle' (*DS*); Clauson *ED* 819a (*sekü*). Das tü. Wort muß eine alte iranische Entlehnung sein, weil das Wort in der Form *szék* als altes tü. Lehnwort im Ungarischen bekannt ist.

[59] Vgl. *sık-* 1. '(zusammen-)drücken, pressen'; 2. 'ausdrücken, -quetschen, -pressen' usw.; *sıkma* 3. 'Korsett' (Steuerwald); *sıkman* 'kollu ya da kolsuz korsa gibi sıkan kadın yeleği'; 'iç giysisi, gömlek' (*DS*); vgl. noch Clauson *ED* 804b—805a (*sïq-*).

[60] Vgl. *sok-* 1. 'hinein-tun, -bringen, -schieben, -treiben, -pressen usw.'; 2. 'einführen (bei);, vorstellen; usw.'; *sokman* 'hochschäftiger Turkmenenstiefel' (Steuerwald); vgl. noch Clauson *ED* 805ab (*suq-*).

[61] Vgl. *süz-* 1. '(durch-)sieben, durchseihen, (durch ein Tuch) durchdrücken, filtrieren, passieren' usw.; *süzme* 1. Vs. zu *süz-*; 2. '(durch-)gesiebt, durchgeseiht, filtriert passiert'; *süzek* 'Filter'; *süzgeç* 'Sieb, Seihe(r), Durschlag, Filter' (Steuerwald); *süzmen* 'torba' (*DS*); vgl. noch Clauson *ED* 861ab (*süz-*), 862ab (*süzgün*), 864b (*süzmē*).

[62] Vgl. schon bei Deny.

[63] S. bei Steuerwald in der Bedeutung 'Inhaber, tatsächlicher Besitzer'. Vgl. *tut-* 1. 'in die Hand nehmen, anfassen, packen, (er-)greifen'; 2. 'zu fassen bekommen, fassen, erwischen, festnehmen, verhaften, gefangennehmen usw.' (Steuerwald); Clauson *ED* 451ab, 453b, 457a.

[64] Insgesamt besteht die neugewonnene Liste aus 37 Angaben.

Diese Gruppe besteht jedoch aus Angaben, die weiterhin sehr heterogen sind. Es gibt unter ihnen denominale und deverbale Ableitungen, Substantive und Adjektive, Wörter, die aus den ältesten türkischen Sprachdenkmälern bekannt sind, und Wörter, die aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach erst in unserem Jahrhundert entstanden sind. Es gibt in der Liste Wörter, die in vielen anderen Türksprachen belegt sind, und es gibt Wörter, die nur in einem Dialekt oder in einer lokalen Mundart des Türkeitürkischen bekannt sind. Die semantische Buntheit der sich in dieser Liste befindlichen Wörter ist ebenso auffällig. Möchten wir über das *-man/-men* Suffix etwas mehr wissen, sollten wir selbstverständlich unsere Angaben nach den hier erwähnten Aspekten sortieren. Das ist eine mühselige Arbeit, und es ist nicht verwunderlich, daß man einer Arbeit solcher Art in der Erforschung der türkischen Wortbildungslehre bisher kaum ausreichende Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet hat. Es ist ungenügend, aus einer Sprache nur exemplarische Angaben zu zitieren,[65] und es hilft auch nichts, wenn wir eine "vollständige" Liste von Wörtern heterogener Herkunft zusammenstellen,[66] weil die einzelnen Angaben einer heterogenen Liste unterschiedlichen Wert haben.

Versuchen wir jetzt aufgrund der selektierten Liste von Atalay[67] unsere Angaben nach den erwähnten Aspekten zu sortieren:

Angabe	Den	Alt	Verb	Grundbedeut.[68]	Mod. Bedeutung	Synon. Suffixe
akman	+	—	—	'weiß'	'sauber, rein'	
	+	—	—	'weiß'	'reiner Mensch'	
	+	—	—	'weiß'	'weißbärtiger Mensch'	
asman	—	—	—	'aufhängen'	'aufgehängt'	-ma
	—	—	+	'aufhängen'	'Kronleuchter'	
	—	—	—	'aufhängen'	'der Platz, wo die Lampe hängt'	-malık
ataman	+	—	+	'Vater, Greis'	'Hetman'	
ayakman	+	—	—	'Fuß'	'Stelzenschuh'	-lık
	+	—	—	'Fuß'	'Treppe'	-çak, -ça, -çat, -çıl, -lı, -lık
	+	—	—	'Fuß'	'eine Art Stange'	-çak, -çık, -çıl, -lık, -lıma

[65] Vgl. hier die Liste von Deny.

[66] Vgl. hier die Arbeit von Atalay.

[67] Diese Liste kann keinesfalls für eine mehr oder weniger vollständige Zusammenstellung gehalten werden, aber im Rahmen dieses Beitrags können wir keine weiteren Angaben der ansonsten repräsentativen Zusammenstellung von Atalay hinzufügen.

[68] Unter Grundbedeutung wird hier weder der Inbegriff aller Einzelbedeutungen noch die ursprüngliche Bedeutung eines Wortes gemeint. Ich gebe hier lediglich die Bedeutungen an, die für die suffigierten Formen der angeführten Wörter als semantische Ausgangspunkte dienen konnten.

azman	—	—	+	'monströse Formen annehmen'	'riesig'; 'Monstrum'	-ma, -mantı
batman	—	+	+	'sinken'	'Gewicht'	
çırakman	+	+	+	'Fackel'	'Leuchter'	-lık, -ma, -ba, -pa, -malık
çöğ(y)men	—	—	—	'einstürzen'	'Hütte'	
dalaşman	?	—	+	'Streit' 'sich streiten'	'Raufbold'	-çı, -kan
danışman	—	+	+	'sich beraten'	'Ratgeber'	
değirmen	?	+	+	'rund' 'kreisen'	'Mühle'	
dikmen	?	—	+	'steil' 'errichten'	'Gipfel'	
dilcimen	+	—	—	'wer sich mit der Sprache beschäftigt'	'Dolmetscher'	(dil)-maç, -manç, -tar
dilmen	+	—	—	'Zunge'	'Schwätzer'	-can, -cek, -ceve, -cik
dolaman	—	+	+	'einwickeln'	'Dolman'	-ma
eğirmen	—	—	+	'spinnen'	'Spinnrocken'	-cek, -geç, -meç, -meş, -şek
ele(y)men	—	—	—	'sieben'	'Sieb'	-k
evcimen	+	+	+	'häuslich'	'sparsam'	-mal, -ment, -mik, -mük, -mli
göçmen	—	—	+	'umherwandern'	'Umsiedler'	-(e)be, -gün, -(e)r
işçimen	+	—	—	'Arbeiter'	'Arbeiter'	
ılıman	?	—	+	'lauwarm' 'lauwarm sein'	'lauwarmes Wasser'	*-k*, -cak, -can, -kça, -muk
	?	—	—		'Quelle'	-ca
katman	+	—	+	'Schicht'	'Schichtung'	
kilizmen	+	—	+	'Schilfrohr'	'Röhricht'	
kedimen	+	—	—	'Katze'	'Tier, mit kleinen Ohren'	
ketmen	—	+	+	'ein Loch verursachen'	'Spitzhacke'	
kıyıman	—	—	—	'hacken'	'rötlicher Brei für die Zubereitung von türk. Dörrfleisch'	
kocaman	+	—	+	'riesig'	'kolossal'	
kölemen	+	+	+	'Sklave'	'Sklave'	
kuzman	+	—	—	'Lamm'	'Kätzchen'	
sağman	—	—	+	'melken'	'Milch-, Melk-'	-ma, -mal, -ım, -an, -ın, -ınlı
salman	—	—	—	'freilassen'	'frei laufend'	-ma
sekmen	+	—	+	'Stuhl'	'Stuhl ohne Lehne; Stufe' 'höhere Stelle'	-itmen, -mek, -çe, -ke, -te
sıkman	—	—	—	'pressen'	'Korsett'	-ma, -(tır)-ma
sokman	—	+	+	'hineintun'	'Stiefel'	
süzmen	—	—	—	'filtrieren'	'Yoğurt-Seiher'	-ek, -geç, -gü, -me

şişma(e)n	?	—	+	'anschwellen'	'korpulent'
				'Schwellung'	'korpulent'
tutman	—	—	—	'fassen'	'der Gefangene'
	—	—	+		'der Besitzer'

Aufgrund der obigen Tabelle kann festgestellt werden, daß die Wörter älterer Herkunft in unserer Liste ziemlich sparsam aufzufinden sind. Die Tabelle zeigt uns jedoch, daß die Wörter der älteren Kategorie ohne Ausnahme eine höhere Frequenz in der Verbreitung im heutigen Türkischen aufweisen. Unter ihnen sind deverbale (*batman, danışman, getman, sokman*) und denominale (*çırakman, evcimen, kölemen*) Ableitungen in ungefähr gleicher Anzahl zu finden. Das bekannte alte Wort *değirmen* 'Mühle' kann ebenso gut als deverbale wie als denominale Ableitung aufgefaßt werden.[69] Semantisch betrachtet bezeichnen diese Wörter Personen (*danışman, evcimen, kölemen*) und konkrete Nomina (meistens Gerät) (*batman, çırakman, değirmen, getman, sokman*). Im Falle dieser Wörter kann also von der augmentativischen Funktion des *-man / -men* Suffixes, wie von mehreren Forschern[70] häufig behauptet wurde, kaum die Rede sein.

Überprüft man aus dieser Sicht die Gruppe der nicht früh belegten,[71] aber auf dem türkischen Sprachgebiet weit verbreiteten Wörter,[72] kann man ein ähnliches Bild gewinnen.[73] Die einschlägigen Wörter bezeichnen Personen (*ataman, dalaşman, danışman, göçmen*), konkrete Nomina (*asman, dolaman, eğirmen, sekmen*), einige bezeichnen Orte (*dikmen, ılıman, katman, kilizmen*) bzw. verstärken und verallgemeinern eine vorhandene Beschaffenheit (*azman, kocaman, sağman, şişman*).

In Arbeiten solcher Art taucht immer wieder die Frage auf, was denn die Funktion bzw. die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des untersuchten Suffixes sein soll. Ich möchte diese Frage hier aus zwei Gründen nicht stellen: 1) Um eine solche oder ähnliche Frage zu behandeln, wäre eine tiefere, auch die vergleichenden Angaben der anderen Türksprachen in Betracht ziehende Analyse nötig; 2) die hier angeführten Angaben weisen eindeutig darauf hin, daß die Frage nur anders formuliert werden kann. In den angeführten Wörtern kann nicht *eine* Funktion *eines* Suffixes festgestellt werden. Es handelt sich ja in diesen Wörtern

[69] Clauson hält das Wort für eine deverbale Ableitung (vgl. *ED* 486b—487a).

[70] Vgl. hier außer den oben schon erwähnten Arbeiten noch: A. Zajączowski, *Sufiksy imienne i czasownikowe w języku za chodniokaraimskim. (Przyczynek do morfologji języków tureckich)* W Krakowie 1932. S. 26—27; G. Doerfer, *TMEN* II, 439.

[71] Die Tatsache, daß sie in den älteren Denkmälern nicht belegt sind, bedeutet selbstverständlich nicht, daß sie jüngerer Herkunft sein müssen.

[72] Wie oben erwähnt sind ihre Zeugnisse selbstverständlich wichtiger als die derjenigen Wörter, die nur in einem kleineren Kreis (eventuell in einem Dorf) bekannt sind.

[73] Unter ihnen sind genauso, wie es bei den Wörtern älteren Datums der Fall ist, deverbale und denominale Ableitungen zu finden.

um mehrere Funktionen des *-man / -men* Suffixes, das sich auf verschiedene Quellen zurückführen läßt. Außer dem einstigen alt- bzw. urtürkischen *-man* (? <*-*ban*[74]) Suffix können hier Suffixe (so z.B.pe. *-mand*,[75] *-ban*[76]) und zum Suffix gewordene andere Wortbildungselemente fremder und einheimischer Herkunft in Frage kommen. Ich möchte hier auf die mögliche Rolle des in den altosmanischen Denkmälern[77] öfters vorkommenden Wortes *ban* hinweisen. Das Wort bedeutet 'ulu, büyük, ileri gelen, bey',[78] wobei die letztere Bedeutung die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Wortes zu sein scheint. Eine andere Möglichkeit, die in erster Linie bei den Wörtern jüngerer Herkunft in Betracht zu ziehen ist, ist die Wirkung der neueren westeuropäischen (deutschen und englischen) Entlehnungen mit *-man* Endung.[79] Außerdem scheint in einigen oben schon erwähnten[80] Fällen das *-man* Suffix sekundär zu sein.

Obwohl ich betont habe, daß die Zeugnisse der eine niedrigere Frequenz aufweisenden jüngeren Wörter nicht so schwerwiegend sind, möchte ich selbstverständlich die Wichtigkeit ihrer sorgfältigen Untersuchung nicht leugnen. In dieser Hinsicht halte ich auch die Analyse der sog. "synonymischen" Suffixe für unvermeidlich.[81] Sie können besonders in zweifelhaften Fällen der Forschung helfen, wo die lokale Ausprägung der suffigierten Form sehr stark ist und die ehemalige "Bedeutung" des Suffixes mit anderen Mittel kaum untersucht werden kann. Selbstverständlich kostet diese sprachgeographische Untersuchung nicht wenig Zeit und Mühe. Doch ohne diesen Einsatz können auch unsere Nachfolger weiterhin guten Gewissens Denys Meinung wiederholen.[82]

[74] Vgl. dazu G. Doerfer, *TMEN* II, 439.

[75] Sir. G. Clauson wies schon darauf hin (s. *ED* XLII), daß es sich im Falle des Volksnamens *Türkmen* eventuell um das iranische (persische) Kollektivsuffix *-mand* handeln könne.

[76] Ein in den altosmanischen Denkmälern besonders häufig vorkommendes pers. Suffix; vgl. auch in Steuerwalds Wörterbuch: *-ban* 'Wärter, Wächter, Hüter'.

[77] Insbesondere in denjenigen Denkmälern, die in einem südslavischen Milieu geschrieben wurden.

[78] Vgl. so in *TS*. S. noch: *ban* hist. 'Statthalter, (Ban(-us) (in Kroatien), Gespan (in Ungarn) (Steuerwald).

[79] Eine ähnliche Vermutung ist bei Kononov und Banguoğlu (vgl. hier 20. Fn) zu finden.

[80] Vgl. hier z. B. Fn. 5 und 56. Ich denke jedoch nicht, daß wir es hier mit einem mongolischen Suffix zu tun haben, wie im Falle des Wortes *sağmal, sağman* Clauson vermutet hat (s. a. a. O.).

[81] Im Rahmen dieses Beitrags kann ich nicht in diese Analyse eingehen. Ich wollte in der obigen Tabelle in der Spalte der "synonymischen" Suffixe lediglich auf diese bisher in unserem Fach m. W. kaum ausgenützte Möglichkeit der weiteren Untersuchung hinweisen.

[82] S. noch mal 22. Fn.

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DATA ON THE CONTINUITY AND MIGRATION OF THE POPULATION IN 16TH CENTURY OTTOMAN HUNGARY

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Up to the present time historical demography produced results of widely varying depth and reliability in various regions of the world, regarding different periods of history.[1] However, there is still very defective knowledge about the demographic relations of the Turks in general and the Ottoman Empire in particular, and in many respects the centrally important indices have not yet been clarified.[2] The problem is compounded by the fact that we are faced with a multilingual formation in which certain differences can correctly be postulated between the diverse ethnicities and religions such as the family structure,[3] birth and death rates and the ratio of urban and rural populations,[4]

[1] See, for example: T. H. Hollingsworth, *Historical Demography. The Sources of History: Studies in the Uses of Historical Evidence.* New York 1969.

[2] Ömer Lütfi Barkan has devoted several pioneering and valuable studies to this complex of problems (*e.g.* Türk İktisat ve Maliye Tarihi İçin Kaynaklar: Türkiye'de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri ve Hakana Mahsus İstatistik Defterleri, *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* II/1 (1940), pp. 20—59, II/2 (1941), pp. 214—247 and summarized in the French section pp. 21—34, 168—179, Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire Ottoman, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* I (1957), pp. 9—36, Notes sur les recherches de démographie historique existant en Turquie, *Actes du colloque international de démographie historique.* Liège 1963, pp. 317—324), however, his findings concerning the total population of the Empire in the 16th century need further refining. In recent years, there has been a revival in research in historical demography, producing such works as *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Ed. by Anthony Bryer and Heath Lowry, Birmingham—Dumbarton Oaks 1986), in which Byzantinologists and Turcologists join forces intent on progress in research and new methodological conceptions.

[3] In a study Maria N. Todorova finds conspicuous differences in the size of households in various parts of the Balkans (Recent Research on Household and Family in the Balkans [15—19. Century], *Festschrift Emanuel Turczynski.* München 1989). Hüseyin Özdeğer asserts that in and around Bursa families were far larger in villages than in town (*1463—1640 Yılları Bursa Şehri Tereke Defterleri* [Türk İktisat ve İçtimaiyat Tarihi Araştırmaları Merkezi, Yayın No: 2]. İstanbul 1988, pp. 51—59). In this context the *müsellem* and *piyade* registers from around Kütahya discovered by Eugenie Elifoğlu, which also feature the age of children, will be most instructive, contributing to future

even though the Middle Ages were more homogeneous demographically than the 20th century. Considerable time will elapse before relatively approximative information is available about individual regions on the basis of which, one day a synthesis can be attempted. It must be clear, however, that because of the lack of adequate sources, several important aspects can never be examined.

During my earlier investigations, aimed at exploring the 16th century relations of a *sancāḳ* in Hungary, I closely examined some major terrains of demographic history.[5] I endeavoured to determine the reliability of the demographic data offered by Ottoman-Turkish registers, partly on the basis of inner criteria and partly through a comparison with Hungarian sources. In addition to estimating the total number of the population, I dealt with the average population of villages, the size of families, the age of registered male children,[6] the dimension and directions of mobility within the *sancāḳ*, the extent of the depopulation of villages[7] and the question of national minorities. These topics raised several methodological problems, some of which, I hope, have been brought closer to a final solution.

Concerning these, I present my observations on migration, complemented with another investigation also based on archival material. Compared to other areas of the Ottoman Empire, the Hungarian territory holds out the hope of greater success for researchers of this field, for here the surnames practically took root by the early 16th century, thus a person or family can in many cases be followed right through the period, despite temporal hiatuses in the sources.

I examined the migration of the population in the *sancāḳ* of Simontornya (*Şimōnṭōrna*) with the help of 6 *taḥrīr-defteri* taken in 1546, 1552, 1565, 1570, 1580 and 1590.[8] It has to be pointed out that these sources primarily facilitate

life-tables from several years (Ottoman Defters Containing Ages of Children: A New Source of Demographic Research, *Archivum Ottomanicum* IX (1984), pp. 321–328).

[4] Suraiya Faroqhi estimates the urban population in the *sancāḳ* of Ankara at 10–12% in the 16th century (Ankara ve çevresindeki arazi mülkiyetinin ya da insan-toprak ilişkilerinin değişimi, *Tarih içinde Ankara. Eylül 1981 seminer bildirileri*, Derleyen Erdal Yavuz — Ümit Nevzat Uğurel. Ankara 1984, pp. 76–77), while in Ottoman Hungary, about twice as many lived in settlements designated as towns, this value sometimes, e.g. in the *sancāḳ* of Szekszárd, rising above 40% (*cf.* Géza Dávid, Demographische Veränderungen in Ungarn zur Zeit der Türkenherrschaft, *Acta Historica* 34 (1988) [1991?], pp. 83–84).

[5] Dávid, Géza, *A Simontornyai szandzsák a 16. században* [The *sancāḳ* of Simontornya in the 16th century]. Budapest 1982, pp. 37–68.

[6] Cf. Dávid, Géza, The Age of Unmarried Male Children in the *Taḥrīr-Defters* (Notes on the Coefficient), *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXI (1977), pp. 347–357.

[7] For a summary of this in English see Géza Dávid, Some Aspects of 16th Century Depopulation in the *Sanǰāq* of Simontornya. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXVIII (1974), pp. 63–74.

[8] İstanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Tahrir defteri, Nos 400, 412, 665, 563, 676, 632.

the tracing of the continuity of families, with some rare cases of several occurrences of the same persons. This is connected with the natural fluctuation of the population, for in the 16th century average life expectancy was well below 65 years in Hungary,[9] so most probably a male person of around 20 (or older) registered in 1546 as married, would not be alive in 1590. Partly because of this, and partly due to the temporal hiatuses in the sources there is a need for a flexible method in identifying the names. Between 1546 and 1552, it is justified to observe a strict procedure only considering totally identical names while in the case of those registered in 1546, but missing from the next *defter*, only the verifiable descendants (that is, the son or brother, noted down earlier, of the given person who now *i.e.* in 1562 figures as the head of a separate family). Until the next register taken 13 years later, many heads of families must have died or had been replaced by their sons (as fluctuation also has to be reckoned with in Turkish registration practice). Finding the descendants is difficult, because in 1552 only the children of a few families were recorded. In view of this, a family with a rare surname was regarded as continuous even when it occurred with a new Christian name, but in the case of frequent surnames former occurrences along 2—3 lines were needed for continuity. Correspondences between the *defter*s of 1565 and 1570 were the easiest to establish, especially because the children were carefully listed in both. Greater flexibility was again needed in following the families in the registers of 1580 and 1590. Research was confined to the entries in the *defter*s, which meant that if a person was registered in two flanking *defter*s, but missing from the one in between, this was not considered for continuity, although some 100—120 persons like that can be documented. This was done, because some of them must really have left their places of residence temporarily.

Since the aim was to establish the continuity of families, some reservation had to be made in the case of names running along several lines (the majority of which indicating kinship relations). In such cases, according to the above principles, as many persons were traced as were registered in 1546, or if there was growth, in 1552. The 1552 data were taken as the basis where the former registration was defective. Thus, the new branches of families spreading after 1552 were precluded from the list of names.

The identification of the bulk of names did not present problems. At times several variants could be found in the *defter*s mainly of rare family names, but they were normally easy to identify. In some cases, completely distorted variants appeared, which could be spotted relatively securely when

[9] In the Transdanubian region of Hungary, the ratio of those aged above 65 years was only 1.61% as late as the 18th century. See: Dávid, Zoltán, *A családok nagysága és összetétele a veszprémi püspökség területén 1747—1748* [Size and composition of families in the territory of the episcopacy of Veszprém]. (Történeti Statisztikai Kötetek). Budapest 1973, p. 42.

the sequence of names tallied with that of another *defter* written around the same time. In these cases, the Christian names helped in identifying the persons. Concerning the defters of 1565 and 1570, where there were two or more children of the same name, we managed to discover those heads of families whose names were not corrupted, but had completely changed — to sobriquets in some cases. These heads of families remained in obscurity in the other registrations.[10]

Table I below outlines the results of this comparison in numbers and percentages.

Table I

Continuity of families in the sancāḳ of Simontornya, 1546—1590

Date of registration	Number of studied heads of families	Number of continuing families				
		1552	1565	1570	1580	1590
1546	1363	1204	605	553	484	368
1552	1789		962	812	694	504
1565	1925			1295	1062	737
1570	1706				1151	770
1580	1678					984
1590	1426					
	In percentage					
1546	100.0	88.3	44.4	40.6	35.5	27.0
1552	100.0		53.8	45.4	38.8	28.2
1565	100.0			67.2	55.2	38.3
1570	100.0				67.5	45.1
1580	100.0					58.6

Great caution must be exercised in evaluating the indices obtained to ensure that the fluctuation of the population is not overestimated. The ratio between 1546 and 1590 can be especially misleading. Several factors have to be considered before reaching a realistic conclusion. Namely only female offsprings were born to a part of the families who merged into the village population by losing their original names. These families could have amounted to about 20%. Another part of the families died out, for the ratio of childless couples was always significant. Although there are no exact data on the demographic characteristics in the studied age, the ratio of childless families can be estimated to be about 8—10%. As a matter of course, there might have been families in the formerly mentioned two categories that left their

[10] For the problem of identifying Christian names in contemporary Hungarian sources see: Szabó, István, *Ugocsa megye* [Ugocsa county]. Budapest 1937, pp. 13—14, 23.

home for good — the ratio of these can be estimated to be one-third or two-fifths. Finally, there is also a deviation (5—10%) from the real situation due to the defectiveness of registration. Taking all these factors into account, it can be asserted that about 45% of all families disappeared from their original habitat either through violence or of their own will, the latter also conditional upon the current economic and political situation. In the studied period, the *sancāḳ* was not hit by significant devastations by warring forces, so the majority of the missing persons must have been carried off by inner migration. On the average, one out of every 100 families left the village each year.

When evaluating this index, useful assistance is gained from works concerned with the "fluctuation" of certain areas of Borsod, Heves and Zemplén counties in the 16th century.[11] Accordingly, out of the total of the economically active population (2115 people) of the Hegyalja communities classified by their role in agricultural production, 47.2% (904 people) could also be found in the last source from the studied period of 10—12 years, in the 1570s. About half of the missing persons can be assumed to have vanished in a natural way,[12] so nearly 30% were involved in "fluctuation". As "fluctuation" means the change in the size of the economically relevant populace, its dimensions do not provide direct clues as to the exact proportions of migration. However, the above value can be a yardstick in evaluating the size of migration in the *sancāḳ* of Simontornya. It can be established that between 1546 and 1590, the ratio of the mobile population was lower here than in any other part of the Hungarian Kingdom examined so far.

As for other temporal segments, in the period between 1565 and 1570, migration seems to have been similar to that of the Hegyalja communities. The exodus between 1570 and 1580, was even more considerable, for only 89 families of the 441 first entered in 1570 were recorded in 1580, while only 33 of them remained by 1590. A large proportion of those first listed in 1580 had also disappeared by 1590.

[11] N. Kiss, István, *16. századi dézsmajegyzékek* [16th century registers of tithes]. Budapest 1960, pp. 1015—1024. (For its criticism see: Kirilly, Zsigmondné, A homonnai uradalom jobbágyságának gazdálkodása és társadalmi tagozódása a XVII. század első felében. *Jobbágytelek és parasztgazdaság az örökös jobbágyság kialakulásának korszakában* [The farming activity and social stratification of serfs in the estate of Homonna in the first half on of the 17th century. Lands in villainage and peasant holdings in the age of the emergence of perpetual bondage]. [Ed. Makkai, László]. Budapest 1966, p. 477, n.1) and Idem, A mezőgazdasági termelő népesség fluktuációja és extraneus birtoklás Hegyalján a XVI. század második felében [Fluctuation of the agricultural population and extraneous land possession in the Hegyalja region in the second half of the 16th century (In: *Jobbágytelek és parasztgazdaság.*)]. On the relationship between fluctuation and migration: p. 29.

[12] *Ibid.*, natural mortality: p. 39; figures: pp. 48, 55, 64.

Table II reflects the structure of the population at each registration date, indicating the percentage ratio of persons continuous from each earlier *defter* and the total percentage of people from earlier lists.

Table II

Structure of the population

Date of first registration	Percentage rate of people remaining in their residence in the given year from the date of first registration				
	1552	1565	1570	1580	1590
1546	67.3	31.4	32.4	28.8	25.8
1552	32.7	18.6	15.2	12.6	9.5
1565		50.0	28.3	21.9	16.4
1570			24.1	5.3	2.3
1580				31.4	15.0
1590					31.0

Date of registration	Percentage of population registered at earlier dates, too				
	1552	1565	1570	1580	1590
1546	67.3	31.4	32.4	28.8	25.8
1552		50.0	47.6	41.4	35.3
1565			75.9	63.3	51.7
1570				68.6	54.0
1580					69.0

It can be seen that apart from the newcomers, the majority of the population consisted of those who remained in their residence from 1546 onward. Thus, a significant portion of the newcomers quickly moved away. There is good reason to suppose that the migrating masses mostly included landless and other needy elements.[13] As only those with a wealth of 300 *akçe* or over were compelled to pay the polltax in Hungary, a comparison of the *cizye*- and *taḥrīr-defteri*s reveals that the ratio of the better-off strata was 40—46% in 1546 and 1552. Considering the omissions, the actual *cizye*-payers took a somewhat lower share. Some relationship between those remaining at the same place and the *cizye*-payers can certainly be assumed, but it cannot have been mechanical.

In addition to the ratio of migration among the population, it is also interesting to trace its directions. An experimental investigation was carried out for the years between 1565 and 1570, since not only the heads of families, but their children could also be followed in these two *defter*s. In this way, more

[13] Cf. Dávid, Zoltán, Hajdúszoboszló népesedéstörténete. *Hajdúszoboszló monográfiája* [A demographic history of Hajdúszoboszló. A monograph of Hajdúszoboszló] (Ed. by Dankó, Imre). Hajdúszoboszló 1975, pp. 187—210.

security was provided in identifying the families that left. Nearly 1,250 members of 580 families were compared with the names of the newcomers in the list of 1570. Since the later *defter* contained fewer heads of families, it could be accurately ascertained that 219 persons (nearly 40% of all the migrants) would be missing, it was still astonishing that a mere 23 families could be traced beyond doubt in their new residence within the *sancāḳ*. There were another 69 uncertain cases, mainly involving frequent surnames (such as Nagy, Kis, Pap, and Tót) and thus could not be unanimously identified. Even if half of them were added to those moving within the *sancāḳ*, their ratio still does not exceed 10% of the families that disappeared from the villages after 1565. Taking natural demographic changes into account (though in five years they cannot have had much influence) and the registration mistakes in 1570, there was still a considerable rate of people migrating beyond the borders of the *sancāḳ*. Where did these people go? Some might have moved to Turkish areas, to the towns of the at that time still thriving Szekszárd *sancāḳ*.[14] The rest must have drifted to Habsburg Hungary. In other parts of the country there is also an indication of the population's migration in this direction, although the movement mainly involved the craftsmen of the towns. However, in the case in question, the rural population left their villages in large numbers at a time that was known to be relatively calm.[15]

*

The second part of this study deals with the data on migration in the *taḥrīr-defteri* of the *sancāḳ* of Buda for 1559.[16] The special value of this *defter* is that it is not a final version, but a draft or working copy. At first, the only existing *defter* of the *sancāḳ* of Buda, the one from 1546, was copied, then each name was checked, one by one, and the changes that had occurred in the meantime, were noted above them. The ambition of the clerks was not only to detect the dead, the missing and the newcomers, but also to find out where the absent persons had moved or less frequently where the newcomers had come from. It well illustrates the meticulous care of the registrar that at times he checked whether a person was indeed enumerated at the new place of resi-

[14] Káldy-Nagy, Gyula, *Magyarországi török adóösszeírások*. (Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből. Új sorozat 52.) [Turkish tax registers in Hungary. (Studies in the historical sciences. New series 52)]. (Ed. by Varga, János). Budapest 1970, p. 84.

[15] József Perényi, Wirtschaftliche und soziale Umgestaltung in Ungarn unter der Türkenherrschaft im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert. *Europa Centralis atque Orientalis. Studia Historica*. I. Brno 1971, p. 94.

[16] Published by Káldy-Nagy, Gyula: *A Budai szandzsák 1559. évi összeírása* (Pest Megye múltjából 3. [The registration of the *sancāḳ* of Buda for 1559. From the Past of Pest County 3.], Ed. by Lakatos, Ernő). Budapest 1977. Hereafter I do not mark the data from this work separately. The numbers preceding the place names are identical with those in this publication of the source.

dence having been given by his compatriots, and he was also careful not to have one person listed twice. In principle, living at one settlement for 10 years was required for a subject to be registered at his new abode, until that time he had to be recorded in his former community. Though there were certainly modifications in this respect, since it was often impossible to check the relevant statements, and it must have been easier to confine oneself to the actual situation, the *defter* at issue generally regarded those indicated as having moved to a definite settlement as still residing in loco, but subtracted those in the "missing", "escaped" and "deceased" categories from the 1546 population.[17] It does not make the evaluation of the *defter* easier that several of the persons registered as living elsewhere in 1559, were only recorded in their old place of residence in the new *defter* three years later.[18] Again others are not registered at either the new or the old settlement in the defter of 1562, which may have various reasons. All this was not relevant to the present investigation, which was intended to merely highlight the inner migration of the population as revealed by the name-lists for the year 1559. Only the clarification of such minute details will pave the way for the recognition of larger connections.

The examination, partly determined by the points mentioned above, was carried out for the following variables:

A. Those who had moved to unknown places ("disappeared" or "escaped"). Within this category:

I. Heads of families
II. Those who were not heads of families, including:
  1. unmarried brothers of heads of families
  2. unmarried sons of heads of families
  3. unmarried persons without surnames (servants)
III. The total of people moving to unknown places

B. Those who had moved to known places, including

[17] For instance, 15 persons were registered in 1546 in the village of Nagy Báté (No. 18) belonging to the *nāḥiye* of Buda. Until 1559, 4 of them died and 8 moved to known places, while 3 so-far unregistered persons, offsprings of former families, were entered into the *defter*. Yet this is how the summarization of the actual state is given: "The number of people formerly registered: 15, died: 5, present: 10, newcomers: 3." In Bódogasszonkáta (No. 126) in the *nāḥiye* of Pest in 13 years 8 died, 7 escaped and 7 left to definite places out of the 25 persons listed in 1546. The *defter*, however, reads: "The number of people formerly registered: 25, died: 15, present: 10, newly registered: 2." — Since with an exception or two there is no way to check the extent to which the *taḥrīr-defteri*s observed the 10-year rule, we must rest content with the situation that is reflected by the given register.

[18] I carried out the comparison on the basis of the following publication: Dr. Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *Kanuni devri Budin tahrir defteri* (*1546—1562*). Ankara 1971.

1. Those recorded in 1559 at their new abode in the *sancāḳ* of Buda.[19]
2. Those recorded in 1562 at their new abode in the *sancāḳ* of Buda.
3. Those not recorded at either their new or old abode in 1562, and who were uncertain.[20]
4. Those recorded at their old abode in 1562.[21]
5. Those who moved outside the *sancāḳ*.
6. The total number of people moving to known places.
7. The total number of heads of families who moved to known places.

C. The total number of registered heads of familles (1546).[22]

D. The total number of registered people (1546).

E. The total number of heads of families involved in migration.

F. The total number of people involved in migration.

I proceeded *nāḥiye* by *nāḥiye*, separating the villages from towns. I excluded the villages where only the text of the *defter* of 1546 was copied and no change whatever indicated. All 16 of them were depopulating areas. By contrast, I included the village (No. 85, Fősőcsút), which became deserted, but the register recorded what happened to its inhabitants. Finally, I calculated the totals in each category for the *sancāḳ*. Table III below gives the data for settlements. (Further abbreviations: a. = number of the settlement in Káldy-Nagy's edition (cf. note 16); b. = name of the settlement; c. = category of the settlement; T = town; V = village; % = F : D.)

[19] I included in this category those that were registered at their new address both in 1559 and 1562.

[20] I term those "uncertain" who were indicated by unidentifiable or unreadable place-names as their new residence, or moved to towns of several hundred inhabitants, where I had no patience to trace them in the registers (fortunately their number is very low).

[21] In 1559 some of them were said to have moved outside the *sancāḳ*, but since three years later they were still entered at their old abode, they were retained in this category.

[22] The number of heads of families and the total number of registered people (C and D) were taken from another work of Káldy-Nagy, Gyula: *A Budai szandzsák 1546—1590. évi összeírásai. Demográfiai és gazdaságtörténeti adatok* (Pest Megye múltjából 6) [Registrations of the *sancāḳ* of Buda in the years 1546—1590. Data in demography and economic history. (From the Past of Pest County 6) [(Ed. by Egey, Tibor)]. Budapest 1985.

Table III

a. b.	c.	A I.	A II. 1.	A II. 2.	A II. 3.	A III.	B 1.	B 2.	B 3.	B 4.	B 5.	B 6.	B 7.	C	D	E	F	%
I. Nāḥiye of Buda																		
1. Budun	T	4			1	5	3		2			5	2	269	366	6	10	2.7
2. Tetem	V			1		1								43	47	—	1	2.1
5. Ért	V	1				1								28	28	1	1	3.5
6. Százhalom	V								2	3		5	5	10	10	5	5	50.0
10. Zsánbok	V	3		1	6	10			1		1	2	2	65	99	5	12	12.1
13. Töke	V	1				1								7	12	1	1	8.3
18. Nagy Báté	V						1	2	5			8	4	9	15	4	8	53.3
22. Keszi	V		2	1		3								48	84	—	3	3.5
25. Almás	V	1				1								43	58	1	1	1.7
27. Szigedfő	V													15	18	—	—	0.0
28. Adon	V	2				2			1			1	1	51	69	3	3	4.3
36. Besenyő	V								2			2	2	14	18	2	2	11.1
37. Budun-i Atik	T				1	1	1					1	1	63	104	1	2	1.9
38. Pentele	V						2					2	1	27	36	1	2	5.5
39. Venim	V	1				1								53	92	1	1	1.1
45. Etyek	V	5				5								20	22	5	5	22.7
49. Marton Vásár	V						1		1			2	2	12	15	2	2	13.3
52. Gyura	V	1		1		2								8	11	1	2	18.1
54. Alsótabaj	V													10	14	—	—	0.0
57. Tordas	V													3	3	—	—	0.0
58. Berki	V													10	11	—	—	0.0
61. Bia	V								2			2	2	4	7	2	2	28.6
62. Tinnye	V							2	1			3	3	4	7	3	3	42.9
66. Sóskút	V													29	32	—	—	0.0
71. Ercsi	V	2		1		3								28	54	2	3	5.5
73. Őrsziget	V						5					5	5	6	6	5	5	83.3
75. Ákszenpetri	V	1				1								12	17	1	1	5.9
83. Örs	V								1			1	1	3	3	1	1	33.3
85. Fősőcsút	V	2	1	1		4								2	4	2	4	100.0
86. Fődvár	T	4		1	6	11								131	192	4	11	5.7
87. Bócska	V	1				1								131	176	1	1	0.6
88. Madacsa	V				3	3			1			1	—	26	45	—	4	8.8
89. Előszállás	V	1				1								33	44	1	1	2.2
93. Karácsonszállás	V								2			2	2	28	37	2	2	5.4
99. Föven	V	1				1								12	12	1	1	8.3
100. Vál*	T	4		2	2	8	17	1	4		7	29	28	143	207	32	37	17.9
Total		35	3	9	19	66	30	5	25	3	8	71	61	1400	1976	96	137	
Town		12	—	3	10	25	21	1	6	—	7	35	31	606	869	43	60	
Village		23	3	6	9	41	9	4	19	3	1	36	30	794	1107	53	77	

* Registered as a village in 1559 and a town at other times Vál was regarded as town in this investigation based on its size.

a. b.	c.	A I.	A II. 1.	A II. 2.	A II. 3.	A III.	B 1.	B 2.	B 3.	B 4.	B 5.	B 6.	B 7.	C	D	E	F	%
II. Nāḥiye of Pest																		
114. Peste	T	3		2	4	4	13			4			4	2	122	177	5	17	9.6
117. Varsán	V							4		1			5	4	6	9	4	5	55.5
118. Takson	V									1			1	1	17	22	1	1	4.5
119. Nemeg	V	1				1	2								22	28	1	2	7.1
122. Szekcsuj	T			1			1								48	69	—	1	1.4
124. Szentomáskáta	V	1				1	2								19	29	1	2	6.9
125. Szenmárton-káta	V														34	41	—	—	0.0
126. Bódogasszon-káta	V	3		1	1	2	7		1		6		7	6	20	25	9	14	56.0
127. Szenlőrinckáta	V	6		1	2	1	10					1	1	—	29	40	6	11	27.5
128. Egröskáta	V														20	29	—	—	0.0
129. Csekekáta	V														19	23	—	—	0.0
130. Újszáz	V	3			1		4			1		3	4	3	44	57	6	8	14.0
131. Rékás	V	1					1					1	1	1	16	17	2	2	11.8
132. Folta	V							1			1		2	2	29	41	2	2	4.9
134. Tetétlen	V														5	9	—	—	0.0
136. Félegyház	V						2								22	31	—	—	0.0
137. Gyömrő	V	2					2			1		1	2	2	20	25	4	4	16.0
138. Veresegyház	V	1				1	1			1			1	1	58	80	2	3	3.8
139. Szada	V	1						1					1	1	44	64	2	2	3.1
140. Rátót	V									1			1	1	30	50	1	1	2.0
141. Szenmiklós	V	2				2	4		1	1	1		3	1	35	66	3	7	10.6
142. Tápiószen-márton	V					1	1								58	90	—	1	1.1
143. Pánd	V	3			3	3	9								28	45	3	9	20.0
146. Ság	V	4			2	1	7								19	32	4	7	21.9
148. Csiktarcsa	V	1				2	3								22	31	1	3	9.7
149. Kistarcsa	V														10	13	—	—	0.0
150. Irsaszeg	V					1	1			1			1	1	29	42	1	2	4.8
151. Mende	V														7	8	—	—	0.0
153. Ölle	V	1					1								31	45	1	1	2.2
156. Vecsecs	V														6	10	—	—	0.0
157. Gonba	V	2		3	2		7			1	1		2	—	32	51	2	9	17.6
158. Zsiger	V	2				3	5								22	29	2	5	17.2
159. Bicske	V	10				4	14				1		1	1	44	68	11	15	22.1
160. Herencsén	V	2					2								27	38	2	2	5.3
163. Lackház	V	2					2	1					1	1	22	40	3	3	7.5
166. Vacs	V	2					2								48	64	2	2	3.1
172. Mikebuda	V														23	31	—	—	0.0
174. Szenkirál	V				1		1								8	13	—	1	7.7
175. Bial	V														14	20	—	—	0.0
178. Hügye	V														13	17	—	—	0.0
180. Bankház	V														9	17	—	—	0.0
182. Imrefalva	V			1			1								7	9	—	1	11.1

a. b.	c.	A I.	A II. 1.	A II. 2.	A II. 3.	A III.	B 1.	B 2.	B 3.	B 4.	B 5.	B 6.	B 7.	C	D	E	F	%
183. Pereg	V													3	6	—	—	0.0
184. Csév	V	3				3								26	33	3	3	9.1
185. Nyáregyház	V													19	27	—	—	0.0
186. Maglód	V	1				1		1	3	4		8	6	11	19	7	9	47.3
187. Dabas	V	6				6								20	35	6	6	17.1
188. Peszér	V				4	4								10	22	—	4	18.2
191. Inacs	V				1	1								19	29	—	1	3.4
193. Sári	V				1	1	1					1	1	11	18	1	2	11.1
194. Kiscsaba	V							1				1	1	11	14	1	1	7.1
195. Bilje	V								3	6		9	8	14	20	8	9	45.0
196. Gyón	V													9	13	—	—	0.0
198. Szinkota	V													39	49	—	—	0.0
201. Besnyő	V	3	1			4	1					1	1	9	11	4	5	45.5
202. Pécel	V		4	1		5			2		1	3	3	26	46	3	8	17.4
203. Ókcsa	V													41	60	—	—	0.0
206. Demsöd	V													28	37	—	—	0.0
209. Szentomás	V	1			2	3	1					1	1	18	25	2	4	16.0
210. Szenmiklós	V	1				1								28	41	1	1	2.4
213. Gubacs	V						5	1	4			10	9	12	18	9	10	55.6
215. Hernád	V	11		1		12								35	45	11	12	26.7
216. Vecse	V						2					2	1	43	59	1	2	3.4
219. Jánoshida	V	1	1		2	4								32	46	1	4	8.7
221. Tódkér	V	1				1								20	29	1	1	3.4
222. Pódharaszti	V										1	1	1	17	23	1	1	4.3
223. Csaba	V	4				4								49	91	4	4	4.4
227. Kerepes	V	1				1								42	61	1	1	1.6
228. Gödöl	V													3	3	—	—	0.0
229. Besnyő	V													13	19	—	—	0.0
230. Alberti	V	1				1								31	44	1	1	2.3
231. Irsa	V							1	2		1	4	4	17	18	4	4	22.2
232. Molnár	V				1	1								21	31	—	1	3.2
233. Uri	V	2				2								13	20	2	2	10.0
234. Petrefalva	V	1			1	2								8	12	1	2	16.7
244. Hartján	V	2				2								10	12	2	2	16.7
246. Vadas	V								1			1	1	5	7	1	1	14.3
247. Szalk	V													8	9	—	—	0.0
248. Felsőbokor	V							3	6	3	2	14	8	14	24	8	14	58.3
250. Alsóbokor	V	1				1								10	17	1	1	5.9
251. Verseg	V													80	96	—	—	0.0
253. Heréd	V	1	1		1	3								16	22	1	3	13.6
254. Kálló	V													19	37	—	—	0.0
256. Hévíz	V													24	33	—	—	0.0
257. Bódokfalva	V	3				3								100	156	3	3	1.9
258. Szántó	V	5	3	1	1	10								25	38	5	10	26.3
260. Zsámbok	V	6	1	1	1	9								49	84	6	9	10.7
261. Kóka	V	2			2	4								57	79	2	4	5.1

a. b.	c.	A I.	A I. 1.	A I. 2.	A I. 3.	A III.	B 1.	B 2.	B 3.	B 4.	B 5.	B 6.	B 7.	C	D	E	F	%
262. Dáni	V	1				1								17	28	1	1	3.6
263. Bak	V	2	1		5	8	1					1	1	64	108	3	9	8.3
265. Kartal	V	1				1			8	15	1	24	20	30	39	21	25	64.1
267. Lőrinci	V	1	2	2	2	7								82	122	1	7	5.7
269. Monostor	V				1	1	1		3	4		8	8	13	19	8	9	47.4
270. Györk	V	1				1								54	71	1	1	1.4
273. Tura	V				13	13								89	128	—	13	10.2
274. Sámsonház	V	2				2					1	1	1	26	42	3	3	7.1
275. Szőllős	V	2			2	4								97	135	2	4	3.0
276. Ecseg	V	2	1			3								66	80	2	3	3.8
277. Jobbágyi	V										1	1	—	35	51	—	1	2.0
278. Valkó	V				1	1								30	46	—	1	2.2
279. Szenlászló	V	1				1				1		1	1	18	28	2	2	7.1
280. Györgye	V				1	1								35	47	—	1	2.1
281. Szele	V													27	40	—	—	0.0
282. Sóshartján	V				1	1								19	44	—	1	2.3
285. Bágyon	V													24	40	—	—	0.0
286. Márkház	V				1	1								5	11	—	1	9.1
287. Gede	V													11	16	—	—	0.0
288. Csécse	V				1	1								23	30	—	1	3.3
289. Palotáshatvan	V	4				4								36	63	4	4	6.3
290. Kőrös	T	1			3	4								157	210	1	4	1.9
291. Kökénös	V	4	1	2		7								25	43	4	7	16.3
292. Híhalom	V				8	8			4		3	7	5	33	60	5	15	25.0
293. Homokterenne	V													13	19	—	—	0.0
295. Nemtin	V	6	6	2	2	16								11	22	6	16	72.7
296. Megyer	V													40	95	—	—	0.0
297. Dengeleg	V				2	2								11	21	—	2	9.5
298. Újlak	V				1	1			1		2	3	1	16	32	1	4	12.5
302. Cegléd	T	6			4	10					4	4	1	199	302	7	14	4.6
304. Bénye	V													8	9	—	—	0.0
305. Almás	V										1	1	1	5	7	1	1	14.3
306. Pálfalva	V				3	3					14	14	5	14	39	5	17	43.6
307. Keresztúr	V										3	3	3	6	8	3	3	37.5
308. Keszi	V	5		1		6					3	3	3	78	108	8	9	8.3
311. Újfalva	V	1				1								31	40	1	1	2.5
312. Pilis	V													12	16	—	—	0.0
314. Domon	V	1				1	1	1	1			3	3	7	8	4	4	50.0
315. Zsidó	V						1		1	8		10	7	11	15	7	10	66.7
316. Kocsi	V						1					1	1	25	38	1	1	2.6
317. Haraszti	V													3	5	—	—	0.0
321. Dab	V													11	13	—	—	0.0
322. Tas	V	1		1	2	4								3	8	1	4	50.0
324. Szengyörgy	V													6	8	—	—	0.0
325. Szenmárton	V	2			2	4								9	9	2	4	44.4
326. Kazár	V													9	17	—	—	0.0
Total		154	31	28	99	312	22	10	53	51	43	179	134	3797	5623	288	491	
Town		10	3	4	11	28	—	—	4	—	4	8	3	526	758	13	36	
Village		144	28	24	88	284	22	10	49	51	39	171	131	3271	4865	275	455	

a. b.	c.	A I.	A II. 1.	A II. 2.	A II. 3.	A III.	B 1.	B 2.	B 3.	B 4.	B 5.	B 6.	B 7.	C	D	E	F	%
III. Nāḥiye of Kecskemét																		
335. Kecskemét	T	2			1	61	64							295	471	2	64	13.6
342. Ferencszállás	V							2				2	—	27	36	—	2	5.5
344. Orgován	V	2					2							7	8	2	2	25.0
345. Mizse	V	2				4	6	5				5	4	39	62	6	11	17.7
349. Lajos	V					4	4	1				1	1	24	29	1	5	17.2
351. Pálka	V													23	35	—	—	0.0
352. Paládics	V	6			2		8		1	3		1	5	5	20	27	11	13	48.1
353. Tószeg	V													15	22	—	—	0.0
354. Szenkirál	V										1		1	—	41	53	—	1	1.9
355. Szenlőrinc	V														33	40	—	—	0.0
356. Fősőalpár	V									1			1	1	22	24	1	1	4.2
357. Farnas	V	1					1								24	32	1	1	3.1
358. Sőreg	V														15	19	—	—	0.0
359. Kürd	V														32	45	—	—	0.0
360. Aba	V	10				1	11								156	221	10	11	5.0
361. Füzesmegyer	V	4	6	2	2		14				1	1	2	1	31	54	5	16	29.6
362. Gyolja	V														27	57	—	—	0.0
363. Jenő	V	1					1								26	39	1	1	2.6
364. Kara	V	3					3			1			1	1	32	50	4	4	8.0
365. Százszeg	V														14	20	—	—	0.0
366. Törtel	V	1					1				1		1	1	69	94	2	2	2.1
368. Baracsa	V	2				2	4			1			1	1	26	37	3	5	13.5
369. Szengyörgy	V	1				1	2								6	9	1	2	22.2
370. Jakabszállás	V										1		1	1	9	10	1	1	10.0
372. Adacs	V														2	2	—	—	0.0
373. Bene	V					1	1								3	5	—	1	20.0
374. Beszter	V	1					1								6	6	1	1	16.7
376. Alsóalpár	V														13	13	—	—	0.0
377. Kerekegyház	V	3				1	4								14	19	3	4	21.0
378. Izsák	V	1				1	2								13	18	1	2	11.1
379. Kisszállás	V	1				1	2								20	31	1	2	6.5
380. Vatya	V														10	12	—	—	0.0
387. Csán	V					2	2								42	56	—	2	3.6
388. Fölgyő	V														32	40	—	—	0.0
389. Egyház	V	1				1	2								7	9	1	2	22.2
Total		42	6	5	82		135	8	1	6	4	2	21	16	1175	1705	58	156	
Town		2	—	1	61		64	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	295	471	2	64	
Village		40	6	4	21		71	8	1	6	4	2	21	16	880	1234	56	92	

a.	b.	c.	I.	A II. 1.	A II. 2.	A II. 3.	III.	B 1.	B 2.	B 3.	B 4.	B 5.	B 6.	B 7.	C	D	E	F	%
IV. Nāḫiye of Vác																			
401.	Vác	T	6	1	1	6	14	1					1	1	213	316	7	15	4.7
402.	Kozsd	V	2			5	7	1	2	10			13	10	101	172	12	20	11.6
404.	Cselete	V	5		1	5	11			2			2	1	70	117	6	13	11.1
405.	Noszál	V				1	1			5		1	6	2	41	62	2	7	11.3
406.	Rádót	V				6	6								54	98	—	6	6.1
408.	Némeg	V	3		1		4								50	84	3	4	4.8
409.	Szilágy	V			1	1	2				1		1	1	20	31	1	3	9.7
411.	Hartján	V	1			2	3								24	37	1	3	8.1
412.	Csörög	V													20	37	—	—	0.0
413.	Penc	V			2	4	6								49	87	—	6	6.9
414.	Sződ	V													30	57	—	—	0.0
419.	Verovics	V				2	2				1		1	1	38	52	1	3	5.8
421.	Szokol	V				3	3								56	78	—	3	3.8
422.	Ecsed	V	1				1			1		2	3	2	26	45	3	4	8.9
423.	Duka	V								1			1	1	9	16	1	1	6.3
425.	Agárd	V				2	2								29	50	—	2	4.0
427.	Keszeg	V						5	1	4			10	8	22	28	8	10	35.7
428.	Legénd	V	1				1								13	20	1	1	5.0
429.	Nézsa	V													12	20	—	—	0.0
430.	Szenti	V													11	17	—	—	0.0
431.	Püspökhatvan	V								4	11		15	13	37	49	13	15	30.6
432.	Kelecsén	V				1	1								9	16	—	1	6.3
433.	Kövezsd	V								1			1	1	6	7	1	1	14.3
434.	Acsa	V	1				1								12	17	1	1	5.9
435.	Sáp	V	6		3		9								17	26	6	9	34.6
436.	Szondakér	V													13	28	—	—	0.0
440.	Csitár	V													9	14	—	—	0.0
441.	Almás	V													8	14	—	—	0.0
442.	Gárdon	V										1	1	1	2	3	1	1	33.3
444.	Kiskér	V													9	18	—	—	0.0
445.	Csalár	V	2				2								13	30	2	2	6.7
447.	Galabofcse	V													14	20	—	—	0.0
448.	Kiscsitár	V									1		1	1	10	18	1	1	5.6
449.	Táp	V			1		1	1		3		4	8	7	10	20	7	9	45.0
450.	Mácsa	V													31	42	—	—	0.0
454.	Szügy	V	1				1								14	18	1	1	5.6
455.	Koplán	V													6	12	—	—	0.0
456.	Mohora	V													20	30	—	—	0.0
457.	Nagybercel	V						1					1	1	50	63	1	1	1.6
458.	Kisbercel	V									2		2	2	7	7	2	2	28.6
459.	Kóvár	V													9	13	—	—	0.0
460.	Bér	V	2				2								33	51	2	2	3.9
463.	Csesztvi	V				1	1	2		1	3	2	8	4	8	13	4	9	69.2
464.	Bakófalva	V													4	7	—	—	0.0
465.	Haraszti	V													10	16	—	—	0.0

a. b.	c.	A I.	A II. 1.	A II. 2.	A II. 3.	A III.	B 1.	B 2.	B 3.	B 4.	B 5.	B 6.	B 7.	C	D	E	F	%
467. Terén	V													28	44	—	—	0.0
468. Magyaród	V				1	1								15	28	—	1	3.6
470. Rimóc	V	2		1		3								15	27	2	3	11.1
472. Bátka	V													9	17	—	—	0.0
473. Szelescsén	V													7	14	—	—	0.0
474. Buják	T	1				1								36	54	1	1	1.9
475. Szirák	V	1				1								21	32	1	1	3.1
476. Várbó	V													16	26	—	—	0.0
478. Dra	V			1		1					1	1	1	15	23	1	2	8.7
481. Varsán	V	2	1			3								18	20	2	3	15.0
483. Debercsén	V													13	21	—	—	0.0
484. Becske	V						3			1		4	3	46	62	3	4	6.5
485. Nándor	V						1		1			2	2	39	63	2	2	3.2
486. Ipolkér	V													13	14	—	—	0.0
487. Egyháznénye	V	5		2		7								13	18	5	7	38.9
489. Sipek	V	1				1								6	7	1	1	14.3
492. Surán	V	1				1								11	11	1	1	9.1
497. Csóri	V													10	10	—	—	0.0
Total		44	2	14	40	100	15	3	33	20	11	82	63	1580	2467	107	182	
Town		7	1	1	6	15	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	249	370	8	16	
Village		37	1	13	34	85	14	3	33	20	11	81	62	1331	2097	99	166	
V. Nāḥiye of Visegrád																		
502. Marosa	T	1		1	3	5								94	122	1	5	4.1
503. Bogdán	V						1					1	—	33	40	—	1	2.5
505. Vácrév	V													19	27	—	—	0.0
506. Tódfalva	V													7	7	—	—	0.0
510. Bolgár	V						1					1	1	17	22	1	1	4.5
512. Szentendri	V								1			1	1	19	24	1	1	4.2
513. Kisorosfalva	V													23	32	—	—	0.0
515. Pócsmegyer	V	2				2								43	56	2	2	3.6
516. Torda	V													12	14	—	—	0.0
517. Monosto	V			1		1	1					1	1	14	17	1	2	11.8
Total		3	—	2	3	8	3	—	1	—	—	4	3	281	361	6	12	
Town		1	—	1	3	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	94	122	1	5	
Village		2	—	1	—	3	3	—	1	—	—	4	3	187	239	5	7	
VI. Nāḥiye of Kuvin																		
534. Kuvin	T	38	1	1	56	96								536	670	38	96	14.3
538. Újfalva	V													28	38	—	—	0.0
539. Szenmárton	V						1			1		2	2	46	55	2	2	3.6
540. Szenmihál	V													16	25	—	—	0.0
541. Háros	V									3		3	2	55	70	2	3	4.3
542. Tököl	V	1			3	4	2			1		3	1	91	109	2	7	6.4

a. b.	c.	I.	A I. 1.	2.	3.	III.	B 1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	C	D	E	F	%
544. Csepel	V	4				4								58	69	4	4	5.8
545. Szőlős	V	1				1				3		3	3	53	60	4	4	6.7
546. Szenmiklós	V	3			4	7								96	118	3	7	5.9
547. Becse	V								1			1	1	41	52	1	1	1.9
548. Gyala	V				1	1								30	38	—	1	2.6
549. Makád	V	4			1	5								50	57	4	5	8.8
550. Simonfalva	V													8	8	—	—	0.0
551. Lóré	V	1				1								35	38	1	1	2.6
552. Lak	V							2				2	2	9	12	2	2	16.7
Total		52	1	1	65	119	3	2	1	8	—	14	11	1153	1419	63	133	
Town		38	1	1	56	96	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	536	670	38	96	
Village		14	—	—	9	23	3	2	1	8	—	14	11	617	749	25	37	

Adding up the groups of people moving to new habitation within each *nāḥiye*, we gain the following figures (Table IV).

Table IV

1. *Villages*

Nāhiye	A 1	2	3	B 1	2	3	C 1	2	3	D 1	2	3
Buda	23	18	41	30	6	36	53	24	77	794	313	1107
Pest	144	140	284	131	40	171	275	180	455	3271	1594	4865
Kecskemét	40	31	71	16	5	21	56	36	92	880	354	1234
Vác	37	48	85	62	19	81	99	67	166	1331	766	2097
Visegrád	2	1	3	3	1	4	5	2	7	187	52	239
Kuvin	14	9	23	11	3	14	25	12	37	617	132	749
Total	260	247	507	253	74	327	513	321	834	7080	3211	10291

2. *Towns*

Nāhiye	A 1	2	3	B 1	2	3	C 1	2	3	D 1	2	3
Buda	12	13	25	31	4	35	43	17	60	606	263	869
Pest	10	18	28	3	5	8	13	23	36	526	232	758
Kecskemét	2	62	64	—	—	—	2	62	64	295	176	471
Vác	7	8	15	1	—	1	8	8	16	249	121	370
Visegrád	1	4	5	—	—	—	1	4	5	94	28	122
Kuvin	38	58	96	—	—	—	38	58	96	536	134	670
Total	70	163	233	35	9	44	105	172	277	2306	954	3260

3. *Total of villages and towns*

Nāḥiye	A			B			C			D		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Buda	35	31	66	61	10	71	96	41	137	1400	576	1976
Pest	154	158	312	134	45	179	288	203	491	3797	1826	5623
Kecskemét	42	93	135	16	5	21	58	98	156	1175	530	1705
Vác	44	56	100	63	19	82	107	75	182	1580	887	2467
Visegrád	3	5	8	3	1	4	6	6	12	281	80	361
Kuvin	52	67	119	11	3	14	63	70	133	1153	266	1419
Total	330	410	740	288	83	371	618	493	1111	9386	4165	13551

A = those moving to unknown place B = those moving to a known place C = total of those migrating D = those registered in 1546 1 = heads of families 2 = not heads of families 3 = total of heads of families and not heads of families

As for the ratios, it is most important to illustrate how those moving to known and those to unknown places, and within them, heads of families and not heads of families, share migration as regards the total of registered heads of families (E, F) and not heads of families (H, I), respectively. It is also important to see the percentage ratios between the total of the above-mentioned two main categories and again the total of the heads of families (G) and the total of not heads of families (J), respectively. The ratio can then be seen of those going to known places (K) and those moving to unknown places (L) and their proportion of the whole population, and finally, how migration affected the entire population (M). (Table V. see p. 199.)

When evaluating the figures, it is necessary to first look at the regional distribution of migration, especially between the villages and towns. With its 11,400 km² area, the *sancāḳ* of Buda was the largest of the units of Ottoman administration in Hungary. It included small or large areas from eight former Hungarian counties with varying geographical endowments and different population density. Moreover, the northern parts came within a zone heavily exposed to military clashes, which theoretically could have affected migration patterns. In the peculiar Turkish system of administrative division, *nāḥiye*s considerably differed regarding the number of settlements, and within this, the number of towns and townsmen. Ten of the settlements included in the *nāḥiye* of Visegrád were examined and only slightly more, 15 of the communities in the *nāḥiye* of Kuvin, including the name-giving settlement of Kuvin-Ráckeve, a huge town by contemporary standards. Circumspection must be exercised with regard to these two *nāḥiye*s: the percentage rate of migration could be misleading. Compared to these two small units, the *nāḥiye*s of Buda (36 localities) and Kecskemét (35 places) of medium size had about the same number of settlements; while in the former, 44% of the inhabitants lived in towns, in the latter, a good quarter of the *nāḥiye*'s inhabitants were registered

Table V

1. *Villages*

Nāḥiye	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
Buda	2.9	3.8	6.7	5.8	1.9	7.7	3.7	3.3	7.0
Pest	4.4	4.0	8.4	8.8	2.5	11.3	5.8	3.5	9.3
Kecskemét	4.6	1.8	6.4	8.8	1.4	10.2	5.8	1.7	7.5
Vác	2.8	4.6	7.4	6.2	2.5	8.7	4.0	3.9	7.9
Visegrád	1.1	1.6	2.7	1.9	1.9	3.8	1.2	1.7	2.9
Kuvin	2.2	1.8	4.0	6.8	2.3	9.1	3.0	1.9	4.9
Total	3.7	3.5	7.2	7.7	2.3	10.0	4.9	3.2	8.1

2. *Towns*

Nāḥiye	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
Buda	2.0	5.1	7.1	4.9	1.5	6.4	2.9	4.0	6.9
Pest	1.9	0.6	2.5	7.8	2.1	9.9	3.7	1.0	4.7
Kecskemét	0.7	0.0	0.7	35.2	0.0	35.2	13.6	0.0	13.6
Vác	2.8	0.4	3.2	6.6	0.0	6.6	4.0	0.3	4.3
Visegrád	1.1	0.0	1.1	14.3	0.0	14.3	4.1	0.0	4.1
Kuvin	7.1	0.0	7.1	43.3	0.0	43.3	14.3	0.0	14.3
Total	3.0	1.5	4.5	17.1	0.9	18.0	7.1	1.4	8.5

3. *Total of towns and villages*

Nāḥiye	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
Buda	2.5	4.4	6.9	5.4	1.7	7.1	3.3	3.6	6.9
Pest	4.1	3.5	7.6	8.6	2.5	11.1	5.3	3.2	8.7
Kecskemét	3.6	1.3	4.9	17.6	0.9	18.5	7.9	1.2	9.1
Vác	2.8	4.0	6.8	6.3	2.1	8.4	4.1	3.3	7.4
Visegrád	1.05	1.05	2.1	6.3	1.2	7.5	2.2	1.1	3.3
Kuvin	4.5	1.0	5.5	25.2	1.1	26.3	8.4	1.0	9.4
Total	3.5	3.1	6.6	9.8	2.0	11.8	5.5	2.7	8.2

E = A1 : D1 F = B1 : D1 G = C1 : D1 H = A2 : D2 I = B2 : D2 J = C2 : D2 K = A3 : D3 L = B3 : D3 M = C3 : D3 (cf. Table IV)

in Kecskemét, later one of the most significant centres of the entire territory under Turkish rule. The *nāḥiye* of Vác can be considered large, with its 63 settlements providing data for this investigation, but it still fell short of the huge *nāḥiye* of Pest, which contained 134 localities.

Though the different size of the *nāḥiye*s might imply the possibility of delusion, in assessing the M/III column of the totalled % values, no essentially

large differences are found between the sub-units, especially compared to the average of the entire *sancāḳ*, except for the *nāḥiye* of Visegrád. The highest rate (9.4%) appears in the best protected *nāḥiye* of Kuvin located on an island (!) followed by another relatively safe unit more to the south, that of Kecskemét (9.1%). A glance at the ratios of urban migration (M/II column) is sufficient to explain this deviation. Referring back to what was said in the previous paragraph: very few villages belonged to Kuvin and the inhabitants of the town surpassed the total number of rural inhabitants; examining only its villages, this *nāḥiye* displays the second lowest value. In the other *nāḥiye*s, the ratios of rural and urban migration were either very close to each other, as in Buda or the latter was well below the former, as in the Vác and particularly in the Pest *nāḥiye* (this being the only *nāḥiye* in which the rate of rural migration exceeded the average), or it was just slightly above the former, as in Visegrád. Concerning the latter *nāḥiye*, it should be added that between 1546 and 1559, three of its settlements, Visegrád and two villages, became deserted; if we assumed all their inhabitants moved away — methodologically an obvious mistake, since deaths must also be considered — this *nāḥiye* would be at the top.

Thus, first among the towns was Ráckeve, where 14.3% of its inhabitants, nearly half the unmarried population, mostly the fairly mobile servants, moved away. It was closely followed by Kecskemét, which was left by large numbers of servants, but almost no heads of families.[23] It should also be noted that urban heads of families were in general less inclined to migrate than their rural counterparts, with the exception of Ráckeve, with the possible addition of the *nāḥiye* of Buda where the two values are very similar.

The most salient singular feature was the immobility of the majority of the heads of families compared to the greater mobility of unmarried people (cf. columns G and J–Table V). True, there is smaller divergence with the villages, amounting to around 1% in three *nāḥiye*s (Buda, Vác, and Visegrád) and to 3—5% in the other three. By contrast, there were bigger variations in the towns: while in the *nāḥiye* of Buda heads of families who left slightly preceded the unmarried persons, elsewhere the difference in the opposite direction could be magnitudes larger. In the total, only about half as many heads of families as unmarried men moved away (6.6% against 11.8%).

There are also significant differences regarding the known and unknown new addresses of those who left. Whether the studied settlement was a town or village was again decisive. (12% of all the migrant population came from the towns compared to 88% from villages.) Except for the *nāḥiye* of Buda,

[23] Mészáros, László, Kecskemét gazdasági élete és népe a XVI. század közepén [The economic life and people of Kecskemét in the middle of the 16th century], *Bács-Kiskun Megye Múltjából II* (1979), pp. 188—200.

there are very few answers to the "where to" questions concerning both married and unmarried men in urban settlements. As for the villages, there is more certain than uncertain information in three *nāḥiyes* (Buda, Vác, and Visegrád) as far as married persons are concerned. It is a general feature that the new habitat of single people is less frequently known. For all rural heads of families, those who moved and were missing just minimally preceded the others (3.7% with an unknown habitat compared to 3.5% with a known new residence), whereas in the towns the difference was 100% (3.0% compared to 1.5%). The new abode of single people was also better known in the villages, although the ratio of unknown new habitations was three times as much as the known place of residence (7.7% compared to 2.3%) — this difference in the towns was nineteenfold (17.1% unknown compared to 0.9% with a known habitat). Apparently, the inner channels of information operated far better in the villages than in the towns.

All things considered, out of the 13,551 people registered in 1546 and examined here, a total of 1,111 i.e. 8.2% (or average annual 0.63%) disappeared, left or moved to a known place over 13 years. The number of heads of families involved in migration was 618, or 6.6% (annual average 0.51%) of the total of 9,386 family heads. The migration of single people was much more intensive at 11.8% (out of 4,165 persons 493, or annual average 0.91%). Of the latter, however, 308 were servants amounting to 62.5% of the unmarried males. These coefficients are low, even if there was a high death rate, for which there is no scope here to analyze, that reduced the circle of those who could participate in migration. Thus, in this sense a greater share of the surviving population migrated. However, since investigations like this normally concentrate on changes from the starting situation, that is what I did too.

From among the 371 persons moving to known abodes, only 81 (about 22%) could be found at the new place in 1559. To them we can add 21 men (6%) who were registered at the indicated settlement in 1562. By contrast, nearly one quarter of the people at issue (86 persons) were enumerated at their original abode in 1562, too. The largest is the proportion of those who were not found at the new place in either of the two registers, but were no longer recorded at their old village or town in 1562 either. This applies to 119 persons, i.e. 32% of the studied sample, though this value is slightly distorted by the fact that I added to them some people who moved to large towns and I did not try to identify them, as well as a few men indicated with unreadable place-names. Finally, 64 persons were indicated as moving to settlements outside the *sancāḳ*, and since in 1562 they were indeed missing from their original residence, they can truly be regarded as gone (17%). In addition to them, there were 7 cases where some remote place-names were written, but in 1562 they were still listed at their earlier habitation (so they were included in category B/4 in the division by localities — Table IV).

It is also highly illuminating to survey the directions of migration. A mere 6 persons moved beyond the territory occupied by the Ottomans (from among the known cases, of course). Five went to Eger and one to Nagyszombat (today Trnava). Obviously those who "escaped" or "disappeared" (amounting to a predominant two-thirds of all those involved in migration) must have included several others, but we cannot even guess at their number. We could only do it if we had a better knowledge of the limits of collective memory. It is nonetheless conspicuous that 46.5% of the married homeleavers were entered in the register with a known new abode, while the corresponding figure for unmarried people was 17%. Whether young servants were more mobile than others or not is an unsettled question. The known "destinations" of the migrants, both married and unmarried, reveal that the overwhelming majority of them chose a village or town nearby, very often explicitly the neighbouring settlement. In addition, the direction of the new locality was completely accidental. There is nothing to indicate that the people tended to move northward, since areas more to the south attracted them just the same. Neither can we detect from the data a sizeable flux into the towns. The majority of the people, some 280, i.e. 75% of the 371 in our sample, moved within 15—20 km as can be seen from the maps (pp. 245—252) diminished in scale.[24] All this was unexpected for me as it does not allude to a population set on the move by wars and by political uncertainty.

Dividing the 1,111 migrants by the 293 settlements, we get 3.8 persons. This index is obviously lower for villages and higher for towns (3.0 and 21.4, respectively). While migrants were found in every town, there were 80 villages where no change was noted in this regard above the names of the inhabitants. There are, however, considerable differences between the *nāḥiye*s in these figures. Compared to 15.6% of the villages in the Buda *nāḥiye*, 26.9% of the villages in the Pest district, 32.3% of those belonging to Kecskemét, 36.1% of those in the Vác *nāḥiye*, 44.4 of those controlled by Visegrád and 21.4% of the villages belonging to Ráckeve were not affected by migration. One cannot, however, draw far-reaching conclusions from these figures, since the above data suggest that the most chaotic situation was around Buda, but at the same time, we find there, and around Visegrád, the highest number of villages affected by the lowest level of migration, i.e. which were left by only 1—5 persons (25 of the 27 communities belong here).

In terms of numbers, I set the upper limit at 20 persons and even so I only found 4 among all the studied settlements from where more people moved

[24] When making the maps we took as the basis the map attached to Gyula Káldy-Nagy's work mentioned in note 22. The settlements outside the *sancāḳ* were located on the basis of the map supplement to the gazette of 1973 (*A Magyar Népköztársaság helységnévtára* [Gazette of the Hungarian People's Republic] 1973. Budapest, n. d.) as its scale is almost identical with that of the former.

away (3 of them towns: Kecskemét, Ráckeve and Vál, and only one village). Localities losing 16—20 inhabitants were also few in number: 5 (4 villages and 1 town). Thus, in the overwhelming majority of cases, detectable migration is not large. Going downward: settlements with 11—15 migrants number 16, those with 6—10 homeleavers show a value of 30. Compared to this, no less than 158 places (54% of all settlements and 74% of those communities from where people moved away) lost a mere 1—5 inhabitants. Considering that in the *sancāḳ* of Buda, average village size, without the completion of the defective data, was around 125,[25] half of them men, it seems evident that migration was not considerable with a few exceptions.

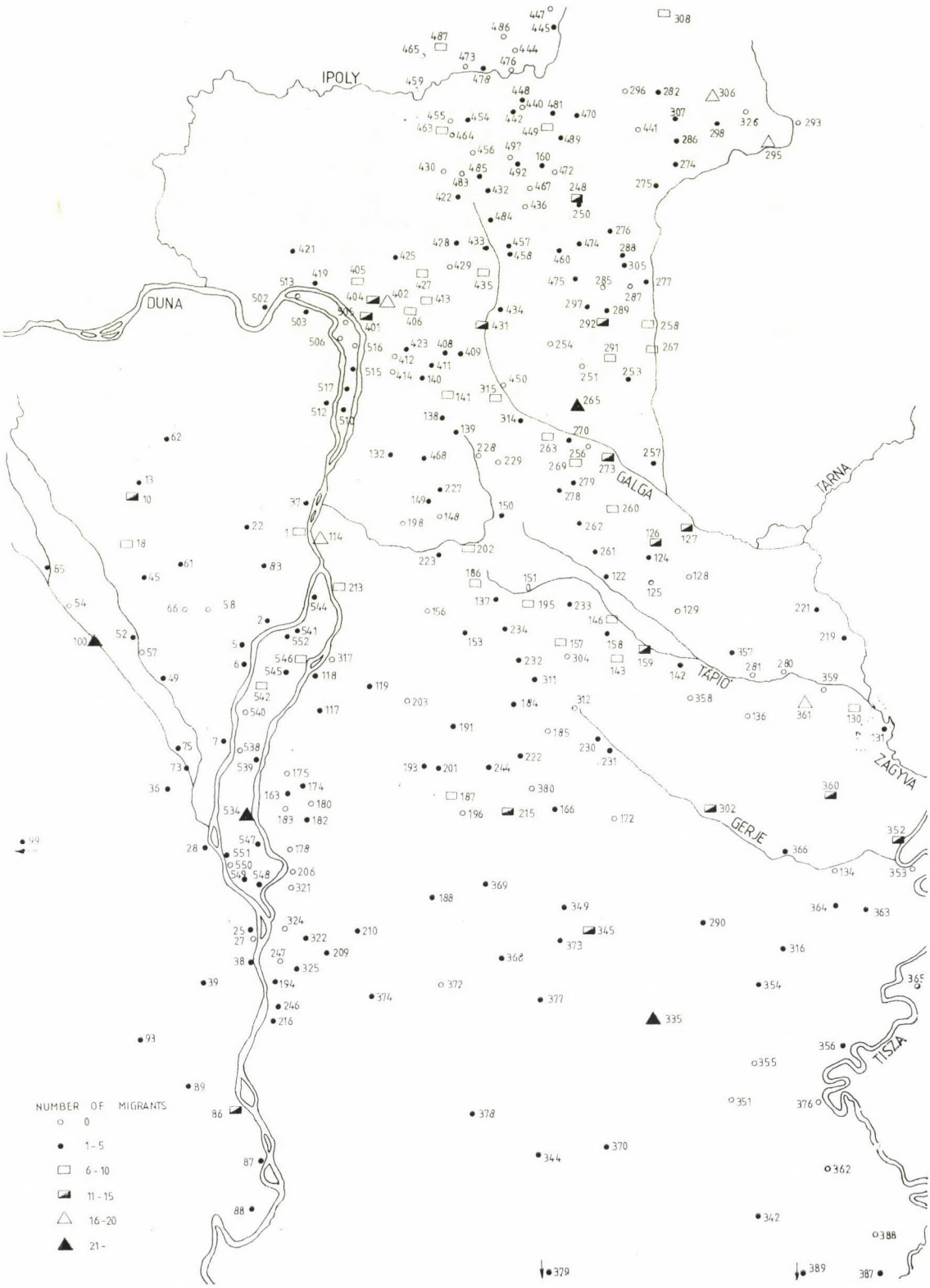
Even if we project the values onto the map (p. 242) we get no peculiar regions from where a significantly higher number of people left than the average. The dots with 5—15 migrants along the rivers Zagyva, Tápió and Galga were slightly denser, as well as in the vicinity of Vác. By contrast, hardly any people left the settlements more to the south and on the Szentendre and Csepel islands. The same applied to the areas far to the north, where the number of settlements not affected by migration was especially high.

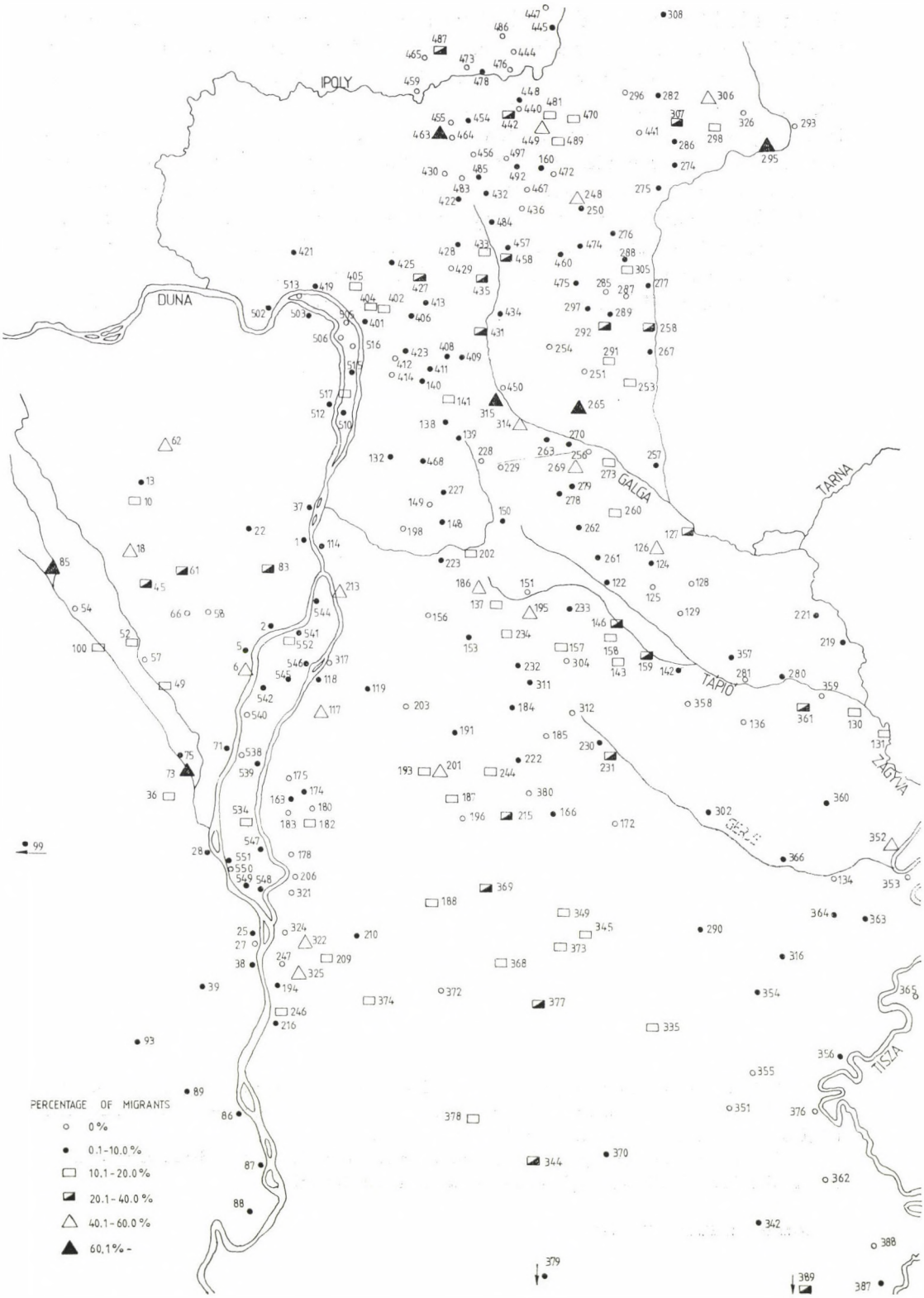
The question arises whether the regional distribution changes or not if we project the percentage rates onto the map (p. 243). Although these calculations imply the danger that a single unregistered person might significantly change the ratio, the danger of distortion could be reduced by postulating not too many, but well-chosen categories. I set up 6 groups again: 0%, 0.1—10.0%, 10.1%—20.0%, 20.1%—40.0%, 40.1%—60.0%, above 60.1%. As expected, the scatter was larger; while, of course, the "blank" spaces did not change, there was a slight decrease in the number of settlements in the most favourable category: 124. (Migration was below 1% per year in these communities!) This was followed by the third group with 44 localities and the fourth with 22. Compared to these places of medium migration, the fifth and sixth groups denoting high rate of migration involved 17 and 6 localities, respectively. All this suggests that the averages of the *nāḥiye*s and of the *sancāḳ* do not imply conspicuous individual variants. In other words, the migration tendency only assumed drastic proportions in half a dozen settlements.

The map showing the regional distribution became more colourful, but no significant change was registered. The region along the river Tápió still appeared more affected, but now there were higher rates in the south and north as well. On the other hand, the two big islands in the Danube continued to preserve their considerable intactness.

Finally, let us ponder about the contradiction in the register of 1559, which derives from the fact that the number of newly registered people often

[25] In the 280 villages at issue, 7,080 heads of families were registered, averaging 25.3 per settlement. Multiplying it by 5 we get 126 people.

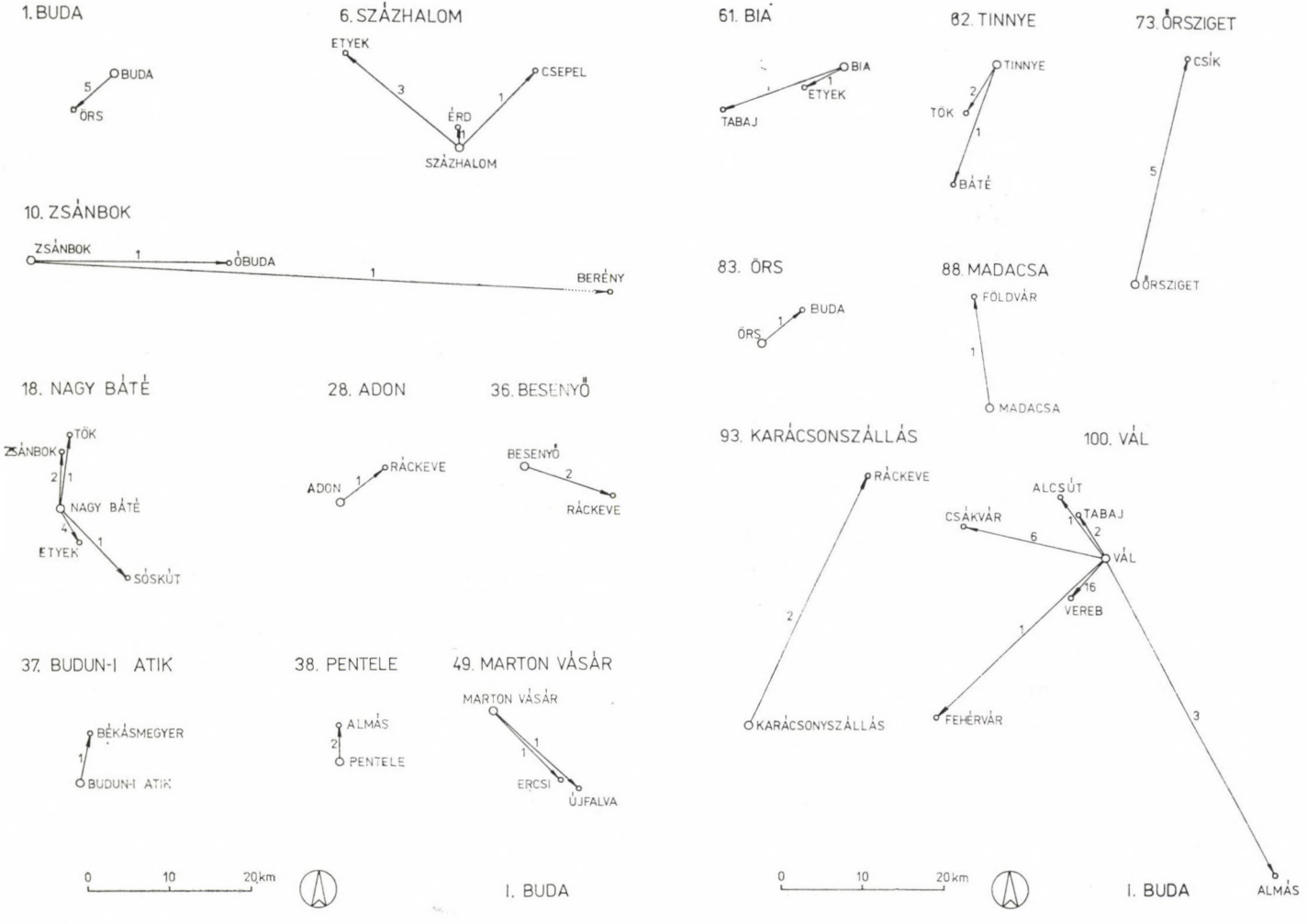

IPOLY
DUNA
GALGA
TARNA
TAPIÓ
ZAGYVA
GERJE
TISZA
NUMBER OF MIGRANTS
0
1 - 5
6 - 10
11 - 15
16 - 20
21 -

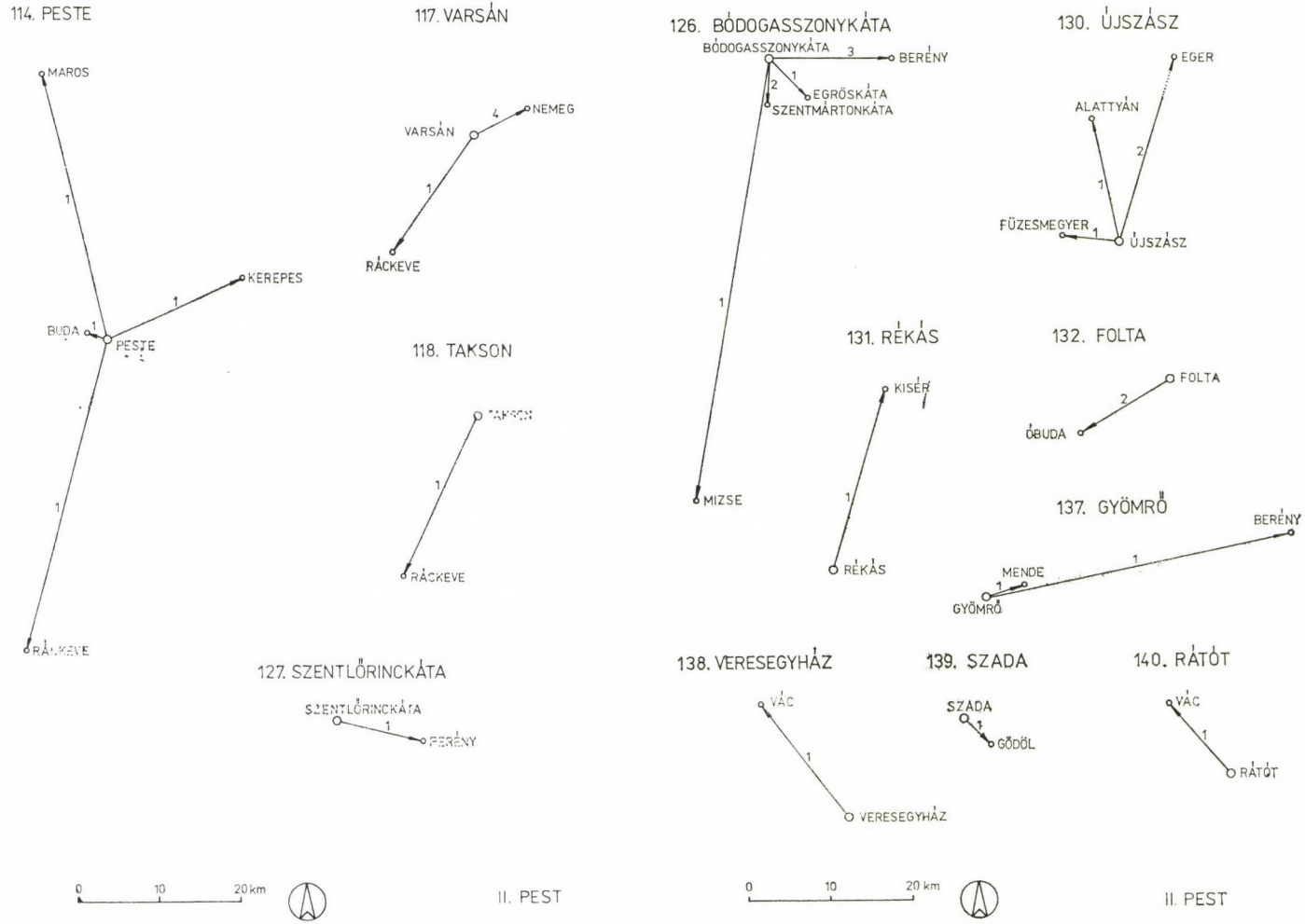

IPOLY
DUNA
GALGA
TARNA
TÁPIÓ
ZAGYVA
TISZA
PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS
0 %
0.1-10.0 %
10.1-20.0 %
20.1-40.0 %
40.1-60.0 %
60.1% -

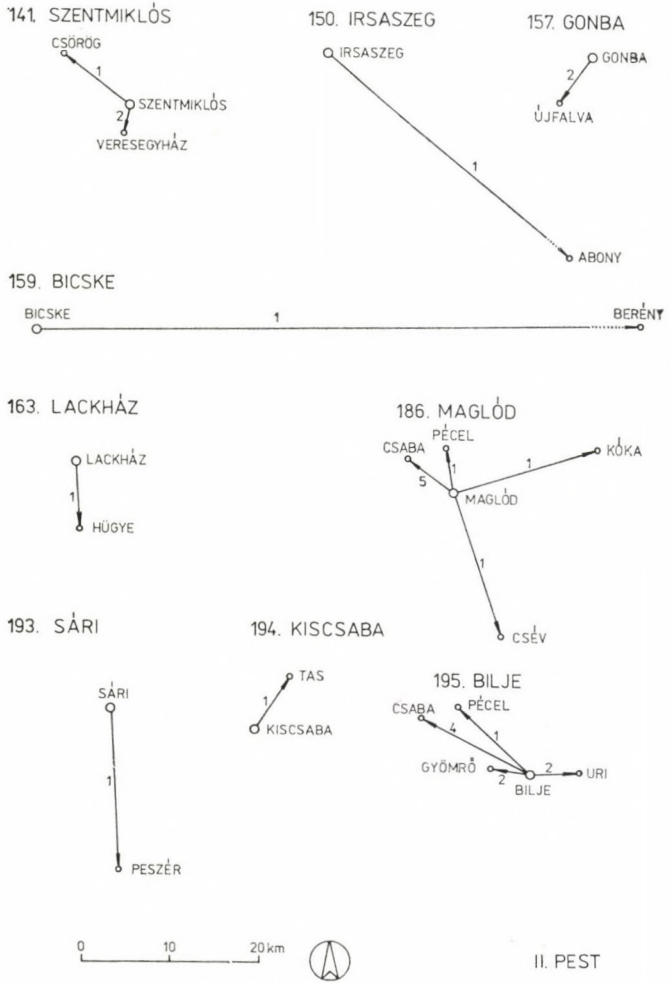
far exceeded the value calculable from the data on migration and taking the total, it is several times higher than the number of those who migrated or escaped. If this question was put to a detailed analysis, we would find that a large part of the newly registered somehow belonged to the original population thus they were not newcomers. The places of arrival of the remaining strata would need further explanation, and it is to be feared that here we faced an enigma. We cannot get nearer to understanding these things, unless we have the full list of names for the country, or at least for the areas occupied by the Ottomans on the computer. In view of the lack of this, all we can declare now is that the findings of this present investigation rather severely deviated from what was expected[26] regarding both the magnitude and direction of migration.[2]

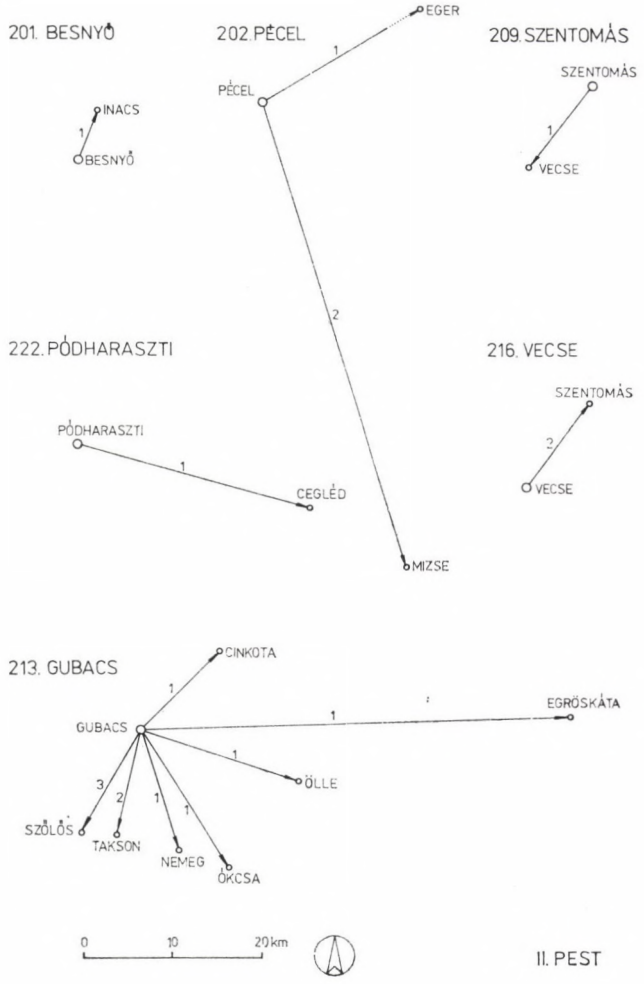
[26] It was a rather widespread assumption in Hungarian historiography that the population of the areas occupied by the Turks flooded to the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, *i.e.* the parts under Habsburg control.

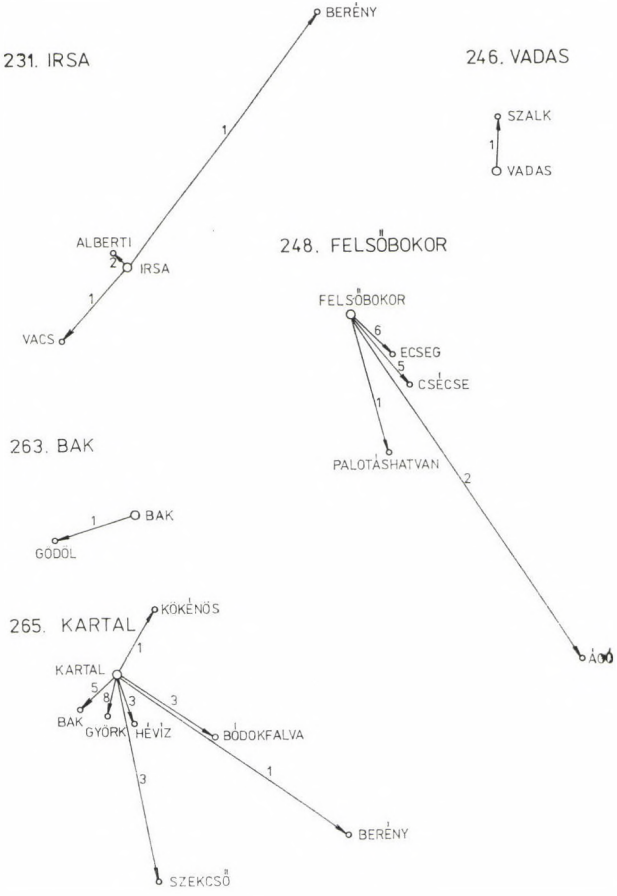
[27] Only for the *sancāḳ* of Hatvan do we have material at our disposal providing for similar investigations. Başbakanlık Arşivi, Tahrir defteri No. 318.

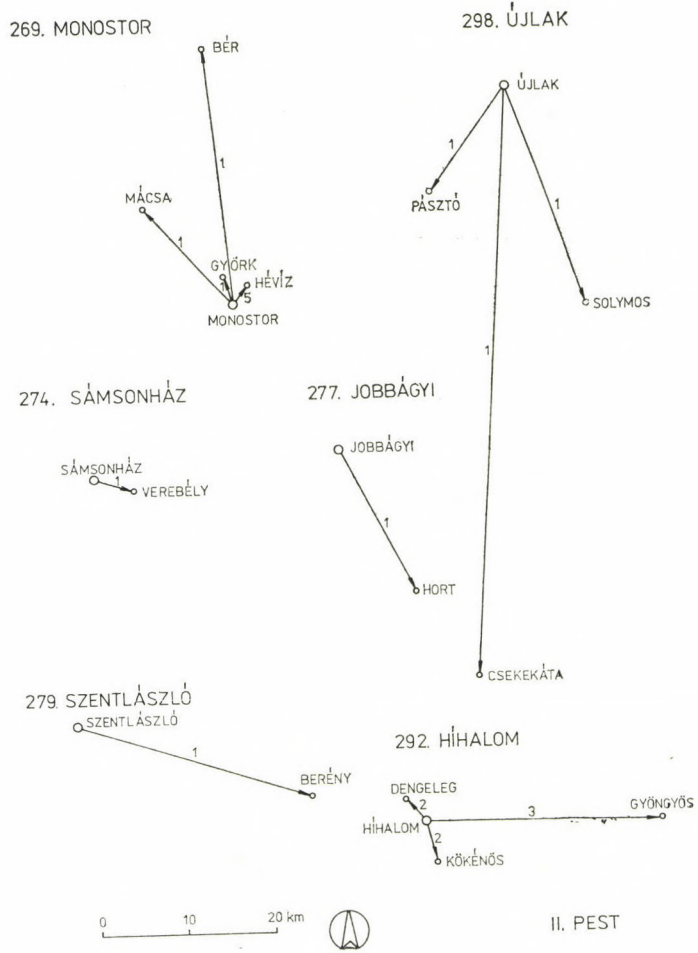

1. BUDA
BUDA
5
ÖRS
6. SZÁZHALOM
ETYEK
3
CSEPEL
1
ÉRD
1
SZÁZHALOM
10. ZSÁNBOK
ZSÁNBOK
1
ÓBUDA
1
BERÉNY
18. NAGY BÁTÉ
TÖK
ZSÁNBOK
2
1
NAGY BÁTÉ
4
1
ETYEK
SÓSKÚT
28. ADON
RÁCKEVE
ADON
1
36. BESENYŐ
BESENYŐ
2
RÁCKEVE
37. BUDUN-I ATIK
BÉKÁSMEGYER
1
BUDUN-I ATIK
38. PENTELE
ALMÁS
2
PENTELE
49. MARTON VÁSÁR
MARTON VÁSÁR
1
1
ERCSI
ÚJFALVA
0
10
20 km
I. BUDA
61. BIA
BIA
1
ETYEK
TABAJ
62. TINNYE
TINNYE
2
TÖK
1
BÁTÉ
73. ÖRSZIGET
CSÍK
5
ÖRSZIGET
83. ÖRS
BUDA
ÖRS
1
88. MADACSA
FÖLDVÁR
1
MADACSA
93. KARÁCSONSZÁLLÁS
RÁCKEVE
2
KARÁCSONYSZÁLLÁS
100. VÁL
ALCSÚT
1
TABAJ
2
CSÁKVÁR
6
VÁL
16
VEREB
1
FEHÉRVÁR
3
ALMÁS
0
10
20 km
I. BUDA

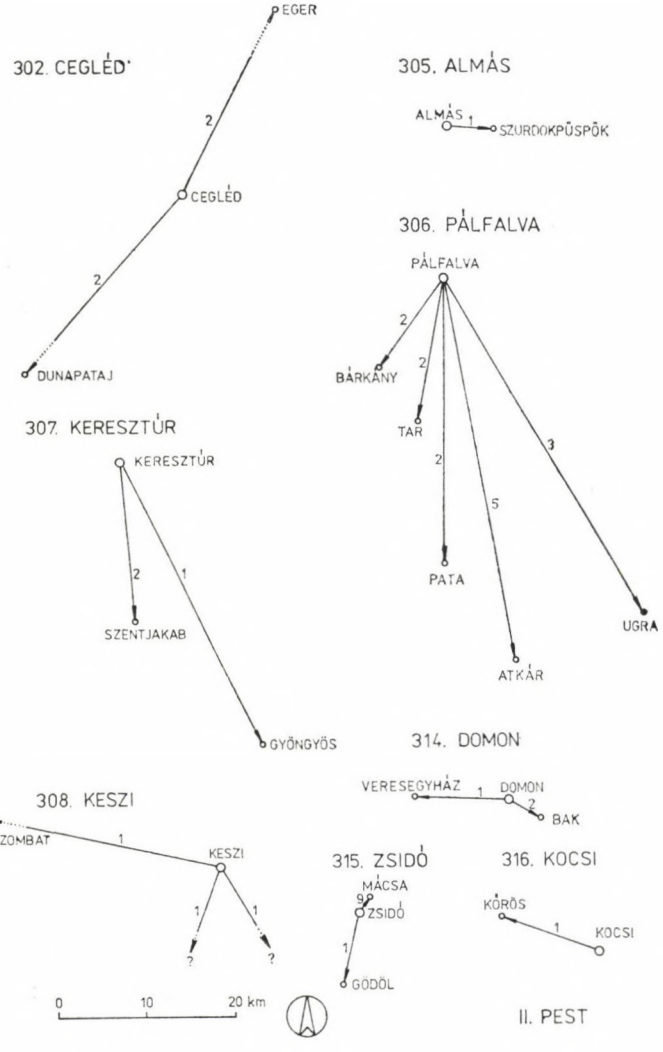

114. PESTE
MAROS
1
KEREPES
1
BUDA
1
PESTE
1
RÁCKEVE
117. VARSÁN
VARSÁN
4
NEMEG
1
RÁCKEVE
118. TAKSON
TAKSON
1
RÁCKEVE
127. SZENTLŐRINCKÁTA
SZENTLŐRINCKÁTA
1
BERÉNY
0
10
20 km
II. PEST
126. BÓDOGASSZONYKÁTA
BÓDOGASSZONYKÁTA
3
BERÉNY
1
2
EGRÖSKÁTA
SZENTMÁRTONKÁTA
1
MIZSE
130. ÚJSZÁSZ
EGER
ALATTYÁN
2
1
FÜZESMEGYER
1
ÚJSZÁSZ
131. RÉKÁS
KISÉR
1
RÉKÁS
132. FOLTA
FOLTA
2
ÓBUDA
137. GYÖMRŐ
BERÉNY
1
MENDE
1
GYÖMRŐ
138. VERESEGYHÁZ
VÁC
1
VERESEGYHÁZ
139. SZADA
SZADA
1
GÖDÖL
140. RÁTÓT
VÁC
1
RÁTÓT
0
10
20 km
II. PEST

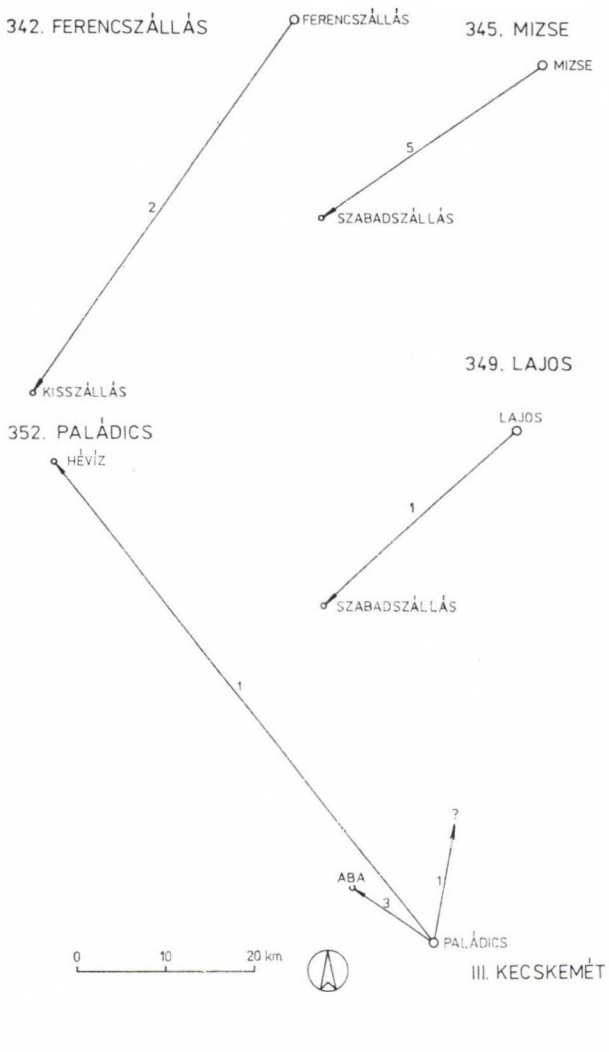

141. SZENTMIKLÓS
CSÖRÖG
1
SZENTMIKLÓS
2
VERESEGYHÁZ
150. IRSASZEG
IRSASZEG
1
ABONY
157. GONBA
GONBA
2
ÚJFALVA
159. BICSKE
BICSKE
1
BERÉNY
163. LACKHÁZ
LACKHÁZ
1
HÜGYE
186. MAGLÓD
CSABA
PÉCEL
1
1
KÖKA
5
MAGLÓD
1
CSÉV
193. SÁRI
SÁRI
1
PESZÉR
194. KISCSABA
TAS
1
KISCSABA
195. BILJE
CSABA
PÉCEL
4
1
GYÖMRŐ
2
2
URI
BILJE
0
10
20 km
II. PEST

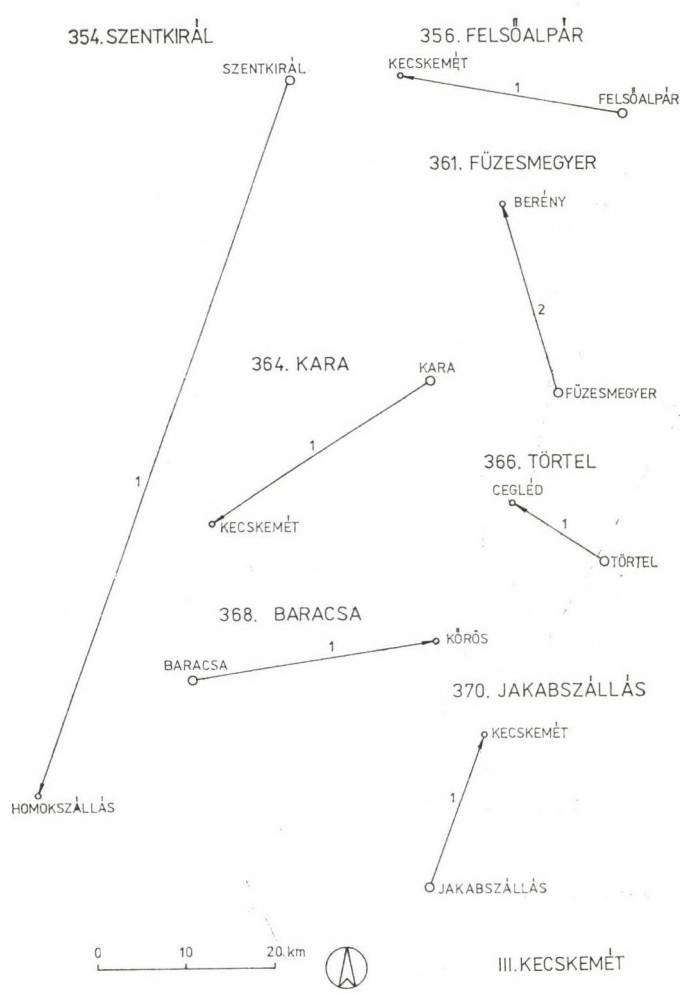

201. BESNYŐ
INACS
1
BESNYŐ
202. PÉCEL
EGER
1
PÉCEL
2
MIZSE
209. SZENTOMÁS
SZENTOMÁS
1
VECSE
222. PÓDHARASZTI
PÓDHARASZTI
1
CEGLÉD
216. VECSE
SZENTOMÁS
2
VECSE
213. GUBACS
CINKOTA
1
GUBACS
1
EGRŐSKÁTA
1
ÖLLE
3
2
1
1
SZŐLŐS
TAKSON
NEMEG
ÖKCSA
0
10
20 km
II. PEST

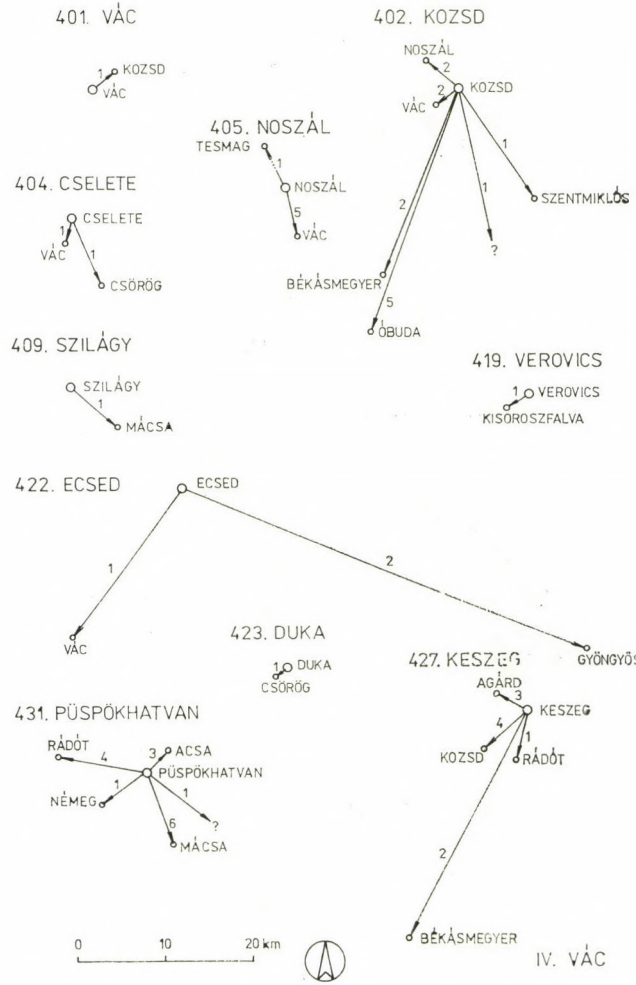

231. IRSA
BERÉNY
1
ALBERTI
2
IRSA
1
VACS
246. VADAS
SZALK
1
VADAS
248. FELSŐBÓKOR
FELSŐBÓKOR
6
ECSEG
5
CSÉCSE
1
PALOTÁSHATVAN
2
ÁBÓD
263. BAK
1
BAK
GÖDÖL
265. KARTAL
KÖKÉNÖS
1
KARTAL
5
8
3
3
BAK
GYÖRK
HÉVÍZ
BÓDOKFALVA
1
BERÉNY
3
SZEKCSŐ
0
10
20 km
II. PEST

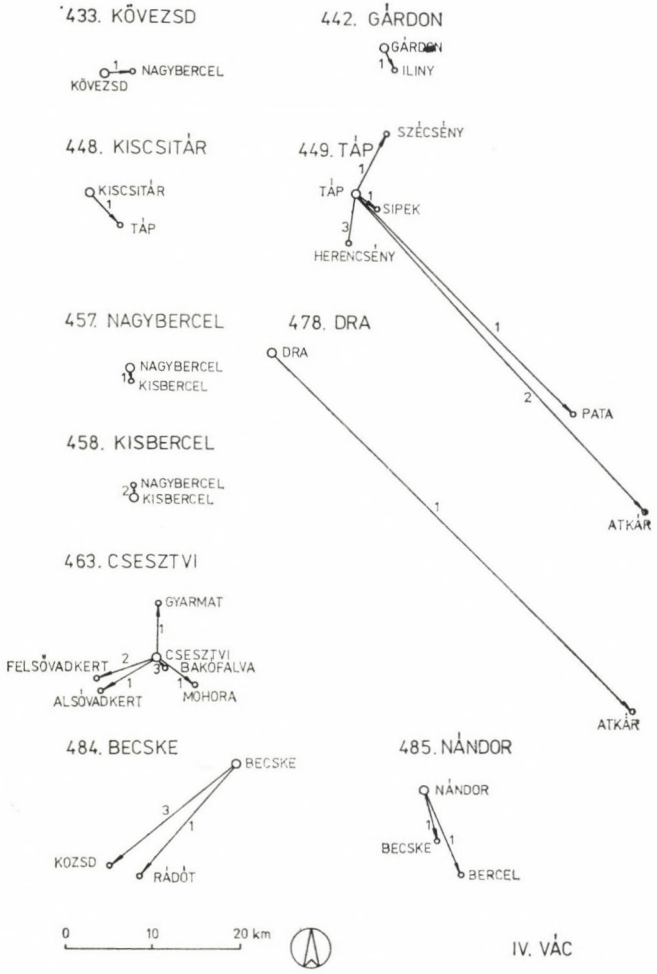

269. MONOSTOR
BÉR
1
MÁCSA
1
GYÖRK
HÉVÍZ
5
MONOSTOR
298. ÚJLAK
ÚJLAK
1
PÁSZTÓ
1
SOLYMOS
1
CSEKEKÁTA
274. SÁMSONHÁZ
SÁMSONHÁZ
1
VEREBÉLY
277. JOBBÁGYI
JOBBÁGYI
1
HORT
279. SZENTLÁSZLÓ
SZENTLÁSZLÓ
1
BERÉNY
292. HÍHALOM
DENGELEG
2
3
GYÖNGYÖS
HÍHALOM
2
KÖKÉNÖS
0
10
20 km
II. PEST


302. CEGLÉD
EGER
2
CEGLÉD
2
DUNAPATAJ
305. ALMÁS
ALMÁS
1
SZURDOKPÜSPÖK
306. PÁLFALVA
PÁLFALVA
2
2
BÁRKÁNY
TAR
2
5
3
PATA
ATKÁR
UGRA
307. KERESZTÚR
KERESZTÚR
2
1
SZENTJAKAB
GYÖNGYÖS
314. DOMON
VERESEGYHÁZ
1
DOMON
2
BAK
308. KESZI
NAGYSZOMBAT
1
KESZI
1
1
?
?
315. ZSIDÓ
MÁCSA
ZSIDÓ
1
GÖDÖL
316. KOCSI
KÖRÖS
1
KOCSI
0
10
20 km
II. PEST

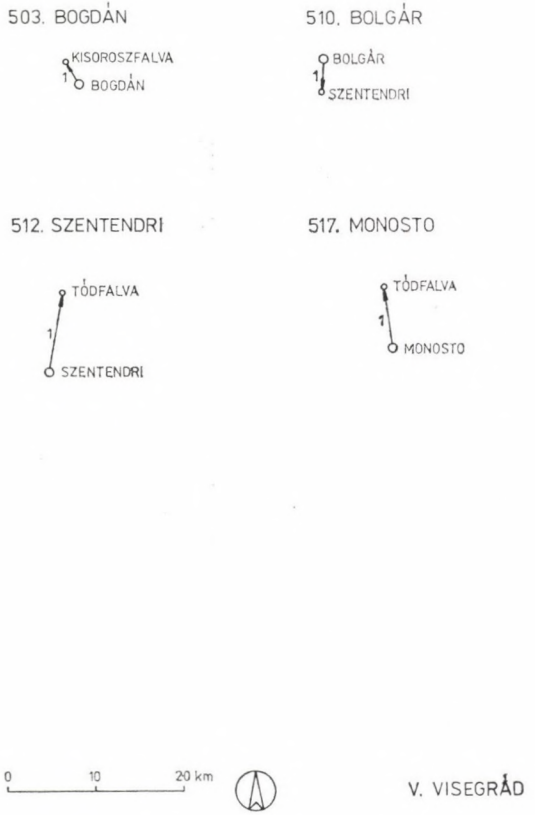

342. FERENCSZÁLLÁS
FERENCSZÁLLÁS
2
KISSZÁLLÁS
345. MIZSE
MIZSE
5
SZABADSZÁLLÁS
349. LAJOS
LAJOS
1
SZABADSZÁLLÁS
352. PALÁDICS
HÉVÍZ
1
?
ABA
3
1
PALÁDICS
0
10
20 km
III. KECSKEMÉT


354. SZENTKIRÁL
SZENTKIRÁL
HOMOKSZÁLLÁS
1
356. FELSŐALPÁR
KECSKEMÉT
FELSŐALPÁR
1
361. FÜZESMEGYER
BERÉNY
FÜZESMEGYER
2
364. KARA
KARA
KECSKEMÉT
1
366. TÖRTEL
CEGLÉD
TÖRTEL
1
368. BARACSA
BARACSA
KÖRÖS
1
370. JAKABSZÁLLÁS
KECSKEMÉT
JAKABSZÁLLÁS
1
0 10 20 km
III. KECSKEMÉT

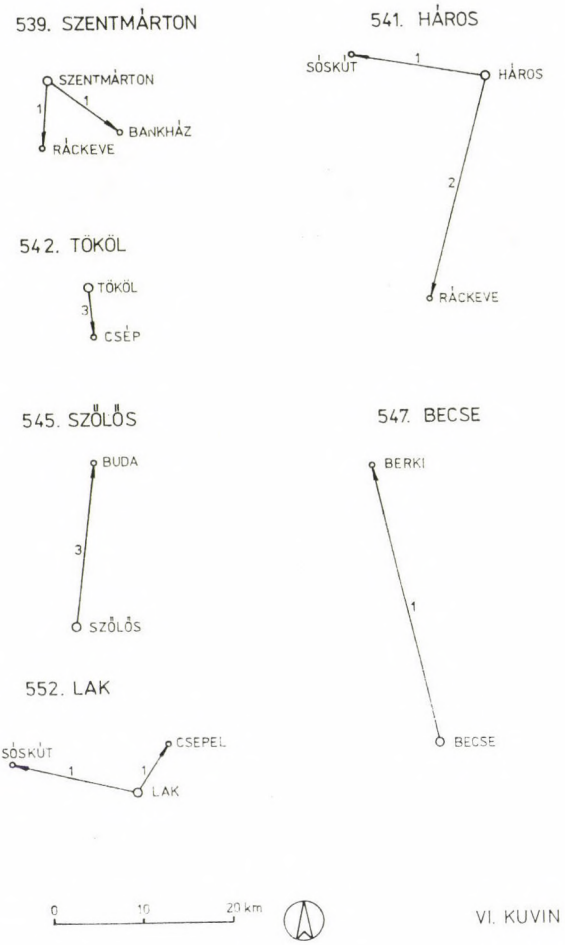

401. VÁC
KOZSD
VÁC
1
402. KOZSD
NOSZÁL
KOZSD
VÁC
SZENTMIKLÓS
BÉKÁSMEGYER
ÓBUDA
2
2
1
1
?
5
405. NOSZÁL
TESMAG
NOSZÁL
VÁC
1
5
404. CSELETE
CSELETE
VÁC
CSÖRÖG
1
1
409. SZILÁGY
SZILÁGY
MÁCSA
1
419. VEROVICS
VEROVICS
KISOROSZFALVA
1
422. ECSED
ECSED
VÁC
GYÖNGYÖS
1
2
423. DUKA
DUKA
CSÖRÖG
1
427. KESZEG
AGÁRD
KESZEG
KOZSD
RÁDÓT
BÉKÁSMEGYER
3
4
1
2
431. PÜSPÖKHATVAN
RÁDÓT
ACSA
PÜSPÖKHATVAN
NÉMEG
MÁCSA
4
3
1
1
6
?
0 10 20 km
IV. VÁC



IV. VÁC



V. VISEGRÁD


539. SZENTMÁRTON
SZENTMÁRTON
1
1
BANKHÁZ
RÁCKEVE
541. HÁROS
SÓSKÚT
1
HÁROS
2
RÁCKEVE
542. TÖKÖL
TÖKÖL
3
CSÉP
545. SZŐLŐS
BUDA
3
SZŐLŐS
547. BECSE
BERKI
1
BECSE
552. LAK
SÓSKÚT
1
CSEPEL
1
LAK
0
10
20 km

VI. KUVIN

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LES SARRASINS DES TROIS NORMES OU SAN JIAO HUIHUI

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> « Ai Saraceni chiamava quest'uomo, e così diceva esser chiamati fra Giudei, San Chiao, che vuol dire di tre leggi, per quelle che tengono di giudei, di christiani e di gentili . . . »
>
> Matteo Ricci[1]

Nous avons choisi d'introduire notre exposé par cette citation du jésuite Mattéo Ricci qui fut l'un des premiers au début du XVIIème siècle à s'intéresser aux Israélites de l'ancienne cité impériale de Kaïfeng. L'intitulé de notre étude est équivoque pour deux raisons, la première parce que nous reprenons le terme » sarrasin » qui semble anachronique dans ce contexte, la deuxième raison est que « San jiao » désigne ordinairement le Taoïsme, le Confucianisme et le Bouddhisme réunis. Cependant le premier terme nous permettra d'étendre plus en avant notre compréhension de ce que furent à l'origine les HuiHui même si ce terme aujourd'hui est perçu péjorativement par certains mahométans. D'autre part, nous tenterons d'analyser l'expression « San Jiao » dans le cas précis des Israélites chinois. Nous pensons pouvoir mettre en évidence plusieurs sources d'intérêt dans les domaines historiques, ethnographiques et philosophiques. Nous croyons aussi que la communauté israélite ancienne offre un champ d'investigation particulièrement singulier pour l'étude comparée des religions et leur intéraction.

Les premières implantations

Les migrations des Juifs vers la Chine durent être successives. Leurs premières implantations remontent probablement avant l'ère chrétienne.[2]

* The Survival of the Chinese Jews p. 216.

[1] Rapport de Ricci dans Opere Storiche (Tacci-Venturi) vol. I, pp. 463—470. The Sino-Judaïc bibliographies of Rudolf Loewenthal p. 233, Palo Alto, Cal. 1988.

[2] La stèle de 1512 indique que les Israélites entrèrent en Chine sous la dynastie des Han (206 Av. — 220 ap. J. C.), J. Tobar, *Variétés Sinologiques n° 17, Inscriptions Juives de Kaifong fou.* Shangai 1900, p. 58.

Cependant, leur vocabulaire religieux fait apparaître des emprunts à la terminologie musulmane-perse et l'appellation *Huihui gujiao* qu'on leur applique, suppose qu'ils précédèrent les disciples de Mohamet dans ce pays tout en se confondant avec eux sur plusieurs plans:[3] leur provenance migratoire, leur idiome, leur forme dévotionnelle, tous points que nous nous proposons d'analyser.

Les Israélites de Firuzkuh

Dans les premières décennies du XIIème siècle, les hordes mongoles de Ogedai détruisirent Firuzkuh, l'ancienne capitale du Ghuristan. L'importante communauté israélite de la cité s'exila, en partie vers le Khorezm, en partie vers la Chine. Les inscriptions figurant sur les pierres tombales hébraïco-persanes mises à jour dans la vallée de Jam sont datées selon l'ère séleucide. Les plus récentes n'excèdent pas l'année 1215 de l'ère chrétienne.[4] Parmi les stèles figurant dans l'ancien temple israélite de Kaïfeng, celle de 1489 relate l'arrivée de soixante-dix familles et plus,[5] dans la cité, sous la dynastie des Song du Nord. Or cette dynastie régna de 960 à 1127 environ.[6]

Il nous est permis de supposer que la migration des Israélites de Firuzkuh vers la Chine s'effectua à la faveur de la pénétration mongole.[7]

[3] Huihui gu jiao (l'ancienne religion musulmane), William C. Milne, *Real Life in China*. 2nd ed. London 1858. p. 411.

[4] Andrea Bruno, *Notes of the discovery of Hebrew inscriptions in the vicinity of the minaret of Jam. East and West.* Roma 1963, Vol. 14, pp. 206—208.

[5] La stèle de 1489 précise qu'il s'agit en fait de soixante dix patronymes familiaux, ce qui sous-entend que le nombre des ressortissants est nécéssairement plus nombreux.

[6] M. Glover, *Babylonian and oriental record, n° 54.* Vol. V (6), 1891, p. 139. donne la date de 1278 pour la fin de la dynastie Song mais il s'agit des Song du Sud.

[7] Le chroniqueur arabe Ibn Al Futi rapporte qu'en 1240 un mystique musulman menaça d'extermination, les Juifs et les Chrétiens de Boukhara, les contraignant à l'exil. Les vicissitudes dues aux guerres mongoles et tartares encouragèrent la migration de plusieurs d'entre eux vers l'Empire du Milieu. Walter J. Fischel, *Unknown Jews in unknown lands.* Ktav Publ. House, Inc. New York 1973, p. 35.

La stèle de 1489 rapporte que les Israélites s'établirent à Kaïfeng sous la dynastie des Song. La première dynastie Song régna de 420 à 477 sur le Henan. Les Israélites seraient-ils venus du Khorassan ou du Kharezm sous la seconde dynastie Song qui régna de 920 à 1127 ? Nous sommes en droit de supposer qu'ils aient pû s'établir dans cette région de Chine antérieurement en qualité de marchands; les fouilles archéologiques récentes effectuées à Datong dans le nord du Shanxi voisin, font apparaître que les Wei du Nord (386—534) utilisaient des bols et des vases en verre et en argent de fabrication persane. L'élément Hébraïco-persan des Israélites de Kaïfeng est indéniable, et le Temple (*ssu*) construit en 1163, le fut sur un Temple antérieur (*t'su*) construit sous les Chou (1122 à 255 av. J. C.). *Survival of Chinese Jews*, p. 23.

D'autre part, le terme qui sert à désigner le Temple est le même que celui appliqué à la Mosquée: « Li pai ssu », Ibid. p. 38. Or la Mosquée (*masdjid*) étymologique-

Datation séleucide

Tout comme les pierres tombales de Jam, le colophon du Pentateuque de Kaïfeng, d'après les notes des missionnaires catholiques, fut daté selon l'ère séleucide (en 1931 soit 1621 de l'ère chrétienne).[8]

L'ère séleucide fut adoptée chez les Israélites par les scribes, les prêtres et les légistes mais rejetée par les Tannaïtes, rédacteurs de la Mishnah qui leur préféraient le comput établi depuis la destruction du second temple, voir l'hypothétique ère de la Création.[9] Les Jésuites Gozani, Gaubil et Domenge nous rapportent que les Israélites de Kaïfeng possédaient les livres des Macchabées.[10] Ni le procédé de datation mishnique caractéristique du Judaïsme pharisien, ni le Talmud n'apparaissent et ce dernier, d'ailleurs, n'est jamais mentionné.[11]

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ment, indique qu'il s'agit d'un lieu de prosternation. Ce concept nous renvoie à l'ancienne tradition saddokite pour laquelle le Temple est aussi désigné — ניתהשתחות (la maison des prosternations), S. Zeitlin, *The Saddokite Fragments*, Philadelphia 1952, p. 10, alors que la Synagogue (*Beth Knesseth*) ne désigne qu'un lieu de rassemblement non-sacralisé. C'est pour cette raison que l'accès dans une synagogue ne nécessite pas au préalable, le déchaussement et les ablutions.

[8] *Les Inscript. Juives*, p. 102.

[9] *The Jewish Encycl.* — *The Seleucid Era*, p. 199. L'ère Séleucide fut introduite après la bataille de Gaza avec la victoire de Seleucus II Nicator contre Demetrius Poliorketes au printemps de l'année 312 av. J. C. L'ère Séleucide était aussi utilisée chez les Israélites d'Egypte, du Yemen, d'Iran, de même que chez les Chrétiens orientaux. C'est David Ibn-Abi Simha Raddas qui lutta contre son utilisation chez les Juifs en 1527 de l'ère Chrétienne. *Talmudic and Rabbinical Chronology*, Edgar Frank, P. Feldheim Ed., New York, 1956, P. 30 et *passim*.

Malgré les divergences d'opinions, nous considérons que le comput Séleucide commence au printemps de l'an 312, comme semble l'indiquer le 1er livre des Machabées. De plus, il est conforme à l'ancienne tradition de considérer le printemps comme étant le 1er mois de l'année (*Exode* 12, 2).

[10] Domenge donne le titre de Mattithiah pour le livre des Macchabées, *Juifs de Chine*, pp. 115 & 143.

[11] Dans le descriptif des livres donnés par Domenge, les Juifs de Kaïfeng possèdent un livre qu'ils appellent *Minhah* et qu'il crût être *Mishnah*. Plus loin, Domenge ajoute que ce « Minha » est partagé selon les dires des Juifs, en quatre parties. Cette division ne peut s'appliquer à la Mishnah. Domenge fut certainement trompé par la prononciation de l'hébreu altérée des Juifs Chinois. Ce qu'il a compris par *Mineaha* et en fait *Min'hag* מנהג (ordre liturgique). D. Daniel Leslie, *The Survival of the Chinese Jews*, Leiden 1972, pp. 150—151. J. Hehergne & D. D. Leslie, *Les Belles Lettres*. Paris 1980, p. 122.

La Mishnah n'est pas divisée en quatre parties; par contre le Min'hag se divise selon l'ordre suivant: א *Shabbath* ב *Moadim* ג *Kippourim* ד *Berakhot*.

Sur la route de la soie

A l'exception du Pentateuque, les Israélites de Kaïfeng rédigeaient les ouvrages religieux sur du papier de soie.[12] Joseph Wolff rapporte qu'à l'origine, Boukhara s'appelait Boukhara t'sin. Cette ville était anciennement peuplée de Chinois fabriquants de papier de soie et elle tomba en déclin après la conquête de Samar en 643 ap. J. C.[13]

Tout comme les livres liturgiques israélites localisés à Kaïfeng, le manuscrit hébraïque découvert par Paul Pelliot à Tun hwang était également rédigé sur du papier.[14] Il s'agissait de « selihoth » (actes de contrition) composés essentiellement de textes choisis des Psaumes et des Prophètes.[15]

Il est donc vraisemblable que les Israélites de Chine et d'Asie centrale adoptèrent très tôt l'usage du papier de soie pour la rédaction des textes religieux entre autre, sans que son utilisation se répande dans les autres communautés juives restées attachées au parchemin en guise de substratum épigraphique.

Or, il semble de bonne logique d'admettre que l'usage du papier de soie soit associé au commerce du précieux textile. Les efforts d'analyse quant au négoce de la soie constituent autant de paramètres jalonnés d'indices permettant de mesurer le rayonnement de l'influence chinoise.[16] Nous savons que les

[12] *Juifs de Chine* p. 119, *Les Inscriptions Juives* p. 101.

[13] *Mission to Bhokhara*, Joseph Wolff, London 1846, p. 263.

[14] *The Survival of the Chinese Jews*, p. 165, § 7 Pelliot héb. 1 51412 Bibliothèque Nationale Paris. La nature du document est du papier de riz.

[15] L'usage qui consiste à n'utiliser scrupuleusement dans les œuvres liturgiques, que des textes scripturaires, a valu aux tenants de cette tradition le titre de Beneï Hamikrah. Le « San tsao » ou rituel des prières journalières des Israélites de Kaïfeng n'échappe pas à cette règle, il est composé presqu'exclusivement de portions de l'Ecriture, et les Psaumes employés représentent une bonne moitié du Psautier *Inscript. Juives de Kaïfong fou*, pp. 100 & 103. Le plus ancien manuscrit hébreu, M. M. Ph. Berger et M. Schwab, *Journal Asiatique*. Juillet et Août 1913, pp. 139—175.

[16] Des archéologues allemands ont exhumé d'un tumulus situé à Hochdorf près de Stuttgart, une tombe celtique datant des environs de l'année 550 av. J. C. Le service des antiquités du Baden-Würtemberg et notamment Madame Leibfried, ont trouvé sur les vêtements du squelette des fragments brodés de soie de Chine. (Article de Jörg Biel, National Geographic Society, Washington D. C., vol. 157, n° 3, March 1980 p. 434). La Route de la Soie, dès le IIème siècle avant notre ère, fut autant un réseau Intense d'échanges qu'un creuset où fusionnent les idées religieuses et philosophiques. Les Han tentèrent de contrôler son itinéraire. Il est tout à fait plausible qu'à la faveur de cette disposition, des Israélites s'établirent en Chine, conformément à l'indication de la stèle de 1512, *Inscript. Juives de Kaïfong fou*, p. 88. Une seconde migration importante se serait effectuée au XIIème siècle (voir note 6). Cependant on est en mesure de penser que la pénétration Mongole dans cette région au cours de la seconde partie du XIIème siècle a renforcé la position des Israélites de Kaïfeng. La construction du Temple fut élaborée en 1163 sur l'ancien, construit par leurs ancêtres établis dans cette cité sous la dynastie

soies sassanides furent tissées selon le procédé chinois.[17] Cependant il nous est permis de penser qu'avant d'atteindre Rome, les effets des conquêtes d'Alexandre le Grand avaient ouvert l'empire séleucide à l'influence de la Chine depuis le Khorassan, Damas devenant un important centre de la soie.

L'Araméen et le Grec

Trois siècles avant notre ère en Afghanistan, l'empereur indien et bouddhiste Asoka du Magadha fit ériger dans la vallée du Laghman, des inscriptions lapidaires en grec et en araméen. L'une d'entre elles fait mention de Palmyre. Une autre stipule que des ambassadeurs furent dépêchés à Antiochus (le troisième monarque de la dynastie séleucide), à Ptolemee II Philadelphe d'Alexandrie, à Magas, roi de Cyrène et Antigone Gonatas, roi de Macédoine.[18] Nous avons ainsi la certitude que des relations existaient, deux siècles avant notre ère, entre les régions situées à l'orient de la passe de Kandahar et les Grecs d'Asie mineure, d'Europe orientale et d'Afrique du Nord.

Au moins deux siècles avant la destruction du second temple de Jérusalem, des relations commerciales ont pu conduire des négociants de langue grecque et araméenne et notamment parmi eux des Israélites, jusqu'en Chine. Les Araméens furent très certainement les précurseurs des Grecs dans cette direction. Le professeur M. Terrien de Lacouperie prétendit relever des similitudes entre certains idéogrammes chinois archaïques et des caractères cunéiformes akkadiens tant sur le plan morphologique que consonantique. Mais cette hypothèse est largement controversée par les spécialistes contemporains.[19]

Des Huihui en Chine avant Mahomet

Les échanges culturels et commerciaux entre les Israélites de Chine et ceux du Khorassan auraient définitivement cessé dans les dernières décennies du XVIIème siècle. Jusqu'à cette époque les ghildes de commercants-cara-

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des Zhou (1122—255) av. J. C.), contemporains des Séleucides (infra note 17), *The Surv. of Chinese Jews* p. 23. Le rayonnement de l'Empire Yuan favorisa les relations de ces « Huihui gu jiao » avec le Judaïsme pratiqué par les Khazars et les Comans, dont on sait qu'il est de type Karaïte. Plusieurs de ces caractéristiques sont présentes à Kaïfeng. Au XVIème siècle, lorsque les Jésuites les rencontrèrent, ces Israélites étaient déjà sur la voie du déclin.

[17] Mélanges Lissonier p. 470, *Etudes d'Orientalisme* 1932, t. II, pp. 461—479.

[18] André Dupont-Sommer, *Essénisme et Bouddhisme*. Inst. de France des Inscript. et Belles Lettres. Paris 1980, pp. 10—14.

[19] Le Prof. L. Vandermeersch insiste sur l'hétérogénéité de l'idéographie chinoise (*Histoire de l'écriture*, édit. A. Colin et *Nouveau Monde sinisé*, *PUF* 1986). Le Prof.

vaniers connues sous l'appellation « wo'tuo » étaient essentiellement composées d'Israélites et de Musulmans précédés par des Nestoriens ce qui laisse à croire que le Judaïsme était assez répandu en Asie centrale avant l'arrivée des Musulmans.

Philoxene de Maburg (vers 500 ap. J. C.) relate que les Chrétiens Turcomans tuaient ceux qui se circoncisaient.[20] A cette époque, l'Islam n'existait pas encore et la circoncision était inconnue chez les peuples des steppes. En Chine, les « Musulmans Anciens » (*Huihui gu jiao*), ceux connus avant l'arrivée de l'Islam,[21] étaient désignés par les expressions: « Diao jin jiao » (la secte qui extrait les nerfs).

Syncrétisme apparent

Il est admis que *San Jiao* désigne les trois grandes philosophies religieuses de la Chine: Confucianisme, Taoïsme et Bouddhisme, et le terme « Tao » figurait abondamment sur les stèles qui ornaient l'intérieur du temple israélite de Kaïfeng ainsi que les locaux attenants. De ce fait, plusieurs observateurs déduisirent que les grands principes religieux avaient altéré la pureté du dogme israélite. La Chine, ancrée dans ses traditions millénaires digérait systématiquement les différents courants philosophiques et religieux dans un syncrétisme sans pareil.

J. Bottero, spécialiste des caractères cunéiformes, reste sceptique sur la question. Le Prof. Jao Tsung I, spécialiste de paléographie chinoise, ne semble pas avoir retenu cette hypothèse.

[20] Philoxenus de Maburg, Mingana, *Bull. of J. Rylands Libr.* Selon Pelliot et E. H. Parker, l'influence de l'Islam n'existe pas avant l'an 1000. Il n'y a aucun document écrit en arabe ou traitant de l'Islam parmi ceux découverts à Khocho dans le Turkestan. *The Lost Tribes, a Myth.* Ktav publ., Allen Godbey, 1974, p. 388.

[21] Les registres transcrits par Himly stipulent que la communauté mahométane apparût lors de la troisième année de Ch'eng Kuan, dont le titre impérial était T'ai Tsung, c'était en 629 ap. J. C. Cette date semble précoce pour l'arrivée de l'Islam (rappelons que Mahomet vécu vers 570—632 ap. J. C.), *Unknown Mongolia.* II, Douglas Carruthers, p. 613.

En 757, le calife Abou Djafar el-Mansour envoya trois mille soldats pour soutenir l'empereur Sou Tsong, ils furent installés dans une région qui peut-être se situe aux confins de la Mongolie et du Kansou. Les Arabes « Ta che » venus dans les ports de mer, notamment Canton, à la suite de Sahab Wakkas prétendu oncle de Mahomet (notons que « sahib » est un attribut que l'on rencontre en Insulinde plutôt qu'en Arabie), n'ont pû, pas d'avantage que les soldats d'Abou Djafar, exercer un prosélytisme permettant l'expansion de la doctrine mahométane en Chine. C'est à partir de la dynastie mongole que celle-ci pénétra véritablement. Selon Lieou tche le terme « Hui » s'applique aux Ouïgours. La littérature mahométane ne semble faire son apparition que dans la première moitié du XVIIème siècle. Cmmdt d'Ollone, *Le Journal Asiatique*, Mars—Juin 1912 pp. 427—428. Paris.

Il est probable que les Israélites n'échappèrent pas à cette tendance, certains thèmes bibliques comme celui d'Adam ou de Moïse semblent avoir pénétré la mythologie chinoise.[22]

Toutefois ce syncrétisme n'est qu'apparent. En y regardant de plus près on observe que la communauté israélite de Kaïfeng a su conserver judicieusement la pureté de son dogme en dépit de la terminologie taoïste largement usitée.

A la lecture des inscriptions lapidaires, il apparaît que la compréhension des termes utilisés s'entend sur deux niveaux: le premier est séculier et accessible aux Chinois taoïstes ou bouddhistes, le second s'inscrit dans la pensée authentiquement biblique. Sur le portique d'entrée de ce qu'il convient d'appeler le « Saint des Saints » du temple israélite, se trouvait l'inscription: *Révère le Ciel et bénis l'Empire.*

En dessous de celle-ci figurait une seconde inscription rédigée en hébreu: *Ecoute Israël, le Seigneur notre Dieu est Un, béni soit le Nom glorieux de son Règne s'étendant d'âge en âge.*

Ainsi, conformément à l'édit impérial, l'acte d'allégeance à l'empereur était publiquement affiché à l'instar de n'importe quel temple.[23] Cependant, dans ce cas précis, « L'empereur du Ciel » n'est autre que Dieu et: « L'Empire » n'est pas, semble-t-il, celui du Milieu. Il s'agit, en fait, d'une superposition. Ainsi, les formulations taoïstes se commuaient par l'effet d'une habile transcription dans le contexte de la pensée hébraïque. Parmi les inscriptions lapidaires figurant sur les stèles, toutes les citations taoïstes sont savamment choisis dans le répertoire classique chinois; chacune d'entre elles fait écho à une pensée biblique. Ainsi, sur un « pien » de 1512, une inscription issue des Analectes dit: « Obéis aux commandements du Ciel » ressemble curieusement au deuxième verset du quatrième chapitre du Deutéronome »: « Observez les commandements de votre Dieu ». De nombreux exemples de ce genre pourraient être cités.

Ainsi, le nom d'Israël « Yi-tz'u-lo-yeh » peut se traduire selon Macgillivray par: « Le Dieu Unique donne un joyeux patrimoine ». La désignation communautaire est de ce fait intelligible pour les seuls initiés.[24]

[22] Adam, honoré sous le nom de P'an Kou dans la mythologie chinoise, *Inscript. Juives de Kaïfong fou*, p. 36. L'aventure de Moïse sauvé des eaux figure dans une légende Kirghize ainsi que dans une version chinoise, *Adversria Sinica*, H. A. Giles, pp. 55—57.

[23] La tablette requise formulant l'injonction de révérence à l'Empereur, et placée dans les différents Temples, posait problème de conscience pour les Mahométans. Ils la plaçaient de telle sorte qu'ils lui tournaient les dos lors de leurs prosternations. Il en était tout autre pour les « Moshi » ou « Chen huihui ».

[24] *The Jews of Honan* p. 31, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1965 vol. 85 n° 2.

Le Tao ou Logos et l'ordre de l'univers

L'inscription lapidaire de 1489 tente d'établir une analogie historique autant que spirituelle de la *Voie*. Elle commence avec Adam, se poursuit avec Noé et Abraham à propos duquel elle nous résume la démarche spirituelle en ces termes:

> Comme il se fut éveillé, il (Abraham *Ngo ou lo han*) comprit les secrets profonds que tout cela renfermait.[25]

La compréhension des mystères liée à l'éveil spirituel chemine par la considération des lois naturelles régissant l'univers. L'harmonie qui s'en dégage transcende l'intelligence divine appelée la Voie (Tao).

La sagesse cachée dans les éléments naturels dont elle assure le dynamisme et l'harmonie, constitue le vecteur de cette « Voie »:[26]

> Interroge les bêtes, elles t'instruiront, les oiseaux du ciel, ils t'apprendront; parle à la terre, elle t'instruira et les poissons de la mer te raconteront. Qui ne reconnaît chez eux la preuve que la main de l'Eternel a fait toutes choses? Il tient dans sa main l'âme de tout ce qui vit, le souffle de toute chair d'homme. L'oreille ne discerne-t-elle pas les paroles comme le palais savoure les aliments? Dans les vieillards se trouve la sagesse et dans une longue vie l'intelligence. En Dieu résident la sagesse et la puissance. Le conseil et l'intelligence lui appartiennent.
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> Job 12, v. 7—13

Dans une lettre adressée à Jacob ben Samuel, Sahl ben Masliah le karaïte écrivait:

> Les fils de l'Ecriture disent à leurs frères les Enfants de Jacob, étudiez et cherchez, faites ce qui vous apparaît raisonnable au travers d'une preuve solide.[27]

[25] *Inscript. Juives de Kaïfong fou* p. 37. L'ambivalence du Tao dans la pensée Israélite telle qu'elle transparaît dans les récits des stèles, se singularise sous la forme de deux aspects distincts mais complémentaires: la Voie Naturelle qui gère l'harmonie de la nature et des êtres y compris-les liens filiaux, donc évidente (גלות), transcende une autre loi identique mais cachée, réservée à l'intelligence des Sages, celle-là n'est pas évidente mais cachée au profane (נסתרות). Nous remercions le Prof. S. Szyszman dans *R. H. B.*, t. CLXVIII-n° 451, 1965, pp. 63—73, à propos du compte rendu de l'ouvrage de N. Wieder, d'avoir attiré notre attention sur le fait que A. Geiger s'était penché sur les deux aspects de la législation religieuse antérieure à la législation pharisienne. L'un s'attachant à la pureté des rites, l'autre à la dignité des rapports familiaux et sociaux.

[26] Le Logos est naturellement l'intermédiaire par lequel Dieu gouverne le monde. Immanent au monde aussi bien que transcendant dans l'Esprit de Dieu, il est « le Capitaine et le Pilote de l'Univers » (notes de Jean Pouilloux, *Traité Agricul. de Philon*, n° 9, édit. Cerf, 1961, p. 47.

[27] ספר תונחת Publ. par Pinsker, נספחים, לי"ק, pp. 24—43. Poznanski, *Karaït Literary Opponents*, pp. 34—41.

Dans cet ordre d'idée l'auteur anonyme de la stèle de 1663 écrit:

> Il est difficile d'exposer complètement les grandes lignes et les articles détaillés du Livre Sacré; cependant, la pensée du Saint Patriarche en l'écrivant n'est autre que la doctrine du — juste milieu — solidement établie et parfaitement dégagée des affections de l'amour propre.[28]

Le célèbre massorète de Tibériade Moshé ben Asher traduisant le même ordre de pensée, rédigea ceci dans le colophon du Codex Alepensis:

> Par la communauté des prophètes, les Elus du Seigneur, les Saints de notre Dieu qui comprennent toutes les choses cachées et qui révèlent le secret de la Sagesse, les térébinthes de la Justice, les gens de la Fidélité qui ne cachent rien de ce qui leur a été donné et n'ajoutent rien à ce qui leur a été transmis et qui ont rendu l'Ecriture forte et puissante.[29]

Ainsi selon Moshé ben Asher, les mystères cachés et le secret de la Sagesse sont l'apanage des gens intègres qui n'ajoutent ni retranchent à l'Ecriture.

> L'homme intelligent parvient à connaître le secret de la Providence

« L'homme intelligent parvient à connaître le secret de la Providence » lit-on sur une inscription d'un « Li Pai » inaugurée en 1658.[30] Peut-on trouver ailleurs une définition plus simple du « Maskil »?

La stèle de 1489 nous décrit le rite dévotionnel auquel doit se soumettre le croyant:

> La manière d'honorer le ciel et faire les actes du culte suffisent bien par eux-mêmes à rendre manifestes les sentiments mystérieux de la Voie.

La dévotion doit être basée sur des pratiques extérieures dites *Li* et *Pai*. Elle doit être animée par des dispositions intérieures nommées *T'sing* et *Tchen*. Selon l'explication donnée dans la suite du texte, Tchen semble désigner la rigueur morale et intellectuelle צדק. L'acte dévotionnelle doit se faire avec pureté et droiture זכות transcrit ici par Li, avec déférence respectueuse כבוד rendu ici par Pai. Le fidèle doit adorer en toute vérité et dans la conscience de l'untié de Dieu באמת וביחוד transcrit par T'sing.

Contrairement aux apparences la pureté du monothéisme est parfaitement intacte. En fait, cette épitaphe nous dépeint le premier commandement:

[28] *Inscript. Juives. de Kaïfong* p. 71, stèle de 1663.

[29] *Istina* XXIV, n° 2, pp. 141—142, les Karaïtes sont-ils les descendants des Esséniens?

[30] *Inscript. Juiv. de Kaïf.* p. 19.

[31] *Ibid.* p. 39. La Loi se trouve ainsi transcendée (voir note 26).

Tu aimeras l'Eternel ton Dieu, de tout ton cœur, de toute ta pensée et de toute ta force . . . Le texte sur la stèle poursuit:

« Au milieu des occupations journalières, l'homme ne doit pas oublier le Ciel », confirmant ainsi l'injonction du livre de Josué 1, v. 8:

> Que le livre de la Loi soit toujours sur tes lèvres; médite-le jour et nuit afin de veiller à agir suivant tout ce qui est écrit.

Sur la même stèle un peu plus bas, nous lisons:

> C'est pourqui l'adoration répétée trois fois par jour, le matin, à midi et le soir est en toute vérité une pratique très raisonnable de la Voie Naturelle . . . La Voie n'a pas de forme corporelle, de figure, cependant, imposante par sa majesté, la Voie du ciel habite en haut.[32]

Près de 15 siècles auparavant, dans le même ordre de pensée, Philon d'Alexandrie écrivait:

> En effet, il sied parfaitement aux gens qui sont entrés en relations amicales avec le Savoir, de désirer voir l'Etre, et s'ils n'y parviennent pas, de voir au moins son image, le très saint Logos, et après lui son œuvre la plus parfaite dans le monde sensible: ce monde. Car la philosophie n'est au fond rien d'autre qu'un effort assidu pour voir exactement tout cela.
>
> De Confusione 97

Pour conclure son acte dévotionnel le fidèle procède à plusieurs actes physiques:

> En finissant, il honore la Voie et le culte se trouve en cet acte: il lève la tête en haut. Il baisse la tête pour vénérer la Voie car elle est près de lui.[33]

C'est ainsi que se conclut l'antique gestuel qui consiste tout d'abord à se présenter au temple avec des vêtements propres, avoir procédé à des ablutions, puis se courber, s'avancer, se tenir droit, élever les mains, reculer de trois pas puis avancer de cinq, proférer une louange, se prosterner, se tourner de gauche à droite et s'incliner avant de se retirer.

[32] *Ibid.* p. 40. Les trois dévotions journalières étaient pratiquées par le prophète Daniel (6, 10). La négation de toute forme d'anthropomorphisme nous rappelle que les Karaïtes furent attachés au mutazilisme. C'est peut-être cette raison qui rendit les Israélites de Kaïfeng partiellement favorables aux écrits maïmonidiens, et c'est très certainement le seul lien qu'ils eurent avec le Judaïsme Rabbinique, car nulle part le Talmud paraît. Il n'est jamais mentionné.

[33] *Ibid.* p. 41.

Ainsi, le gestuel dévotionnel naguère en usage dans le Temple de Jérusalem, conservé dans son originalité, se perpétue, commué en « Taijiquan »,[34] harmonisant ainsi l'adorateur avec l'univers par le Verbe (Tao).

Toujours sur la même stèle de 1489, nous lisons:

> Ni le but, ni les règles de la Voie ne sont au-delà des cinq relations naturelles . . . Mais les hommes ignorent complètement que la grande origine de la Voie vient du Ciel et que toujours, depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à présent, elle a été transmise sans erreur.

Ces propos convergent étrangement avec la pensée de Philon pour qui la véritable philosophie consiste à établir l'harmonie avec la Création par la recherche du *Logos*, principe Saint par excellence, Genèse de la matière et régulateur du temps et de l'espace:

> Et moi seul ai fondé toutes les choses dans leur être . . . L'inscription signifiait: moi je suis stable. Et moi seul ai fondé toutes les choses dans leur être, ayant mené la confusion et le désordre à l'ordre et à l'arrangement et ayant étayé l'univers, afin qu'il repose solidement sur la puissance de ma Parole (*Logos*), qui est mon gouverneur.
>
> De Somniis I, 241[35]

« L'origine de la Voie est universelle » ce qui semble indiquer que le monothéisme est le principe religieux originel. Sa dégénérescence s'effectue au profit de l'apparition de héros mythologiques, effaçant le souvenir de la création ex-nihilo de l'univers avec lequel la Voie s'harmonise: « La religion se modèle sur la rectitude naturelle ».[36]

> Le Tao, si l'on considère son existence, na' pas de figure visible et si l'on considère sa non-existence, il ne se perd pas dans le vide car le Tao est plutôt indépendant de l'existence et de la non-existence (des êtres visibles).[37]

Voila un écho curieux aux propos philosophiques de Philon d'Alexandrie !

[34] *Ibid.* p. 41. La décomposition des mouvements, les génuflexions, les différentes postures s'inscrivent dans un enchaînement chorégraphique visant à relier le Souffle Vital de l'âme, harmonisé avec le Cosmos, au Créateur. Le gestuel tel qu'il est décrit est toujours en vigueur chez les Karaïtes et les Samaritains. Il était naguère en usage dans le temple de Jérusalem. Mais afin de démarquer leurs sectateurs (les Pharisiens), de l'antique tradition, les Tannaïtes multiplièrent les interdits: prier les pieds nus, s'agenouiller pendant la prière, ou fermer les yeux ou croiser les bras sur la poitrine, autant d'attitudes caractéristiques selon eux de la « minuth » (hérésie). Sur ces interdits voir *R. E. J.*, XXX, 1895, pp. 190, 192. Or, nous savons qu'à Kaïfeng plusieurs de ces interdits étaient en usage, à ce propos consulter « Yi tz'u lo yeh » Chiao k'ao, Ch'en yüan, Shanghai 1923.

[35] De Somniis, Philon d'Alexandrie, II n° 19 & 241, Paris 1962, p. 123.

[36] *Inscript. Juives de Kaïfong fou*, incsript. VIII, p. 14.

[37] *Ibid.* Inscript. XIV, p. 28.

Le San jiao ou la règle de trois

Les Trois Lois (*San jiao*), dans ce contexte sont peut-être à l'image des trois parties constituant la bible hébraïque: la Loi, les Prophètes, les Hagiographes:

> Il est dit communément que les Livres Sacrés sont écrits pour y consigner la Voie (Tao). Qu'est-ce que la Voie, c'est la droite ligne de conduite.[38]

Nous avons là une définition karaïte de ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler « Halakhah ». A ce propos B. Dupuy écrit:

> Dans un opuscule intitulé: *Ordre de l'Ecriture* qui se trouve inséré dans le codex du Caire, Moïse ben Asher affirme l'importance respective des trois parties du Tanach. Il rapproche cette structure de celle du Temple de Jérusalem qui comportait également trois parties: le Saint des Saints, le sanctuaire, le parvis. C'est là, comme l'a montré Paul Khale, une idée typiquement karaïte qui remonte à l'epoque de la constitution de la Bible.[39]

Les croquis réalisés par Jean Domenge en 1721 révèlent cette similitude de structure entre le Temple de Jérusalem et celui-de Kaïfeng. Dans la pensée de Philon, ce triptyque est symbolisé par la stèle: « En effet, la stèle est le symbole de trois choses: la stabilité, la consécration, l'inscription ».[40]

La stèle et son symbolisme

Les Patriarches élevaient des autels de pierre pour commémorer une alliance, enfin les Dix Commandements furent gravés sur deux tables de pierre. Tout au long de l'histoire ancienne d'Istraël, les évènements importants furent marqués d'un monument en pierre.

Plusieurs stèles figuraient dans le temple israélite de Kaïfeng et ses annexes mais toutes, sans exception, sont dédiées à Dieu. Toujours à propos de la stèle Philon ajoute:

> Donc, l'athlète spirituel, auquel un entrainement ininterrompu a appris que la création est mouvante par nature, tandis que l'inengendré n'est sujet ni à l'altération ni au mouvement, a besoin de dresser une stèle à Dieu et quand il l'a dressée, de l'oindre. Car il est dit: *Tu m'as oint une stèle.*
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> Gen. 31, v. 13[41]

[38] *Ibid.* Inscript. VI, p. 56 Revel décela une origine commune à la pensée de Philon et celle des Sages Karaïtes (*J. Q. R.*, nouvelle série, vol. II et III, 1911—1912 et 1912—1913, pp. 517—544 et 337—396), relaté dans *R. H. B.*, t. CLXVIII n° 451, fasc. 1 Juillet—Septembre 1965, compte-rendu de l'ouvrage de Naphtali Wieder, S. Szysman, p. 71.

[39] *Istina* XXIX, n° 2, p. 143.

[40] *De Somnilis* I, § 242.

[41] *Ibid.* I, § 249.

Le miroir brillant

Dans le complexe du temple de Kaïfeng, un autre élément retient notre attention: un pavillon dénommé le hall du miroir brillant.[42] Il se trouvait sur le côté de la cour intérieure à proximité du temple. L'image du miroir apparaît fréquemment dans la pensée religieuse extrême-orientale notamment dans le bouddhisme zen. Cependant, là aussi, nous pensons que Philon peut semble-t-il nous apporter quelqu'éclairage sur le symbolisme du miroir dans notre contexte. Dans son traité intitulé *De vita Contemplativa* § 78, il écrit:

> Les explications des Saintes Ecritures se font d'après la signification allégorique. L'ensemble de la Loi pour ces hommes est analogue à un être vivant: le corps, c'est la prescription littérale; l'âme, c'est l'esprit invisible déposé dans les mots. Par lui, l'âme raisonnable est entrée dans une contemplation supérieure des objets qui lui sont propres: elle a vu, réfléchie dans les mots comme dans un miroir, la beauté extraordinaire des idées, elle a dégagé et découvert les symboles, elle a dévoilé les pensées et les a mises en lumière pour ceux qui peuvent, à partir d'un indice infime, remonter par le visible à la contemplation de l'invisible.

La raison ni la fonction de ce pavillon du « miroir brillant » n'ont pû être clairement définis d'autant plus qu'il ne semblait pas contenir de miroir mais des stèles. Nous sommes en mesure de supposer que ce pavillon était en fait un lieu destiné à la méditation.

Epigraphies funéraires

Outre le Tanach, les Israélites de Kaïfeng possédaient un registre généalogique de plusieurs familles importantes de la communauté. Une partie de ce registre était réservée aux défunts, l'autre aux défuntes. A la fin du cahier figurait une prière rédigée en ces termes:

> Que tous ceux qui sont inscrits dans le cahier puissent être unis au groupe des vivants avec les sept anciens Justes et Saints, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moïse, Aaron, Elie et Elisée.

Pour les femmes, il était écrit:

> Qu'elles puissent être unies aux sept Justes et Saintes femmes de l'antiquité, Sarah, Rachel, Lia, Jochebed, Miryam, Ziphora (Deborah ou Sephora), et placées elles aussi sous l'Arbre de Vie dans le Jardin d'Eden.[43]

[42] Inscription placée dans une salle d'hôtes, I, fig. L. *Inscript. Juives* p. 19.
[43] *Inscript. Juives de Kaïfong fou*, p. 102.

A plusieurs milliers de kilomètres de kaïfeng, aux confins la Lybie et de la Tunisie, dans le Djebel nefoussa à Reheïbet, Mesrata et Girsa, Nahoum Sloush a découvert des tombes hébraïques portant les inscriptions suivantes:

עם יושבי חברון
Avec ceux qui reposent à Hébron (les patriarches),

עם יושבי נטעים
Avec ceux qui reposent avec les plantes (paradis dans le langage des Thérapeuthes).

D'autres formulations figuraient également notamment celle-ci:

הרחמן ישים חלקו עם שבי כתית של צדיקים
Que le Miséricordieux mette sa part à côté des sept catégories de Justes.[44]

Selon la terminologie karaïte, les sept catégories des Justes correspondent à sept sortes de Justes définis dans les Psaumes. Le Djebel Nefoussa était situé sur l'axe caravanier qui s'étendait jusqu'au sud Sahara.

Sarrasins et Rhadanites

Dans le *Kitab el Maçalik w'al l'Mamalik*, ibn Khordadbeh trace l'itinéraire des marchands radhanites appelés tantôt Haddanites ou Dardanites, voir Dodanites. On a été tenté de rattacher leur origine à une zone géographique déterminée (Dedan, Dan etc). Leur activité commerciale dans la vallée du Rhône à l'époque des Francs a permis de penser que les « Nautae Rhodaniti » devaient leur désignation à cette région d'autant qu'ils disposaient de la protection des évêques de Metz et de Verdun.[45] Ils se livraient au commerce de la soie, des esclaves et des fourrures. Ils achetaient aussi des épées forgées.[46] Narbonne qui abritait un Magister judaeorum constituait un de leurs principaux centres en occident.

On leur connaît des relations avec le lointain empire abbasside et Charlemagne chargea l'un d'entre eux d'y conduire une délégation.[47]

[44] *Voyage d'études Juives en Afrique*. Paris 1909, pp. 38—60.

[45] Ph. Bourdel, *Histoire des Juifs*. Paris 1974, p. 21.

[46] Dès l'antiquité Romaine, les forgerons Gaulois étaient réputés, notamment pour la fabrication des glaives.

[47] *Etude critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne*, L. Halpen, Paris 1921, § 16. Les relations des Khazars avec l'Occident ont laissé quelques empreintes qu'il faut considérer avec prudence Ainsi, dans la lettre adressée par Hasdaï ibn Shaprut au roi Khazar Joseph, H. Grégoire note que le titre de « Califes » est faussement attribué aux Oméyades de Cordoue (extrait des *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud*). K. Kokocov établit

Le Karaïtologue S. Szysman nous rapporte que la chronique de Lübeck relate la présence de Sarrazins mélés aux opposants des Chevaliers Teutoniques dans la bataille de Grünwald-Tannenberg en 1410. Il ajoute:

> Le chroniqueur donne des précisions qui prouvent une bonne connaissance de ce peuple: il dit que ces Sarrazins sont originaires du littoral de la mer Caspienne où habitent les Roden Juden (Juifs Rouges). Le nord de la mer Caspienne est le territoire khazar par excellence et ensuite coman.[48]

Nous pensons que c'est ici qu'il faut chercher l'origine du nom « Radhanite ». Cette appellation serait d'origine gothique. L'expansion des Goths en occident a dû propager ce terme déjà appliqué par eux aux Israélites d'Europe orientale (Roden, Rhaden).[49]

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que des modifications et des ajouts ont été réalisés sur les textes originaux de cette correspondance, (les Khazars, problèmes et contreverses, S. Szyszman, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* tome CLII n° 2 Oct—Déc. 1957, p. 174 note 2.) Cependant une analyse particulièrement critique ne permet pas d'éluder l'existance d'une correspondance entre les Khazars et les Israélites occidentaux. Dans la 9ème section de la correspondance khazare il est dit que deux israélites: saül et Joseph, envoyés à la cour des Oméyades par le roi des *G. b. lim*, qui lui, l'enverra aux Israëlites de *H. n. g. rin* (Hongrie) qui l'achemineront au pays des Rus, et de là aux Bulgares jusqu'à sa destination finale. Cassel et Harkavy rapprochèrent *G. b. lim* de « Djabal » en arabe et pensèrent qu'il s'agissait de montagnards croates. Kokovcov pense que ce terme est corrélatif de גְּבָל ou גִּבֵּל en hébreu émane de Juifs de Toulouse. Peut-être faut-il entendre par « Guevoulim » les confins de l'Empire Franc, (voir à ce propos Gayhâni, C. Nallino, *Al-Battani sive Albatenii Opusas astronomicum*. Pars I, p. 174 = *Pubblicazioni del reale osservatorio di Breta in Milano*. Milano 1899—1907).

H. Grégoire pense que *G. b. lim* désigne les Gaulois Gabali du Gévaudan en Auvergne (Pauly-Wissona). Le terme « Guebalim » servant à désigner les Gaulois serait ancien et largement antérieur au terme « Tsarfath » qui, dans la littérature rabbinique du Moyen-Age désigne la France. Les Guébalim pourraient désigner les royaumes francs peut être dès l'époques mérovingienne. Si l'on en juge par les émissaires israélites français du document dépêchés dans une ambassade à la cour de Cordoue, des relations entre les rois carolingiens et Khazars existaient, à condition toutefois que le terme « Guebalim » désigne la Gaule franque.

[48] *Bulletin d'Etudes Karaïtes* n° 1, édit. Peeters, Paris 1983, p. 92.

[49] Vers le milieu du IIIème siècle, les Goths migrèrent des rives de la Mer Baltique vers le sud de la Russie jusque sur les bords de la Mer Noire, la péninsule taurique où prédominait le royaume du Bosphore. Théophile, un évêque Goths du Bosphore assista au Concile de Nicée en 325, mais des Goths en Crimée professaient déjà le Christianisme en 258. D'autre part, une chronique intitulée — Les Vies Saintes des Evêques de Cherson (Sary-Kerman) —, relate que trois évêques subirent le martyr dans cette cité de la part des païens et des Juifs; *The Goths in Crimea*, Alexander Alexandrovitch Vasiliev, Cambridge, Mass. 1936, p. 3 *passim*.

De même, au IIème siècle av. J. C., les Celtes Galates alliés des Germains Sciriens dans le sud de la Russie, semèrent la terreur dans les colonnies grecques, *ibid.*, p. 55.

Quand au terme *sarrazin*, il est déjà utilisé par Pline (Arraceni) pour désigner les nomades vivant sous des tentes (du Grec « skènitaï »): les Sarracènes. Les chroni-

Par ailleurs S. Szyszman écrit:

> Les Comans se dénommaient « Zsary » qui signifie blanc ou jaune dans les langues turques. Jusqu'au XVIème siècle leur présence est attestée en Hongrie, à Halicz et en Crimée. Dans les chroniques ils sont cités distinctement des Juifs et des Musulmans. Il professent le Karaïsme comme l'ont attesté plusieurs historiens.[50]

Les «Syri» que l'on croyait originaires du proche-orient, circulaient en Gaule gallo-romaine vendant la poupre, le poivre, les esclaves et l'or. Antérieurement aux invasions maures, les Sarrazins étaient connus en occident. L'évêque Ferrol (553—581) leur fut tour à tour favorable puis hostile:

> Unde et accusatus apud childebertum reqem Francorum co quod cum Judaeis et Sarracenis comederet et biberet et numera eis donaret.[51]

Les « Syri » ou Sarrazins connus en Occident avant les invasions maures et arabes ont-ils une origine commune? Toujours est-il que l'apogée de leur rayonnement correspond à la période revivaliste au sein du karaïsme (IX-ème siècle).

Un autre terme nous paraît établir une connexion entre les israélites chinois du Henan et ceux de l'empire Khazar, c'est celui de: « Chu hu », « Cu wu » ou « Chu hu té » qui, dès les XII-ème siècle sert en Chine à désigner les Israélites.[52] De toute évidence, ce terme est à rapprocher de *Shufut* qui, en

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queurs byzantins appliquent ce vocable aux envahisseurs et de façon plus géneréle aux nomades non-incorporés à l'Empire. Plus tard en Occident, il servira à désigner essentiellement les Arabo-Musulmans qui furent les derniers envahisseurs (voir *Les Nabatéens*, rev. Bibl. 1898, P. Vincent, p. 572). Il est à noter que plusieurs auteurs grecs désignent les lointains peuples de Sibérie sous le nom de Seres.

[50] S. Szyszman, *Le Karïsme*. Lausanne 1980, p. 91.

[51] Vita Ferreoli cat. cod. hagiogr. Latin. Antiq. s. XVI . . . in Bibl. Nat., 2. 101 cité par J. Juster: *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*. t. 1, p. 185.

[52] D. D. Leslie, *The Surv. of the Chinese Jews*, pp. 201—202. R. Loewenthal, *The Sino-Judaic Inst.*, p. 5, 25.

Alors que « Yu t'ai » (Juif) est l'équivalent du Grec Ioudaïos, éponyme de la religion israélite après la destruction du second Temple de Jérusalem en l'an 70, son utilisation est tardive et usitée surtout en Occident où il fut vulgarisé par la littérature rabbinique. Il est d'utilisation récente en Chine, E. Noye, *Les Juifs de Chine. Bul. Cath. de Pékin*. Pékin 22: 268, Décembre 1935, pp. 650—65, et Palladius *Elucidations of Marco Polo's travels, Journ. N. C. Br. R. A. S.*, New Series v. 10, 1876, p. 38, Cf. title n° 145. Nulle part à Kaïfeng ce terme figure, et Juda est appelée « Jucunda » (quod miratus sum, et appelant Jacunda), lettre de Gozani, *Juifs de Chine*, p. 53.

Il est impossible de rapprocher directement « Chu hu » de l'arabe « Iahud », il semble plus proche du persan « Juhud » et du turc « Juhut ». En aucun cas les Israélites de Kaïfeng y font références pour désigner leur religion.

turc, désigne les Israélites. Il fut d'ailleurs accolé à la ville-forteresse de Kalé en Crimée qui abritait jadis une importante colonie karaïte.

Nous pensons donc qu'il existait un lien culturel et religieux entre les Israélites de Kaïfeng, les Khazars et les Radhanites. Les ramifications de ce vaste réseau s'étendaient à l'empire des Francs, au royaume des Wisigoths et en Afrique jusqu'aux marges sud-sahariennes.

A l'ombre de la muraille de chine

Les Israélites du Henan longtemps isolés, conservèrent les particularismes d'un Judaïsme ancien anté-talmudique tout comme celui des Israélites éthiopiens, par ailleurs disparu. Le rayonnement du Talmud ne semble pas les avoir atteint, pas plus qu'une bonne fraction des Israélites d'Iran, d'Afghanistan ou des Indes qui furent talmudisés très tardivement. Ceci nous amène à reconsidérer l'évolution du Judaïsme dans son ensemble et non plus en fonction des données occidentales seulement et notamment celles que le Judaïsme rabbinique a bien voulu nous laisser.

Une communauté paisible et originale

Assurés de la bienveillance des empereurs et jouissant d'une bonne honorabilité, les Israélites de Kaïfeng maintenaient intact leur dogme sans qu'aucune forme de conflit extérieur ne troubla leur environnement social et religieux depuis, semble-t-il, la dynastie Tang.[53]

Dans la cité impériale de Kaïfeng les « T'sin tchen », descendants des immigrants du lointain pays de « Tien tchou », s'attachaient à servir le Dieu de leurs ancêtres selon la règle du « t'sin » et du « tchen ».[54] Les trois piliers

[53] Le souvenir des massacres de 878 ne semble pas effacé de leurs mémoires, et pour parer à toute éventualité, ils disposaient d'un petit volume exposant la doctrine de leur religion, intitulé « Ming tao shü » destiné aux mandarins en cas de persécution. *The Chinese Jews*, p. 129. D'autre part, toutes les stèles dédicacées le sont par des dignitaires impériaux, ce qui nous amène à présumer que la notoriété des personnages présentait un gage de protection pour la communauté toute entière.

[54] L'expression semble indiquer leur attachement aux normes scriptuaires; d'ailleurs, Lieou T'chang, al'auteur de la stèle de 1663 précise: « le Livre Sacré a un sens qu'il faut rechercher avec soin; c'est pourquoi ceux qui l'expliquent n'osent pas y ajouter leurs commentaires discordants; le Livre Sacré est facile et court; c'est pourquoi ceux qui l'expliquent n'osent pas y mêler leurs commentaires nombreux et embarrassants ». *Inscript. Juives de Kaïfong fou*, p. 80. C'est pour cette raison semble-t-il que nous n'avons pas trouvé la moindre trace du Talmud à Kaïfeng.

du dogme « San jiao » de ces « Lan mao hui hui » étaient : la Loi, les Prophètes et les Hagiographes, l'ensemble formant le réceptacle de la Voie (Tao).

Alors que le service du Temple de Jérusalem avait cessé depuis dix-huit siècles, très loin de là, au coeur même de la Chine plusieurs fois millénaires, se perpétraient les rites hébraïques antiques dans le « Temple du Très Pur »[55] qu'il convient d'appeler, conformément à la terminologie chinoise, un –Beth Hamiqdash–.

Un Rabbin du XIXème siècle confirme que les Israélites Chinois rejettent les principes Talmudiques. Dans ses souvenirs de voyages, le Rabbin David D'Beth Hillel relate: « un juif blanc de Cochin nommé Juda Ashkenazi, m'a dit qu'il y a plusieurs années, un juif noir de Cochin qu'il a connu dans son enfance, était allé en Chine. Alors qu'il était là-bas accompagnant quelques autochtones à une foire que se tenait hors-les-murs d'une grande cité, les habitants sortaient pour se livrer au négoce mais ne permettaient aux étrangers de franchir les portes de la ville. En voyant le Juif et en apprenant de lui ce qu'il était, ils professèrent qu'ils étaient eux-mêmes Juifs, et que toute la zone située sur ce côté de la rive du fleuve leur appartenait. Ils ne lui permirent pas cependant d'entrer mais lui apportèrent de la nourriture, entre autre de la viande bouillie dans du lait. Il refusa d'en manger et leur demanda comment se peut-il, s'ils sont Juifs, de consommer de la nourriture qu'il n'est pas permis pour les Juifs en Inde et partout dans le monde de consommer. Ils répondirent que Moïse a seulement interdit de cuire une progéniture dans le lait de sa mère, cette viande n'était pas cuite dans le lait de sa mère et pour cette raison n'était pas en infraction avec la Loi. Il dit que selon les lois du Talmud, la viande ne doit pas être mangée avec le lait sous aucune forme. Ils répondirent: « Qui est plus grand, Moïse ou les Talmudistes? ». Il mangea donc ce qu'on présenta devant lui et depuis ce temps a conservé cet usage, objectant à ses détracteurs: « Qui est plus grand, Moïse ou les Talmudistes? Walter J. Fischel, *Unknown Jews in unknow Lands, The travels of rab.* David D'Beth Hillel (1824—1932), New York 1973 pp. 115—116.

[55] Inscript. Juives de Kaïfong fou, p. 19.

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OTTOMAN POLICY TOWARDS HUNGARY, 1520—1541*

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This study forms part of the so-called Mohács debate within Hungarian research into the country's history. It is an attempt — based on Ottoman sources as far as possible — to provide a picture of the political aspirations and tactics that led to the occupation of a rather extensive part of Hungary in 1541. A short historiography will indicate the impact of historical antecedents on the recent view of Ottoman intentions concerning Hungary. This approach agrees with the opinion according to which the Ottoman Empire, from the beginning, but especially from the age of Süleyman, truly wanted to conquer Hungary. The repeated retreats and spectacular concessions might be explained by the well-known Ottoman method of applying a step-by-step or gradual expansion in Hungary, as in the case of earlier conquests. The main reasons for Ottoman expansion can be considered as a joint result of Ottoman social dynamics, the domestic relations of the political system, political traditions and a convictions of inner strength, and all these traits, which represented a compulsion that even the Porte was unable to overcome, will be clarified.

In addition, the structure of Ottoman politics in Hungary and its crucial aspects between 1520 and the end of the 1530s will be considered. With the installation of Süleyman, the state of the Empire and the wishes of the political elite invoked and even forced a western turn in Ottoman warfare. The new ruler started a campaign against Hungary in 1521, merely because it was a neighbour. The incident concerning an Ottoman envoy was merely a hypocritical "excuse". The aim of the 1521 war was an attempt to defeat Hungary and occupy Buda, and it failed because of the fragile warlord abilities of the young padishah. Neither wanted the Porte to tie in with the Hungarians in 1524, but thorough preparations were made for a repeated attack against the country. The success at Mohács in 1526 and the appearance of the Habsburgs initiated a new conception in Ottoman strategy that had traditionally prevailed to that

* The present study is an abbreviated version of an earlier Hungarian work of mine, *Magyarország és a török hódítás* (Budapest 1991). The manuscript of that work was completed in January, 1989.

day, which remained valid throughout Süleyman's rule. It was a notion that the full occupation and "pacification" of Hungary should be effected by the previous conquest of Vienna, the central capital of the Habsburgs. The failure of the first experiments (in 1529 and 1532) allowed János [John] Szapolyai to maintain his rule — intended to be temporary by the Ottoman policy — throughout the 1530s. At the same time, those years matured the insight among certain Ottoman officials that the possible future vassalage of Hungary *in statum* would cost more than a direct occupation. Behind the decision to take Buda, it seems there was an intention to bring these two ideas into equilibrium: the conquest of the country through the occupation of Vienna and the diminution of the excessive financial costs caused by the sustenance of a vassal Hungary.

The aim of this study is an endeavour to throw some light precisely on this problem, i.e. the events of 1541 and the aims of the Ottoman government at that time. The opportunity to clarify this question arose from the fact that an Ottoman document came to light, which in its contents could be evaluated as a by-strategem of the war of that year. This document — accompanied by the results provided by contemporary Hungarian sources — should produce a more trustworthy picture of the intentions of the Porte than was the case earlier. A summary is given here.

Already before his arrival in Buda, the sultan had decided that he would take possession of that areas of Hungary that belonged to Szapolyai's party. This campaign was not a single rescue operation; at the same time it was not the final aim either, rather was intended to be the first step to further undertakings. As several manifestations and the events after the occupation of Buda in 1541 showed, the Ottoman elite and military command returned to the strategy of 1529—1532, i.e. to the intention of getting even with the "Viennese king". Nevertheless, because of the political instability in Hungary, the Ottoman leaders changed the sequence in this way: first to finish off the weakest participant of the Hungarian political scene, in order to use the full Ottoman force, the resources of the newly occupied territories and their fortifications as well, as a background, and then to attack the main enemy, King Ferdinand. At first, the sultan intended to occupy Transylvania and capture the Hungarian leaders, too. However, he abandoned this plan while staying in Buda. Instead, he gave the territories of Eastern Hungary to the Priest György [George] Martinuzzi and Péter Petrovics as *sancak*s at least until he could execute his Vienna plans. Nevertheless he failed again on the main front and the path opened to the future independence of Transylvania, simply because of apparent political–military necessity. In perspective, Süleyman overestimated his own forces and the Central European power situation, and choosing rather fallible tactics in Hungary between 1520 and 1541, he lost the opportunity that never occurred either before or after his rule. Consequently,

his Hungarian conquests demanded enormously more unfruitful sacrifices from the Ottoman Empire than would have been necessary if the strategem had been better-considered.

I.

In the autumn of 1541, sultan Süleyman sent a *fethname* (letter of victory) from Buda to his Grand Vizier Süleyman pasha in Central Anatolia, in which he summed up the aims and results of his Hungarian campaign in the following manner: "My true aim was to make the capital Buda one of the abodes of Islam and take possession of Hungary with my victorious sword . . . . Having conquered and taken possession of the town of Buda with its inhabitants and the areas belonging to it, I had the great churches converted into *camis* in which Friday service was held with the participation of all the warriors and the prayer included my princely name. . . . Having attached Hungary with all her fortresses, provinces and inhabitants to the rest of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, I ordered *kadıs*, castle commanders and garrisons, and I appointed my vizier Süleyman pasha, who possesses of the wisdom of Asaf, to defend and guard the province and assigned him a valiant corps from the world-conquering army."[1]

Of course, the victorious monarch was fully aware that not all his words were true, since the capture of Buda and the "areas belonging to it" did not really mean the occupation of the whole of Hungary One of his sentences hints that there was still much to do in this regard: "I do hope I shall soon honour the region with my victorious banners."[2] He also forgot to mention that the occupation was not the outcome of a single campaign. Both in the Ottoman Empire and in Europe it was well known that from 1521 onward the sultan had carved ever larger pieces out of Hungary bringing them directly under his sway (according to King Ferdinand, in 1527 he possessed a quarter of Hungary[3]). In addition, it was not the first time that he had claimed the possession of Hungary. After 1526, and especially in the 1530s, it was a political truism in the European courts that not only the occupied areas, but the entire territory of Hungary was claimed by the Ottoman ruler as belonging to him. In spite of this, it is obvious that the actions in 1541; the direct Ottoman rule in the capital and central parts of the country, the investiture of the

[1] Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, *Münşe'ātü's-selāṭīn*. I, Istanbul 1274/1857², pp. 553—554. In Hungarian: Thúry, József, *Török történetírók* [Turkish historians]. I, Budapest 1893, p. 395.

[2] Ferīdūn, *op. cit.*, p. 554; Thúry, J., *op. cit.*, p. 195.

[3] Szalay, László, *Adalékok a magyar nemzet történetéhez a XVI-ik században* [Some data on the history of the Hungarian nation in the 16th century]. Pest 1859, p. 21.

ruler in the Friday sermon by his name, which legitimized the occupation of Buda and made it irrevocable, were qualitatively different from the previous ones. They indicated a radical break with the former policy of keeping Hungary loosely subordinated to the Ottoman Empire, and a clear turn toward direct annexation and integration. In this sense, 1541 marked a turning point, not only for the Hungarians, but also for the Ottomans.

But was it indeed a radical change, or was it a logical and foreseeable consequence of the Ottoman victories of 1521 and 1526? This was always a point of contention among scholars. As if in anticipation of the subsequent questions, Süleyman offered some clues to the interpretation of his policy. One of these clues is symbolic, but unambiguous: it was no accident that he dispatched his Janissaries to occupy the Hungarian capital exactly on August 29, the 15th anniversary of the battle of Mohács (and the 20th anniversary of the victory at Belgrade). That was his symbolic way of making it clear that the occupation was a direct consequence of Mohács and was aimed at terminating the military and political struggles that had occurred since 1526. He was far less unambiguous when in his quoted *fethname* he enlarged upon his former policy concerning Hungary, perplexing the students of his era instead of giving them clear information. He wrote: "By the grace of God and with the help of my victorious sword, I conquered Hungary and its capital Buda in the mentioned years; but since it was very far from the Muslim Empire and thus it would have been hard to govern it, and since King János [John Szapolyai] undertook the obligation of paying tribute, I bestowed the kingship of Hungary on him and after his death, I donated it to his son King Istfan [John Sigismund]."[4] If this statement is placed beside the above quoted words about the goals of 1541, a single inference can be drawn, namely, that Süleyman already planned to annex Hungary from the outset. Though he had to postpone the realization of his goals due to certain problems, eventually he fulfilled his plan in 1541 (when the obstacles were apparently removed). At the same time, if one continues reading the document, one comes across statements which claim that King Ferdinand's intervention in Hungary and the siege of Buda by the Germans compelled the sultan to deploy troops and later to launch a campaign led by himself. If one considers these lines in the context of the whole document, it is not improbable to assert that the sultan was compelled to occupy Hungary in order to forestall the Habsburg threat.

Süleyman's policy and his contradictory manifestations do not assist scholars in interpreting his moves and decisions. It is, therefore, not surprising that one can come across views and their exact opposite in historical research. Significantly enough, such views can be grouped around the two opposite poles implied in the above document. One group of scholars contend that at

[4] Ferīdūn, *op. cit.*, p. 551; Thúry, J., *op. cit.*, p. 392.

first Süleyman did not want to conquer Hungary, but wished to give the country the status modelled on the Moldavian and Wallachian vassal principalities, but was later forced to change his original conception by subsequent events. Most advocates of this position considered the post-1526 political and military events, the repeated seizure and withdrawal from Buda, and the acknowledgment of János's Hungarian kingship meaningful processes, which they attributed to a variety of underlying causes. Ferenc Salamon, for example, argued that the Ottomans did not wish to establish direct rule in Hungary because such an occupation lacked the basic conditions, such as a sufficient number of Turkish settlers and the willingness of the local population to convert to Islam. Hungary's role would have been to protect the Balkan provinces of the Empire.[5] József Thúry adopted the first part of this argument,[6] while Mihály Horváth agreed with the second part of Salamon's thesis.[7] László Bárdossy in his excellent book elaborated another hypothesis. He attributed the "lukewarm" policy of the Ottomans towards Hungary to the fact that the Ottoman Empire "consciously remained an Asian power" and considered the European theatre of war to be of secondary importance. In any case, the European conquests were limited by the fact that the territories of the enemy were too far from the main bases.[8] Béla Iványi opined that Süleyman saw the Habsburg Ferdinand as his chief antagonist. He did not want to subjugate or incorporate Hungary, rather to use it as a transit area.[9] Combining earlier concepts with his own ideas, Géza Perjés elaborated an innovative suggestion, stretching the basic notion of Hungary as a vassal state *ad absurdum* (to the Ottoman Empire defending itself in Hungary). Perjés started from the assumption that the Ottoman government had extraordinarily rational concepts and clearly realized its strategic interes tsand the limitations to its powers. Consequently, their policy was not to plan to conquer Hungary and they would not have been able to do so. They were awere that their economic interests linked them to the Mediterranean and Hungary was beyond the boundaries up to which the Ottoman army could efficiently function. The permanent occupation of an area like this would have resulted in an immense financial loss. The recognition of this "action radius" and the ensuing problems, as well

[5] Salamon, Ferenc, *Magyarország a török hódítás korában* [Hungary at the time of the Turkish conquest]. Budapest 1886², pp. 81–82.

[6] Thúry, József, A török hódítás kezdete Magyarországon [The beginning of Turkish conquest in Hungary]. *Századok* 27 (1893), p. 567.

[7] Horváth, Mihály, *Utyeszenich Fráter György* (*Martinuzzi bíbornok*) *élete* [The life of Cardinal George Martinuzzi]. Pest 1872³, p. 19.

[8] Bárdossy, László, *Magyar politika a mohácsi vész után* [Hungarian politics after the defeat at Mohács]. Budapest 1943, p. 13; cf. *ibid.*, p. 93.

[9] Iványi, Béla, Buda és Pest sorsdöntő évei [Crucial years for Buda and Pest]. In: *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* [Studies on the past of Budapest] IX, Budapest 1941, pp. 32–34.

as the growing Habsburg threat compelled Süleyman to use Hungary as a buffer state against the Habsburgs. For this reason, he offered to enter into an alliance with the Hungarians several times, with the stipulation that he would respect the country's independence and territorial integrity, provided that Hungary would adopt a pro-Turkish policy and refuse to elect a pro-Habsburg king. The actual aim of his military campaigns was to force Hungary to assume this role, since the Hungarian leaders repeatedly turned down his offers. What eventually compelled Süleyman to abandon his original plan and occupy Buda was the very thing that had inspired that conception: the limitation of the army's action radius.[10] It should also be mentioned that several non-Hungarian scholars, including H. Inalcık and more recently M. Berindei and G. Veinstein, concluded from the analysis of the political events of this period, that originally Süleyman planned to turn Hungary into a vassal state.[11]

[10] Géza Perjés first expounded his views in a study entitled *Az országút szélére vetett ország* [A country off the main road] (published in book form in Budapest 1975, in the series *Gyorsuló idő*) and in more detail in his book *Mohács* (Budapest 1979). A more recent elaboration on the rationality of Ottoman politics, albeit without new arguments, was by Géza Perjés, Szulejmán koncepciója és Erdély [Süleyman's conception and Transylvania]. In: *Tanulmányok Erdély történetéről* [Studies in the history of Transylvania]. Professional conference in Debrecen, October 9—10, 1987. Ed. by István Rácz. Debrecen 1988, pp. 84—91. — The writings of Géza Perjés generated much controversy in Hungary and also had repercussions abroad. In Turkey, for example, İsmail Soysal reviewed the ideas, competence and unbiased attitude of the author in a sympathetic article (see Mohaç sonrası Türk—Macar siyasal ilişkileri üzerinde Macar tarihçisi Géza Perjés'in bir değerlendirmesi. *Belleten* 40 (1976), pp. 127—139.) More recently an abridged version of his book *Mohács* was published in Turkish (*Mohaç meydan muharebesi*. Çeviren, özetleyen ve tanıtan Şerif Baştav, Ankara 1988.). His influence on certain West European scholars is apparent (e.g. upon Gilles Veinstein to be mentioned below, see his lecture: « La politique hongroise de Sultan Süleymân et d'Ibrâhîm pacha à travers deux lettres de 1534 au roi Sigismond de Pologne », held in Budapest in 1986 and at the CIEPO conference in Pécs). Abroad, however, it is practically unknown that his colleagues in Hungary criticized him for his unverifiable and contradictory preconceptions, and for his casual treatment of sources. Thus, foreign scholars could not spot in Perjés's argumentation the following fundamental contradiction: he emphasized the advantages of a political construction (and condemned the leaders of Hungary at that time for rejecting it), which he himself proved to have no reality. (This observation was formulated by Gábor Barta, see places quoted in note 16.)

[11] İnalcık, Halil, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300—1600*. London 1973, p. 35. (İnalcık proved this by stating that it would have been too costly and difficult to set up direct rule in an alien and faraway country. Related to this, Gyula Rázsó asserted that vassalage was better suited to Turkish interests, because they could expect little practical gain from a direct conquest; see A Habsburg-birodalom politikai és katonai törekvései Magyarországon Mohács időszakában [The political and military aspirations of the Habsburg Empire in Hungary at the time of Mohács]. In: *Mohács. Tanulmányok a mohácsi csata 450. évfordulója alkalmából* [Studies on the occasion of the 450th anniversary of the battle of Mohács]. Ed. by Lajos Rúzsás and Ferenc Szakály. Buda-

By contrast, other scholars voiced the view that in Süleyman's time the occupation of Hungary belonged to the definite targets of the Ottoman Empire, and the prolongation of its accomplishment can be explained by tactical reasons. As Ignác Acsády saw it, the cautious steps and seemingly friendly gestures that followed the initial victories were actually part of a calculated policy to realize the annexation of Hungary "step-by-step, gradually and without taking any risk".[12] All the moves, including the alliance with János Szapolyai, were means to enable Süleyman to "incorporate Hungary then and in such a way when and how he wished and could hope to succeed".[13] This view is shared by Ferenc Szakály, who claims the Ottomans applied their well proven method of gradual conquest in Hungary, just as they had previously done in the case of the Balkan states. The first phase, lasting for more than a century, was aimed at "softening up" the country and ended in 1526. Then the second phase began, in which the Ottomans, provoking a decisive battle, definitely broke the resistance of the Hungarian kingdom. In the third phase, measures were taken partly to ensure the — now only loose — control over the country, and partly to prepare the ground for the later and conclusive conquest. The occupation of the southern parts of Hungary, Szerémség (Syrmium/Sirem) was of outstanding importance, depriving Hungary of its last major defence line. This gave the Ottomans a base from where, together with the garrisons later transferred to Pest and Székesfehérvár, they could easily control the Hungarian capital and from where they could create effective deterrence and protect the forces, which submitted to Turkish policy. The Ottoman leaders wanted János Szapolyai, the head of these forces, to legalize (or conceal) their ambitions in Hungary. They selected him, because they knew he could not retain his power without Ottoman support. However, they also encouraged the ambitions of other pro-Turkish magnates (e.g. Péter Perényi's and István Mayláth's) who were expected to divide Hungarian society and disseminate the idea of Turkish orientation. Lodovico Gritti's activity in Hungary (1529—1534) is to be seen as an attempt by the sultan's court to tighten its control over Hungary's domestic affairs in which the sultan had

pest 1986, p. 148.) — Berindei, Mihnea—Veinstein, Gilles, *L'Empire ottoman et les pays roumains 1544—1545. Étude et documents*. Paris—Cambridge 1987, pp. 27 ff. (Documents et recherches sur le monde byzantin, neohellenique et balkanique, 14.) The deficit in the budget of subsequent Ottoman domination of Hungary prompted Gyula Káldy-Nagy to conclude that the Ottoman leaders must have foreseen this situation and that is why at first they were reluctant to incorporate Hungary (see *Szulejmán*. Budapest 1974, pp. 170, 178).

[12] Acsády, Ignác, *Magyarország három részre oszlásának története 1526—1608* [The fall of Hungary into three sections]. Budapest 1897, p. 70. (A magyar nemzet története [A history of the Hungarian nation] V.)

[13] *Ibid.*

been trying to arbitrate. However, all the efforts of the Ottoman leadership failed to win over any segment of Hungarian society, which was more advanced than those in the Balkans. Thus, Ottoman rule established in Hungary from 1541 had practically no local elements to rely on. In Ferenc Szakály's hypothesis, with their campaigns against Vienna in 1529 and 1532, the Ottoman leaders wanted to pacify Hungary.[14]

The views of Domokos Kosáry,[15] Gábor Barta[16] and András Kubinyi[17] are very similar to those of Szakály. Kosáry emphasized the expansive policy of the Ottoman Empire in Hungary, while András Kubinyi added several facts as proof of the Turkish offensive attitude. In the non-Hungarian literature Cr. Feneşan recently presented new evidence to support the concept of a gradual strategy.[18]

Several scholars have expressed the opinion shared here that these diametrically opposed views are chiefly due to the limited knowledge about the Ottoman side. While one is offered an insight into the intentions and ambitions of the European rulers and politicians by a plethora of documents, one can only guess the motivating forces and actual plans of Ottoman politics

[14] Szakály, Ferenc, *A mohácsi csata* [The battle of Mohács]. Budapest 1975, pp 123—124; *idem.*, *Vesztőhely az út porában. Gritti Magyarországon 1529—1534* [Scaffold in the dust of the road. Gritti in Hungary 1529—1534]. Budapest 1986, pp. 109—147. The concept of gradual conquest was first formulated by Halil İnalcık, see: Ottoman Methods of Conquest. *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954), pp. 103—129.

[15] Kosáry, Domokos, *Magyar külpolitika Mohács előtt* [Hungarian foreign policy before Mohács]. Budapest 1978, pp. 65—68, cf. pp. 184—185: n. 103; *idem.*, Módszertan vagy bűvészkedés? [Methodology or sorcery?] *Valóság* 21. 10 (1978), pp. 94—96.

[16] Barta, Gábor, Az országút szélére vetett vita [Dispute cast to the side of the road]. *Magyar Tudomány* 97 (25). 2 (1980), pp. 113—121; *idem.*, *Magyar Tudomány* 87 (25). 8—9 (1980) pp. 635—639; *idem.*, *A Sztambulba vezető út* [The road to Istanbul] (1526—1528). Budapest 1983, pp. 80—81, 86, 220: n. 91.

[17] Kubinyi, András, A mohácsi csata és előzményei [The battle of Mohács and its antecendents]. *Századok* 115. 1 (1981), pp. 66—107, esp. 90.

[18] Feneşan, Cristina, Începutul dominaţiei otomane asupra Banatului la 1541. *Revista Arhivelor* 64. 49. 1 (1987), pp. 38—45. — József Matuz has a unique view. He interpreted Süleyman's steps in terms of political law. He claims that in strictly legal terms Hungary was part of the Ottoman Empire from 1526 or 1529, and what Süleyman did in 1541 was to realize this principle in practice; see Der Verzicht Süleymāns des Prächtigen auf die Annexion Ungarns. *Ungarn Jahrbuch* 6. 1974—1975 (1976), pp. 38—46. Let me make two remarks here. **1.** It is true that after 1526 Süleyman and his viziers asserted that Hungary was theirs, but at least to Europeans, they mostly referred to the "right of the sword" or "martial law" and not to a kind of Islamic political law. **2.** In total agreement with this, the "final" incorporation of Hungary from the point of view of Islamic religious law took place in 1541, by holding the Friday service and *hutbe* in Buda. Several examples could be adduced to prove that not only the Turks, but also the Hungarians regarded the *hutbe* of Friday sermon as the act making the conquests legitimate and irrevocable in the eye of the Ottomans (see e.g. in connection with the fall of Buda, *Verancsics Antal . . . összes munkái. I. Történelmi dolgozatok deák nyelven.*

Though the accounts and reports of negotiations by European at the Sublime Porte provide useful and indispensable information, they cannot replace the Ottoman sources that could authentically reveal the conceptions of the Ottoman leaders. But such documents are few in number, or at least few have been published. The enlargement of the Ottoman material could give a new momentum to research on the Mohács period, which is so much disputed in Hungarian historiography. Therefore, some so-far unknown documents are presented here and some published, but otherwise unanalyzed documents are examined in order to find some illuminating information on the Ottoman policy concerning Hungary, especially concerning the behaviour of the Ottoman government in 1541. It should be noted in advance that the conclusions put forward here support the second position outlined above, which claims that the sultan and his advisers wished to incorporate Hungary into the Empire with the help of a gradual strategy. Before embarking on the actual subject of this paper, a few remarks should be made. The first part of the discussion concerns the general nature of Ottoman politics, while the second is devoted to the cornerstones of the policy of the Ottomans regarding Hungary in the first period of Süleyman's reign.

II.

It is beyond dispute that the leaders in all the European countries that came into direct contact with the Ottoman Empire (either having common borders with it or being hit by Turkish incursions) were unanimous in regarding the Ottoman state as an aggressive, expansive power intent on conquests. Experience taught them that not only the major Turkish campaigns, but also the blows of the "armed peace" occurring between the campaings, resulted in the devastation and eventual loss of their territories. They also realized and expressed the view that an alliance with the Ottomans was no protection for a potential target country, since it merely promoted and concealed the Ottoman expansive goals. Well after the conclusion of such an alliance, Ferenc Frangepán, archbishop of Kalocsa, one of the leading personages of the pro-Turkish party in Hungary, described the patrons of his king with the following words: "The Turk is the master here, *seemingly* our good friend . . ."[19]

[Complete works of Antal Verancsics. Studies in history in Latin]. Ed. by László Szalay, Pest 1857, p. 222: *Ferunt hoc genti sacrificium esse, idque ea lege a Mahometto institutum, ut quibuscunque in locis atque urbibus fuerit celebratum, iis eas ipsas urbes, locaque, quibus sunt adempta, nefas sit unquam restituere, nec eo a lii, quam bellorum ductores, ac nationum, rerumque domini defunguntur.*) Such *hutbe* did not take place in Buda either in 1526 or in 1529.

[19] Károlyi, Árpád, Adalék a nagyváradi béke s az 1536—38. évek történetéhez [Some data on the peace of Nagyvárad and the history of the years 1536—38]. II. *Szá-*

Of course, whenever their interests dictated, the Ottoman leaders were willing to make friendly gestures and a sincere alliance (particularly with partners farther off), but they themselves made no secret of their expansionist designs. It was misleading that in nearly every letter of victory Süleyman referred to the obligations of the Islamic holy war when presenting justification for his previous campaign. This was no more than the obligatory profession of faith but at the same time it conveyed the religious legitimation to his actions. (This is not to say that he personally did not believe in his religious mission.) His utterances, which were not addressed to the Muslim community in a solemn form, but communicated his political will to the external world were far more instructive. The tone of these documents is more matter-of-fact. In his reply to the solicitation for help (in early 1526) made by Francis I, the King of France, he made no mention of the *cihad*, but quoted Ottoman political traditions as the motivating force underlying his behaviour: "our glorious ancestors and radiant fathers . . . never stopped fighting to push the enemy back and conquer countries. We, too, have started out in their footsteps. We have always captured provinces and fortresses that were hardly

zadok 1878, p. 706. For the unanimously condemning opinion of Louis II, King of Hungary, Sigismund, King of Poland and the Austrian archduke Ferdinand on peace or alliance with the Turks, see: Szakály, F., *A mohácsi csata* [The battle of Mohács], p. 110; Kubinyi, András, A magyar állam belpolitikai helyzete Mohács előtt [The internal political situation of Hungary before Mohács]. In: *Mohács. Tanulmányok*, p. 65: n. 28; Barta, G., *A Sztambulba vezető út*, p. 162; A. von Gévay, *Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Verhältnisse zwischen Österreich, Ungarn und der Pforte im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderte . . . Gesandschaft König Ferdinands I. an Sultan Suleiman I. 1531—1532*. Wien 1838, pp. 58—59. — Though it was not typical of the Ottoman administration to subordinate their international relations to precepts of religious law, it is remarkable that they professed the very principles that the Europeans deduced from their practical politics. As Süleyman's *müfti*, Ebussuud efendi established in one of his *fetvas*, peace concluded with the Christians was valid if it was of use to he Muslim community; should the breach of a peace treaty promise to be of greater advantage, peace must be breached by all means (see Düzdağ, M. Ertuğrul, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuûd Efendi fetvaları ışığında 16. asır Türk hayatı*. İstanbul 1979, p. 109). One must remember, however, that just as the legal thinking of the Muslim Turks did not consider the Christian states equal to them in theory, so did the European conception of state, even the rising school of natural law, excluded the Ottoman Empire from the community of European states. Thus, the Ottoman—French agreement of 1536, held by many to mark a turning point in the history of Islamic religious law (because it acknowledged the principle of parity and was valid for the duration of the rulers' lives) was an exception strengthening the rule, attributable to the practical considerations of the signatory parties. For the whole problem, see Khadduri, M., *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*. Baltimore 1955, pp. 268—293. Of importance concerning the conclusion of the Ottoman—French agreement: Soysal, İsmail, Türk—Fransız diplomasi münasebetlerinin ilk devresi. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 3. 5—6. 1951—1952 (1953), pp. 70—79. Cf. Bourilly, V.-L., Les diplomates de François Ier. Antonio Rincon et la politique orientale de François Ier. *Revue Historique* 38. 113 (1913), pp. 280—285.

accessible. Our steed is saddled, our sword is by our side day and night."[20] Grand Vizier İbrahim appears to echo his sovereign's words when writing to King Ferdinand in 1530: "For every padishah is labouring day after day to see their country expanded . . . We are always fitted out and ready."[21] It is noteworthy that the idea of expansion was already emphatically included in one of the very first statements of Süleyman. Allegedly he told the grand master of the Johannites after the occupation of Rhodes: "What I am fighting for is not gold or riches, but victory, fame, eternal glory and the expansion of the Empire."[22] When this is added to İbrahim's reply at the end of 1527 to Łaski, the envoy of King János, who asked the return of the occupied lands ("You had better keep in mind that our claws are more crooked than the falcon's: we grasp everything tightly and do not let go of anything unless our hands are cut off)",[23] it is not difficult to conclude that during the periods before and immediately after Mohács, the Ottoman leaders were definitely making expansive plans.

One may, of course, interject the question: what is the real weight of these statements? Were they not merely propaganda boasts devised to "deter" the enemy? To some extent they certainly were. But basically they were meant in earnest, which can be verified with a variety of evidence. Firstly they were completely in harmony with the expansive tendency of Ottoman politics for the previous two centuries. As already noted in connection with Süleyman's letter, the ruler and his Grand Vizier merely openly advocated the longstanding *raison d'être* of the Ottoman state. This *raison d'être* was based on two political legacies that mutually reinforced each other: the principle of nomadic empires and that of the empires of the Near East conveyed by Islamic universalism, hence conquest was one of its essential (if not most essential) constituents. Secondly, it should not be forgotten, as outlined earlier, that the highest officials were not the only ones to profess expansive ideas. The vestiges of the mentality of both the army (first of all the Janissary corps) and the common people revealed that wide strata of society agreed with the idea of conquest (which, of course, does not mean the involvement of every stratum). Finally, and this is most important, there was a totalitarian system of requirements and compulsions, which underlay the expansive ideologies that

[20] Charrière, E., *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*. I. Paris 1848, p. 119.

[21] Babinger, Franz, Die älteste türkische Urkunde des deutsch—osmanischen Staatsverkehrs. *Der Islam* 10 (1920) pp. 143, 145—146. Cf. Fodor, Pál, Ungarn und Wien in der osmanischen Eroberungsideologie (im Spiegel der *Tārīḫ-i Beç ḳrālı* — 17. Jahrhundert). *Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (1989), p. 89 ff.

[22] Káldy-Nagy, Gy., *Szulejmán*, p. 55.

[23] *Legatio Laszky apud Sultanum Solymannum Anno 1527 juncta. Actio Hieronymi Laszky apud Turcam nomine Regis Iohannis*. In: Hurmuzaki, E., *Dokumente privitóre la Istoria Românilor*. Vol. II. Partea I, Bucuresci 1891, p. 51.

existentially depended on the inner motions of the complex political and social structure.

It has often been stated that the main motive behind the Ottoman belligerence was the greed of the militant warrior layers for booty, particularly for slaves. Many arguments can be adduces in support of this statement, especially in view of the fact that the Ottoman wars of conquest arose out of the marauding ventures of the nomadic period, which satisfied real social demands. But such raids were instruments for maintaining the inner social equilibrium from the very beginning and this function of incessant warfare became even more pronounced with the passage of time. This is primarily to be attributed to the inner constellation of the political organization. The Janissary corps, once set up to buttress the sultanic power and increase the effectiveness of the conquests, had outgrown their original role by Süleyman's time. Being perfectly aware of their significance (as a Janissay put it later: the corps were "the arm and wing" of the Ottoman house; and "the glory and magnificence of the Ottoman Empire" depended on them),[24] they began to place constraints on the sultan's power and gradually became the epitome of conquering for conquest's sake, instead of tending the conquests. As the example of 1525 showed,[25] keeping them constantly occupied was fundamentally important for the Ottoman leaders, if they did not wish to risk the oft-disrupted inner equilibrium of the Empire.

Pressure from other groups and strata of society also drove the government in this direction. And not only from the *timar*-holder *sipahi*s, as one would expect in the first place, for they gladly resigned from taking the risk and financial burden of a war once they had got hold of a prebend (as the ratio of those who did not become involved in the campaigns and their prospective penalties showed). This pressure came from a widening stratum of the military and administrative class, those who had not been given a holding, or lost it for some reason, or strove for a more remunerative position. The trouble was that the waiting list was always far longer than the available estates. Access to these estates was made more difficult by the growing number of *reaya*s abandoning production and looking for *timar*-holdings that promised an easier or higher level of existence. The increased demand began to assume significant proportions precisely in the studied period. As under the effective rules the easiest access to *timar*s was through valiance and competence demonstrated in campaigns, all these social actors were bound to the wars of con-

[24] Fodor, Pál, State and Society, Crises and Reforms, in the 15th—17th Century Ottoman Mirror for Princes. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XL (1986), p. 229: n. 30.

[25] Cf. Káldy-Nagy, Gy., *Szulejmán*, p. 62; *idem*, Suleimans Angriff auf Europa. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXVIII (1974), p. 169.

quest in a variety of ways.[26] The ruling elite had to reaize the true significance of this land-hunger, or incur the danger of serious unrest among the people. In other words, both the above-cited statements and the incessant warfare of Süleyman's era expressed the fundamental requirement inherent in the given power construction and social structure that the inner equilibrium could only be preserved through conquests outside.[27] When it is added that they had acquired the financial resources for this goal from the earlier expansive drives and the string of victories inspired the necessary self-confidence in the leaders, there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the statements made by the sultan and his Grand Vizier.

Thus, the combination of ideology, political traditions, social dynamism and the awareness of strength inevitably pushed Süleyman toward aggression, and he had to decide which way to turn, and how to use the extraordinary power at his disposal. Prominent students of the subject have shown that he was a poor steward of this power. During his reign he went to war on four major and several minor fronts in a large part of the world of his time. He scored several victories, but could be proud of few achievements promoting the long-term interests of the Empire. His moves suggested that he had no definite strategic conceptions and being engaged on too many sides, he was unable to overcome the "crisis of orientation" caused by the all too many challenges.[28] Shifting from one priority and front to another, and sometimes

[26] Even the Janissaries themselves can be ranged with this group, because of their desire for landed property, and in time they became the strongest rivals to any stratum hankering after estates (cf. e.g. Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme defteri No. VII. 30/91, 199/541, in which it is ordered, in 1567, that the Janissaries be allotted *timars* confiscated from "outsider" [*ecnebi*], i.e. possessors of non-military origins). It is to be noted that though from Süleyman's reign the sultanic court tried to curb the right of governors to donate *timars*, it cannot be accidental that at times it made concessions on the distribution of estates vacated by the campaigns, probably to encourage those who enlisted in the hope of getting some land (see e.g. the order of 1568 sent to the *bey* of Şehrizol in which he is entitled to grant such vacant prebends : *seferde düşen gedikleri tevcih edüp . . .*; *ibid.*, 349/1011.). Cf. Röhrborn, Klaus, *Untersuchungen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte.* Berlin—New York 1973, pp. 25, 55 ff.

[27] Though her reasoning is somewhat different, Klára Hegyi arrived at similar conclusions, see *Egy világbirodalom végvidékén* [In the confines of an Empire]. Budapest 1976, pp. 24—25. In a shorter form, Hegyi, Klára — Zimányi, Vera, *Muslime und Christen. Das osmanische Reich in Europa.* Budapest 1988, p. 8. It tallies with the aboves and well characterizes the rigidity of the Ottoman social structure that the European observers in Istanbul in the early 1680s also proposed almost the same arguments (especially the imperative of keeping the troops engaged) when explaining the Empire's constant propensity for war. For this see Leitsch, Walter, Warum wollte Kara Mustafa Wien erobern? *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 29.4 (1981), pp. 507—508.

[28] Labid, S., The Era of Suleyman the Magnificent: Crisis of Orientation. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10.4 (1979), pp. 435—451, esp. 444—451.

— as the events of 1538 showed — desiring to demonstrate the Ottoman strength on all fronts was indicative of plain confusion, which often also endangered the results attained so far. In essence, Süleyman was unable to go beyond the (imperial) political framework of medieval Islam, and this resulted in a negative balance on both major fronts. Although he managed to gain hegemony over the Mediterranean, having done so, he could not use it for other than senseless fighting and a basically mistaken trade policy. The picture in Hungary or, broadly speaking, on the European front was even more disheartening: he failed to attain his main aim, the capture of Vienna, thus the energy wasted on the occupation of the Hungarian areas was disproportionately large compared to the gain.

However, I do not believe that the lack of a clear-cut strategy in Süleyman's politics also meant the lack of rationality. If today, armed with a relatively thorough knowledge of the whole period, we tend to judge his decisions unfavourably, we must not forget to assess them in the context of the original moment. Viewed from this angle, the attack on Hungary was not a basically erroneous decision, since obtaining this rich country would have satisfied the Ottomans' domestic demands outlined above. The fact that Süleyman chose this area as the target of his later campaigns, is attributable, in addition to the political situation, to the clearly recognized need to have the army engaged. When in the course of the above-mentioned negotiations, Łaski suggested that Poland should be also involved in the alliance planned with Hungary, İbrahim gave the following justification for his negative response: "Should we conclude peace with him [i.e. János Szapolyai], and should we do the same with the King of Poland, we would be numb, our horses and men would be deprived of military reinforcement, for we would not go to a friendly Hungary like that. And if we added even Poland, where would we have to fight? For an army subsists on practice, it gains its strength therefrom, and not from the human masses."[29] It is another matter that some months later, the Porte did conclude an armistice with Poland (so as to have a free hand in Hungary); the point is that being compelled to fight, the Empire could not live in peace with all its neighbours at the same time. The logic of incessant warfare and its rational acknowledgement got ahead of the long-term strategy and drove the Ottoman leaders into ventures that puzzle today's rational minds. This must have been the major reason why they adhered to obviously uneconomical areas or consciously ignored the limitations of great distances, which they must have been aware of. This is verified by a concrete example found in the source quoted above. As is known, Łaski tried to ward off the request of the Ottoman leaders that János pay an annual tribute, by laying claim to the Szerémség (Sirem) because, quoth he, it was a losing bargain for the Turks. There were several

[29] Hurmuzaki, E., *Documente*, II/1, p. 55.

reasons adduced in the Ottoman reply (considerations of principle, and the threatening behaviour of Ferdinand, etc.), but the Grand Vizier made it clear that financial considerations were of secondary importance. Łaski reported him saying: "Among other things you [i.e. the ambassador of Hungary] have said that maintaining order in that province would always cost more than the gain we would like to have. It is true we spend two million eight hundred thousand silver coins on it in a quarter year, which corresponds to fifty-six thousand ducats by your calculations, rising to two hundred and twenty-four thousand ducats a year; and you see we have not enough aspers; still, what is that to my master? Not even for ten times as much would we retreat from there."[30] This peculiar "rationality" can be illuminated by another example. When later, the Ottoman leaders turned down King Ferdinand's repeated offers to pay tribute, though they were aware of the financial aspect of the Hungarian wars, one cannot help concluding that they consciously chose spendings and loss in contrast to a possibly modest, but sure income. At about that time, Süleyman refused to acknowledge the difficulties posed by the great distance of the targeted areas — despite warnings by his Grand Vizier. This was revealed by the words of İbrahim, uttered at the end of January 1528: "My lord is so anxious to try this Austrian [i.e. Ferdinand] that he cannot be at rest for martial fire. I have thought it over and told him that he would not be able to get food with a large army like that. He answered he wanted to show what he was capable of . . ."[31] Incidentally, the sultan was then preparing to set out against Vienna and not Hungary, which allegedly fell beyond the action radius of his army.

III.

1. Let us now return to 1520—21, when the sultan's offensive took Europe by surprise, unlike in 1526 and 1529 — despite the fact there were several indications of an anticipated turn in Ottoman politics towards Europe even before Süleyman's accession to the throne. Firstly, the campaigns to the east had temporarily attained their goal by warding off the direct Shiite danger and occupying the Arab territories, and expansion in that direction was nearing its limit.[32] Secondly, the traditional principle of Ottoman strategy —

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 53. The amount of silver coins is given in the text as "28. Argenti summas". On the basis of contemporary rates of exchange I corrected it to 2,800,000, as it corresponds more or less with 56,000 ducats.

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

[32] It was actually stabilized when Süleyman's forces occupied Baghdad in 1534 and Basra in 1546. The wars against Iran were fought for limited goals in Süleyman's time, aimed primarily at dominion over Armenia and Kurdistan, and reaching and secur-

"one step eastward, one step westward"[33] — now called for conquests in the west. Of course, this turn was not only ideologically, but also practically justified: the areas in the east exhausted by many years of devastating warfare, needed to gain some breathing space. And last but not least, the discontent of society, the army (chiefly the Janissary corps) and a sizeable part of the ruling elite, concerning the constant hostilities with Muslims, coming to the fore already in Selim's time, forced the leaders to turn towards the west.[34] As a result, Süleyman, intent on consolidating his power, had practically no other alternative, but to turn his back on his father's political "testament" that passed on to him the assignment of solving the Persian problem.[35] Thus, it was not at all surprising that the next victim of the Empire was to be Hungary. Regardless of how odd it may sound, Süleyman insisted on finding his next enemy in this very region, which is why he chose Hungary. This is another reason why one should not look for a special strategy behind his aspirations. To quote the *fethname* of 1521: " . . . I have decided upon a holy war against the infidel, and taking account of the straying nations, I turned my attention to the despairing Hungarians, whose flesh and blood have been food for our

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ing the natural border line of the Euphrates. Cf. Allouche, Adel, *The Ottoman—Safavid Conflict (906—962/1500—1555)*. Berlin 1983, p. 103. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Vol. 91).

[33] For this cf. İnalcık, H., *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 14; Yücel, Yaşar, *Muhteşem Türk Kanuni ile 46 yıl*. Ankara 1987, p. VII.

[34] Yurdaydın, Hüseyin G., *Kanunî'nin cülûsu ve ilk seferleri*. Ankara 1961, p. 16; Gökbilgin, Mehmet T., Kanunî Sultan Süleyman'ın Macaristan ve Avrupa siyasetinin sebeb ve amilleri, geçirdiği safhalar. In: *Kanunî Armağanı*. Ankara 1970, p. 6; Bacqué Grammont, Jean-Louis, *Les Ottomans, les Safavides et leur voisins. Contribution à l'histoire des relations internationales dans l'Orient islamique de 1514 à 1524*. Istanbul 1987, pp. 231—234, 273, 198, 340—341. The latter author claims that Selim's expedition of 1518 against Iran was foiled by the resistance of the army, and later the Grand Vizier Piri pasha also wanted to talk the ruler out of launching the next campaign towards the east. It is, I think, typical that in Ottoman historiography a new propagandistic genre, the so-called *Selim-name* literature was soon to develop with the aim of clearing the ruler of the crime of shedding so much Muslim blood in the eye of the co-religionists; see Uğur, Ahmet, *The Reign of Sultan Selīm I in the Light of the Selīm-nāme Literature*. Berlin 1985, pp. 1—5. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Vol. 109).

[35] Bacqué-Grammont, J.-L., *op. cit.*, p. 340. Selim seems to have been obsessed with the desire for a showdown with the "*kızılbaş* heretics", cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 234, 273—274. By contrast, Y. Yücel cites another tradition, which says that Selim proposed an orientation to the west to his son and Süleyman had been prepared for this turn while still an heir, see *op. cit.*, p. VII and 15. Anyway, the final outcome was the same: under pressure from the military—bureaucratic class, he decided to give preference to land conquests in Europe ahead of the fight for supremacy in East and in marine trade, because that was better suited to the short-term interests of the Empire; see also Hess, Andrew C., The Evolution of the Ottoman Seaborn Empire in the Age of the Oceanic Discoveries, 1453—1525. *American Historical Review* 75. 7 (1970), pp. 1912—1914, 1916.

swords for a long time."[36] The report of the victorious campaign of 1526, also clearly states the main reason why he picked on the Hungarians: "I have decided to launch a holy war and I guided the reins of my victorious imperial campaign towards the Hungarians of all the licentious infidel nations . . . as their country borders the land of Islam."[37] There is another item of information which confirms that around this time, the Ottoman strategy was concentrated on deciding which neighbouring country to attack and how. The second vizier Mustafa pasha told Łaski in January 1528, that the Ottoman leaders had also been considering an attack on Poland before Mohács, "but then it seemed to us that we had better first attack the kingdom of Hungary that was rich and powerful, and try Poland only later".[38] In an instructive lecture to the envoy, Mustafa pasha also declared that the Empire would do harm to whom it could, and anyone weaker than they were could only be granted peace by the Porte in return for tribute. Also, had they not set out against Hungary in 1526, they would have attacked Poland, and if the King of Poland had been reluctant to pay, he would have been forced by arms. İbrahim also added that with the use of Tatars, they had systematically been devastating the Polish areas, which he proved by having some documents brought in, from which he read out the names of places "where raids are to be carried out".[39]

Although these statements were probably originally intended to "soften" the ambassador, who was intransigent concerning the tribute, one cannot help thinking that the Ottoman statesmen were (again) formulating their policy towards Hungary. But here we are confronted with two vague and still controversial points of the 1521 campaign, notably the problems of the cause and aim of the expedition. As is known, the launching of the offensive is usually associated with the imprisonment of Behram chavush, the envoy of Süleyman arriving in Buda in December 1520, by the King of Hungary, Louis II. It is a widely professed view that the sultan led his troops against Hungary to retaliate for this offense. However, on the basis of what was said above, one may strongly suspect that this "wanton" act by Louis was not the cause, but the pretext for the sultan's move, which was expectable anyway.[40] Suspicion immediately turns into certainty if we consult the quoted *fethname* of 1521 for information. It clearly reveals that the offensive against Hungary was decided on before the uprising of Canberdi Gazali.[41] Since according to certain chroniclers, the *divan* convened upon the news of the uprising around mid-

[36] Ferīdūn, *Münşe'āt*, p. 515.

[37] Ferīdūn, *op. cit.*, p. 547.

[38] Hurmuzaki, E., *Dokumente*, II/1, p. 57.

[39] *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

[40] After comparing the various arguments given in different Ottoman chronicles, the same opinion was formulated by Yurdaydın, H., *op. cit.*, pp. 15—16.

[41] Ferīdūn, *op. cit.*, pp. 515—516.

November, discussed the revolt and the matter of Hungary at the same time,[42] Behram's legation must have been decided upon there at the latest (as he was certainly in Buda on December 10).[43] This, however, prompts one to conclude that Süleyman's assumed peace offer was at least not sincere and Louis' and his councillors' suspicion of a delusive manoeuvre was not unwarranted.[44] Yet at first glance, the step they took seems to be a great blunder, understandable in view of the catastrophic situation of the country, but not excusable. To provoke a neighbouring great power on the alert, when they possessed obscure information, relied on old customs, and were hoping in vain for European cooperation and assistance was indeed poor policy-making. It is possible, however, that they took this course of action, because Süleyman had done the same to them. What concrete offers could the Ottoman envoy have mediated to the royal court of Hungary?

The bulk of the sources reporting on the mission of the ambassador date from much later and are mainly biased. Therefore, those researchers' opinions seem to be plausible who have doubts about the hypothesis based on these sources, which claims that in return for the renewal of the peace, the sultan required the Hungarian government either to pay tribute or allow the Ottomans to pass through Hungary toward the German provinces but quite understandably, the Hungarians rejected these demands as being injurious to their sovereignty and incompatible with the country's external relations.[45] As there is only one more or less reliable source, the Raguzan historiographer Tubero's work, which is nearly contemporaneous with the studied event, his accounts of the negotiations are normally accepted as authentic. But Tubero was rather taciturn. All he actually said was that the sultan offered to renew the armistice his father had concluded under unaltered conditions.[46] If this information was true, then the envoy must have raised the question of passage, since the Ottoman–Hungarian armistice agreement signed on March 28, 1519 did contain a clause on transit under definite terms (e.g. the consent of the King of Hungary).[47] Whether he also raised the question of tribute or not, can-

[42] Yurdaydın, H., *op. cit.*, p. 8: n. 33.

[43] Kosáry, D., *Magyar külpolitika*, p. 50.

[44] In view of the short time between the arrival of the envoy and the launching of the campaign, András Kubinyi (A mohácsi csata és előzményei, pp. 80, 82) deems it presumable that the Ottoman leaders deliberately tried to put the Hungarians off their guard and delay their preparations. — It supports the assumption that they were also to apply this trick later.

[45] A critical evaluation of the sources and various positions, Kosáry, D., *Magyar külpolitika*, pp. 53 ff.

[46] *Op. cit.*, pp. 53, 61.

[47] Kubinyi, A., A mohácsi csata és előzményei, pp. 69—73. Later data on alleged Ottoman requests for transit in Hungary and Italy — or their possibility: Szalay, L., *Adalékok*, p. 24; Óváry, Lipót, *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia történelmi bizottságának*

not be decided on the basis of so-far recovered sources. While endeavouring to avoid the quagmire of unverifiable hypotheses, it has to be said that this possibility cannot be excluded. The reason is not that some later Ottoman chroniclers talk about it, probably trying to justify the event, but that there are some thought-provoking instances of proof supporting this assumption. First and foremost, a demand like that would be in complete harmony with the above-described methods of Ottoman politics; when the Ottoman leaders picked a state or political group as an "ally" (i.e. vassal) or wished to create a provocation as part of the preparations for an offensive, their first step was to demand tribute. A few examples will be quoted from this limited period: they did so with Radu, Prince of Wallachia in 1523;[48] they were considering a similar move towards Poland around 1525 (and perhaps towards Hungary in 1526) as has been seen;[49] that was the first request the envoy of King János was presented with at the turn of 1527 and 1528,[50] and in a letter of 1532, Süleyman did not hesitate to irritate the Emperor, Charles V by saying he "would have to send tribute" if he refused to accept the challenge.[51] Secondly, reference should be made to the noted and obscure Ottoman–Hungarian negotiations in 1524. It seems likely that in the spring of that year, the Hungarian government had talks with an Ottoman envoy in Buda, who probably proposed Hungary's tribute to the Porte and the Ottoman troops' free passage to Germany as the terms of an agreement.[52] As after 1520, there is no data whatsoever indicating the arrival of an envoy, Domokos Kosáry would not exclude the possibility that being under duress, the Hungarian government summoned the detained Behram chavush to resume the negotiations that were broken off.[53] Two remarks in Łaski's diary also indicate this assumption. Independently of each other, both Ayas pasha and İbrahim Grand Vizier mentioned a single envoy sent to Louis, and that they referred to Behram can be deduced from the words of Ayas: "But tell me, that servant of our lord whom we sent to King

oklevélmásolatai [Copies of documents of the historical committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences]. II, Budapest 1894, No. 168.

[48] Kubinyi, A., *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 89.

[49] I will return to this.

[50] Hurmuzaki, E., *Documente*, II/1, p. 41 ff. Cf. Barta, G., *A Sztambulba vezető út*, pp. 166 ff. Though at the end of the talks they abandoned this claim, it is significant that they never gave up the fiction of János's liability to pay tribute, see the *fethnames* of 1529 and 1541, or the letter of alliance given to János Zsigmond (Ferīdūn, *Münşe'āt*, I, p. 551; Thúry, J., I, pp. 389, 392; Szalay, L., *Adalékok*, pp. 195–196).

[51] A. von Gévay, *Urkunden und Actenstücke . . . 1531–1532*. Wien 1838, p. 88. Cf. Acsády, I., *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[52] Lhotsky, A., *Das Zeitalter des Hauses Österreich. Die erste Jahre der Regierung Ferdinands I. in Österreich (1520–1527)*. Wien 1971, p. 173; Kubinyi, A., A mohácsi csata és előzményei, pp. 86 ff; *idem.*, A magyar állam belpolitikai helyzete, pp. 66–67.

[53] Kosáry, D., *Magyar külpolitika*, p. 150.

Louis on a mission and we knew was imprisoned in Tata, is he alive, or in whose hands is he now?"[54] If it was true — and so it seems — that Süleyman sent no other envoy to Buda after 1520, then in the talks of 1524, Behram could only repeat the conditions he had been instructed to specify in 1520, since both the statements of İbrahim and Ayas, and the envoy's detention made it improbable that he received new instructions. Be that as it may, whether Süleyman's aim in 1520 was to conceal his intentions or conversely, expose them, both suggest the same as the unacceptable "offer" of 1524: that "the sultan communicates his relentless intention to go to war in this way", to quote András Kubinyi's evaluation of the 1524 offer.[55]

Considering all the aspects, it can be safely assumed that by sending an envoy, Süleyman wanted to mislead, if not provoke, the Hungarian government in 1520, since the offensive had in all probability been decided upon earlier. If in this "game", the rejection of the presumed conditions is considered as a well calculated step, then the "accident" that occurred to the envoy was an unexpected surplus, which enhanced the appearance of legality in the great power's aggression. That this was the pretext and not the cause was also confirmed by the fact that the sultan was silent about this in his mentioned *fethname*.

The other question lacking a consensus in research concerns the original aim of the military campaign. Referring to the Anatolian troops left at home, the late start, the deficiencies of provisions, and the uncertainty of the high command, etc., some scholars assert that the target could not have been more than the southern part of Hungary.[56] By contrast, the Ottoman sources are nearly all unanimous in claiming that not only at the beginning, but also after the capture of Szabács (Šabac/Böğürdelen), the sultan still planned "to go as far as the seat of Hungary, the town of Budun".[57] (What the war council in Sofia debated was not whether to move upon Hungary or not, but which castle to seize and which route to take.)[58] If, however, for some reason one does not believe Bostan quoted above or the other chroniclers[59] advocating

[54] Hurmuzaki, E., *Documente*, II/1, p. 43, cf. *ibid.* p. 49; Barta, G., *op. cit.*, p. 166. This utterance seems to be more authentic than that of İbrahim made in 1533 about two envoys (cf. Kosáry, D., *op. cit.*, p. 64), because it is closer in time to the event.

[55] Kubinyi, A., A mohácsi csata és előzményei, p. 99.

[56] Perjés, G., *Mohács*, pp. 148 ff; Szakály, Ferenc, Nándorfehérvár, 1521: a vég kezdete [Belgrade, 1521: The beginning of the end]. In: *Zay, Ferenc, Az Lándorfejírvár elveszésének oka e vót és úgy esött* [The cause and the process of losing Nándorfehérvár]. Ed. by István Kovács, Budapest 1980, pp. 104 ff.

[57] Bostān, *Süleymān-nāme*; in Hungarian see in József Thúry's translation: *Török történetírók* [Turkish historians]. II. Budapest 1896, p. 49 (under the name Ferdī).

[58] Káldy-Nagy, Gy., *Szulejmán*, pp. 44—45; *idem.*, Suleimans Angriff, p. 165.

[59] Thúry, József, A török hódítás kezdete Magyarországon, p. 565; cf. Yurdaydın, H., *Kanunî'nin cülûsu*, pp. 26—27, 29.

the same view, the relevant entry of the journal of the campaign,[60] or the fact that Süleyman twice summoned Piri Mehmed Grand Vizier to his camp[61] must convince us that the sultan was indeed determined to make an incursion into Hungary. It is another matter that due to natural disasters (such as the flooding of the Save, that washed away the bridge the Ottomans had built) and the persuasion of the viziers having a good grasp of the situation, Süleyman first decided to capture Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade), but then the wasted time and more importantly, the news of the deployment of the Hungarian forces[62] made him change his mind and order a withdrawal.

Thus, according to all indications, the Ottoman conquering mechanism set into motion in the customary way, turned against Hungary in 1521, simply because of the neighbourhood, and the main aim of the campaign, in keeping with the Ottoman tactics of conquest, was to defeat the central forces of Hungary and concluding from the 1526 steps, to reduce Hungary temporarily to a dependent status. It must be stressed that all this was not the product of Süleyman's special strategic conceptions, but simply the concomitant to the political and military methods inherited from his forefathers. His contemporaries also interpreted the plan of 1521, in the same terms as the chronicle of Kemalpaşazade confirms, who claimed that the sultan wanted to capture Buda because the seizure of the capital would make the occupation of the whole country easier.[63] Eventually the plan failed, because of the sultan's personality whose uncertainty and misconceived decisions produced a situation in which the set goal could not be attained.[64]

2. Having succeeded in occupying Rhodes, the task bequeathed to him by his father, and having created calm in the eastern part of the Empire, Süleyman could once again turn against Hungary to finish off the interrupted venture of 1521. There are exact data to confirm that in the years after the occupation of Belgrade, he seriously prepared for a showdown. One source is the letter Shah Ismail sent in 1523 to Louis II, King of Hungary, in which the

[60] Schaendlinder, Anton C., *Die Feldzugstagebücher des ersten und zweiten ungarischen Feldzugs Suleymāns I.* Wien 1978, p. 31; in Hungarian: Thúry J., *Török történetírók, I*, p. 286: "And he also commanded that a bridge should be thrown over the Save so that the victorious army might cross over into Hungary."

[61] Káldy-Nagy, Gy., *Szulejmán*, pp. 45–46 and Suleimans Angriff, p. 166.

[62] Káldy-Nagy, Gy., *Szulejmán*, pp. 48–49 and Suleimans Angriff, p. 168.

[63] Yurdaydın, H., *Kanunî'nin cülûsu*, pp. 26–27.

[64] There was a simple reason for leaving the Anatolian forces behind: during his first campaign the sultan wanted to take as little risk as possible and therefore he concentrated a relatively large army probably around Kayseri under the command of Ferhad pasha to deter a Persian attack. During the entire campaign he kept track of the events in the east, and even a "semi-official" legation was dispatched to ward off the Persian ambitions. See Yurdaydın, H., *op. cit.*, pp. 13–14 (in his hypothesis the troops were stationed in Syria), and Bacqué-Grammont, J.-L. *Les Ottomans*, pp. 300 ff.

Persian ruler wrote: "As you know, wisest King, we have sent you letters several times, and informed you how the King of the Turks and the descendant of the Ottomans, wrote to us more than once that he had decided to conquer the whole of Hungary, for — as he says — if he has it subjugated, he will easily overhelm the other Christians as well".[65] The same intention was revealed by a report probably dating from 1524—25, submitted by Yahya pasha-oğlu Bali bey, the governor of Bosnia, to the sultanic court. Upon the sultan's request, Bali reported on his military preparations and expressed his opinion about the best route to penetrate to Buda, since "the august padishah is going to set out against damned Hungary" quoting the order he had received earlier[66].

One of Bali's remarks revealed that the Ottoman leaders were fully aware of the internal situation of the country they had singled out as their next victim. He worded his devastating opinion of Hungary in the following way: "It should not remain a secret for the high throne that damned Hungary has no position or strength that would have to be taken into consideration". The international situation was also most favourable for the sultanic court. With the death of Shah Ismail in May 1524, the idea of anti-Ottoman action disappeared from Persian politics for a long period of time. The conflict between the Habsburgs and France, and the inner conflicts of the German Empire made it clear to the sultan that Hungary could expect no powerful assistance in Europe.[67] But to reduce the risk to the minimum, he concluded an armistice with Poland for three years in the autumn of 1525.[68] When at the end of 1525, he received the request of Francis I, King of France, for help, the ruler justly felt that he had nothing to fear.

By defeating the Hungarians at Mohács on August 29, 1526 and subsequently occupying Buda, Süleyman realized the old dream of the Ottoman dynasty, but then, without exploiting the success, he retreated from the country. His contemporaries were most baffled by this move and proposed different explanations, in a similar manner to posterity. It is a generally held view that Sülyman withdrew from Buda out of fear and because of the shortage of food, but there are references to the Ottoman army's extensive losses of men and animals, and the raids of the Hungarians, etc.[69] In view of the given

[65] Tardy, Lajos, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire. 14th—16th Century Hungarian Diplomacy in the East.* Szeged 1978, p. 131. (Studia Ural-Altaica, Vol. 13).

[66] İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, E. 6146/2. For the entire document see Appendix No. 1.

[67] Vaughan, Dorothy M., *Europe and the Turk. A Pattern of Alliances 1350—1700.* Liverpool 1954, p. 104 ff; Kosáry, D., *Magyar külpolitika.*

[68] The Turkish text was published by Gökbilin, Mehmet T., Venedik devlet arşivindeki vesikalar külliyatında Kanunî Sultan Süleyman dervi belgeleri. *Belgeler* I. 2 (1964), pp. 131—132 (dated October 18); cf. Kosáry, D., *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[69] Hurmuzaki, E., *Documente*, II/1, p. 38; Szalay L., *Adalékok*, pp. 15, 33, 43, 94, 106; Barta, Gábor, Egy magyar politikus a középkori Magyarország széthullásának

situation and the relevant statements of the Ottoman leaders, it can be demonstrated that nearly all these factors influenced the sultan's decision to some extent. The cautious behaviour of the Ottoman leadership, the raids of the troops of Kristóf Frangepán and János Szapolyai, local resistance, and the difficulties of provisions can all be verified.[70] Later the Ottoman statesmen mentioned two factors that made them decide as they did: "threatening winter" and a "deficient food supply".[71] There is no reason to doubt this explanation, which was also supported by the campaign journal, especially if the true importance of the time factor is taken into account. It expressed the lucid recognition that the protection of Buda, at a far distance from the nearest Ottoman fortresses, in the middle of enemy territory was impossible because of the shortage of time and defective preparations. Here, there is agreement with Ignác Acsády, who emphasizes on the momentary military considerations in the withdrawal from Buda.[72]

However, it would be erroneous to reduce the explanation to this single cause. This is suggested by the following sentence casually uttered by İbrahim in 1528 to the Austrian envoy Hoberdanacz, who inquired about the reasons for the retreat: anyway, the sultan left "his man" (*spetialem hominem suum*), voivod János, the "ban of Transylvania" behind in Buda.[73] Of course, that was not true (or more exactly, he deliberately projected the situation after the agreement with János into the past), but it can be confirmed that the Ottomans were already looking for "their man" in Buda, who would ensure their influence there after they had left. First they picked King Louis for the role of the "harbinger", as the news of his death was received quite late. The historian Jovius asserted that after receiving the news Süleyman sent a letter to Queen Mary saying, "had Louis remained alive, contenting himself with a certain amount of tribute, he would have given Hungary back to him".[74]

éveiben (Werbőczy István kancellár, 1526—1541) [A Hungarian politician in the years of Hungary's collapse. Chancellor István Werbőczy]. In: *Mohács. Tanulmányok*, pp. 283—284.

[70] Barta, G., *A Sztambulba vezető út*, pp. 13 ff; Jászay, Pál, *A magyar nemzet napjai a mohácsi vész után* [The days of the Hungarian nation following the disaster at Mohács]. I, Pest 1846, p. 28.

[71] A. von Gévay, *Urkunden und Actenstücke . . . 1528*. Wien 1837, p. 7; ". . . *hyems infesta quae prae foribus erat, et victualium defectus qui nos abire cogebat.*" A similar explanation is offered by Mustafa pasha in 1528: "Had winter not been imminent, we would have sought out your master [i.e. Szapolyai] in Transylvania" (Hurmuzaki, E., *op. cit.*, p. 41: . . . *quodsi non fuisset in dorso nostro hiems, quaesivissemus istum Dominum tuum in Transilvania* . . .)

[72] Acsády, I., *op. cit.*, pp. 69—70.

[73] A. von Gévay, *loc. cit.*; Szalay L., *loc. cit.*

[74] Quoted by Jászay, P., *A magyar nemzet napjai*, p. 18; cf. Szalay, László, *Magyarország története* [A history of Hungary]. IV, Leipzig 1854, p. 7; Perjés, G., *Mohács*, p. 187;

Another report throws more light on the move of the Ottomans and the underlying conceptions. It is from chancellor István Brodarics who informed the lord chancellor of Poland, Krysztof Szydlowiecki in a letter dated October 3, 1526 that the Ottomans had released three captured chamberlains of Louis and sent them to the king with a message thinking he was alive. The message said the sultan would offer an alliance, wishing to keep only the Szerémség (Syrmium/Sirem) and the region of the rivers Drave and Save, and offering to protect the king from all his foes.[75] On first reading one might get the impression that Süleyman did try to establish a sincere alliance (since he did not even seem to demand tribute). However, the readiness of the victor to assume liabilities unilaterally, automatically inspires the suspicion that it might have been an attempt to extend the "protecting wing" of the great power over the country. Just as it was later on in the case of the agreement concluded with Szapolyai under the very same terms, at a time when the tactical considerations were obvious. A closer look at the only reservation — the retention of southern Hungary — shatters any illusion of an honest alliance. By taking possession of the most valuable area of defence, or to quote Mustafa pasha's statement in 1528 to the ambassador of Venice, "the keys" to the country,[76] Süleyman in effect took the cause of the Hungarian kingdom in his hand, which represented the first step towards incorporating the entire country. In possession of this base (to be extended systematically later), he could exert an appropriate influence over the domestic affairs of the kingdom.[77] In these circumstances, an "ally" in Buda could indeed only function as a "harbinger". Thus, we return to the fact that by leaving Buda, Süleyman complied with the customary tactics, while the whole campaign was successful inasmuch as it crushed the

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Barta, G., *A Sztambulba vezető út*, p. 100 (The latter locus contains Ibrahim's relevant "lectures" to the ambassador of Venice).

[75] On the basis of an abstract published by J. S. Brewer (see *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII.* IV/2—3, London 1872—1876, No. 2589) Gábor Barta informed researchers of this important letter in his candidate's dissertation, which unfortunately remained unpublished to date (see *A mohácsi csatától a sztambuli egyezségig* [From the battle of Mohács to the agreement of Istanbul]. Budapest 1983). I hereby thank the author for being so kind as to make this information available to me.

[76] Török, Pál, *I. Ferdinánd konstantinápolyi béketárgyalásai 1527—1547* [Ferdinand's peace talks in Constantinople]. Budapest 1930, p. 30 (Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből [Studies in the historical sciences], XXVI/12).

[77] All clear-minded contemporaries were aware of this, see e.g. the opinion of Dal Borgo, Ferdinand's ambassador to Rome, expressed in February 1532 (Fraknói, Vilmos, János király és a Szent-szék [King János and the Holy See] III. *Századok* 36. 10 (1902), p. 897) or the famous address of formerly pro-Turkish Ferenc Frangepán on June 9, 1541 in Regensburg, in which he explained that since the loss of Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade) and the Szerémség Hungary had been open, her heart was unprotected from the Turks (see Iványi, B., Buda és Pest sorsdöntő évei, p. 70).

mainstay of the enemy and created the possibility for Ottoman control. When the sultan left Buda, only one thing was missing: a loyal ruler in alliance with the Ottomans.

This explains why they approached the recently crowned János Szapolyai, immediately they heard of the death of Louis. What message the envoy arriving on behalf of İbrahim and his fellow viziers brought to King János is unclear, but İbrahim's remarks made to the ambassador of Venice suggest that he repeated the offers they had intended for Louis.[78] However, for a time they failed to elaborate an agreement, probably because of the reluctance of János, so in late May—early June the Porte despatched other envoys to persuade János.[79] At the same time it seems possible that at first he was not the only person considered by the Ottomans, who left the door open for others as well. This assumption is supported by the fact that when in early 1527, Archduke Ferdinand asked Istanbul for a letter of protection for an envoy he wished to send there, the lords of the Porte expressed their readiness to negotiate about peace in a friendly letter.[80] This was, however, the case that eventually ended any possibility of an agreement with Ferdinand. From the spring of 1527 Venice, correctly fearing the growing power of the Habsburgs, tried very hard to convince the Porte via her diplomats: the Habsburgs were aspiring for world hegemony and Ferdinand's growing influence in Hungary threatened the sultan's direct interests.[81] The subsequent events (the attack of the German army, and János's series of defeats) eloquently confirmed this and began to endanger the Ottoman achievements in Hungary. This is why the Porte decided in the summer to send troops to support János, although he had not asked for help.[82] In October, Ferdinand's victories made them seriously consider launching a campaign against Hungary.[83]

With the appearance of Ferdinand, the conditions of Ottoman politics considerably changed in Hungary. So far everything had been relatively simple. The Ottoman Empire was faced with the neighbouring crisis-stricken Hungary left to herself in the Danube valley, which the Ottomans at first exasperated

[78] For this subject, see Barta, G., *A Sztambulba vezető út*, p. 98 ff; Matuz, J., Der Verzicht Süleymāns, pp. 40—41.

[79] Barta, G., *op. cit.*, pp. 103—104, 161. It is not impossible that the undated and highly enigmatic document published recently by Josef Matuz (Bericht des Dragomans *Qāsım* über seine Mission beim ungarischen Königshof in Ofen. *Ural-Altaic Yearbook* 60 (1968), pp. 101—109) is related to this legation. The document relates that the Ottoman envoy had carried out his sovereign's command and concluded the agreement (*pādişāh ḥażretlerinüñ emri ve ʿahdı tamam yirine varub*).

[80] Török, P., *op. cit.*, pp. 8—9 (on 15 April).

[81] Óváry, L., *Oklevélmásolatok*, II, Nos 31, 32, 33, 36, 43, 44, 45, etc.; cf. Acsády, I., *op. cit.*, p. 63; Káldy-Nagy, Gy., *Szulejmán*, p. 88 and Suleimans Angriff, p. 178.

[82] Óváry, L., *op. cit.*, No. 36; Acsády, I., *op. cit.*, p. 63; Barta, G., *op. cit.*, p. 161.

[83] Óváry, L., *op. cit.*, No. 50.

by well-placed blows and then began to extend their direct control over the country. Contrary to some researchers, there is no indication whatsoever that originally the Ottomans entered Hungarian territory with anti-Habsburg intentions.[84] Although well informed of European events, the growing influence of the Habsburgs, and their political relations and ambitions, they did not adjust their plans to them at that time. And quite understandably, too, because the engagement of the Habsburgs in the west and the main lines of their politics strongly suggested that they would pose no danger to the Ottomans in Hungary. At that time they associated the power of the Habsburgs with Charles V and not with Ferdinand, so far only the Archduke of Austria (İbrahim liked to call him the "little Viennese king" later, too). It is, therefore, beyond doubt that at that point in time, the Ottomans were set against the Hungarians in their politics and military operations.

However, the death of the Hungarian king fundamentally changed the situation, giving Ferdinand the thrones of two countries at the same time (Bohemia and Hungary). Thus, suddenly he became a serious opponent in the Hungarian theatre.[85] Venice seems to have been the first to realize the significance of this change, and played a decisive role in the radical change of Ottoman politics in 1527—28. The urgent warnings of the Signoria and the Hungarian events, made the leaders of the Empire realize that from then on, Ferdinand would be the main foe in Hungary, and that was the moment (the second half of 1527) when Hungary really became a (main) theatre of Ottoman–Habsburg confrontation. The recognition of the novel situation was almost immediately followed by the definition of the steps to be taken. On the basis of Łaski's diary it can be assumed that probably in the autumn of 1527, but certainly in the winter of 1527—28, a conception was elaborated that was to become the touchstone of Süleyman's Hungarian policy: to settle the Hungarian issue by delivering a decisive blow at Ferdinand, or the centre of his country, Vienna. The campaigns of 1529 and 1532 were designed to translate this conception into practice, and as will be seen later, after 1541 the same policy was revived, with traces of it demonstrable right to the end of Süleyman's era.

At the beginning of the new phase, the attitude towards the Hungarians was adapted to the main goal, hence it was seemingly quite moderate, lest the two parties (the followers of Ferdinand and János, respectively) should join forces in view of the imminent threat of Ottoman aggression. While in the past Süleyman had sought someone to support his endeavours in Hungary

[84] Neither do the much-debated requests for transit give clues to the effect, since they were either provocative or were merely designed for plundering, as the situation in Matthias's time clearly shows, and had nothing to do with a comprehensive strategy.

[85] Gyula Káldy-Nagy also agrees (*Szulemán*, p. 88) that it was the Ottoman victories that cleared the path for the Habsburgs to Hungary.

out of tactical considerations, the new circumstances made it inevitable for him to find a person. Since around that time, all of King János's prospects had been blighted, in the autumn of 1527 he was chosen to be the medium through which the Ottomans would try to prize Hungary away from Ferdinand.[86]

The envoy of János, Hieronym Łaski arrived in Istanbul in December 1527, to obtain the sultan's alliance for his master.[87] How badly they needed each other was clearly demonstrated by the fact that he attained this goal without his sovereign having to comply with the forms of submission. What probably enabled Łaski to reject the demand of the viziers for regular payment of tribute by János in return for Ottoman backing was his recognition that it was also in the interest of the Ottomans to support János. The first clue was undoubtedly the complaint at the beginning of the talks that his lord and master had turned to the Porte too late. That must have strengthened his suspicion that the pashas displayed a keen interest in Ferdinand's military strength. The utterances of İbrahim made it perfectly clear that the Ottomans wanted to avoid fighting against two kings at the same time, and he was on sure ground. The tactics of the envoy worked, because the Porte needed Hungary not only for political, but also for economic reasons. There are several data confirming that the Ottoman government counted on the well-known fertility of the Hungarian soil for their army's additional food supplies during the faraway campaign, which had already been decided upon before Łaski left.[88]

[86] To this see document No. 3 in the Appendix, which reveals that the sultanic court also gained detailed information about the Hungarian situation from the Voivod of Moldavia.

[87] For the letter of recommendation to İbrahim, see Appendix No. 2. On the negotiations: Hurmuzaki, E., *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff; Szalay, L., *Adalékok*, pp. 93 ff; Barta, G., *A Sztambulba vezető út*, pp. 165 ff.

[88] That the operation against Vienna had then been decided on is my inference from the above-quoted passage of Łaski's diary where İbrahim speaks of "testing the Austrian" and the possible difficulties in supplying the army with provisions (Hurmuzaki, E., *op. cit.*, p. 64). Had Buda, where they had been once, been the goal, he would not have talked in this vein. — For Hungary as the caterer in the Ottoman plans: Óváry, L., *Oklevélmásolatok*, II, Nos 88, 89 (statements of İbrahim and Mustafa pasha to the ambassador of Venice in the spring of 1528, asserting that the campaign is being delayed by the famine in Hungary); Acsády, I., *op. cit.*, p. 74 (Süleyman's letter of April 2, 1529 to János, in which he promised immunity to the followers of the Hungarian king and decleared that "anyone could come to his camp freely to sell their food"). It is worth noting that during the Istanbul talks in 1545, the French ambassador, who for once was working for a Habsburg—Ottoman armistice, adduced as one of the arguments in support of the agreement that a revival of production in Hungary after the peace would be highly beneficial for the sultan, for it would greatly alleviate the difficulties of transport and supply, should he turn against Vienna again (Vaughan, D. M., *Europe and the Turk*, p. 128). Recently published Ottoman documents testify that the Ottoman high command

Thus, Süleyman promised to protect János and he even returned to him the "kingship" of Hungary, which he regarded as his (and not the country itself, as is often mistakenly believed).[89] Neither this, nor the solemn meeting at Mohács should encourage us to forget that the sultan planned all this as part of a temporary arrangement until the showdown with Ferdinand.[90] However, despite every effort, the practical tests of the Ottoman conception (1529, 1532) ended in spectacular fiascos. This explains why the initially temporary rule of János had to be prolonged by the Ottomans. That they were compelled to act under duress, because of the events and the failure of their plans, was confirmed by the fact that the sultan decided to crown János, when he left even Buda behind in the retreat from his unsuccessful attempt against Vienna.[91] In other words, when the loyalty of the Hungarians towards an "ally" of the sultan, became even more important.

3. It became obvious in 1532 that the Hungarian problem could not be solved in the short way, by capturing Vienna. At the same time, the Persian problems came to a head in the Ottoman court, with the advocates of a more active policy in the Mediterranean also gaining ground.[92] This relegated the

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did require food deliveries from the Hungarian areas not yet directly subjected to them when they launched a new campaign (see Berindei, M.—Veinstein, G., *L'Empire ottoman*, pp. 23 ff and the orders quoted there).

[89] It is important to emphasize this difference, as it illumines the essence of the Ottoman conception pertaining to Hungary. Süleyman's deeds written in Turkish always featured the formula *Ungurus krallığı* "kingship of Hungary", but this term was often inaccurately conveyed or interpreted in the contemporary Latin translations, which is probably why so much was talked about returning Hungary, the country both then and in today's research. But Süleyman persisted in what we can read in the Latin translation of his letter of June 20, 1541: Hungary was his property (*ipsum regnum est meum proprium*), but owing to the loyalty and obedience of King János he was so gracious as to yield the dignity of kingship and the governance of the country to him (*concesseram illi ex mea clementia regiam dignitatem et administrationem dicti Regni Hungariae*). This, however, did not entitle him to dispose of the country (*non habuit authoritatem iustam disponendi, et testandi de rebus dicti Regni*); A. von Gévay, *Urkunden und Actenstücke . . . 1540—1541*. Wien 1842, p. 148.

[90] This mentality is reflected in rhetoric as well. It is, I think, typical that in the letter of alliance given to János he is described as a "sworn brother" and is promised protection from everyone (see Szalay, L., *Adalékok*, p. 125), while in an order sent around the same time (early 1528) to Bali bey János is termed his [the sultan's] slave together with all his subjects, and it declares that the next step is to chase Ferdinand out of Buda (see Török, P., *Ferdinánd*, p. 23). (Tact towards János would soon cease to exist and he would be publicly called a servant of the sultan.) — Some sources claim that after the fall of Vienna, İbrahim would have asked for Hungary for himself as a *sancak*, see Szalay, L., *Magyarország története*, IV, p. 118.

[91] Ferīdūn, *Münşe'āt*, I, p. 576; cf. Iványi, B., Buda és Pest, p. 41.

[92] Bárdossy, L., *Magyar politika*, pp. 136 ff; Vaugham, D. M., *Europe and the Turk*, pp. 118 ff. A contributory factor to the change was French diplomacy, which

question of the Hungarian front to a lower ranking of interests. However, the Porte did its best to retain its position there and extend it as wide as possible. It endeavoured to achieve in three different ways.

In politics it resorted to the time-tested method of *müdara* or dissembling, utilizing it in an attempt to neutralize their main foe Ferdinand. In 1532 it concluded peace with him in such a way that its formal announcement was never made and all the protracted wrangling and quibbling served the purpose of avoiding the need to reciprocate Ferdinand's peaceful attitude.[93] This ambiguous peace is usually regarded as the turning point in the Porte's policy towards Hungary, based on the argument that the sultan allegedly consented to the division of Hungary, which had been bluntly refused by İbrahim in the previous year, saying that "two kings cannot be in one country".[94] In actual fact, however, the sultan never abandoned his claim to the whole of Hungary. Reviewing the history of Ferdinand's peace talks in Istanbul in the 1530s, one finds that the same thing happened every time: with chance remarks, meaningful allusions, and at times "straightforward" talk, the Ottoman statesmen kept feeding the hopes of the Habsburg ruler, but when the envoys, fired by new hope, asked them to recognize Ferdinand's reign, the answer was blunt: Hungary was the possession of the sultan and he had given it to king János. It would, therefore, be more correct to say that although Süleyman was forced to share Hungary with Ferdinand, in practice, he never officially acknowledged it and never ceased trying, with decreasing success, to restore by force the pre-Habsburg power relations in Hungary. If the Ottomans had an irrational or mistaken Hungarian policy, it could perhaps be traced back to the 1530s, when the insistence on fighting was no longer coupled with a realistic view of the changed power relations.

The second method employed was to directly try to influence Hungarian internal affairs. This policy was mostly used in relation to János and his followers. Threats and promises were also implied by this method, the latter being deployed when they increasingly needed the loyalty of the Hungarians. At such moments, there was no hesitation in promising the return of the

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never failed to stress that an attack against Austria would strengthen the co-operation of the imperial estates and actually reinforce the position of the Habsburgs. Soysal, İ., (Türk—Fransız, pp. 69 ff) underlines the role of Hayreddin Barbarossa in the change with good reason.

[93] It is well summarized in Bárdossy, L., *op. cit.*, pp. 113 ff; cf. Török, P., *op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff.

[94] Acsády, I., *op. cit.*, p. 90. Although similar in essentials, J. W. Zinkeisen (*Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa.* 2. Teil. Gotha 1854, p. 728) cites İbrahim's words somewhat differently: « ganz Ungarn könne ebensowenig abgetreten werden, als der Sultan eine Theilung dieses Königreichs zugeben dürfe; was solle denn dabei herauskommen, wenn zwei Könige in einem Königreiche 'haufen' würden, der eine zu Ofen, der andere zu Gran?«

Szerémség (Syrmium/Sirem) or the reinstitution of the free election of a king (excluding Ferdinand, of course).[95] When on the other hand, Süleyman's temper rose against his "ally", it was quickly toned down by the recognition that the Hungarian king was preparing the ground for him. As Ayas pasha told the Austrian ambassador in 1537 who had reproached him for the occupation of Kassa (Kaschau/Košice) (December 1536): "Neither our men, nor King János are doing an injustice when they try to recapture, upon our order, what belongs to our Empire. Those who wage war against János our servant . . . are waging war against us."[96] However, support for János did not prevent the Ottomans from trying to draw the reins of control tighter over Hungary by backing some other advocates of the Ottoman cause. Such an attempt could be observed when Lodovico Gritti joined the Hungarian power machinery, who despite his arrogance, "could only do what İbrahim ordered him, and nothing else".[97] Another beneficiary of their support was the Hungarian baron Péter Perényi, who aspired to power. However, these attempts, were unsuccessful, partly because they cancelled each other out (e.g. Perényi was blackened by jealous Gritti to İbrahim), and partly they were thwarted by the resistance of the Hungarian ruling stratum.[98]

As a result, the main guarantee of Ottoman influence continued to be the retention and possible expansion of a direct military presence. Accordingly, the foundations were laid for military operations in Hungary. To mention only the most important steps:[99] the beginnings date from 1521, when the Ottomans broke through the first Hungarian—Croatian defence line by capturing Szabács

[95] Fraknói, V., János király és a római Szent-szék. III, p. 895 (from 1531—32); *Magyar országgyűlési emlékek. I., 1526—1536* [Records of Hungarian diets]. Ed. by Vilmos Fraknói, Budapest 1874, p. 351 (from 1531); Károlyi, A., Adalék a nagyváradi béke s az 1536—38. évek történetéhez. III, pp. 796, 806, 813—814 (from 1537); von Bucholtz, F. B., *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten*. Urkundenband, Wien 1838, p. 279 (from 1538).

[96] Translated by László Bárdossy (*op. cit.*, p. 185; cf. *ibid.*, p. 357: n. 64), which I slighty modified on the basis of Gévay's Latin text.

[97] A. von Gévay, *Urkunden und Actenstücke . . . 1532—1533*. Wien 1838, p. 44 (İbrahim's statement to Hieronymus de Zara made on June 24, 1533).

[98] An excellent analysis of the role and significance of these events in Ottoman politics is by Szakály, F., *Gritti*, passim, esp. chapters III and IV. See also document No. 4 in the Appendix, which is an epitome of Ottoman political pressure and the ambition to find supporters among the Hungarian nobles.

[99] To the following, see Szakály, Ferenc, Phases of Turco—Hungarian Warfare before the Battle of Mohács (1365—1526). *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXIII (1979), pp. 65—111, esp. 105—106; Thallóczy, Lajos, *Jajcza (bánság, vár, város) története 1450—1527* [A history of (the banate, fortress and town of) Jajcza]. Budapest 1915, pp. 256—263; Acsády, I., *op. cit.*, pp. 120—121; Perjés, G., *Mohács*, p. 201; Acsády, I., *op. cit.*, p. 74; Török, P., *op. cit.*, p. 26; Berindei, M.—Veinstein, G., *op. cit.*, p. 19; Szalay, L., *Magyarország története*, IV. p. 173.

(Šabac/Böğürdelen), Zimony (Zemun) and Belgrade. This defence line was practically crushed by 1524. Of the few remaining fortresses, they seized Jajca (Jajce/Yayça) and the major forts in Bosnia in the winter of 1527—28, when negotiations were just going on in Istanbul with the envoy of János about an Ottoman—Hungarian alliance. In 1526, the Szerémség was invaded and a base was built at Eszék (Osiek/Ösek) in 1529. By taking Bács and Félegyháza that same year, the Ottomans advanced beyond the Danube. In 1536 and early 1537 Pozsega (Požega) and a number of other Slavonian fortresses fell to the Turks. Having remained alone, the castle of Klissza (Klis/Kilis, in Bosnia) also capitulated in 1537. As a result of the expedition against Moldavia in 1538 (and not least of its precedents), the pressure on Hungary from the east also increased, even though the expressed aim of the military campaign was to punish the disobedient voivod.[100]

This base, whose boundaries were being pushed farther out every day by the troops garrisoned in it,[101] had already been found suitable by the sultan back in the latter half of the 1520s to control the situation within Hungary therefrom.[102] Later events verified the validity of this conception, since in the fighting of 1530, 1537, 1540 and 1541, the Ottoman forces deployed from this base successfully contributed to the defence of the capital and the protection of the road to Buda. They even had the strength to initiate raids into Ferdinand's northern territory. At this juncture, let us return to the problem of the action radius. Though the statements of the Ottoman leaders and the actions of the army confirm that they more or less ignored the distance subsequently delimited for them, it is undeniable that their efficiency at a great distance was influenced by several factors. The Hungarian events, however, reveal that their real limitation was not distance, but a shortage of food supplies The published relevant data revealed that there was a nearly one-to-one ratio

[100] The latter is underlined by Süleyman's *fethname* (of which two variants were published: Decei, Aurel, Un 'fetihnâme-i Karaboğdan' (1538) de Matrakçı Nasuh. In: *60. doğum yılı münasebetiyle Fuad Köprülü Armağanı. Mélanges Fuad Köprülü.* Istanbul 1953, pp. 113—124, and Gökbilgin, Tayyip, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri müesseseler ve teşkikâtına ışık tutan Bursa şer'iye sicillerinden örnekler. In: *İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan*, Ankara 1976, pp. 108—109). For other considerations influencing the selection of the target of the campaign see also Ursu, J., *Die auswärtige Politik des Peter Rareş, Fürst von Moldau (1527—1538)*. I. Wien 1908, pp. 149 ff and Guboğlu, M., Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Boğdan seferi ve zaferi (1538 M. = 945 H.). *Belleten* 50. 198. 1986 (1987), pp. 757 ff.

[101] The answer of the *bey* of Bosnia to the question whether he was responsible for maintaining peace in the second half of the 1530s is instructive: he was assigned the task of defending and expanding the marches, see Szalay, L., *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[102] I inferred this from Süleyman's commands sent to the *sancakbeyi*s of the border area instructing them to assist King János, see Óváry, L., *Oklevélmásolatok*, II. Nos 152, 154, 168.

between the amount of requisitioned food and the efficiency of a campaign.[103] This was probably why the conquest of Hungary was divided into various phases. The Ottoman high command was the first to establish the provision bases without which campaigns against Hungary and later the occupation of the country would have been highly risky. Accordingly, Belgrade and its vicinity assumed a role at that time, which it was to successfully play up to the end of the 17th century: namely, the centre for supplying the western war theatre was developed here, to ensure that during the 16th—17th century campaigns there were no insurmountable food supply problems. There is agreement with those who claim that in many respects the starting point of the Ottoman campaings towards the west was Belgrade.[104]

To return to the question of a military presence, additional confirmation is provided by the Ottoman army units garrisoned at some inland points of the country (Pest and Székesfehérvár).[105] No exact information is available of their manpower, but Gritti told the Austrian ambassador Cornelius Schepper in 1534, that they were over 6,000.[106] Obviously he also included the garrisons in the south of Hungary, albeit at that time this area was already incorporated into the Ottoman Empire. Let us consider this number for a moment. As it is known from Schepper's report, during the late May negotiations Gritti asserted that the Turks wanted to make a *sancak* of Buda with Gritti as the *beylerbeyi* of Hungary, but Gritti said he had managed to prevent the former and turned down the latter. What is less frequently referred to, is Gritti's explanation for this undoubtedly purposive statement, and which is not necessarily a fabrication. Gritti said: "Since the Emperor of the Turks keeps over 6,000 people on pay in that country. And he spends over 200,000 ducats on them, and the Emperor has not a single penny gain from this country. Therefore, the pashas often advised that the *sancak* be transferred to Buda [i.e. the banner be hoisted in Buda]".[107] Though it would be rash to infer from this

[103] Káldy-Nagy, Gy., The First Centuries of the Ottoman Military Organization. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXI (1977), pp. 173—174.

[104] Finkel, Caroline B., The Provisioning of the Ottoman Army during the Campaigns of 1593—1606. In: *Habsburgisch—osmanische Beziehungen*. Hrsg. von A. Tietze, Wien 1985, pp. 107—123, esp. 119 (Beihefte zur *WZKM*, Bd. 13).

[105] On their operation see Szakály, F., *Gritti*, pp. 130—131.

[106] A. von Gévay, *Urkunden und Actenstücke . . . 1534*. Wien 1839, p. 48.

[107] A. von Gévay, *loc. cit.*; Szalay, L., *Magyarország története IV*, p. 143; Török, P., *Ferdinánd*, p. 76; Szakály, F., Gritti, p. 82. Gritti's figure can be verified by a *mevacib defteri* from the end of April 1541, containing the pay accounts of the military units garrisoned in fifteen fortresses (mostly in the former Szerém and Valkó counties) and two towns of the Ottoman network of border forteresses in southern Hungary (see Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Türkische Handschriften, Mxt. 567; Flügel 1322). It confirms that at the time in question, some 5,000 soldiers, were under arms in the first line of fortresses stretching from Galambóc (Golubac/Güvercinlik) through Szendrő,

that there were one or more plans ready for the occupation, it is thought-provoking that similar explanations, quoting the expenses of maintaining an "independent" Hungary as the cause for conquest, were being aired in 1541, too. One may venture to ask: Was it perhaps cheaper for the Empire to occupy the country than to keep it in vassalage through a constant military presence and expeditions?

Similar rumours of the Ottoman plans were also spread in the latter half of the 1530s. This at least indicates that an increasing number of people considered the Ottoman invasion of Hungary as a real threat. Several statements of the Ottoman politicians also fuelled such speculation and could even have indicated the political stance of certain circles at the Porte.[108]

The Ottoman leaders were slowly obliged to make up their minds about the Hungarian situation. When in the second half of the 1530s, they revised the results of their Hungarian policy, they could only pride themselves on a single achievement: the entire road to Buda was controlled. However, it must have bothered them that Ferdinand had a firm footing beyond Buda, and no matter how heavily János's attempts were supported by the Porte, it was realized that their ally (or servant, to use the Ottoman term) was an unsuitable medium to regain the former captured areas and at the same time spare the Ottoman forces. The assertion that Hungary belonged to the sultan was in vain; as long as they failed to overcome Ferdinand, it remained a theoretical claim. Not much could be expected from the tactics that had been applied so far — and anyway, since the appearance of Ferdinand, they had been used under pressure. But this gradual strategy also proved to be a failure in other respects. The hopes of influencing Hungarian society were shattered; Gritti was killed by the Hungarian magnates themselves. The pro-Ottoman affections of the Hungarian nobility completely faded away after a brief, but promising period. It had to be clearly seen that János and his followers were on their side only out of personal interest. The expectations to utilize Hungary's resources were also frustrated. Back in 1529, it could be seen that the Hungarians were not in a hurry to help the needy Ottoman troops[109] (though they had

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Belgrade, Szalánkemén, Titel, Pétervárad (Varadin), Újlak (Ilok), Vukovár and Erdőd (Erdut) to Eszék and in its immediate hinterland. It is, however, not the final number, since the accounts of whole formations (e.g. the *müstahfız* of Belgrade) are obviously missing. I also ignored a corps of some 200 featured in a register from six years earlier, but attached to the *defter* in question. Adding to this, the troops stationed inside Hungary, it can even be concluded that Gritti underestimated the total number of soldiers here. The authenticity of his remark as to costs is corroborated by the fact that it corresponds with İbrahim's statement from 1528, see note 30 above.

[108] News and statements from Istanbul: Szalay, L., *op. cit.*, pp. 172, 181; Török, P., *op. cit.*, p. 84; Iványi, B., *op cit.*, pp. 46 ff; Bárdossy, L., *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[109] Káldy-Nagy, Gy., *Szulejmán*, p. 94 and Suleimans Angriff, pp. 180—181. To the Turcophil manifestations in Hungary at that time see: Barta, Gábor, A törökös

been given an order to this effect), and this reluctance was typical later on as well. As the chances of creating a give-and-take balance in Hungary became weaker, the temptation to play their ace and take possession grew stronger, at least in part, for what so much had been sacrificed. Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to infer that already before 1541, there were even stronger ambitions within the Ottoman leadership to occupy Hungary. If the cited opinions about the expenses of keeping Hungary as a vassal state were true, then it would be logical to come to the conclusion that the extension of the domination would entail an improvement, for no matter how the financial balance would change, it was surely a gain that several *timar*-estates could be distributed in the new territory.[110]

It is therefore not unimaginable that the denunciation of the treaty of Várad in December, 1539 (concluded in 1538 between Ferdinand and János

ideológia kezdetei Magyarországon [The beginnings of the Turcophil ideology in Hungary]. *Keletkutatás*, Spring 1987, pp. 8–19.

[110] A later document from the time of the occupation may prove that these expectations were not frustrated. In March 1568, an order was despatched to the *beylerbeyi* of Buda (see Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme defteri No. VII, 387–388/1112) informing him about what he was expected to do in the campaign of renewing the diplomas of *ziamet* and *timar* allocation that went on for one and a half years. As copies of the order were sent to another 12 *beylerbeyi*s, it was registered how many *tezkere*s (certificate) had been converted into diplomas (*berat*) in each province. The list reveals that out of the 13 *vilayet*s (the centrally important *vilayet* of Rumeli was unfortunately missing) that of Buda was placed second and that of Temesvár fifth with 1300 and 509 "legitimated" *timar*s, respectively (1st: Anadolu with 2056, 3rd: Karaman with 1249, 4th Rum with 560, 6th Damascus with 466, 7th Zülkadir with 312, 8th Erzurum with 123, 9th Aleppo with 104, 10th Diyarbekir with 65, 11th Bagdad with 30, 12th: Şehrizol with 28, and 13th: Van with 25 *timar*s). The two Hungarian provinces had a share of some 26% of all the *timar*-estates with affirmed property rights. Although these figures do not reflect the real distribution as the data for Rumeli and Greece are insufficient (these being the two most important provinces of those not mentioned in the order with relevance to the *timar* system, cf. Kunt, Metin, *Sancaktan eyalete. 1550–1650 arasında Osmanlı ümerası ve il idaresi*. Istanbul 1978, pp. 133–149) (and the figures in general are incomplete since the total number of *timar*s must have been far greater), the proportions well illustrate the significance of the Hungarian areas in the system of landed property of the Ottoman Empire. And this is true in spite of the fact that the *vilayet* of Buda stretched beyond the territory of that-time Hungary in the south. — The unanimous statements of İbrahim Grand Vizier and Gritti cited above, refute the argument that it was the foreseeable costs that deterred the sultan and his court from occupying the country. If we compare the figures they provided, with the annual deficit of some 300,000 gold pieces around 1560, we find that the annual deficit rose by a mere 75,000 gold pieces, whereas the border was pushed out several hundred kilometres to the north. This proves, on the one hand, that the loss was not directly caused by the increase of distance, but primarily by the location of these areas in the marches. On the other hand, it verifies the fact that the outcome of an alleged budgetary calculation could not possibly worry a sultanic court that did not hesitate to accept the deficit of 224,000 of the Szerémség (Sirem).

Szapolyai) and the 1540—41 political instability in Hungary, gave only the last impetus to a decision, which had already been under consideration for a long time.

IV.

With the reconciliation of János Szapolyai and Ferdinand of Habsburg, and the Hungarian king's death on July 22, 1540, the Ottomans lost their last significant supporter in Hungary. If these events made the tactics used so far senseless, then Ferdinand's military operations in the autumn of 1540 forced the sultanic court to rapidly revise and change its Hungarian policy.

Seemingly, however, Süleyman adhered to the old course. Upon the request of the Hungarian envoys (István Werbőczy and János Eszéki) who went to the Porte in October 1540 to comply with János's last will Süleyman acknowledged the infant János Zsigmond [John Sigismund] as the heir to his father's throne and granted to him all the areas, possessed by King János, in return for an annual tax of 25,000 golden florins. (At the same time, his answer to the request for the free election of a king was elusive.) He also declared, and later confirmed in front of the new envoy, arriving on behalf of Martinuzzi and Petrovics (or Queen Izabella according to another source), that he had begun to mobilize his forces to protect the new ruler. He emphasized his words by warning the Hungarian nobles that they would be severely punished if they failed to continue an alliance with him and János Zsigmond. He also called on the King of Poland to support the young king.[111]

[111] On the mission of Werbőczy and Eszéki, and Süleyman's letter of alliance, see Charrière, E., *Negociations, I*, p. 453; Pray, G., *Epistolae procerum regni Hungariae.* Pars II. Ab anno 1531—1554. Posonii 1806, pp. 87—88. (Werbőczy's letter from Istanbul published here can also be found in Lukinich, Imre, *A Podmanini Podmaniczky-család oklevéltára* [The archives of the Podmanini Podmaniczky family]. III, 1538—1548. Budapest 1941, pp. 158—159); Szalay, L., *Adalékok*, pp. 182—197, *idem.*, *Magyarország története*, IV, pp. 219—221; Fraknói, Vilmos, *Werbőczy István élete* [The life of István Werbőczy]. Budapest 1899, pp. 321—324. For the second mission by Marko Horváth, and the letters of both legations, see: Charrière, E., *op. cit.*, pp. 466—467; Lukinich, Imre, *Erdély területi változásai a török hódítás korában 1541—1711* [The territorial changes in Transylvania during the period of Turkish rule]. Budapest 1918, p. 30; Iványi, B., Buda és Pest, pp. 62—63. The latter authors do not seem to know that two of these letters can be found in Hurmuzaki's compendium (*Documente* . . . XV/1. ed. by N. Iorga, Bucuresti 1911, pp. 394—396; more recent edition: *Elementa ad fontium editiones XXXVI. Documenta ex archivo regiomontano ad Poloniam spectantia.* VI Pars, H B A. B 2 1538—42. Carolina Lanckorońska ed., Romae 1975, pp. 131—132), so they did not clarify the relationship of the documents they discuss with these. — On the letters to the Polish king and the subject in general, see: Berindei, M.—Veinstein, G., *L'Empire ottoman*, pp. 27, 42: n. 29.

The next spring, he announced that he would personally lead the army advancing to Hungary. However, he proclaimed repeatedly that his aim was "to save the son of the late King János" and that "he not only wished to protect him but also to give the whole mentioned kingdom [Hungary] back to him".[112] As it is known, the campaign ended in Buda and the central part of Hungary became a province of the Ottoman Empire on August 29, 1541.

That Süleyman had planned this step, deemed perfidious by many, before his arrival at Buda can be deduced from the chronology of the events, for he did not begin real negotiations with the Hungarian leaders, summoned to his camp (and kept detained for some time), before his men reported to him that Buda had been captured. At the first meeting, he merely told them his wish, giving a few reasons for his decision, which must have shocked the Hungarian statesmen. He referred to the strife among the barons, their military weakness, and the costs of frequently coming to Hungary with a large army "to protect" the country.[113]

[112] Charrière, E., I, p. 498; he writes in the same vein in the letter sent to Ferdinand as a kind of declaration of war of June 20, 1541, upon starting out (A. von Gévay, *Urkunden und Actenstücke . . . 1540—1541.* Wien 1842, pp. 157—148); cf. Zinkeisen, J. W., *op. cit.*, II. p. 843.

[113] *Verancsics Antal . . . összes munkái* [Complete works of Antal Verancsics]. I, p. 166: an account of the fall of Buda in Latin, without the indication of place, date and author. L. Szalay had already noticed (*Adalékok*, p. 194: n. 2) that its largely rewritten corrupted version dated from Lippa was published by L. Reusner (*Epistolatum turcicarum variorum et diversorum athorum.* Liber IX, Francofvrti ad Moenvm, M.D.XCVIII, pp. 4—11, see National Széchényi Library, Collection of old prints, Ap. H. 622). Endre Veress (*Izabella királyné 1519—1559* [Queen Izabella]. Budapest 1901, passim, esp. 193: n. 2) discovered another, handwritten copy of the "Verancsics-version" in Poland and inferred from the signature that the narration (together with the account entitled *De obsidione Budensi*, see *Verancsics*, I. pp. 173—178) was written by Peter Porembski, Izabella's secretary. Veress also demonstrated that Porembsi's text was translated into German in the same year (1541) and published together with several other accounts. Another textual variant nearer to the one published by Szalay, but containing more mistakes, can be read in the above-quoted volume of the series *Elementa* (pp. 157—162). Porembski seems to have put to paper the summary of the events in late September 1541, after arriving at Lippa, and this apparently spread in various directions (the original addressee is not known). As the secretary was an eye-witness of the events (he himself visited the Ottoman camp) and was the receptor of important news in the retinue of Izabella, I regard his account as the most authentic source of what happened in (and under) Buda. (It increases its trustworthiness that he admits what he does not exactly know.) It appears likely that the majority of later narrations about the fall of Buda drew heavily on his accounts. — The testimony of János Sárosi, a witness in the Martinuzzi murder case (in 1553), completely harmonizes with Porembski's description. Sárosi, as a participant of the events, ascribes the same statements to the sultan (see Barta, G., *Vajon kié az ország?* [Whose is the country?]. Budapest 1988, pp. 96—97).

A closer look at the adduced reasons reveals that none of them was exclusively prompted by the momentary political situation. Inner strife and poor military strength were characteristic of János's reign, just as much as of the government of János Zsigmond's tutors (Martinuzzi, Bálint Török, Péter Petrovics), and as we have seen, certain circles found even previously the old way of keeping Hungary well in hand to be too expensive. It will be discussed later that Süleyman probably kept the most topical reasons for his move concealed from his latest victims, thus his argumentation had no new elements in it. Only at the end of the previous year had György [George] Martinuzzi and his associates sent an envoy to the Porte, to explain the chaotic situation in the country, which they blamed on the rumour that the sovereign wanted to replace the son of King János by a "beylerbeyi".[114] Listening to the familiar arguments of the sultan that had common roots with their own, they must have realized that they had wanted to believe in something whose absurdity was foreseen by all — except by them.[115]

In their defence, it could be said on that occasion the Porte had applied the classic Ottoman weapon of dissembling or feigning more efficiently than usual. But what made the sultan recognize, although only for a short time, János Zsigmond as the ruler of a country whose "deforcement" he had decided upon during the lifetime of King János, as claimed by the European contemporary with the deepest insight into his intentions?[116] In view of the international political relations and the ensuing problems of the Ottoman Empire, one would reply to this question by saying that he must have been playing for time, because the circumstances in the autumn of 1540 were not favourable for a Hungarian campaign. Thus, when the crisis broke out in Hungary, Süleyman and his pashas began thoughtful preparations for turning the general political situation in their favour.

They scored the first success on one of the major fronts, in the West. Here the Empire had been at war with the Holy Alliance, a pool of the major European powers, including Istanbul's former ally, France. However, the string of failures soon started to disrupt the alliance and as early as 1539, Venice, which was most vulnerable to the Ottoman menace, began talks with the Porte. The discord among the allies was further intensified by the fact that France,

[114] Charrière, E., I, p. 466.

[115] Even Ferenc Frangepán, bishop of Eger who was loyal to King János throughout, wrote to Rome in the autumn of 1540 that the shelving of the treaty of Várad would inevitably lead to the demesne of the country, see Charrière, E., I. pp. 458—459.

[116] This opinion originated from the French ambassador to Istanbul, Rincon, in the early autum of 1540, see Charrière, E., I. pp. 447—448; Szalay, L., *Adalékok*, p. 189. In his instructions for the envoy Cornelius Schepper sent to King János, Charles V declared (in April 1540) that he had reliable information on the Ottoman preparations for the occupation of Buda, see Lukinich, I., *Erdély területi változásai*, pp. 13—14.

which earlier opposed Venice's attempts to gain a separate peace, soon began to support them. The new French diplomacy, focussed on its own interests, again met with the Porte's approval. It was largely due to the nascent Ottoman—French co-operation that on October 2, 1540 peace was concluded between Süleyman and the republic of Venice.[117] Though the Hungarian events contributed to the Ottoman decision to terminate the so-far protracted negotiations,[118] the sultanic court managed to assert its conceptions in practically every respect. Not only did it impose severe conditions upon Venice, but more importantly, it managed to drive in a wedge between the allies, at least neutralizing its two potential antagonists. But Süleyman wanted more than that. He repeatedly voiced the view that he would not be averse to anti-Habsburg co-operation with Venice and France. He made it clear to the Republic that in the event of a European (Habsburg–French) conflict, he expected it to at least remain neutral, and he made an express offer of alliance to the King of France. That is why he sent back Rincon to King Francis in November 1540 and impatiently waited for his return in the spring of 1541. However, the ambassador was late starting from France and was not able to meet the sultan: on the way he was ambushed by Charles's men and killed. Thus, Francis's new envoy, Paulin de la Garde only reached the sultan in Buda. But Süleyman had nothing to worry about. Around May 11, 1541 he received the letter of Francis, in which the King of France assured him of his lasting friendship. This made it clear to Süleyman that even if no alliance could be concluded as yet, "his good brother and friend" approved of his plans and he could be relied upon in the event of an anti-Habsburg venture.[119]

Seemingly, things were going from bad to worse in the East, on the Persian border. At first the revolt of some governors of the sultan caused concern, followed by the increased activity of the Persians in the autumn of 1540 and the next spring. Süleyman, however, did not need to deploy too many troops to restore order there, and all he had to do later was to contain the hostilities within narrow limits. Only in the spring of 1541, did he take

[117] The most recent publication of the Venice copy: Gökbilgin, M. T., Venedik devlet arşivindeki vesikalar, pp. 121—128; the interesting article of L. Bonelli (Il trattato turco—veneto del 1540. In: *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*. II, Palermo 1910, pp. 332—363) provides an insight into the wrangling and the changes of the text of the agreement until its final form. Another attempt to define the phases of redaction was made by A. Bombaci (Ancora sul trattato turco—veneto del 2 Ottobre 1540. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 20 (1943), pp. 373—381), who also proved that the Turkish version preserved in the Venetian archives was the original Turkish copy of the treaty. — On the role of A. Rincon in the conclusion of the agreement, see: Soysal, İ., Türk—Fransız, p. 83; Bourilly, V.-L., Les diplomates, p. 291 ff.

[118] No one wanted to believe it in Venice, see: Charrière, E., I. p. 451.

[119] For the whole, see Charrière, E., I. pp. 452—453, 462—463, 468, 495, 498; cf. Bourilly, V.-L., *loc. cit.*

considerable military steps, in order to firmly secure the hinterland for the time he would be engaged in Europe. To this end, he transferred his son Mustafa from Manisa to Amasya in late April–early May, entrusting the defence of the eastern parts to him. He ordered Süleyman pasha, the new Grand Vizier, to join him with an army of a few thousand men armed with muskets and cannons. (He left for his station on May 23.[120]) These measures proved sufficient to ward off the threat in the East.

Sober European observers had already realized that the Ottoman–Persian hostilities did not imply a frontal clash at that time. That was precluded both by the reserved attitude of the Ottoman government and the narrowing down of the shah's political and military sphere of action, especially after he had heard about the Ottoman–Venetian peace and the rapprochement with France.[121] It was rather typical that it was King Ferdinand who, adhering to an obsolate political attitude in Europe, had entertained ardent hopes about the Persian unrest. The significance of this political blunder was demonstrated when the Habsburg ruler sent his troops against Buda in the spring of 1541, partly based on these hopes.[122]

Süleyman, on the other hand, apparently addressed himself to the problems in the North-West, in the Danube valley, with a greater sense of reality. All of his measures had one purpose: to ensure the unity of Hungary and enable it to withold the ground until the Ottoman forces arrived. That is why it was

[120] Charrière, E., I. *passim* (between pp. 442 and 499); İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, E. 5221/5; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches. II*, Pesth 1834², p. 169.

[121] In the autumn of 1539, the Iranian ruler had already expressed his resentment to the Venetians, because he found it unproper that the European monarchs, while urging him to enter an anti-Ottoman alliance, started bargaining with the sultan (his letter probably dated September 1539 was published by L. Bonelli, Il trattato, pp. 358—360 — the author also discusses the legation that resulted in the letter —; and L. Fekete, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie*. Ed. by G. Hazai, Budapest 1977, pp. 383—387). Though he also declared that he would go on fighting against the Ottomans until final victory, this resounding phrase had no practical consequence, in a similar manner to his attempt in 1541 to bring about an active Iranian—Habsburg alliance, which ended with the usual fiasco. Cf. Danişmend, İ. H., *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*. c. 2, İstanbul 1971, p. 224. On his disappointment: Charrière, E., I. p. 468.

[122] See Ferdinand's letter dated April 22, 1541 to his sister, the widowed Queen Mary (Hatvani [Horváth], Mihály, *Magyar történelmi okmánytár a brüsszeli országos levéltárból és a burgundi könyvtárból* [Hungarian historical documents from the national archives in Brussels and the library of Burgundy]. Vol. II, 1538—1553, Pest 1858, p. 38. Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Diplomataria II), in which he sees it as an auspicious sign that Süleyman returned to Istanbul; he ascribes it to the "sophi" and hopes that the sultan would not come to Hungary in person that year. Cf. Iványi, B., Buda és Pest p. 67. It must have contributed to Ferdinand's misconception that Łaski, who kept writing a lot from captivity, deemed the Persian threat to be far greater than it actually was; see Török, P., *I. Ferdinánd konstantinápolyi béketárgyalásai*, p. 87.

useful to recognize János Zsigmond, for Süleyman during the time of King János had learnt how a legitimate ruler played an important and a cohesive role in Hungary.[123] He tried to facilitate the unity of the Hungarians on a pro-Turkish basis with other means as well. For example, he would not have anything to do with Ferdinand after hearing his envoy Hieronym Łaski on November 7, 1540. This was to indicate what those with pro-Ferdinand sentiments could expect.[124] But he continued to threaten the Hungarian nobilities, not only indirectly but also directly through his chavushes and continuously despatched letters. He reiterated in every possible way and on every forum that Hungary was his, and its inhabitants owed obedience to him. By the same token, he rejected the separatist aspirations in Transylvania, which previously he would have welcomed. In other words, he subordinated everything to a single goal: rallying the entire country behind János Zsigmond, who was the warranty of Ottoman influence.

To extend the scope of Ottoman politics, in early 1541 Süleyman reinstated Petru Rareş in his post as Voivod of Moldavia, whom he himself had driven off four years earlier with an expensive campaign, and who had enjoyed the "hospitality" of the sultanic court for some time. In exchange for his return to his throne, Petru had to support the sultan's allies with arms from the east. He readily promised to "make good war on the said King Ferdinand".[125]

What lent great weight to the Ottoman political efforts was the extensive military preparation (and partial mobilization), which the leadership began in the autumn of 1540 both on land and sea. At first, the preparations suggested both a Mediterranean and a Hungarian expedition. According to French sources, the sultan ordered the production and deployment of 150—200 sea-faring galleys and some 500 Danube pinnaces back in November.[126] All this considerably perturbed the European courts, particularly that of Emperor Charles, and even alarmed Venice, which had secured a peace treaty not long before. Such anxiety was confirmed, when in December Süleyman told the Venetian

[123] For this, see Fodor, P., Ungarn und Wien, p. 90: n. 29. It was a sign of the common anti-Habsburg interests of the French and the Ottoman that Rincon strongly supported the idea of acknowledging János Zsigmond; see Szalay, L., *Adalékok*, p. 184 and Fraknói, V., *Werbőczy*, p. 322.

[124] The way Péter Perényi's attempt at mediation was rejected is highly typical of this resolve. In the early spring of 1541, the baron, who had joined Ferdinand's side in the meantime, sent an envoy to Istanbul with the offer that he would mediate between Ferdinand and the sultan for peace. The Porte's answer was unambiguous: "the grand seigneur is little bothered about his peace or war" (Charrière, E., I. p. 473).

[125] Charrière, E., *ibid.*; Jorga, N., *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*. III, Gotha 1910, p. 8. On the situation in Moldavia before the reinstatement of Petru, see also: İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, E. 8244.

[126] Charrière, E., I, p. 462; it is noteworthy that similar numbers are noted by Bostān/Ferdī; namely 500 Danubian boats, i.e. 300 *donbaz*es and 200 *şaykas*, see Thúry, J., *Török történetírók*, II, p. 103.

ambassador, he would carry out his planned venture "both on sea, land and the Danube, and it would be more powerful and formidable than had been seen before in our times".[127] Süleyman's above-mentioned political actions and military steps did indeed suggest that in late 1540 or early 1541, he was considering a global anti-Habsburg offensive. When, however, the direction of the military mobilization is assessed, it could more clearly be seen with the passing of the time, that he must have considered Hungary as the main sphere of operations. In November 1540, he ordered the *bey* of Szendrő (Smederevo/Semendire) with the rank of *serdar* to assist Buda, subjecting the forces of some ten frontier *sancak*s to his command.[128] From time to time, small or large reinforcements arrived to join this army, which spent the winter in Hungary. In the meantime, the concentration of forces incessantly continued in the hinterland, mostly on the European side. This was supervised by Hüsrev the *beylerbeyi* of Rumelia, whom the sultan sent to Sofia in late February 1541 (or early March) escorted by 1,500 Janissaries and 1,800 court *sipahi*s.[129] In March, Süleyman decided to appoint Sofu Mehmed, the fourth vizier, *serdar* in order to make the command of the Hungarian forces more effective. He set out from Edirne in early April. Having gathered his forces and provisions from the huge reserves accumulated in Sofia, he started for Belgrade with an army of at least 10,000, reinforced by Janissary corps. From there, he left for Buda about a month later and arrived in late July.[130] The main body of the army under the command of the sultan was already well under way, when at the begnning of July, the sovereign, during his stay in Filibe (Plovdiv), ordered Hayreddin Barbarossa to equip 80 galleys and rush to defend threatened Algiers.[131]

Thus, there is no doubt that during the long preparations, the Hungarian front received priority, even though some related moments still needed to be clarified. One such instance was the unexpected return of the sultan to Istanbul at the very beginning of April 1541. It is unlikely that this was connected

[127] Charrière, E., I, p. 463. In his letter of December 5, 1540, Łaski opines that the sultan was going to move against the Emperor and Ferdinand (*mea tamen opinio est Turcam recta contram Caesarem et Maiestatem Vestram iturum*), see A. von Gévay, *op. cit.*, 1540–1541. Wien 1842, p. 104.

[128] Bostān/Ferdī: Thúry, J., II, pp. 100, 102; A. von Gévay, *op. cit.*, p. 104; *Elementa ad fontium editiones*, XXXVI/6, p. 132; Hurmuzaki, E., XV/1, pp. 394–395; Charrière, E., I. p. 466.

[129] Bostān/Ferdī: Thúry, J., II, p. 102; Charrèire, E., I, p. 471; cf. Danişmend, İ. H., *İzahlı*, pp. 223–224.

[130] Bostān/Ferdī: Thúry, J., II, pp. 101, 103; Charrière, E., I, p. 473; Pray, G., *Epistolae procerum*, II, pp. 105–106; Porembski: *Verancsics*, I, p. 163.

[131] J. von Hammer, II, p. 170: writes about 80 ships on the basis of Bostān/Ferdī. Cf. Charrière, E., I. p. 504: reports only about the completion of 60 galleys.

with the Persian problem, as King Ferdinand conjectured in his cited letter. The information gained by the French ambassador to Venice must have been nearer to the truth, according to which Süleyman was called back to the capital by matters of the fleet, and besides, the ruler was also dissatisfied with Barbarossa.[132] Neither can the assumption be discarded that his return was necessitated by the political debates within the Ottoman leadership. It is a known fact that about a month after his return, Süleyman dismissed his Grand Vizier Lutfi pasha in early May. The reason was reportedly the pasha's ill treatment of his wife, Süleyman's sister.[133] However, the French ambassador to Venice had something interesting to add: Lutfi incurred the sultan's wrath by trying to dissuade him from a Hungarian expedition.[134] As it is known that Lutfi pasha was committed to a more active Mediterranean policy,[135] Bishop Pellicier's news from Istanbul should probably be taken seriously. Other sources also confirm that in April and early May, there were disputes and important decisions were taken. Some time between April 27, and May 6, Süleyman's *ferman* was written, which to date is the earliest authentic information about the sultan's personal involvement in the Hungarian campaign.[136] As mentioned earlier, he ordered his son and the newly appointed Grand Vizier at the same time to defend the eastern regions, and that time dates the French information that he ordered the mobilization of the seaside *sancaks*.[137] The most important event of all was naturally the sultan's decision to personally lead a campaign against Hungary, because this conclusively clarified the priorities of Ottoman politics for the forthcoming period.

Accordingly, there can be little doubt that under the sceptre of János Zsigmond, the fate of "independent" Hungary was sealed well before August 29, 1541. Regarding the final outcome, it was immaterial whether the relevant decision was taken in the autumn of 1540 (as e.g. Łaski claims and I believe),

[132] Charrière, E., I, pp. 467—468, 470, 473.

[133] *Op. cit.*, pp. 496—497; on the background of the case, see: Danişmend, İ. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 220—222.

[134] Charrière, E., I. p. 497.

[135] *Das Aşafnâme des Lutfî Pascha.* Hrsg. von R. Tschudi, Leipzig 1910, pp. 31—34; Uğur, A., Âsaf-nâme-i vezir Lütfi Paşa. *İslam İlimleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* 4 (1980), pp. 249—250. A succinct summary of his conception is: "However important the administration of the land affairs, the affairs of the sea are far more important" (pp. 31—32, and 249, resp.).

[136] İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, E. 5221/5: "For the holy war along the path of Allah, I am going to set out this blessed year in my humble person toward the country of the straying infidels (*vilayet-i küffar*) launching a victorious imperial campaign with great resolve . . ." (Cf. Uzunçarsılı, İ. H., Sancağa çıkarılan Osmanlı şehzadeleri. *Belleten* 39. 156 (1975), p. 664: n. 1). His decision was also soon guessed at in Venice, but it was not verified until June, see Charrière, E., I, pp. 473, 494, 496, 498.

[137] Charrière, E., I, p. 494, obviously for defence, too.

or in April—May 1541 (as e.g. Bostān/Ferdī asserts).[138] Far more important is what those concerned in the Habsburg Empire and Hungary sensed of it and what conclusions they inferred from the information reaching them. Unlike some Hungarians, King Ferdinand never had illusions about the *ultimate* goal of the Ottomans, even though he permitted himself to be deceived by certain events and by his undiminished optimism. As he explained in his letter of December 12, 1540 to Sigismund, King of Poland, Süleyman acknowledged the kingship of János Zsigmond for tactical reasons, so as to subjugate Hungary more easily.[139] Although in the spring of 1541, he was hopeful that the sultan would not launch the campaign, the report of his ambassador to Venice dated June 18, opened his eyes. The report indicated the sultan would march against Buda. A week later, on June 25, he could offer an accurate description of the situation to the imperial diet in Regensburg, saying the sultan was coming to occupy Buda and annex Hungary to his realm.[140]

This item of news, which had arrived in Venice in mid-June and was confirmed by French sources, immediately vindicated the opinion of those Hungarian politicians who had urged the implementation of the treaty of Várad a year earlier, failing which they predicted the Ottoman occupation of the country.[141] Astute thinkers also realized, similarly to the French and Venetian political circles, that Ferdinand's weak, but incessant military actions, made it all the more imperative for the sultan to extend his domination over Hungary.[142] At first it was, therefore, difficult to understand the unswerving loyalty of the pro-Ottoman party to Süleyman and their insistence on their previous policy, because, for one thing, the Ottoman ruler had written to the leaders of the party the previous winter explaining that if Ferdinand failed to give up his efforts, the sultan would come to Hungary personally with a huge army.[143]

[138] Łaski's report of late November or early December see A. von Gévay, *op. cit.*, p. 102; cf. J. von Hammer, II, pp. 168—169; Szalay, L., *Adalékok*, p. 193; Gökbilgin, M. T., Kanunî Sultan Süleyman'ın, p. 29; Bostān/Ferdī: Thúry, J., II, p. 104. Géza Perjés writes (*Mohács*, p. 257) that the French ambassador to Venice had the information that the sultan had divided Hungary into three parts already in the autumn of 1540. This statement, however, is based on a misunderstanding as the report of September 25, 1540, cited by Perjés stated that according to French intelligince there were three kinds of political tendencies in Hungary (Charrière, E., I, pp. 442—443: « L'on a icy nouvelles que le royaulme de Hongrye est divisé en troyz partz: l'une veult le roy des Rommains en toute façon . . .; la seconde veult la conservacion de l'estat pour le filz desja né roy [i.e. János Zsigmond] . . ., et la tierce veult le Turcq . . . » Cf. also p. 449 where the tripartite division of Hungarian forces is mentioned, too.).

[139] Óváry, L., *Oklevélmásolatok, II*, No. 363.

[140] Iványi, B., Buda és Pest, pp. 71—72.

[141] Perjés, G., *Mohács*, pp. 251—252; see also note 115 above.

[142] Pray, G., II, p. 95; Charrière, E., I, pp. 450, 503.

[143] Hurmuzaki, E., XV/1. p. 395; *Elementa ad fontium editiones*, XXXVI/6, p. 132. Significantly enough, this promise worried Martinuzzi and his circle, for they tried to

If it is assumed that Martinuzzi and his associates considered the latest news that must have reached them in the light of this statement (and it is the least one would expect), then one is inclined to see political dilettantism in their persistent adherence to their previous conception. What can account for the fact that even a politician of stature, such as Martinuzzi, gave credit to the words of Süleyman throughout? It is difficult to answer this question, but two points are worthy of discussion.

One is that Süleyman must have showered the Hungarian statesmen with promises, which probably counterbalanced the significance of the news and any sober deliberation. This is suggested by some lines of the Hungarian compilation that reported on the fall of Buda, and confirmed by some testimonies recorded during the hearing of the case of Martinuzzi's assassination. Allegedly Süleyman primarily counted on the vanity of Martinuzzi and Bálint Török, both of whom he is said to have encouraged separately to attain the post of governor.[144] The other thing may have been that Süleyman tried to make the inhabitants of Buda believe that his attack was not directed against the Hungarian capital, but against Vienna. This was confirmed by a letter written on July 15, 1541 in Buda by the leaders of the János party, and by the report of September 6 (covering the events of about a month earlier) by the French ambassador to Venice. The latter claimed that the sultan was approaching Buda where it was believed that he was headed for Vienna.[145] The writer of the relevant section in *Memoria rerum* also appeared to know that having pitched camp in Óbuda (Altofen) on August 28, Süleyman asked the Hungarians to give him German-speaking guides. They assigned Ferenc Pesthy, a scribe of Martinuzzi's, for this task.[146] The report went on to say that although Süleyman had promised to give Vienna to the infant János Zsigmond, the arrival and peace offers of the Austrian envoys made him change his mind.[147] These statements cannot yet be verified. What is really curious is that news about an offensive against Vienna can also be found in other contexts in the

dissuade Süleyman from carrying it out, see Bessenyei, J., *A Héttorony foglya. Török Bálint* [The prisoner of the Yedikule. Bálint Török]. Budapest 1986, p. 88.

[144] *1504—1566 Memoria rerum.* Ed. by József Bessenyei, Budapest 1981, p. 88: ". . . the Emperor . . . ordered that the pashas should inspire hope in both of them but secretly and separately. This strategem was working so much that both this one and that [i.e. Török and Martinuzzi] were openly expecting to get the post of governor . . ."; cf. Bessenyei, J., *A Héttorony foglya*, p. 93; Barta, G., *Vajon kié az ország*, pp. 95, 98—99.

[145] *Székely oklevéltár* [Székely documents]. vol. II. Ed. by Károly Szabó, Kolozsvár 1876, p. 67: *Quem quidem Bassam* [i.e. Mehmed, the *bey* of Semendire] *Cesareaquoqe Maiestas personaliter Innumerabili multigenarum Nacionum non post multos hos dies sequetur* Viennam *expugnandam transitura;* Veress, E., *Isabella királyné*, p. 168; Charrière, E., I, p. 511.

[146] *Memoria rerum*, pp. 61—62; Veress, E., *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[147] *Memoria rerum*, pp. 62—63.

oft-quoted French reports that appear to be trustworthy. The Bishop of Montpellier, residing in Venice forwarded a report by his informer in Istanbul to King Francis on June 20, 1541. It stated: "the grand seigneur is sure to go to Hungary and is going to go as far as Vienna."[148] Later he passed on two other items of information, which directly or indirectly implied the same. On July 4, he wrote that the sultan was said to be aspiring after Vienna, though many doubted it as it was late in the year.[149] On July 12, he summed up his latest information about the sovereign's intentions as follows: ". . . he is determined to defeat and chase Ferdinand not only from the Hungarian kingdom but also from the rest of his countries."[150]

Though these quotations seem to rather strongly confirm the concept of an attack on Vienna, I tend to believe such statements were false news spread to deceive the Hungarians (but they were symptomatic, as will be seen). This was born out by Bishop Pellicier's remarks about the gelated start of the main body of the army, indirectly supported by the sofar unpublished Ottoman document that is presented below. This document also considerably contributes to a better understanding of the Ottoman conceptions in other respects. What gives its real significance is the fact that it was probably written during the same period, when the Ottoman army was a few stations away from Buda. Here is the text in modern Turkish transcription and in English translation.

[İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, E. 11769.]

Török Balind'in kaleleridir

Vilayet-i Erdel'de Hunyat nam kale ve ana tabi bazı kaştel ve nice memleket dahi vardır ki adı malum değildir Kadimden Budin'e tabidir kralındır[a]

Tisa ile Tuna arasında Tokay canibinde Vebris nam bir muazzam şehir

Budin ile İstuni Belgrad arasında Gezgeş nam kale nice pare köyleri ile

Şomogvar nam bir azim şehir nice pare köyler ile

Drava kurbinde Çırgova[b] *nam kale nice köyleri ile*

Ve atasından kendisine intikal edip oturduğu Seketvar nam kale Ösek'e karibdir nice pare köyleri vardır

Ve bunlardan gayri nice pare kaleleri ve bi-nihaye şehirleri ve köyleri vardır

[148] Charrière, E., I, p. 497.

[149] *Op. cit.*, p. 498.

[150] *Op. cit.*, p. 503. It might as well imply a plan of a campaign against Vienna, which Łaski was told about on November 23, 1540, at the Porte: the sultan was ready to visit the Habsburg brothers at Regensburg as well, see F. B. von Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten.* V, Wien 1834, p. 145. At the time of the occupation of Buda Vienna was afraid of a Turkish offensive: Zinkeisen, J. W., II, p. 845 and Iványi, B., Buda és Pest, pp. 74—75.

Papas'ın Erdel vilayetinde olan kaleleridir ki zikr olunur

Vilayet-i Erdel'de Varat nam kale defaatla nice krallara ve yarar beylere taht olmuştur bu kale elde omayınca vilayet-i Erdel zapt olunmaz

Ve Kaş nam kale ki Leh canibindedir Budin'e tabidir[a] *nice kaştelleri ve bi-nihaye köyleri ve şehirleri vardır ve bi-nihaye altın ve gümüş madenleri vardır bu alındıktan sonra Leh vilayetine varınca zapt olunup ve Perin Petre memleketi ve Bedik ve Şeregi Gaşpar nam banların memleketler[i] zapt olunur*

Ve Mohaç'ın öte yanında Becvar nam kale Papas'ındır

Ve bundan gayri nice pare kaleleri ve kaştelleri şehirleri ve köyleri va[rdır][c]

Petrovik'in elinde olan kalelerdir

Kale-i Libova ve Dimişkar ve Beşkerek ve Beçil nam kaleler alınmayınca Sirem vilayetin[d] *haramisi eksik olmaz ve nice kaleleri şehirleri ve köyleri vardır asıl Sırf vilayetidir Semendire'den ve Sirem'den kaçan ve sair bizim vilayetimizde fesad ve şenaat edenlerin gelip sığıncağıdır*

İstanbul'da elçiliğe gelen Koca'nın elinde olan kaleler bunlardır

Mohaç'tan kalkıldığı gün bir kale ki padişah saadet ile yanından geçmiştir

Ve Tisa'dan beri Çeklet nam şehir

Tisa ve Budin canibinde nice pare kaleler ve şehirler[e] *vardır*

Ve Bokani Orban'ın [şehir ve kaleleridir][f]

Ösek karşısında Laşkova nam şehir on beş pare köyü vardır

Ve Pokani nam kale Pojega canibindedir muhkem hisardır

Şöyle ki bu zikr olunan kaleler [ve][g] girü ellerinde olan Budin'in zaptı müşkül olur zira sabıka olan krallar bu kalelere mutasarrıf olmuştur kral gittikten sonra memleketi bunlar yağma etmiştir[h]

a) obviously a later interpolation; **b)** the redundant vav is omitted before the name; **c)** this is how the covered part in the photograph should probably be reconstructed; **d)** correctly: *vilayetinin*; **e)** correctly: *şehirleri*; **f)** the apparently missing part is added by me; **g)** my addition as required by my interpretation; **h)** *şöyle ki . . . etmiştir*: a subsequent extrapolation referring to the whole text.

*

The castles of Bálint Török:[151] In Transylvania the fortress called Hunyad; some castles and sprawling areas belonging to it, whose names are unknown; *it has long belonged to Buda, it is the king's*;

Between the Tisza and the Danube, in the region of Tokaj, a big town called Debrecen;

Between Buda and Székesfehérvár a castle named Gesztes with several villages;

A big town called Somogyvár with several villages;

Near the Drave a castle called Csurgó with several villages;

And the castle of Szigetvár he inherited from his father, in which he lives; it is near Eszék and it has several villages;

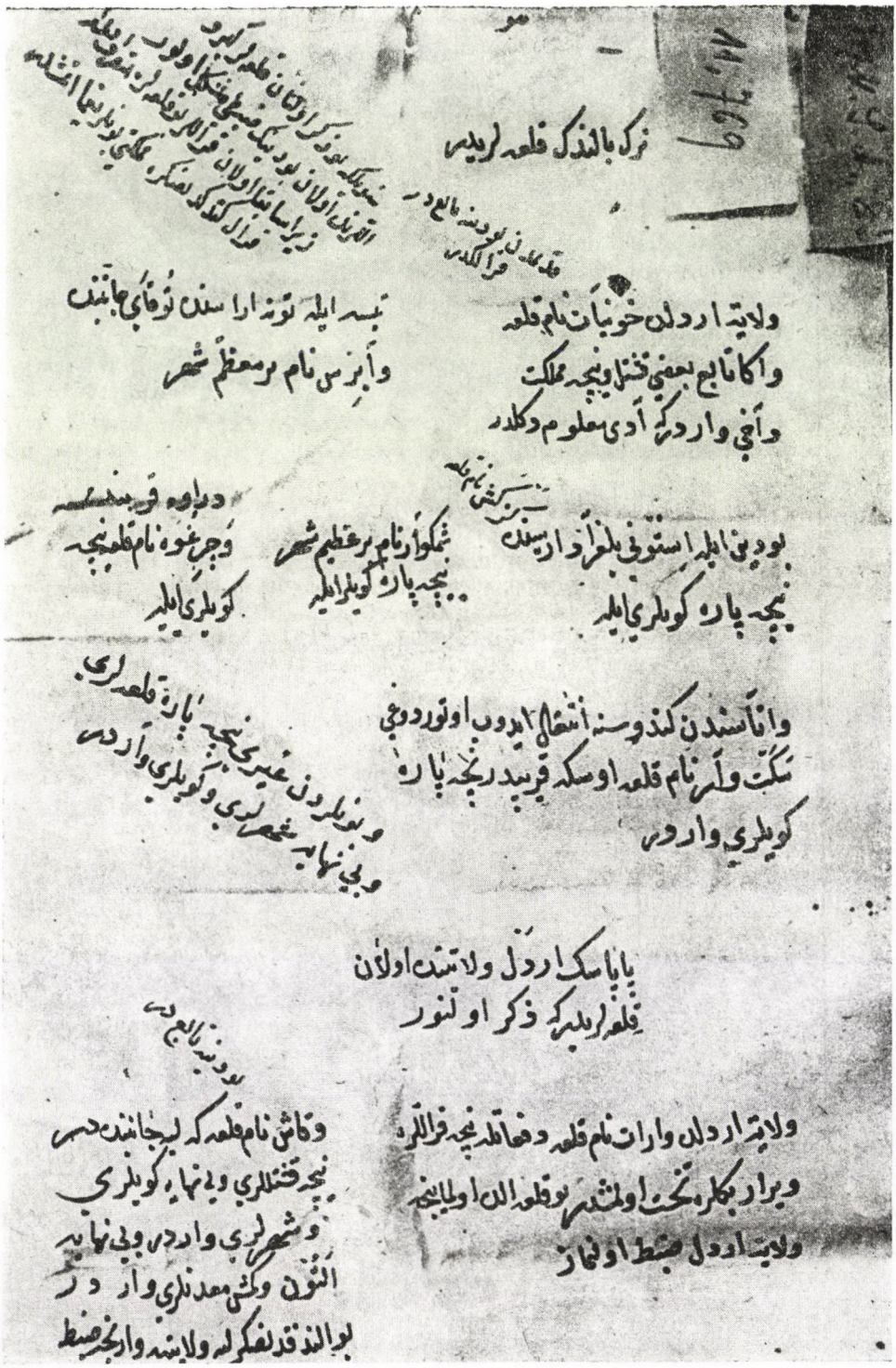
And besides these, he has several fortresses and a great many towns and villages.[152]

Now come the fortresses of the Papas[153] in Transylvania: in Transylvania

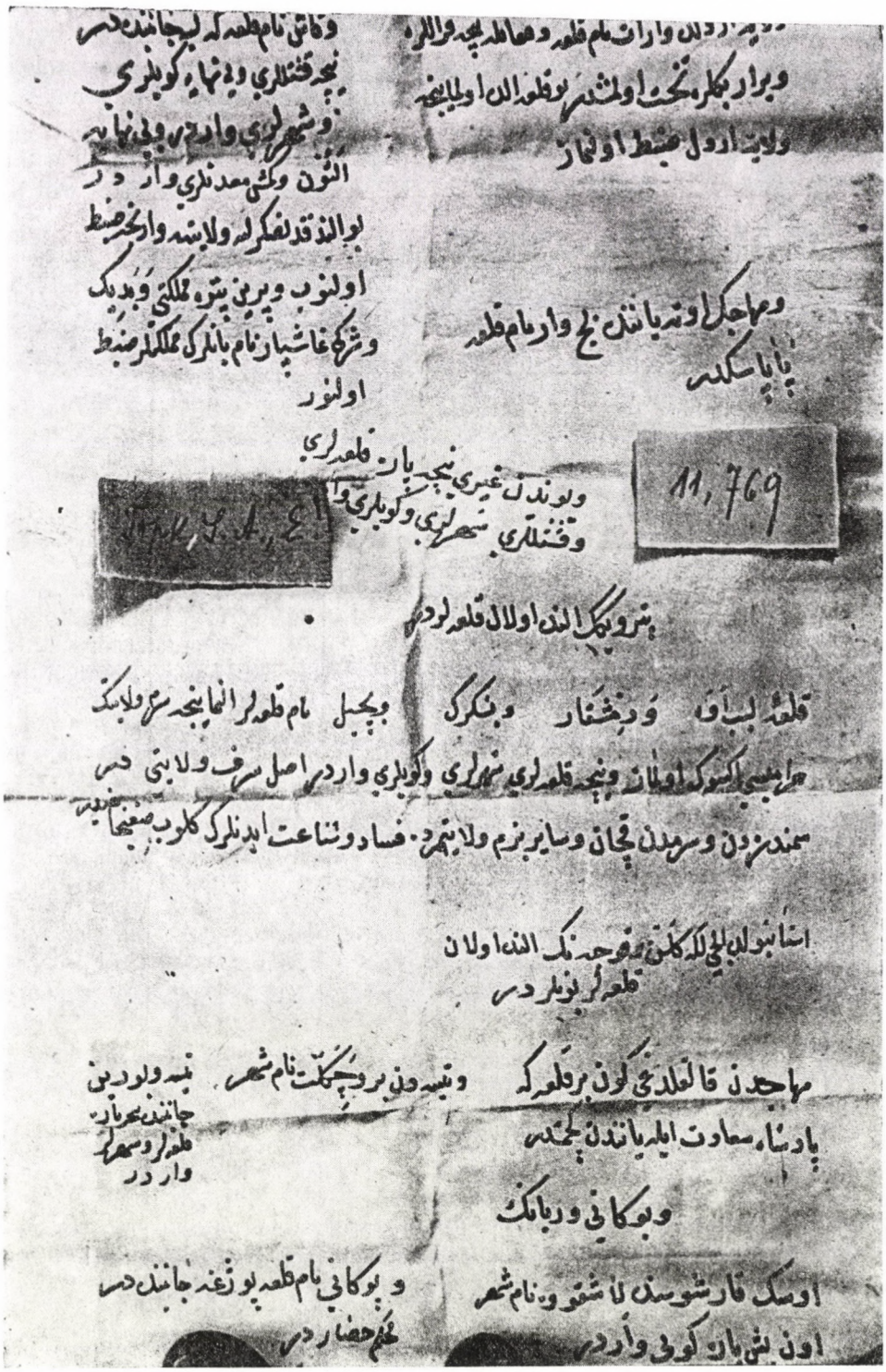
[151] Bálint Török of Enying (1504?—1550): son of Imre Török, ban of Nándorfehérvár. One of the king's guards in the battle of Mohács. In 1526 he took sides with János, who appointed him Lieutenant of Temes. In 1527 he sided with Ferdinand, who also gave him the post of the Lieutenant of Temes. From 1530, Ferdinand's voivod of Transylvania, the possessor of the dignity of the Lord Lieutenant of Somogy county, he returned to János's side in exchange for huge grants in 1536. He became the Lord Lieutenant for life of Hunyad and the captain general of Transdanubia. After the death of János in 1540 he became the governor of the country together with Martinuzzi and Péter Petrovics, and held the title of captain general. On August 29, 1541 Süleyman captured him and he died in prison in the *Yedikule* (see Bessenyei, J., *A Héttorony foglya*).

[152] *1.* Hunyad (Vajdahunyad) [today: Hunedoara, Romania]: he received it from King János in 1536. *2.* Debrecen: also King János's grant in 1536. *3.* Gesztes: in 1517 it was documented to belong to his father Imre Török, so he must have inherited it; around the end of 1540, Ferdinand's forces seized it. *4.* Somogyvár: he took possession of it sometime in the 1520s, but we do not know how. *5.* Csurgó: he seized it in battle from the Zrínyi family in 1534; in 1537 he gave it back, but recaptured it in two years' time. *6.* Szigetvár: his grandfather, Ambrus Török obtained it.

[153] György (George) Utiešenović [or Martinuzzi in the Western languages], called Frater Georgius [in Hungarian: Fráter György] after becoming a monk, designated first Papas (priest, friar) and later Brata (monk, friar) by the Turks, was born in a Croatian noble family. He served János Corvinus, then the Szapolyai family, later entered the order of St. Paul. He came in contact with King János in 1527. He became the majordomo of the Buda court by courtesy of the governor L. Gritti. His career began to soar after Gritti's death: in 1534 he acquired the episcopacy of Várad and became the Lord Lieutenant for life of Bihar county; János also made him his treasurer. He played a significant role in the conclusion of the Várad treaty and János's marriage to Izabella. On his deathbed, the King asked him to be the guardian of his son, and breaching the Várad peace agreement, Martinuzzi had the infant crowned king. From 1541—42 he was the governor of Transylvania and Eastern Hungary on behalf of János Zsigmond. He prepared two agreements with Ferdinand on handing over Transylvania (1541, 1549), but retreated from realizing them because of the unfavourable changes in the relations of the great powers. On the order of their master, the merceneries of Ferdinand assassin-



I/1.: The Ottoman plan of 1541 for the occupation of Hungary; TSMA, E. 11769



I/2.: The Ottoman plan of 1541 for the occupation of Hungary; TSMA, E. 11769

the castle called [Nagy]várad, which was the seat of several kings and brave barons; as long as this castle is not in hand, Transylvania cannot be occupied;

And the fortress called Kassa, which is towards Poland; *it belongs to Buda;* it has several castles, villages and towns galore, and many gold and silver mines; when it is occupied, the region stretching to Poland as well as the dominions of Péter Perényi and the *bans* Bebek and Gáspár Serédy will be occupied;

And beyond Mohács the fortress called Pécsvárad belongs to the Papas;

And apart from these he has several fortresses, castles, towns and villages.[154]

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ated him in December 1551 (see Horváth, M., *Utyeszenich Frater György*; Barta, G., *Vajon kié az ország*).

[154] *1.* Nagyvárad [today: Oradea, Romania]: his possession from 1534. *2.* Kassa [today: Košice, Czechoslovakia]: occupied by Martinuzzi's man Lénárt Czeczey in December 1536. *3.* Pécsvárad: the earliest record, showing him as the possessor of the abbacy here, is from 1542, so he must have seized it in the first half of 1541 at the latest. — As for the other barons mentioned in the text:

a. Péter Perényi (1502—1548): son of palatine Imre Perényi; keeper of the crown, Lord Lieutenant for life of Abaúj county and Lieutenant of the Great Plain before Mohács. After the disaster he joined János who appointed him voivod of Transylvania. In 1527, he went over to Ferdinand. In 1529 and 1530, he became a captive of the Ottomans, but on both occasions Süleyman extradited him to János (on the second occasion he had to give his son as a hostage). In 1531—32 one of the chief advocates of Turkish orientation. His failures made him drift towards Ferdinand, but in 1537 he again openly sided with János. In 1540 he called for the realization of the Várad treaty. He broke with the Szapolyai party and joined the followers of Ferdinand, who appointed him Chancellor. He took part in the siege of Buda in 1540—41 and of Pest in 1542, in the latter case as the captain general of the Hungarian army. In 1542 Ferdinand arrested and imprisoned him. Mortally ill, he was released in early 1548 (see Sztáray, Mihály, *História Perényi Ferenc kiszabadulásáról — Perényi Péter élete és halála* [The story of Ferenc Perényi's liberation — The life and death of Péter Perényi]. Edited by Imre Téglásy, Budapest 1985; Jászay, P., *A magyar nemzet napjai*, p. 51; Szakály, F., *Vesztőhely az út porában*, pp. 131—134; Károlyi, Árpád, Okiratok és levelek a nagyváradi béke történetéhez 1536—1538 [Documents and letters on the history of the peace treaty of Nagyvárad]. *Történelmi Tár* 1878, pp. 734, 779.

b. The name Bebek certainly denotes the Bebek brothers, Imre (? — ?) and Ferenc (? —1558). Imre Bebek of Pelsőcz entered priesthood and first became the provost of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) and of Székesfehérvár later. He was the Lord Lieutenant of Gömör county together with his brother. From 1532 he stood by the Szapolyai party to the end; in the autumn of 1540 and in early 1541 he was Izabella's representative at the talks with the Transylvanians and Ferdinand. During the latter talks, he was arrested by Ferdinand. Ferenc Bebek played a more important role in politics. In 1526 he supported János, and in 1527 Ferdinand; the latter appointed him captain general of Upper Hungary. In 1532 he returned to János, but joined Ferdinand again in 1534. In 1537 he again changed sides with Perényi and also stayed with him when he turned away from the Szapolyai party in 1540. In 1542 he was in the Habsburg army set against

Fortresses in the hand of [Peter] Petrovics:[155] until the fortresses called Lippa, Temesvár, Becskerek and Becse have been taken, the Szerém province will not be free from evildoers; and it has several fortresses, towns and villages; it is a real Serbian province; a refuge for trouble-makers escaping from Szendrő and the Szerémség and pillaging our other provinces;[156]

Buda. Switching sides again in 1554, he began to champion the cause of restoring the Szapolyai rule in Transylvania. Backed by the Porte, in 1557 he opposed Izabella, who had him killed the next year, together with two other leaders of the opposition (see *Budai Ferencz polgári lexicona* [Ferencz Budai's lexicon of civil matters]. I. Pest 1866², pp. 198—202; Károlyi, A., *loc. cit.*; *Podmaniczky oklevéltár*, II, p. 508; III, p. LII; *Szepességi avagy lőcsei krónika és évkönyv a kedves utókor számára* [Chronicle and yearbook of the Szepesség or Lőcse for posterity]. Compiled by Gáspár Hain. Ed. by Károly Wéber, Budapest 1988, p. 52).

c. Gáspár Serédy (Gáspár Seregi in the Turkish text is apparently a clerical error, [?—1553]): lower ranking ecclesiastic official before Mohács, canon of Vác in 1526, then secretary to Queen Mary. After the double king elections he joined Ferdinand (in return for which the monarch gave him the abbacy of Szentgotthárd) and stayed with him throughout. He was captain general of Upper Hungary with several interruptions, also castellan of Tokaj and captain general of Kassa. He gradually became one of the greatest landowners and took on important political assignments. He signed the agreement of Gyalu (Gilău) in December 1541 for Ferdinand. In 1542 he was one of the commanders of the Hungarian forces that besieged Buda (see Budai, F., *op. cit.*, III, pp. 138—140; Bunyitay, Vince, *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig* [A history of the episcopacy of Várad from its foundation to this date]. I. Nagyvárad 1883, p. 375; *Liber Regius Hungariae*, National Széchényi Library, Collection of Manuscripts, Fol. Lat. 3648/1. 85; Óváry, L., *Oklevélmásolatok*, II, No. 222; Szalay, L., *Magyarország története*, IV. p. 186; Pray, G., *op. cit.*, II, pp. 119—120; Károlyi, A., *op. cit.*, pp. 255—256).

[155] Péter Petrovics (around 1485—1557): of Serbian origin, he was related to the Szapolyai family (degree of propinquity unknown). On the side of voivod Szapolyai he participated in the suppression of the uprising led by Dózsa (1514). After Mohács he was an unswerving supporter of King János. In 1531 he became the captain of Lippa, in 1534 the Lieutenant of Temes. In 1541 he was one of the guardians of the infant king; from 1542 he was a captain of the lower parts of Hungary. The backbone of his political attitude was his loyalty to the Ottoman alliance, which was easy to explain by the locatio of his estates. In 1551, he was exiled from Transylvania, but in 1553 tried to occupy it. For a short time in 1556, he was the governor of the province and prepared the return of János Zsigmond and Izabella (see Veress, E., *Izabella királyné*, passim; Berindei, M.—Veinstein, G., *op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff — they give 1538 as the beginning of Petrovics's office as the Lieutenant of Temes, see p. 45: n. 47; *Temes vármegye* [The county of Temes]. Ed. by Samu Borovszky, Budapest, no date, p. 324; *Erdélyi történelmi adatok* [Historical data on Transylvania]. Ed. and publ. by Count Imre Mikó. II. Kolozsvár 1856, pp. 357—358).

[156] *1.* Lippa [today: Lipova, Romania]: actually a royal demesne, János transferred it to Izabella in early 1540 as a dotal gift. The compilers of the document must have ascribed it to Petrovics, because it came within his jurisdiction (together the following fortresses) as the commander of the southern region. *2.* Temesvár [today: Timișoara, Romania]: his official seat as the Lieutenant of Temes from 1534. *3.* Becskerek [today:

The castles in the hand of István Werbőczy[157] who arrived in Istanbul on a mission: the castle which the padishah passed in glory the day he left Mohács;

And on this side of the Tisza, the town called Cegléd;

He has several fortresses and towns around the Tisza and Buda.[158]

And [the towns and fortresses] of Orbán Batthyány[159] include: opposite Eszék a town called Laskó; it has fifteen villages;

Zrenjanin, Yugoslavia]: it also belonged to King János, who had it built around 1527—1528. In late 1528, the Ottomans recaptured it for him from the followers of Ferdinand. *4.* Becse [today: Novi Bečej, Yugoslavia] a royal castle, too. In July or August 1541 the Ottomans took it, but returned it to János Zsigmond in early 1542.

[157] István Werbőczy of Kerepec (1458—1541; for his identification see note 161): born of lesser nobility, he held various public offices, incumbent of the post of Palatine for less than a year in 1525—26 before Mohács. He was the author of the first systematic law book in Hungary, the *Tripartitum opus*. A supporter of János after Mohács, he played a significant role in electing him king. He was rewarded with the post of Chancellor and the Lord Lieutenant of Torna county in 1527. At first the advocate of an agreement with the Habsburgs, he soon became one of the apostles of a Turkish alliance. In 1527 he became Privy and Lord Chancellor, which title he had to temporarily forego in favour of the Archbishop of Esztergom, who returned to János's side again. He was often involved in diplomatic missions, and visited Istanbul in 1533. In 1536 he appeared as Lord Lieutenant of Nógrád county, having the same dignity in Tolna county from 1539. When János led an expedition to Transylvania in 1540, he reigned for him in Buda. After the king's death he was the envoy of the Szapolyai party to Istanbul, where he gained the sultan's consent for the kingship of János Zsigmond. In 1541, Süleyman made him the judge of the Christians of Buda, but he soon died, probably of poisoning (see Fraknói, V., *Werbőczy István életrajza*; Barta, G., Egy magyar politikus).

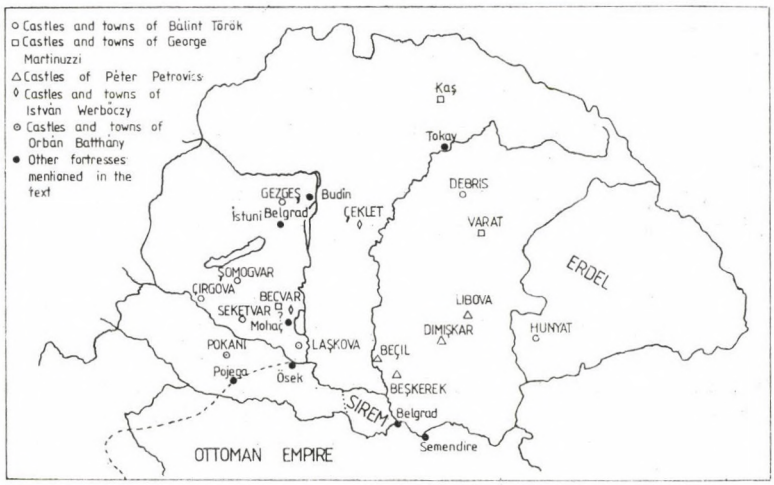
[158] *1.* The castle that was passed after Mohács is unfortunately still unidentified. As far as we know now, of Werbőczy's castles, Kőszeg may have been the one that could be passed on the way to Buda. However, this was not after Mohács, but well before it. There are several reasons to think of Szekcső and even more Kesztölc, but we have no data whatsoever to prove that they belonged to Werbőczy. *2.* Cegléd: because of the lack of Hungarian data, this place in the document becomes a valuable source. According to unreliable local traditions, after the battle of Mohács, Bálint Török seized the town by force from its owners the nuns of Óbuda. As we are aware of the property transactions between Török and Werbőczy in the 1530s, it is not unlikely that Werbőczy got it in this way. Another possibility is that he took hold of the town after getting Szolnok and several villages with it from King János in 1537.

[159] Orbán Batthyány (?—1547) son of Benedek Batthyány, Castellan and Treasurer of Buda. After university studies in Italy, he became a secretary to the king. Before the battle of Mohács, he took the royal command to Szapolyai that kept the voivod out of the encounter. In the new situation he first supported Ferdinand, but soon switched over to János. During the governorship of L. Gritti, he was one of his confidents and played a leading role in the assassination of Imre Czibak, Bishop of Várad in 1534 (he escaped severe punishment by quickly changing sides). Afterwards a loyal supporter of János and Martinuzzi. Though not having any dignity in the power structure, he belong-

And the castle called Atyina is around Pozsega; it is a strong fortress.[160]

Therefore, the capture of the castles mentioned here and that of Buda again in their hands will be difficult, since the kings of yore also possessed these castles; and after the king left [died?], they ransacked the country.

Before commenting on the document, the deficiency it shares with several contemporary Ottoman records should be briefly mentioned: it bears no date. Fortunately, however, the text offers sufficient clues to establish with great certainty that it was written in the few days directly preceding the capture of Buda.[161] This suggests what the contents of the document make completely unambiguous: it is a kind of "survey" that reveals the military targets and



ed to the high command of the János party and participated in every major decision and action. He was the commander of the defensive forces in Buda in 1541 and after the fall accompanied Izabella to Transylvania. A member of the princely council, he was allegedly poisoned upon Martinuzzi's order for his attraction to Protestantism. He was also known for his literary activity (see Szakály, F., *Vesztőhely az út porában*, passim; Budai, F., *op. cit.*, I, pp. 181–182).

[160] *1.* Laskó [today: Lug, Yugoslavia]: I found no data showing when it came into his possession. *2.* Atyina: [today: Voćin, Yugoslavia]: I identified the apparently mistaken (and non-existent) castle called Pokani with Atyina, because the text claims it is near Pozsega. As is known that in 1543 the Ottomans captured Orbán Batthyány's castle called Atyina between Kőrösudvarhely and Pozsega, that is undoubtedly what is meant here.

[161] The terminus post quem is defined by the date of acquiring the listed estates. This, especially the unambiguous cases of Hunyad and Kassa, allow the inference that it cannot date from before 1536. That said, the sentence: "the castles in the hand of the *Koca* [old, large] arriving on a mission in Istanbul" must refer to the aged István Werbőczy, who visited the sultanic capital in October 1540. (On the other side, the Koca =

some important strategic ideas of the Ottoman high command. What is more, the last sentences even permit the assumption that it is the plan for the occupation of Hungary.

In relation to what was discussed above, the plan clarifies the picture in two respects. On the one hand, it verifies the predictions about Süleyman's direct intention of occupying the country. On the other hand, despite all his allusions to the German threat and a step against Ferdinand, it makes it clear that in 1541 the Ottoman army did not march to put down the Roman king, but to defeat the "pro-János" Hungary. That was how the danger threatening the country even more strongly after 1532 was realized, but the advocates of the conception of a Hungary in vassalage usually forget about this. It was namely after the failure of the 1532 campaign that the Ottoman leaders partly altered their conception, when they realized that if they could not attain all their goals at once, they would at first put down the weakest of the actors in the Hungarian arena, and after its defeat they would concentrate their strength, now as a neighbouring power, on their chief enemy.

This concept is indicated in the above plan and its strategic goals. It is noteworthy that its writers simultaneously considered areas and persons. On the one hand, they took account of the fortresses which inevitably had to be possessed for the occupation of the country (covering the road to Buda, cutting

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Werbőczy identification is called for by the fact that in this way we get the complete list of prominent personages of the János party.) From this entry October 1540 follows as another terminus post quem. But there is another clue in the text that helps push forward the time limit by another ten months. The clue is provided by the sentence, which states that the sultan had left Mohács. As we know from the Ottoman chroniclers that Süleyman was in the vicinity of this town at the time of the fierce clashes on August 21—22, 1541 around Buda (Bostān/Ferdī: Thúry J., II. pp. 107—108), the nearer date proves to be August 22, 1541. As the text makes it explicit that Buda was in the hands of the Hungarian barons mentioned here, the terminus ante quem can be fixed as August 29, 1541. Thus, it is easy to conclude that the document was compiled in the week before the occupation of Buda. It is far more difficult to find out whose information served as the basis for this relatively accurate "survey". Various sources reveal that the Ottomans were never short of volunteers who provided them with adequate information on the estates or fortresses in Hungary (see e.g. A. von Gévay, *op. cit.*, p. 102; Dernschwam, Hans, *Erdély, Besztercebánya, törökországi útinapló* [Transylvania, Besztercebánya, diary of a journey in Turkey]. Transl. by Lajos Tardy, Budapest 1984, pp. 213—214). For lack of concrete clues, one cannot make reliable guesses in this case, however, there is a moment that seems to suggest the involvement of Werbőczy. While the holdings of the rest of the nobles are listed fairly accurately (though not perfectly), the notes concerning him are highly defective, even nebulous. One may assume for this reason that the basic information was given by Werbőczy during his stay in Istanbul, where he must have been questioned about the supporters of the infant would-be king. Naive and gullible, Werbőczy must have been ready to give the required material (instinctively holding back information about himself). What he said might have been supplemented by information from other sources before being put to paper together with some plants.

Transylvania and the eastern parts off from the Habsburgs, etc.).[162] On the other, they listed the persons possessing these fortifications, who had the main power positions in János Zsigmond's kingdom. Except for Perényi, Bebek and Serédy, who were mentioned peripherically, those leading personages are enumerated in the document who, after the death of János, had actually held the helm in their hands. It cannot be accidental that these were the very lords heading the illustrious delegation that took the infant king to Süleyman's camp in Óbuda on August 29, 1541, to comply with the sultan's wish.[163] Furthermore, the coincidence of the names makes the document an item of indirect confirmation that the sultan's memorable ruse not only prepared for the seizure of the capital, but also the capture of the Hungarian leaders. Of the so-far known sources, *Memoria rerum* contains exactly the same information, therefore it should be considered as authentic: "Immediately they [i.e. the councillors] began to prepare to go to the Emperor with great pageantry and haughtiness, and so they went, as best and glamorous as they could afford. So much so, that many of the Turks who knew the plight of poor Hungary and felt sorry for it told many people in secret that the Emperor would catch them and take Buda from them. Ignoring this, however, they decided to go, so as to achieve their aim, revenge on the German king".[164] Porembski's report also indicates the dual aim of the sultan's arrival. It says that the sultan kept György Martinuzzi, Bálint Török, Péter Petrovics, István Werbőczy and Orbán Batthyány detained for seven days, not only depriving them of their freedom, but also threatening their lives. The secretary of the Queen learned that there were lengthy talks among the Ottomans and between the Ottoman and Hungarian leaders to discuss the following questions (though he admits he does not know the details): "One, for example, was: Should her majesty [i.e. Queen Izabella] be taken to Constantinople with her son or not? There was a considerable difference in the opinions. The other: Should the sires of land be decapitated? That was the main question. The third: Should her majesty be released with her son, with some of the lords permitted to accompany her and others

[162] These objectives are such that they constitute a whole programme for the entire duration of Ottoman rule in Hungary; cf. Várkonyi, Ágnes, *Erdélyi változások* [Changes in Transylvania]. Budapest 1984, p. 15.

[163] Various sources give the names of the nobles concerned in varying detail, but they all agree that the ones mentioned here were the cream of those paying homage. Of them all, János Podmaniczky was the only one to be ignored by the Ottomans because, as Brutus contends, they thought "his nobility was not equal to that of the rest" (see *Humanista történetírók* [Humanist historians]. Budapest 1977, p. 435. transl. by Péter Kulcsár) though he belonged to the leading personalities of the Turcophil party at that time (see Lukinich, I., *Podmaniczky oklevéltár*, III, p. LIX). That is how he was released by the sultan together with the royal child in the evening of 29th. The outcome of this visit affected his nerves to such an extent that he donned a disguise and fled to his land in Transdanubia (*Memoria rerum*, p. 68).

[164] *Memoria rerum*, p. 63.

being kept back? They discussed it at length, thrashing it out and coming to a decision by the grace of God".[165]

As is known, the third version was decided upon, which meant the release of the Hungarian dignitaries except for Bálint Török. It implied that the sultan had relinquished a part of his original plan, though all the conditions were given to act upon it: he took possession of Buda and he seized the leaders of János's party. The available sources fail to provide sufficient information on what made Süleyman release Martinuzzi and the other barons and renounce from areas selected for occupation. What can be realized at first sight is that he probably changed his position several times during the crucial week after August 29. This is indicated by Porembski's account of the arrival of a chavush in Buda castle to see the Queen. After assuring her of his sovereign's benevolence, he offered her son the region beyond the Tisza and Transylvania on behalf of the sultan. The next day, however, Süleyman informed Izabella via the Janissary aga that he would give the child Transylvania, but not the Trans-Tisza region (and ordered her to prepare to leave the castle). That he dismissed the Queen's advisers only three days later, on September 4, also confirms that the final solution slowly evolved, and possibly the fate of the councillors was the last issue to be decided.[166]

In order to understand the sultan's motives, the best starting point is the series of decisions taken at Óbuda. At first, however, it is necessary to try to reconstruct these decisions, because the sources vary widely in this respect. The possibly reliable Porembski report suggests that the sultan persisted in his last promise to Izabella, because on September 4, he sent to the castle "the Italian interpreter, who brought a flag to her majesty's son for the *sancak* of Transylvania".[167] At the same time, he expressed the wish that "the treasurer [Martinuzzi] be the tutor of her majesty's son and he collect the incomes".[168]

[165] Verancsics, I., pp. 168—169. Cf. Miklós Istvánffy's similar, but far more detailed (hence probably less authentic) narration: *A magyarok történetéből* [Parts of the history of Hungarians]. Transl. by László Juhász, Budapest 1962, pp. 175—176. The opinion attributed to Mehmed pasha (in that Hungary had to be subjected "so that they shall not have to launch a campaign and wage war every year involving long and wearing marching not only from Europe, but also from faraway regions beyond the sea, in Asia and Egypt") might be interpreted, as Géza Perjés does (*Mohács*, p. 270) as the recognition of the problem of the "action radius"; nonetheless, the real point may be that even though the pasha used the radius in his argumentation, his conclusion was not the need to give up the country, but of occupying it, as that would reduce the costs in his view. In other words, this hypothetical recognition would have been a motive urging the Ottomans to extend their Empire and not to create a vassal state. — That contrary to other sources, the Hungarian leaders were indeed held captive, see: Acsády, I., *op. cit.*, p. 223: n. 4.

[166] Verancsics, I., pp. 170—172.

[167] *Op. cit.*, p. 171.

[168] *Op. cit.*, pp. 171—172.

The next day, when the released nobles also joined the leaving Queen, and the Hungarians were on the Pest side, "the standard was brought to Sir Petrovics for the *sancak* of Temes".[169]

Porembski's statements are corroborated and on some points supplemented by Izabella's letter written on October 17 or 18, 1541 in Lippa, in which she declared that only the castles of Lippa (Lipova) and Solymos (Şoimuş) remained in her possession, and she was ordered by Süleyman to return Csicsó (Ciceului) and Küküllövár (Cetatea de Baltă) to voivod Petru. Regarding her own and her son's position, she remarked, among others: "The Emperor seems to have donated Transylvania to our dearest son, without mentioning us, and he gave a letter, which we had no opportunity to see. It is said that it contains impossible conditions pertaining to us and our son. What we do know is that he [János Zsigmond] was honoured with the name and title of the *sancak* of Transylvania".[170]

Martinuzzi referred to the same letter when he told the diet of Székely (Maros)vásárhely (Tirgu Mureş) on January 26, 1542 about Süleyman's orders. However, there were a few points on which he largely deviated from what Porembski and Izabella had noted. He declared that the sultan gave the son of King János not only Transylvania, but "the regions and parts of Hungary beyond the Tisza" except for four places. Three of these four: Várad, Kassa and Fogaras (Făgăraş) with all their belongings were granted to Martinuzzi, while Temesvár and its surroundings went to Péter Petrovics as a *sancak*. Until the royal child grew up, "both areas, that is, Hungary and Transylvania, be possessed (*possideat*)" by Frater Georgius [Martinuzzi]. The two regions were to pay ten thousand gold coins to the sultan annually, to be delivered to Martinuzzi who would make sure they reached the Porte in full.[171]

These two interpretations of the sultan's will, and the letter that contains it, imply several contradictions, e.g. concerning the region beyond the Tisza. If Izabella and Martinuzzi talked about the same letter, then one was misin-

[169] *Op. cit.*, p. 172; cf. J. von Hammer, II, pp. 173—174 and Berindei, M.—Veinstein, G., *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 34.

[170] "Hoc scimus, quod eum nomine et titulo *Sandiaci Transsilvanensis* onoraverit", see *Elementa ad fontium*, XXXVI/6. p. 165 (according to the editor, the letter was dated October 17, and addressed to Hieronym Łaski; Óváry, L. gives the summary of the document — *Oklevélmásolatok, II*, No. 390 —, and the date of the manuscript used by him is October 18, and its addressee is the castellan of Kraków, Johannes Tarnovsky).

[171] *Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek* [Records of Transylvanian diets]. I, Ed. by Sándor Szilágyi, Budapest 1875, pp. 33—34, 77—78. A recent summary of other contradictory information on the sultanic orders: Feneşan, Cr., Începutul dominaţiei, pp. 41—42. The Ottoman administrative measures are not discussed here (e.g. the appointment of Werbőczy as judge, etc.).

formed or lied.[172] The Ottoman sources are seemingly in contrast to the priest, since both the *fethname* of 1541 and Celalzade only mention Transylvania as donated to János Zsigmond.[173] It is important to note, however, that during the post-1541 years, the Ottoman leadership denoted the east-Hungarian territories, not occupied by the Turks, by the name Transylvania as well.[174] However, it is unlikely that Martinuzzi would have publicly dared to refer to a nonexisting sultanic order concerning such a crucially important issue. Yet the logic of Porembski's account and the emphatic mention of the revocation of Süleyman's promise pertaining to the Trans-Tisza region cannot simply be discarded. What is the truth then? It is probable that both of the above-mentioned possibilities were true: Porembski and Izabella were ignorant of something, and the priest did not reveal everything he knew. How this was possible is explained by the testimony in the case of the Martinuzzi murder by János Szalánczy, Izabella's envoy to the Porte. It is quoted here as summarized by Gábor Barta: "Upon the advice of the priest, the sultan made the former *sancakbeyi* in Várad, Kassa and Nagybánya (Baia Mare), and Péter Petrovics in Temesvár. The relevant diploma was issued under the seal of the treasurer and was announced to the Transylvanian estates by Oruc chavush. However, Martinuzzi managed to arrange for these diplomas to be preserved in Istanbul, where the witness himself saw them when he went to the sultan's capital with the first lot of tribute from Transylvania".[175]

What Szalánczy asserts here is that Martinuzzi struck a sort of "private bargain" with the sultan, which was kept secret at least until the announcement was made to the Transylvanians. If this should prove to be true, Porembski's and Izabella's ignorance would immediately become understandable, as they only knew what the sultan publicly informed them about on September 4 and 5. Significantly, it was Porembski who provided the information that might vindicate Szalánczy's testimony. After narrating the presentation of Petrovics's "standard" (September 5), the Queen's secretary noted: "That is only when his courage that had left his returned. He was afraid lest he should be called back to the Emperor as they had called the treasurer back".[176] This is to say that after their release (September 4), Martinuzzi talked to the Otto-

[172] Martinuzzi positively stated he got the document in question in Buda (*Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek*, I, p. 77).

[173] Ferīdūn, *Münşe'āt*, I, p. 553; Thúry, J., I, p. 395; *Geschichte Sultan Süleymān Ḳānūnīs von 1520 bis 1557 order* Ṭabaḳāt ül-Memālik ve Derecāt ül-Mesālik *von Celālzāde Muṣṭafā genannt Ḳoca Niṣāncı*. Hrsg. von P. Kappert, Wiesbaden 1981, p. 344b; Thúry, J., II, p. 231.

[174] Berindei, M.—Veinstein, G., *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.

[175] Barta, G., *Vajon kié az ország*, pp. 100—101.

[176] Verancsics, I, p. 172 and *Elementa ad fontium, vol. cit.*, p. 162: "Timebat, ne revocaretur ad caesarem, sicut dominus Thesaurarius erat revocatus". This meant that Martinuzzi was in the Ottoman camp at least three times, if we can believe the state-

man leaders alone (which he was later to be accused of). That must have been the time when the sultan concluded an agreement with him under the conditions stipulated in Székelyvásárhely, giving him the above-listed areas and extending the jurisdiction of János Zsigmond (actually Martinuzzi) to the region beyond the Tisza as well.

But why did it have to be concealed? Martinuzzi had every reason to do so. He must have been aware that he was responsible for the loss of Buda. It would only have exacerbated his position to accept a public call from the sultan for the representation of the latter's interests, inevitably incurring the charge of treason (which he could not eschew, anyway). It is, therefore, not surprising that the priest did not disclose the sultan's "new" decisions until he was pressed to do so, as the Transylvanian nobles began to inquire what right he had to govern them. This must be the reason why he remained silent about something in connection with himself and János Zsigmond that he hurried to emphasize in connection with Petrovics at the assembly in Székelyvásárhely: which was that the sultan also gave him (them) the areas to be governed as *sancak*s.

Several sources confirm that Porembski and Izabella were telling the truth in their reference to this point as well. Many of Süleyman's decrees issued in early 1552, contain the following formulas: "Transylvania is the *sancak* of my servant in the old way, the king's son"; "I gave [him] Transylvania as a *sancak*".[177] Apparently the contemporary Hungarian public conceived it in the same way, using the word *sancak* in the contemporary Ottoman meaning. When they translated the letters of the sultan and the Grand Vizier, they faithfully retained this term. By way of illustration, Süleyman's order dated August 1551 should be mentioned: ". . . itaque Transsilvania filio regis in *Sanziakatum* concessa fuerit".[178]

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ment by the chronicler György Szerémi (*Magyarország romlásáról* [On the decline of Hungary]. Transl. by László Juhász, Budapest 1979, pp. 321—322) and Andreas von Kamora (F. B. von Bucholtz, *Urkundenband*, p. 318) that the treasurer visited the sultan in the company of forty noblemen on August 27 and/or 28 as well.

[177] "*Erdel vilayeti uslub-i kadim üzere kıral oğlı kulumun sancağıdur*" and "*Erdel vilayetin sancak tarikiyle inayet idüb*"; some of these records were published by A. C. Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymāns des Prächtigen an Vasallen, Militärbeamte, Beamte, Richter*. Transkriptionen und Übersetzungen. Unter Mitarbeit von C. Römer, Wien 1986, pp. 20—27. (Osmanisch-türkische Dokumente aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien, Teil 2). Quotations: *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 23, 24, 25, 27 (cf. the facsimiles, Urkunden 10—14). For the rest (of the orders despatched to the voivods of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as the original drafts of those published by Schaendlinger) see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Koğuşlar 888, 22a—25a. The first draft of all the documents was made on January 23, 1552 but they were only sent off in the second half of February. — See also Celālzāde, *op. cit.*, 344b: he also speaks of *sancak*.

[178] Pray, G., II, p. 285 (". . . so we donated Transylvania to the son of the king as *sancak*"); similar phrases: *ibid.*, pp. 269, 283, 302.

In terms of political law, it meant that in 1541 Süleyman surrendered areas that he considered to be his from the position of conqueror and not as legal successor to the King of Hungary. In other words, when he resigned the domination of Eastern Hungary in the above-described way, he granted the *sancak*s of the Empire to *sancakbeyi*s János Zsigmond (Martinuzzi) and Péter Petrovics entrusted to represent the interests of the Empire. He made this perfectly clear by installing his new "governors" according to the Ottoman legal custom of sending them a standard and defining his donations in a sultanic diploma. One thing distinguished these *sancak*s from the others: a significant difference indeed. They were not directly incorporated into the Empire, and thus their inner property relationships (with all their consequences) were left untouched.[179]

This peculiar state of semi-conquest manifested in the creation of these legal-virtual *sancak*s and the fact that the governance of Eastern Hungary was divided between two ambitious leaders, strongly recalls the methods discussed above, which the Ottoman politicians had resorted to earlier for the purpose of subjugating Hungary. One can completely agree with the opinion, which claims that the fall of Transylvania and the region around Temesvár, just like that of Hungary after 1526, was prepared by the installation of pro-Ottoman leaders and laying the foundations of relations of dependence.[180] This meant that Süleyman returned to the method of gradual conquest in the subjection of the

[179] For the presentation of a standard see, in addition to Porembski's cited report, Süleyman's letter of 1565 to King Maximilian (Ferīdūn, *Münşe'āt*, II, p. 75; Thúry, J., II, p. 401; Schaendlinger, A. C., *op. cit.*, p. 68): "You will know that the *vilayet* of Erdel having been granted by my gracious self to the son of the mentioned king [i.e. János Zsigmond], he also belongs among my servants honoured with the imperial standard . . ." For the diploma issued to the infant, see: Celāzāde, *op. cit.*, 344b; Thúry, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 230—231; Izabella's letter quoted above (see note 170), etc. J. Thúry's reservations as to the existence of the sultan's diploma (*loc. cit.*: n. 1) are probably unfounded, because, for one thing, the document at issue was not so much an *ahdname* as a *berat*, as was proven in the case of Petrovics. We learn about the "imperial diploma" (*berat-i hümayun*) issued to Péter Petrovics from the sultanic order sent to Martinuzzi in early February 1545. It was published, with French translation, by Berindei, M.—Veinstein, G., *op. cit.*, pp. 177, 244; it was also included with transcription and Romanian translation in Feneşan, Cr., *op. cit.*, pp. 43—45, but the provenance of the document is given incorrectly and the reading may also be questioned at some points. If, for instance, she had read the phrase *sancak tarikiyle* (as a *sancak*) correctly, she would not need to waste so much energy on proving that Petrovics did not get Temesvár and its surroundings as a *sancak*. Let me draw attention to another misunderstanding in relation to this point. The phrase *szancsaksággyol* included in the resolutions of Székelyvásárhely is unanimously interpreted by Hungarian research as *szandzsákságul* 'as a *sancak*' and not 'with *sancak*' (with a standard [cu steag]), as Fenaşan says (*op. cit.*, p. 42; cf. Acsády, I., *op. cit.*, p. 225; Veress, E., *Izabella királyné*, pp. 189, 191). — There were similar provinces along the borders elsewhere, too.

[180] Feneşan, Cr., *op. cit.*, p. 43.

eastern part, although with regard to the whole country it had proved to be a failure. In other words, he partially gave up his original plan of 1541. Probably underlying this seemingly imprudent step was the recognition that all the planned conquests could not be implemented at the same time. It should also be remembered that a more lenient policy in the east of Hungary was coupled with a firm stance towards the west. Already under Buda, Süleyman demanded that Ferdinand should return the fortresses, which the German troops had taken from the followers of János the previous year. Most probably the fate of Bálint Török was also decided by the fact that he had estates and important fortresses in Transdanubia.[181] All this permits the assumption that the respite given to the eastern parts, the gradual tactic applied there, was connected with a more active policy in the western parts. The events of the subsequent years confirmed that the *sancak*s of János Zsigmond and Petrovics could come into being because they were off the main line along which Süleyman was looking for a solution to the Hungarian problem.

In his *fethname* announcing the capture of Buda, he already noted that he would return to this region within a short time. And the purpose of this return was explained by Ottoman courtiers to the Polish ambassador visiting the sultan's camp in Óbuda as follows: "You Polish noblemen wanted to give over Hungary, which is rightfully ours, to the Germans. But this year our Emperor is going to subject the whole country to his sway, next year it will be the turn of Austria and Moravia, and then you must prepare to be able to set out together with us".[182] Apart from the exaggerations, this prophecy correctly predicted Ottoman policy in the next few years. Both the pronouncements of leading statesmen and the actual steps suggest that after 1541, the sultan returned to the concept adopted between 1529 and 1532: that of capturing Vienna and defeating the Habsburgs. Though the following utterance of Rüstem Grand Vizier to Ferdinand's envoy in 1542, may have been intended for effect, it clearly expressed the continuity: "İbrahim only touched Vienna with his finger, but I want to grab it with both my hands".[183] It is known that

[181] Lukinich, I., *Erdély területi változásai*, p. 35; Bessenyei, J., *A Héttorony foglya*, p. 99; cf. Petritsch, E. D., Der habsburgisch-osmanische Friedensvertrag des Jahres 1547. *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchiv* 38 (1985), pp. 53–54.

[182] Óváry, L., *Oklevélmásolatok*, II, No. 389.

[183] J. von Hammer, II, p. 182; cf. Török, P., *I. Ferdinánd*, p. 92. That this must have been in the mind of the Ottoman leaders in 1541 is suggested by one of the clauses of the resolutions of Székelyvásárhely. It alleges (i.e. Martinuzzi alleged) that the sultan had proclaimed in Buda: "Quod Frater Georgius ita nostrae Caesareae Majestati servire poterit, ut etiam *Viennam* ipsam Nobilissimam Civitatem Ei conferemus" (*Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek*, I, p. 77). This promise reminds one of an event 142 years later, when the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa who advanced against the capital of the Habsburgs had held out the promise of Viennese kingship to his Hungarian ally, Imre Thököli at their meeting in Eszék (see *Silaḥtār tārīḫi*. II, Istanbul 1928, p. 23).

originally Süleyman planned to lead the 1543 campaign against Vienna.[184] Most recently published Ottoman documents confirm that in 1544—45, he planned to start an enormous expedition against Vienna again.[185] All the signs indicated that in 1551—52 similar preparations were under way.[186]

This military-political concept is the framework of reference, within which the occupation of 1541 and the subsequent decisions must be interpreted. At about that time, Süleyman had to put up a harder than ever fight against the Habsburgs for the possession of Hungary, and the aggravated circumstances forced him to give a twist to his conception. Before executing the total programme of occupying Vienna and incorporating the whole of Hungary by this means, in terms of a minimal programme he took possession of what he could acquire with the smallest effort at the given moment, thereby lengthening the supply lines for the forthcoming major operation.[187] This policy, however, failed even more badly than the previous one, because it disregarded the changes in the power relations and the development of the Habsburg military administration. Not only did the Ottoman army fail to reach Vienna, but he also had to recapture fortresses at the cost of enormous sacrifices, which the sultan had carelessly let go earlier.[188] This meant that the survival of Eastern Hungary and the rise of a vassal Principality of Transylvania out of it, should not be attributed to a political intention, but should be interpreted as a political necessity. Just as the fiascos of the Ottomans in 1529 and 1532, prolonged János Szapolyai's rule, which originally was designed to be short, the failure of the Ottoman concept embodied the possibility that the eastern parts would "escape" and gradually become "independent" after 1544—45. It is beyond doubt that Süleyman laid claim to the entire Hungary, and that he did not originally consider a satellite Eastern Hungary or Transylvania is

[184] Káldy-Nagy, Gy., Suleimans Angriff, p. 194.

[185] Berindei, M.—Veinstein, G., *op. cit.*, pp. 17 ff.

[186] Indirect data with relevance here: Barta, G., *Vajon kié az ország*, pp. 53, 113, 135—136, and esp. 177—178. Direct evidence: Süleyman's letters mentioned above (in note 177) in which he wrote: "*evvel baharda Beç üzerine tevecküh-i hümayunum mukarrer bilüb*" (be sure that in early spring my gracious person is going to set out against Vienna), see Schaendlinger, A. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 23, 24, 26, 27. It is a sign of the sultan's uncertainty that in the first draft of the letters the sentence read: "*evvel baharda ol tarafa tevecküh-i hümayunum mukarrer bilüb*" (be sure that in early spring my gracious person is going to go there [probably toward Transylvania]), see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Ktp., K. 888, 22a, 23b, 24a, 24b.

[187] The first part of this sentence paraphrases with opposite meaning the alleged offer of Süleyman as formulated by Géza Perjés: ". . . instead of the total programme of incorporating Hungary, he set as his goal the partial programme of making it a vassal and ally" (*Mohács*, p. 249).

[188] Szakály, F., *Veszlőhely az út porában*, p. 146. The desire to conquer Hungary through Vienna did not die out, but increased parallel with the decrease in the possibility of translating it into practice. On this see Fodor, P., Ungarn und Wien.

confirmed by his firm rejection of István Majláth's offer to this effect in the autumn of 1540 (or reference could be made to the above-presented document that prognosticated the occupation of Transylvania, together with the rest of the Hungarian parts).[189] Süleyman's "plan modification" that seemed appropriate at that moment, but proved to be completely mistaken later on, was the source from which a vassal state could sprout at some later date. It should be noted that around that time, Transylvania as an autonomous entity, did not occur to the overwhelming majority of the opposite side, either. Ferdinand's persistent attempts to conquer Transylvania were fired by the conviction that as the King of Hungary, he had a lawful right to that territory. The Hungarian estates also conceived the whole area as a single entity and only began to advocate the need for an autonomous Transylvania, when it appeared that the principality could be used as counterweight against the centralizing efforts of the Habsburgs.[190] It is a typical case of "the cunning of reason" that these efforts with similar aims ended up in their polar opposite, because all the rivals proved to be weak to complete the work of unification, although they were strong enough to prevent one another from doing so. The first step towards a goal no one set was taken by the sultan by resigning from the occupation of Transylvania in 1541.

Eventually the Ottoman endeavours failed in Hungary because the sultan and his viziers set to themselves aims that were beyond the capacity of the Empire. But due to his inappropriate policy, Süleyman — who did not or refused to recognize the limitations of his power — could not even achieve what he would have been able to do otherwise.[191]

[189] Several moments of the "Majláth case" are still obscure, though a recently recovered Ottoman document (see Schaendlinger, A. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 3—4) helps to clarify some important points. As I wish to devote another article to this subject, I only summarize the findings here: *1.* Majláth did indeed offer himself to the Porte, asking to be acknowledged as the voivod of Transylvania in return for paying tribute, but only after the death of János; *2.* he was "installed" at the diet of Berethalom (September 21, 1541) — almost certainly by fraud; *3.* in October 1540 he lost favour in the sultanic court for good; *4.* his attempts did the greatest harm with the false news of his good reception at the Porte, which also encouraged Ferdinand to try to find favour with the sultan, and in this way Majláth had a share in Ferdinand's venture in Hungary in 1540—41, which proved far beyond his power.

[190] Szakály, Ferenc, Amikor a bárány a farkassal társalgott (Bocskai István és Lalla Mehmed nagyvezír rákosmezei találkozójának hátteréről) [When the sheep talked to the wolf. On the background to the meeting of István Bocskai and the Grand Vizier Lala Mehmed on Rákosmező]. In: *Bocskai kíséretében a Rákosmezőn. Emlékiratok és iratok Bocskai István fejedelem és Lalla Mehmed nagyvezír találkozójáról 1605. november 11.* [In Bocskai's retinue at Rákosmező. Memoirs and notes on the meeting of Prince István Bocskai and Lala Mehmed Grand Vizier on November 11, 1605]. Published by Ferenc Csonka and Ferenc Szakály, Budapest 1988, pp. 44 ff.

[191] The consequences of the missed opportunity tortured the successors of Süleyman who struggled to implement his goals almost to the end of Ottoman rule in Hugary.

Appendix

Each of the following four Ottoman documents is to be found at the Archives of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi in Istanbul. The archives preserve the majority of source material concerning Ottoman–Hungarian relations in the period under study and the entire preceding era, but only a fragment of this stock has been published so far. Heartwarming exceptions are, e.g. the documents made available for research by György Hazai (see "A Topkapi Szeráj Múzeum levéltárának magyar vonatkozású török iratai" [Ottoman documents with reference to Hungary in the Archives of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi]. In: *Levéltári Közlemények* 26 (1955), pp. 286—295: the description of eleven Ottoman records from the time of Matthias Corvinus, which Hazai later published in different places), by M. T. Gökbilgin ("Korvin Mathias (Mátyás) in Bayezid II.e mektupları tercümeleri ve 1503 (909) Osmanlı–Macar muahedesinin Türkçe metni". In: *Belleten* 22.87 (1958), pp. 369—390: four documents from the time of King Matthias and the Ottoman text of the Turco–Hungarian agreement of 1503) and by A. Decei (« Deux document turcs concernant les expeditions des Sultans Bayazid Ier et Murad II dans les pays roumains ». In: *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 13.3 (1974), pp. 395—413: an account of two raids into Transylvania; "Aloisio Gritti în slujba Sultanului Soliman Kanunî, după unele documente turceşti inedite (1533—1534)". In: *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie* 7 (1974), pp. 101—160: three records related to Gritti). The significance of the relevant documents still awaiting publication is also born out by the writings of Gyula Káldy-Nagy, who drew heavily on the material of the Archives (e.g. *Szulejmán*, and Suleimans Angriff, etc.). The publication of the following texts is intended to be a small contribution to increase the source material of the subject at issue.

1.

The report ('arż) of Bali bey to the sultanic court (around 1524—25)

Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, E. 6146/2

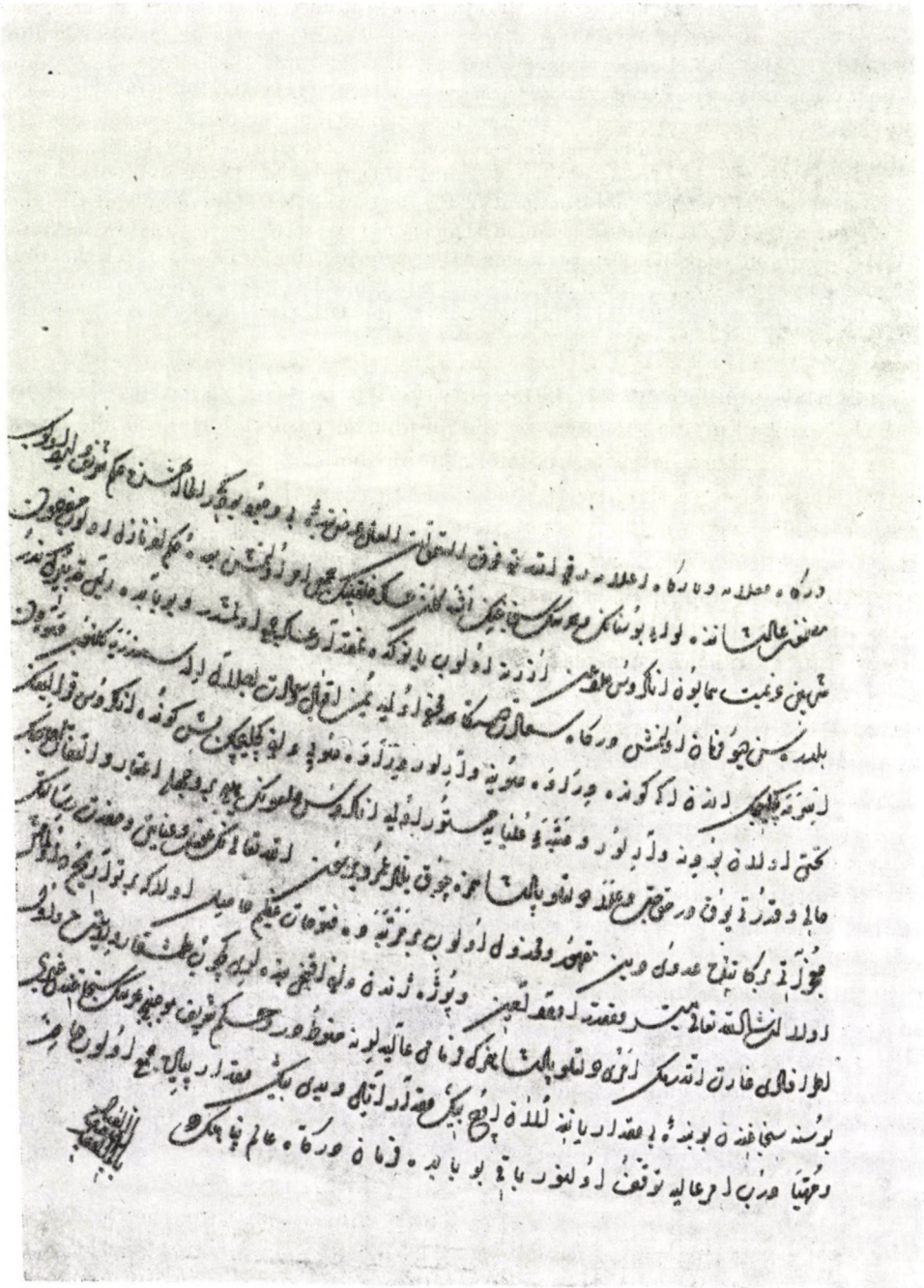
Similarly to the other three documents, this one bears no date either. It is hard to determine the exact time of writing for two reasons. As for its contents, it might equally belong to the period before the 1521 and the 1526 campaigns. Similar duality can be arrived at when we start out from the little-known official career of Bali bey. The famous Ottoman vizier of the border area, who appears here as the *bey* of Bosnia, filled this post twice, before 1521 (the occupation of Belgrade) and between 1523 and 1525 (see Bostān/Ferdī: Thúry, J., II, p. 50; Celālzāde, 45b, cf. Thúry, J., II, p. 123; Süreyya, M., *Sicill-i Osmanî*. II, Istanbul, 1311, p. 4.; what is certain is that in 1521, he

became the *bey* of Semendire, which title he also held at the battle of Mohács, see Bostān/Ferdī, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Schaendlinger, A. C., *Feldzugstagebücher*, p. 51; Ferīdūn, *Münşe'āt*, II, p. 7; Cf. Barkan, Ömer Lûtfi, H. 933—934 (M. 1527—1528) malî yılına ait bir bütçe örneği. In: *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15. 1—4. 1953—1954 (1955), p. 303). However, I am inclined to date it to the pre-Mohács period on the basis of supplementary verbal communication obtained in the Archives (the catalogue dates it to the Muslim year 931, which spanned from October 29, 1524 to October 17, 1525). I was told that the provenance and original environment of the document left no doubt about the correctness of the date. It should be added that should the date prove to be wrong, and should it turn out that the document was written during the preparations for the 1521 campaign, nothing would essentially be changed. What is more, it would prove even more conclusively that the main military aim of the Ottomans had always been the seizure of Buda.

To the sublime court and the illustrious palace — may it be lifted by God the exalted above the skies — the humble servant reports: a noble order has recently arrived here, its august meaning being the command to gather the warring people in the *liva* of Bosna and the *sancak* of Hersek. Then came another order, whose noble content stipulated: "[as] the august [padishah] is going to set out against damned Hungarians, let me know how many soldiers have gathered around you, and what your opinion and plan is in this regard". It shall not be concealed from the felicitous court: one must come to Semendire with luck and prosperity, then cross the Save into Sirem, from where one can get to the water of the Drave in two days. After crossing the water of the Drave, it takes five days to arrive at Buda, the seat of the Hungarian king. It should not remain a secret for the high throne that damned Hungary has no position or strength that would have to be taken into consideration. May God, be he exalted, give long life to our illustrious padishah, may the enemy of religion collapse and be destroyed with the help and grace of God, whose majesty be exalted and with the profusion of the miracles of his majesty the prophet, and may such a powerful conquest be made which has never been before. May God the exalted help to bring this to fruition and success, amen. It is up to the august decision of our illustrious padishah whether his servants the *akıncıs* shall cross over at Požažin[1] and destroy the province of Temeşvar and those areas. To comply with the noble command, the 3,000 equestrians and some 7,000 foot soldiers, who are with this humble servant, have gathered from the *sancak* of Bosna besides Hersek *sancak*. We are ready and equipped, waiting for the high order. Command in this matter is the prerogative of the court, the refuge of the universe.

The humblest creature, the poor Bali

[1] Later called Pozsezsena (Požežena), the customary crossing point on the Danube between Haram and Galambóc (Golubac/Güvercinlik) for the Ottoman troops on a raid into Transylvania.



Bali bey's report to the sultanic court; TSMA E. 6146/2

2.

Letter of recommendation from János Szapolyai to İbrahim pasha, for his ambassador Hieronym Łaski (contemporaneous Turkish translation, late 1527–early 1528)

TSMA, E. 3942

It is easy to date this document. The original letter must have been drafted in the days around October 18, 1527 when János and his aides had decided to seek a Turkish alliance and Łaski was sent on a mission to Istanbul (to this, see Barta, G., *A Sztambulba vezető út*, p. 164). Since the Hungarian envoy was first received by the Grand Vizier on December 22, he must have handed over his letter of credentials on that occasion, with the Ottoman translation soon to follow. Łaski also took with him letters of recommendation for other pashas and for Gritti, but the tone and content of the below-mentioned letter suggest that Szapolyai primarily depended on İbrahim for a favourable arrangement of his cause. Both this and Łaski's notes about his negotiations in Istanbul reveal that around that time the Ottomans' reins regarding Hungarian policy were in the hands of the Grand Vizier. — Being in bad condition, the original document could not be photographed, therefore, a transcription can only be given.

Ungurūs ḳırālı Yoānūsdan gelen mektūb ṣūretidür

Yoānūs Ungurūs ḳıralı ki Erdel begi idi ḥażret-i İbrāhīm paşaya ki devletlü yüce pādişāhuñ ulu vezīri ve sırrdaşı ziyāde sevgilü dōstumuza duʿālar ve cemiʿ-i ḥizmetüñüze ḥāżırız [sic!] maʿ lūm ola ki devletlü yüce pādişahuñ ayaġı ṭopraġına yarar iʿtiḳād itdügümüz Yerōnimōy nām yarar ādamumuzı elçiliğe irsāl itdük ki sulṭānumuñ ʿālī himmeti ile yüce pādişāh ḥużūrlarında benüm ādamuz [sic!] cevābları ʿarż olına ve sulṭānumdan dilegümüz bu dur ki elçimüz sözlerine ve cevāblarına ḥużūr-i şerīfüñüzde ve devletlü yüce pādişāhuñ ḥużūr-i şerīflerinde iʿtiḳād olına zirā bizüm sırrumuz anuñla sulṭānuma taḳrīr olınur ümīzdür ki devletlü sulṭānumdan her ne maṣlaḥat düşerse yüce ve ʿālī pādişāhuñ ḥużūr-i şerīflerinde himmet ve ʿināyet olına ve luṭf idüb cevābla taʿcīl bu cānibe göndermesine sulṭānumdan ʿināyet olına bāḳī Allahu taʿālā sulṭānum ḥażretlerinüñ ʿömrin ve devletini ziyāde eylesün.

Copy of the letter from János, King of Hungary

From János, King of Hungary, who used to be the lord of Transylvania,[1] to his excellency İbrahim pasha,[2] the Grand Vizier of the illustrious and majestic padishah and the knower of his secrets, to our highly esteemed friend: may God bless you, and we are ready to be of service to you in every way. Let it

[1] The Voivod of Transylvania until November 10, 1526.

[2] Süleyman's highly influential Grand Vizier from 1523 to 1536.

be known: we have sent our excellent and confidential man, called Hieronym,[3] on a mission to the dust of the feet of the illustrious and exalted padishah, so that with the noble protection of my sultan [i.e. İbrahim] the answers of our man may appear before the exalted padishah. We ask my sultan that the words and answers of our envoy be given credit in front of your noble presence and in front of the presence of the illustrious and prosperous padishah. For our secrets are to be divulged to my sultan through his person. We hope that should any interference be necessary by my excellent sultan, he would be ready and graciously pleased to do so in front of the illustrious and exalted padishah. And be good enough, my sultan, to send the envoy here hastily with the answer. Otherwise may God the exalted increase the life and fortune of his excellency my sultan.

3.

The letter of Petru, Voivod of Moldavia, to the sultanic court (contemporaneous Turkish translation, late 1527–early 1528)

TSMA, E. 5536

The events referred to (Ferdinand's stay in Esztergom, Szapolyai's at Tasnád, and preparations for the diet of Piotrikov, etc.) allow one to date the document, actually a report on the situation in Hungary, with great probability to November 1527. Though it is not known when it reached Istanbul, its translation into Turkish was surely ready by the beginning of the next year at the latest. It probably came in handy for the pashas, who could cash in on the information on János's bad plight during the talks with Łaski.

Copy of the letter from the Voivod of Moldavia, Voivod Petru, to the felicitous court

To the majestic and illustrious threshold your [the sultan's] slave and servant[1] reports the following: the felicitous court will certainly be aware that we have several times informed the felicitous court of the strife and affairs between the king called Ferdinand, who came from Germany to be the king of Hungary, and King János, who rose to kingship from the Transylvanian voivodship. If you would kindly require information about the matters there again, we have the right people who have arrived from there and brought with them the following news. The above-mentioned Ferdinand is staying with his army in the region above Buda, in a fortress called Esztergom and became the King of Hungary in compliance with customs and law.[2] He has clashed and

[3] Hieronym Łaski, a Polish aristocrat of humanistic erudition, was king János's diplomat from April 1527. For his close links with Gritti János imprisoned him after Gritti's fall (1534), but later (1535) he was released. He went on to serve Ferdinand.

[1] Petru Rareș, Voivod of Moldavia from early 1527, chased off by Süleyman's campaign in 1538; reinstated by him in 1541; reigned until 1546.

[2] November 3, 1527.

fought with King János on several occasions, and finally King Ferdinand emerged victorious, crushed the mentioned King János who managed to escape from the battle.[3] He fled, went to Transylvania and betook himself to the town called Kolozsvár (Cluj), which served as refuge for him.[4] Then the military forces of Transylvania and the Székelys assembled and agreed to march against King János. They chased the aforenamed from that place, driving him to the border of the country, to a town called Tasnád (Tăşnad) near Poland. Now he is staying there and gathering his shattered and hiding troops. The King of Poland has also granted him assistance. He has gathered quite a sizeable army which is now advancing toward Buda to accept battle with King Ferdinand.[5] The Polish King has informed me that he is in the town called Piotrikow, having convened a great assembly and summoned his *bans*. Envoys have arrived there from the French King and several *beys* there, and great consultations are going on.[6] We failed, however, to learn what their intentions and ideas are, but we have men who will hopefully [soon] return, and whatever news they are going to bring, we shall report to the felicitous court in accordance with the truth. [For] we, your servant, are the true and honest servant of the majestic and illustrious court. Command is the prerogative of the court, the refuge of the universe. May God bless it.

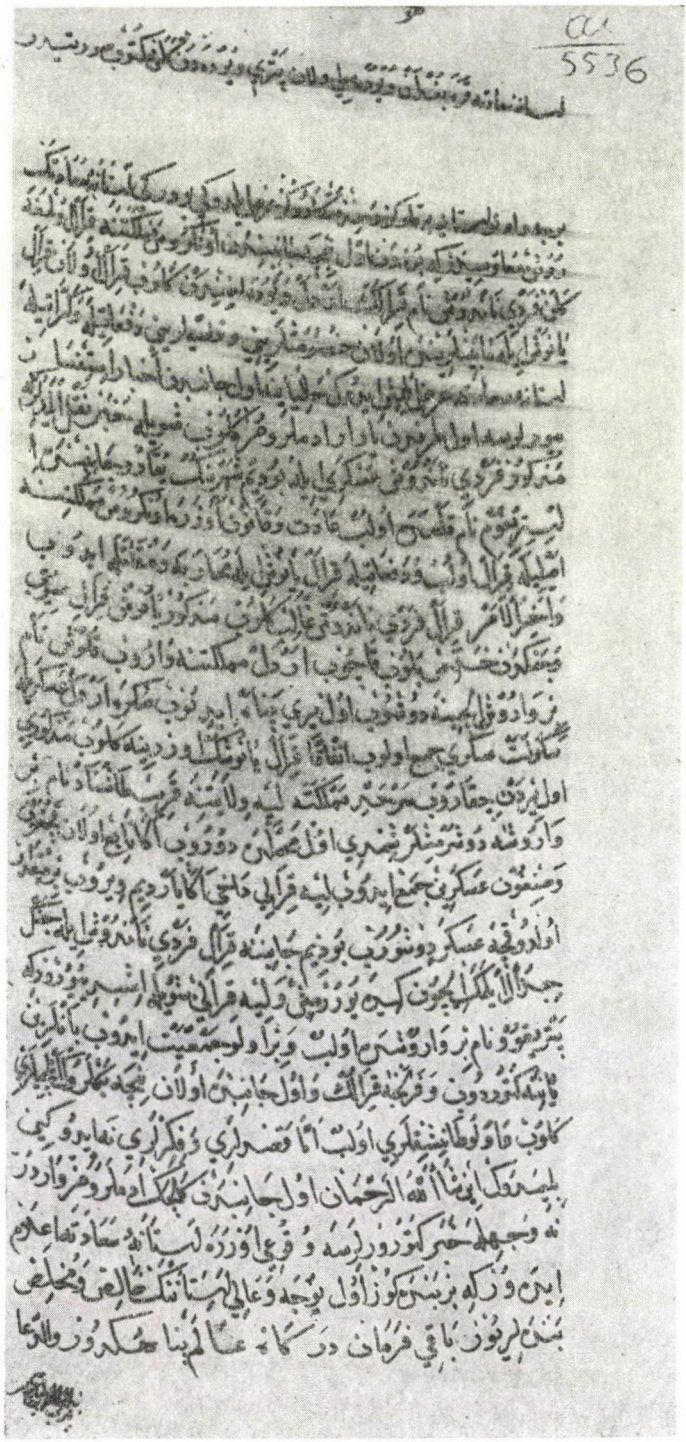
The wretched servant, the poor Petru, Voivod
of Moldavia

[3] I.e. the battle of Tokaj of September 27, 1527.

[4] In October the same year.

[5] Not quite accurate information. King Sigismund had actually rejected János's solicitation for help, but turned a blind eye to János' followers recruiting in Poland in the autumn. Smaller squards did indeed come to Hungary.

[6] The diet of Piotrikow opened in December. One item on the agenda was an alliance with Hungary. The French envoy was Antonio Rincon, who tried to talk Sigismund into helping János, without success.



The letter of Voivod Petru to the sultanic court; TSMA, E. 5536

4.

Draft of a letter from the Grand Vizier İbrahim to Péter Perényi (April–early May 1531)

TSMA E. 6526

As was mentioned earlier, after Mohács the sultanic court had been persistently looking for persons or groups who might represent the idea of Ottoman orientation in Hungary. Their efforts to this effect explain why İbrahim graciously released the formerly captured Péter Perényi (who had deserted János). Though formally inclinable to Ferdinand, the Hungarian nobleman was not ungrateful. Upon İbrahim's urging, he spoke for an alliance with the Turks (under the leadership of King János) at the assembly at Bélavár starting on March 19, 1531 at the opening of the so-called "kingless diets" of 1531. As those present did not feel entitled to pass a resolution in the absence of the others on such an important issue, they convened another meeting for May 18, in Veszprém and agreed to inform the Porte of that decision through Perényi's man. The draft given below is the reply to the letter Perényi's envoy took to Istanbul in accordance with the decision of the estates. (Thus, contrary to Fraknói's opinion, the envoy did reach the Ottoman capital, cf. *Magyar országgyűlési emlékek*, I, pp. 316—317, n. 5; to the whole, *op. cit.*, pp. 311 ff.). The draft reveals that regardless whether Perényi had any personal ambition to gain power or not, around that time he could not count on İbrahim's support, unless he contributed to the reinforcement of János's rule. The position of the Grand Vizier, possibly altered later, was clearly explained by the fact, made explicit in the letter that the Ottoman leadership was preparing to advance against Vienna again, thus it was in desperate need of a stable, possibly pro-Ottoman Hungary to prevent the advancing army from suffering any inconvenience here. To this end, İbrahim deployed all the political weapons in his arsenal, producing a sophisticated mixture of flattering and deprecation, promises and threats, in order to convince his Hungarian "partner" that the country had but a single road to take: surrender to the Ottoman Empire.

Let the following letter be written to Péter Perényi on behalf of his excellency, the magnificent pasha: recently you sent a letter here together with some Hungarian nobles, letting us know that you had consultations with those *beys* and leagued with them, and in compliance with the noble order of our illustrious padishah — may God increase the strength of his supporters — you agreed about yielding to King János, then you informed the *beys* not present there about this, and you are intent on convening a meeting at a certain place on May 18. You have informed us that from the province of Požega, Slovenia and Croatia news had come of incursions and plundering.[1] We have understood all you said. May you be blessed! That is what we expected — that you would adhere to the contract and agreement with us and your honesty shall be manifest. For you had come and kissed the sacred hands of our illustrious and felicitous padishah and donned his majestic robe of honour and observ-

[1] The news was brought to Perényi by the participants of the Bélavár meeting.

ed his army; we are going to abide by the contracts and oaths till our death, and it is impossible that we deviate from our contract and oath. You have had such a great share of the benevolence and grace of his majesty, our illustrious padishah. You were not put in irons, you were honoured sincerely and respectfully, your fortresses and estate were returned, no one wanted any property from you or laid claim to anything else.[2] Our illustrious padishah is not a padishah like Ferdinand, who sets his eye on other people's castles or possessions, and exercises his power with strategem, tricks and smooth words and fair promises to the people. Glory and praise be to God that no one else on earth has been given so much wealth, so many countries, servants and armies as Allah, be he exalted, gave my padishah. We are not in need of anyone's fortune, estate or castle. [Our contract] is a contract and agreement called into existence by humanity, and it should be respected among friends. Our contract with you will not be altered, it prevails firmly. It is impossible that we should act contrary to the contract, unless there is some opposition to it on your part. The archbishop who had come with you and came to a contract and agreement, joined the enemies of the illustrious padishah and committed treason.[3] Precisely there where he announced [the contract].[4] First he said of you that Péter Perényi was [too] young. You have remained loyal, we have not heard of anything you have done contrary to the contract. And now, as we expected, a letter has arrived from you [letting us know] that you have joined forces with all the Hungarian *beys* and to comply with the noble order of his majesty, the illustrious padishah, you have called to life a meeting and alliance. Before that, envoys arrived from his excellency King János and submitted a request to his majesty, the illustrious and world-sheltering padishah; envoys arrived from his enemies, [too] and let us know that they wished for the reconciliation between the two parties.[5] Then with perfect grace and goodwill his excellency, our illustrious padishah, ordered that there should be no more incursions for some time, and orders were despatched to his servants in the marches, the *sancakbeyi*s [to this effect]. The *sancakbeyi* of Bosna led a raid, because these orders were rather late to reach him. Some informants have just arrived here, captured during that incursion, and when we interrogated them, they again attested to your rectitude and reported that you were sparing no effort to achieve that all the Hungarian lords obey his majesty, the illustrious padishah. You are treading the right path. The orders and contracts of his majesty the

[2] Allusion to the fact that in 1529, he was released from Ottoman captivity unharmed, for a simple oath of loyalty.

[3] Meaning Pál Várday, archbishop of Esztergom, who yielded to the sultan heading for Vienna in September 1529 for the first time.

[4] He returned to Ferdinand's side during Roggendorf's siege of Buda in 1530.

[5] Referring to the negotiations between the envoys of János and Ferdinand in October–November 1530 and early 1531 in Poznań and Visegrád, respectively.

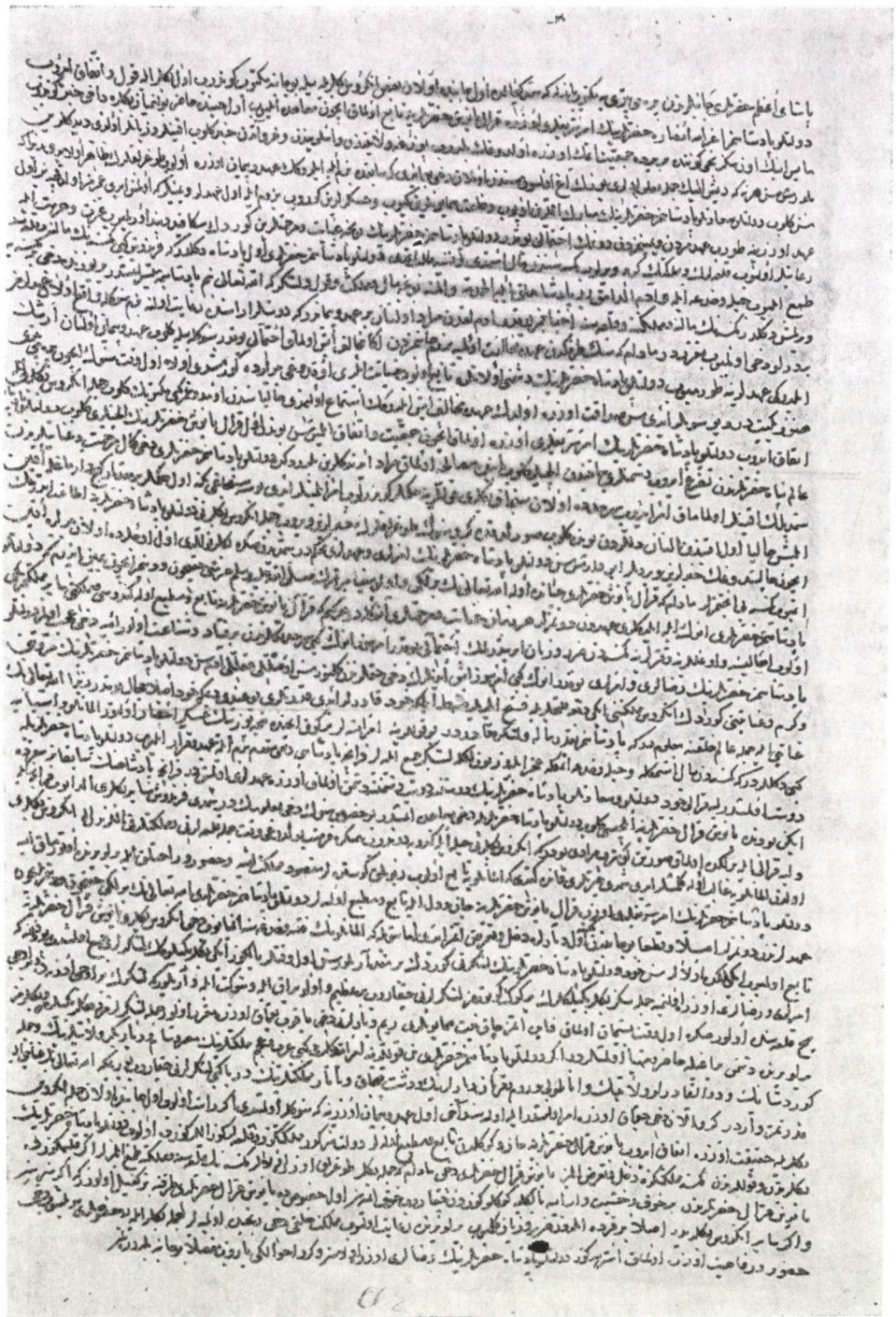
illustrious padishah are firm. From now on, his servants the *beys* will not launch any raid in those marches and will not do harm to anyone. I swear by the only God, be he exalted, the honour of our great prophet — may God commend and salute him — and upon our religion that as long as his excellency King János is alive, our majesty, the padishah, will not breach the contract concluded with him. His benevolence and grace is always with him. The person and property of anyone who surrenders to János and subjects himself to his will shall be like all our possessions and it will be impossible that his subjects, sons and daughters might suffer damage or harm from anyone. Neither shall it make you indignant that the *beys* of the marches commit such wickedness and villainy without order. They have no order or consent from his majesty, our illustrious padishah; those who act in that way without order will be properly punished. You are a noble and intelligent man. You have experienced the generosity, graciousness and goodwill of his majesty, our illustrious padishah. He has conquered Hungary twice with his sword. He was capable of keeping it. It would lack all foundations to say that he had no power [to do so], for by the grace of God, be he exalted, it is known to all the peoples in the world how great a fortune and how many soldiers he has. Should he issue a command to this servant of his, we can deploy many hundreds of thousand of warriors within a day. He is not like the Germans and [those in] Spain, he does not collect an army feebly and awkwardly, with strategem and tricks, demanding the property of others. Earlier the French padishah also concluded a contract and agreement with us and made friends with his majesty, the illustrious padishah.[6] Pacts were concluded with the Polish King [too], which lay down that his majesty, the illustrious and felicitous padishah, will be friend of his friends and foe to his foes.[7] Earlier, when we led a campaign, the ambassador of the French King came to Buda to King János and also struck an agreement with his majesty, the illustrious padishah.[8] You know about that, too. Now that Ferdinand, misleading the other nobles, is making believe that he is allied to France and the Polish King, his aim is to win over the Hungarian nobles with a ruse, and then to seize all their castles and lands as soon as possible.

[6] It must be a deliberate exaggeration to speak of the conclusion of a contract. Neither in 1525—26, nor in 1528 did it take place though French ambassadors were supposed to have been in Istanbul in both years.

[7] These pacts were signed in 1525 and 1528.

[8] King János ratified the agreement of Fontainebleau concluded by his envoy with King Francis on October 28, 1528 in the camp in Buda on September 1, 1529. In it he accepted Henry, the Prince of Orleans, as his successor, if he should die without a male heir. The French party was represented by Rincon, who had made the journey to West Europe with János's envoy (so he could not be the envoy on a mission in Istanbul in 1528). It seems that the agreement with János was approved of by the sultan as well.

Earlier, the Hungarian nobles used to defeat the Germans. But where has their valiance gone, that they yield to the Germans and appear helpless. If the aim is that the country remain in its place in security, peace and calm, and if [to this end] they surrender and subject themselves whole-heartedly to his excellency King János, according to the noble orders of his majesty, the illustrious padishah, his majesty our illustrious padishah [pledges] to the only God, be he exalted, and our faith that he will not deviate from the contract. Had it been up to us, no one would ever have attacked and raided those countries in any way; but it so happened, because the Hungarian lords were taken in by the villainy and tricks of the German, failed to submit themselves to his excellency, King János, and split up into two parties. You yourself have seen the army of the illustrious padishah, so you know it a little. Then only the soldiers of two *beylerbeyi*s' provinces had gathered. But now, should things fail to happen according to his orders and consents, the forces of all the eight provinces — too large for heaven and earth to carry them — will be deployed and we shall advance with such immense and enormous equipment and manpower that one end of the army will be at Edirne, the other one at the castle of Vienna, and then repentance will be in vain. It is the firm intention of his highness to set the Roman countries on fire and destroy them. All our soldiers, *beylerbeyi*s and *bey*s are at ready and prepared at their posts with all the necessary equipment against the enemy. The moment his majesty, our illustrious padishah, gives order to me his servant, by the grace of God the exalted, we have the power to enlist and deploy the vast armies of the Arabian and Persian territories, the provinces of Egypt, Syria and Diyarbekir, the whole Kurdistan and the *vilayet* of Zülkadir, the *vilayet*s of Anatolia, Rum and Karaman, the Kipchak plains and Tartar lands. By the way, we have an order to again go to war. Therefore, you should be faithful to the contract and agreement concluded with you, strike a true alliance with the rest of the Hungarian lords, so that they yield to King János whole-heartedly and subject themselves to him. The power is yours. Your lands and fortresses remain yours; none of the *bey*s and servants of his majesty, the illustrious padishah, will hanker after your possessions and attack them. Provided that all the nobles are loyal, King János will not set an eye on anybody's castle or estate. Should you have fear and dread King János in your heart, dispel it and do not fear. We undertake guarantee for his excellency, King János, in this regard, that he will cause no damage or harm to anyone, everyone will be able to live decently in their places, and he will not trouble the people of the country. Discuss these matters with all the *bey*s, and if you want to live in peace and quiet, act in compliance with the will of his majesty, the illustrious padishah. Write again of your position, let us know about it urgently.



İbrahim pasha's letter to Péter Perényi; TSMA, E. 6526

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus XLV (2—3), 347—401 (1991)

EIN KRIMKARAIMISCHES WÖRTERVERZEICHNIS

ZSUZSA KAKUK

Ignác Kúnos ungarischer Turkologe hielt in den Sommern der Jahre 1925, 1926 und 1927 Vorträge über die türkische Volksdichtung an der Universität von Istanbul auf Einladung des damaligen türkischen Unterrichtsministers Hamdullah Subhi.[1] Während dieser Zeit kam er in Verbindung mit den von der Krimhalbinsel nach Istanbul geflohenen Karaimen und mit ihrem geistig-seelischen Anführer Efendi Seraya Šapšal.[2]

Kúnos sammelte teils von S. Šapšal selbst, teils von anderen — leider nicht genannten — Mitgliedern der karaimischen Gemeinschaft kurze Texte, sprachliche Anmerkungen. Viel wertvoller als diese sprachlichen Fragmente, skizzenhafte Bemerkungen ist sein ebenfalls flüchtig aufgezeichnetes, aber relativ umfangreiches Wörterverzeichnis. Der Name des Mitteilers — oder eher die der Mitteiler — ist nicht bekannt. Es ist möglich, daß der Wortvorrat zum Teil von S. Šapšal stammt. Das ist aber bloß eine Vermutung, es gibt keinen einzigen Beweis dafür. Die Wörter stimmen oft nicht mit den im *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'* vorkommenden, von S. Šapšal stammenden krimkaraimischen Wörtern überein. Und es gibt auch mehrere Wörter im Vokabular von Kúnos, die im erwähnten karaimischen Wörterbuch nicht vorhanden sind. Das Glossarium im ganzen genommen widerspiegelt den unter einem starken Einfluß der krimtatarischen Sprache stehenden krimkaraimischen Wortschatz.

Das das karaimische Material enthaltende Manuskript von Kúnos geriet samt dem unter den mohammedanischen Kriegsgefangen während des ersten

[1] Das Material dieser Vorträge ist in Istanbul in türkischer Sprache erschienen, selbstverständlich noch in arabischer Schrift: *Türk ḫalk edebiyâtï* (*De la poésie populaire Turque*). Istanbul, 1343 (= 1925), 206 p.

[2] Der im krimischen Bahčiseray 1873 geborene karaimische Seraya Šapšal wurde im Jahre 1915 zum Oberhirt aller Karaimen mit Sitz in Jevpatoria ernannt. 1919 mußte er in den Kaukasus, später von dort aus in die Türkei, nach Istanbul fliehen, um die Verhaftung zu vermeiden. Hier unterhielt er sich durch Dolmetschen, inzwischen führte er aber auch wissenschaftliche Arbeit durch. 1928 verließ er Istanbul und siedelte nach Vilnius über, das damals zu Polen gehörte. (S. *Biobibliografičeskij slovar' otečestvennyh tjurkologov. Dooktjabrskij period.* Pod redakciem i s vvedeniem A. N. Kononova. Moskva, 1974, pp. 288—289).

Weltkrieges gesammelten riesigen kasantatarischen, krimtatarischen und mischären folkloristischen Material erst lange nach dem Tod von Kúnos (1945), im Jahre 1952, in die Orientalistische Sammlung der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.[3] Es besteht aus insgesamt 65 auf einer Seite beschriebenen Blättern in Halbfolioformat. Das Wörterverzeichnis beträgt davon 40 Blätter und trägt den Titel „Krími karaita és kazár szók" (= Krimkaraitische und chasarische[4] Wörter).

In der Zusammenstellung der Vokabulars ist keinerlei Systematisierung zu entdecken. Selbst Kúnos sagt, er wäre nicht in der Lage gewesen, die Wörtersammlung in alphabetischer Reihe ordnen zu können, er gibt die Wörter in der Reihenfolge an, wie er sie gehört und aufgezeichnet hatte (Ms. p. 18). Nach dem mit lateinischer Schrift aufgezeichneten karaimischen Wort gibt er die Bedeutung gewöhnlich in zwei Sprachen, türkisch und ungarisch an, es kommt aber auch häufig vor, daß die eine oder die andere fehlt.

In der nachfolgenden Ausgabe hab ich das Schriftsystem von Kúnos den wissenschaftlichen Anforderungen entsprechend gestaltet. Die wichtigsten Veränderungen sind folgende: anstatt der Buchstaben *ė*, *ù*, *j* und *ñ* von Kúnos habe ich die Buchstaben *ï*, *ü*, *y* und *ŋ* verwendet, anstatt des von Kúnos in den velaren und palatalen Wörtern gleicherweise angewendeten Buchstaben *k* habe ich den palatalen *k* und den velaren *q* unterschieden. Das Schriftzeichen ȝ habe ich behalten. Kúnos gab die Verben in Infinitivform an, undzwar auf den ersten paar Blättern mit den Endungen *-mak*, *-mek*, später mit den Auslauten *-u*, *-ù*, (= *ü*), und die ursprünglich mit den Endungen *-mak*, *-mek* aufgezeichneten hatte er nachträglich auch verbessert. In meiner Veröffent-

[3] Über das ganze Material habe ich eine umfassende Darlegung im Band 16 der *Acta Orient. Hung.* (1963), SS. 83–97. gegeben. Die beiden ersten kasantatarischen Bände der Folkloresammlung sind bereits erschienen (*Kasantatarische Volkslieder.* Auf Grund der Sammlung von Ignác Kúnos herausgegeben von Zsuzsa Kakuk. Budapest, 1980, 141 S. = Oriental Studies No. 4, *Kasantatarische Volksmärchen.* Auf Grund der Sammlung von Ignác Kúnos herausgegeben von Zsuzsa Kakuk und Imre Baski. Budapest, 1989, 221 S. = Oriental Studies No. 8), der dritte kasantatarische Band (*Kasantatarisches Wörterverzeichnis.* Aufgrund der Sammlung von Ignác Kúnos herausgegeben von Zsuzsa Kakuk) und der erste krimtatarische Band (*Kırım-Tatar Şarkıları.* I. Kúnos'un derlemesinden neşreden Zsuzsa Kakuk) stehen unter Druck.

[4] Die Karaimen, denen Kúnos begegnet war, hielten sich für Abkömmlinge der Chasaren. Kúnos spricht öfters davon, aber seine Formulierung scheint undeutlich zu sein. Am Ende seiner Sammlung (Ms. p. 18) faßt er aber seine Ansichten zusammen. Seiner Meinung nach lebten auf der Krimhalbinsel ursprünglich drei, von einander getrennte jüdische Gruppen: 1. „das eingeborene tatarsprachige Judentum", 2. „das karaitische Judentum", 3. „das chasarsprachige Tatarentum bzw. Türkentum". Gleich am Anfang des Manuskriptes (Ms. p. 1) berichtet er darüber, daß die Karaimen ursprünglich verschiedenen Geschlechts und die sich für chasarische Abstammung erklärenden wegen ihrer sprachlichen und religiösen Identität verschmolzen wären, während sie sich von den krimtatarisch sprechenden Juden ferngehalten hätten.

lichung gebe ich die Verbalstämme an. Die türkische Bedeutung bringe ich der heutigen türkischen Orthographie entsprechend. Die ungarische Bedeutung übersetze ich in jedem Fall ins Deutsche. Wenn es in manchen Fällen die türkische oder die der ungarischen entsprechende deutsche Bedeutung fehlen würde, das widerspiegelt die ursprüngliche Inkonsequenz des Manuskriptes von Kúnos.

Die Angabe von Kúnos vergleiche ich dann mit der Angabe des karaimischen Wörterbuchs bzw. mit krimtatarischen Angaben, und falls ich solche nicht anführen könnte, mit kasantatarischen Angaben oder mit den aus anderen türkischen Sprachen. Zu einigen Wörtern hatte ich weder im Karaimischen noch in anderen türkischen Sprachen Äquivalente gefunden. Die Bedeutungsdefinitionen der russischen Wörterbücher habe ich ins Deutsche übersetzt.

Ich veröffentliche dieses Wörterverzeichnis in der Hoffnung, daß es sogar nach dem Dasein des — auch das Material der früheren Bearbeitungen, Manuskripten umfassenden, hervorragenden — *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'*-s nicht nutzlos sei, dieses aus den Jahren 1925—28 stammende, manchmal auch ungewöhnliche Formen vorweisende Wörterverzeichnis herauszugeben.

In der Verzettlung des Wortmaterials und in der Suche der karaimischen lexikalischen Angaben waren mir meine beiden Studentinnen Ildikó Bellér und Gyöngyi Hegedűs behilflich. Auch solcherweise möchte ich mich dafür bei ihnen bedanken.

Abkürzungen

arm-kiptsch.	= armenisch-kiptschakisch
balk.	= balkarisch
Chr.	= *Krimtatarische Chrestomathie aus Gegenwartstexten.* Herausgegeben von Ilhan Çeneli und Ernst August Gruber. Mit einer Einleitung von Horst Wilfrid Brands. 1980 = Frankfurter Turkologische Arbeitsmittel. Band 2.
DerlS	= *Türkiye'de Halk Ağzından Derleme Sözlüğü.* I—XII. Ankara, 1963—1982.
Dev.	= Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat.* Ankara, 1970.
HŞ	= Heuser—Şevket, *Türkisch-deutsches Wörterbuch verfaßt und herausgegeben von Fritz Heuser.* 6., unveränderte Auflage. Wiesbaden, 1967.
kar. h.	= halicz-karaimisch
kar. k.	= krimkaraimisch
kar. t.	= troki-karaimisch
karatsch.	= karatschaisch
KarRPSl.	= *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'.* Pod red. N. A. Baskakova, A. Zajončkovskogo, S. M. Šapšala. Moskva, 1974.

kas. = kasantatarisch
Kow. = Tadeusz Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki*. W Krakowie, 1929.
krm. = krimtatarisch
KrmRSl. = *Krymskotatarsko-russkij slovar'*. Sostaviteli: S. A. Asanov, A. N. Garkavec, S. M. Useinov. Kiev, 1988.
ksk. = kasakisch
Kúnos = nach „kas.": *Kasantatarisches Wörterverzeichnis*. Aufgrund der Sammlung von Ignác Kúnos herausgegeben von Zsuzsa Kakuk. (in Druck)
nach „krm": *Krimtatarisches Wörterverzeichnis*. Aufgrund der Sammlung von Ignác Kúnos herausgegeben von Zsuzsa Kakuk (in Vorbereitung)
Ms. = in Kúnos' Manuskript
osm. = osmanisch
PdC = M. Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turk-Oriental*. Paris, 1870.
Pröhle = nach „balk.": Wilhelm Pröhle, [Balkarisches] Wörterverzeichnis. In: *Keleti Szemle* 15, 1914–15, 196–270.
nach „karatsch.", Wilhelm Pröhle, Karatschaisches Wörterverzeichnis. In: *Keleti Szemle* 10, 1909, 83–150.
Radl. = W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*. I–IV. Sanktpeterburg, 1893–1911.
Räs. = Martti Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*. Helsinki, 1969.
Sul. = Józef Sulimowicz, Materiał leksykalny krymsko-karaimskiego zabytku językowego (druk z 1734 g.). II. Słownik-Dictionnaire. In: *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* T. XXXVI, 1973, pp. 47–107.
tat. = tatarisch
TatDWb. = Tamurbek Dawletschin, Irma Dawletschin, Semih Tezcan, *Tatarisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Wiesbaden, 1989.
TatRSl. = *Tatarsko-russkij slovar'*. Zav. red. D. V. Golovkina. Moskva, 1966.
Tryj. = Edward Tryjarski, *Dictionnaire arméno-kiptschak d'après trois manuscript des collections viennoises*. Tom I. Fascicule 1–4. Warszawa, 1968–1972.
tschag. = tschaghataisch

A

abdes yoldaş, arkadaş; Reisegenosse
abdïra- hayran olmak (sic); recte: fürchten, erschrecken. — Vgl. kar. k. *abdïra-* erschrecken, unruhig werden (*KarRPSl.*)
abdïrat- şaşırmak (sic); recte :(jn.) erschrecken. — Vgl. kar. k. *abdïrat-* (jn.) erschrecken (*KarRPSl.*)
abïsta, *abïtay* kızkardeş; Schwester. — Vgl. Kas. *abïstai* 1. ältere Schwester, Verwandte; 2. ehrende Anrede an ältere Frauen (Radl. I, 629); *abïsta* Schwester (Anredeform) (Kúnos); Schor W. *abïdai* der Namensvetter (Radl. I, 629)

abza büyük birader; älterer Bruder. — Vgl. Kas. *abzï* 1. älterer Bruder; 2. ehrende Anrede an ältere Männer (Radl. I, 636); *abzï, abzi, abza* älterer Bruder, Onkel; Tante (Kúnos)

ač- aç olmak; hungrig sein. — Vgl. Kas.Krm. TO. Uig. *ač-* hungrig sein, hungern (Radl. I, 501); tat. *ač-* id. (*TatDWb.*); kar. k. *ačïq-*, h. *acïk-*, t. *ačïχ-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ačïq geöffnet s. *ayrïm ačïq*

ačqïč anahtar; Schlüssel. — Vgl. kar. k. *ačqïč*, h. *ackïc*, t. *ačχïč* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ačυ gazap; Zorn. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *ačuv*, h. *acuv* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ačulan- gücenmek. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *ačuvlan-*, h. *acuvla-* zürnen (*KarRPSl.*)

ačulandïr gücendirmek. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *ačuvlandïr-* ärgern, erzürnen (*KarRPSl.*)

aǯïq- acele etmek; eilen. — Vgl. kar. k. *ašïq-*, h. *asïk-* t. *ašïχ-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

aǯïqtïr- acele ettirmek. — Vgl. kar. k. *ašïqtïr-* jn. zur Eile antreiben (*KarRPSl.*)

adam Mensch. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *adam* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

adaš- yolu kaybetmek, şaşırmak; sich verirren, sich verwirren. — Vgl. kar. k. *adaš-*, k. t. *azaš-*, h. *azas-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ayay büyük birader; älterer Bruder. — Vgl. Kas. *ayay* Brüderchen, Onkel (Anrede) (Radl. I, 145); Krm. *aqay* Anrede an einen fremden Mann, dessen Namen man nicht kennt (Radl. I, 97); kar. k. t. *aya* älter, älterer Mann (*KarRPSl.*)

al ön (das, was vorn ist); *alda* evvelde (zuerst, früher); *aldan* evvelden (schon früher). — Vgl. Kas. Uig. *al* der vordere Theil (Radl. I, 349); kas. *al* Vorderteil; *alda* vorn; *aldan* von vorne (Kúnos).

al- nehmen: *alïrkeč* alırken; *tïnïš al-* nefes almak; atmen; *taba al-* finden können. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *al-* nehmen (*KarRPSl.*)

aladay s. *alay*

alan orman içindeki boşluk; leere Stelle im Walde. — Vgl. Kas. Osm. *alan* lichte Stelle im Walde (Radl. I, 359); tat. *alan* Lichtung (TatDWb.); krm. *alan* Wiese (*KrmRSl.*)

alay, aladay öyle; so; *alayraq* daha ziyade; mehr, mehr als. — Vgl. kar. k.h. *alay*, t. *alïy, aley* so (*KarRPSl.*); t. *alay, aley* id. (Kow.)

alïš- güreşmek. — Vgl. tat. *alïš-* sich messen mit jm. (*TatRSl.*); kas. *alïš-* einen Wettkampf tragen, mit jm. kämpfen (Kúnos)

alïš-biriš alışveriş; Verkauf, Handel. — Vgl. kar. k. *alïš-veriš*, t. *alïš-ƀeriš* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

alma Apfel. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *alma* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

almaš- yerine koymak (sic); tauschen. — Vgl. krm. *almaš-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *almaš-* id. (*TatDWb.*, Kúnos)

ana Mutter: *quda ana* Schwiegermutter. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *ana* Mutter (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *quda, tizanay*

anǯa mutlaka; unbedingt (sic); recte: soviel. — Vgl. kar. t. *anča, ančе*, h. *anca* soviel (*KarRPSl.*)

andïz damar otu (Andys). — Vgl. Osm. Krm. *andïz* eine Pflanze, die als Heilmittel gegen Pferde- und Schafkrankheiten benutzt wird (inula helenium) (Radl. I, 240)

anïsï orası; jener. — Vgl. tat. *ansï* jener (*TatDWb.*)

aŋ- erwähnen. — Vgl. kar. k. *aŋ-* sich erinnern, erwähnen (*KarRPSl.*); Ad. Osm. Krm. Uig. *aŋ-* sich erinnern, sich in's Gedächtnis rufen, denken (Radl. I, 183)

apšïq uşak; Diener, Knecht

apte abla; Schwester. — Vgl. krm. *apte* id. (*KrmRSl., Chr.*, Kúnos)

ar- yorulmak. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *arï-* mager, krank, müde werden (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *ar-* ermüden (*TatDWb.*, Kúnos); krm. *arï-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

arba araba. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *araba* Wagen (*KarRPSl.*); Kir. [= ksk.] Kas. Krm. *arba* id. (Radl. I, 335)

arč- temizlemek; reinigen. — Vgl. krm. *arčï-* (dial.) id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *arč-, arčï-* id. (Kúnos); tat. *arč-, ärč-* id. (*TatRSl.*)

arčïyan temizlenmiş; gereinigt. — Vgl. *arč-* reinigen.

ardïr- yorutmak; ermüden, müde machen. — Vgl. tat. *ardïr-, arït-* id. (*TatDWb.*). — S. *ar-*

aryan yorgun; müde, ermüdet. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *arïyan* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *arïyan* id. (*TatDWb.*). — S. *ar-*

arχ küçük çay yolu (sic); recte: Bewässerungskanal. — Vgl. kar. k. *arïq* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *arïq* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

arï ileri, sonra; dahin, weiter; *mundan arï* bundan sonra; danach, darauf. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *arï* dorthin, dahin, nach jenseits; danach; h. *ari* dort (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *munnan arï* danach, darauf (Kúnos)

arïq I. s. *arχ*

arïq II. sepet; Korb

arïš I. çavdar. — Vgl. kar. k. *arïš* Roggen (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *arïš* id. (Kúnos)

arïš II. arabanın oku; Achsen. — Vgl. kar. k. *arïš* Gabelarm, Deichsel, Deichsgabel, Wagengabel (*KarRPSl.*)

arqan urgan, kalın ip; Seil, Strick. — Vgl. kar. k. *örken*, t. *örkań*, h. *arkan, erken* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *arkan* Fangschlinge, Lasso (*TatDWb.*)

arqïlï öte; *yul arqïlï* yoldan öte; jenseits des Weges. — Vgl. kas. *arkïlï* quer, durch (Kúnos); Kas. *arqlï* id. (Radl. I, 293)

arlen- keyfi gitmek; die Lust verlieren (sic). — Vgl. kar. k. *arʹlen-, arlan-, erʹlen-* sich schämen (*KarRPSl.*); Kir. [= ksk.] Osm. Krm. *ārlan-* sich schämen, sich gekränkt fühlen (Radl. I, 304). — S. *arlïq*

arlï-birli o taraf, bu taraf; hin und her. — Vgl. kas. *arlï-birle* id. (Kúnos)

arlïq keyfsizlik (sic). — Vgl. kar. k. *arlïq* Schande, Scham (*KarRPSl.*); Osm. *ārlïq* Schwere, Gewicht, Bosheit, Beeinträchtigung (Radl. I, 305)

artqarï arkaya doğru; zurück, nach rückwärts. — Vgl. kar. k. *artqarï*, t. *artχarï*, h. *artkarï*, *atkarï*, *aytkarï* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

aru temiz; rein. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *aruv* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *aru* id. (*TatDWb.*)

arula- temizlemek. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *aruvla-* reinigen (*KarRPSl.*)

asra- beslemek; nähren. — Vgl. kar. k. *asra-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *asra-* auffüttern, aufziehen (*KrmRSl.*)

ast alt; Unterteil; *astïnda* altında; *ast yaq* alt taraf. — Vgl. kar. k. *ast* Untere, Unterteil (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *ast* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

aš Nahrung, Speise; *aš savutï* Geschirr für Speise. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *aš*, h. *as* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *ǯivuq aš*, *yïfaχ aši*

aša- yemek; essen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *aša-*, h. *asa-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ašat- yedirmek; ernähren. — Vgl. kar. k. *ašat-*, h. *asat-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

at at; Pferd; *at ǯik-* das Pferd anspannen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *at* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *at-qulaq*, *ǯik-*

at- atmak, vurmak; werfen, schießen; *taŋ at-* sabah olmak, dämmern; *top at-* kanonieren, mit Kanonen beschießen; *mïltïk at-*, *tüfenk at-* Mit Gewehr beschießen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *at-* werfen, schießen (*KarRPSl.*)

ata- I. tesmiye etmek; benennen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *ata-*, *ada-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ata- II. bağışlamak; schenken; eigentlich: das Geschenk vorherbestimmen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *ada-* ein Gelübde tun (*KarRPSl.*); Dsch. OT. Kar. T. L. *ata-*, *atta-*, *ada-* verloben, versprechen (Radl. I, 452); tat. *ata-* vorherbestimmen (*TatRSl.*)

ataq-mataq ufak-tefek; geringfügig, kleinwinzig

atau adak; Versprechen, Gelübde. — S. *ata-* II.

atïq s. *itik*

at-qulaq ıspanak; Spinat. — Vgl. krm. *atqulaq* 1. Sauerampfer; 2. timofejevka (= Lieschgras, Phleum) (*KrmRSl.*)

attïr- vurdurmak; werfen lassen. — S. *at-*

aul köy, kariye. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *avul* Dorf, Aul, Lager (*KarRPSl.*)

aulnïkï köylü. — Vgl. Kas. *aulnïkï* (von *aul* + *nïŋ* + *ki*) im Dorfe geboren (Radl. I, 77)

av- yıkılmak. — Vgl. krm. *av-* sich beugen, sich neigen (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *au-*, *av-* fallen, umfallen (Kúnos)

avdar- yıkmak. — Vgl. kar. k. *avdar-* umwenden (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *avdar-* umstürzen; zusammenbrechen (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *audar-* umwerfen, niederwerfen (Kúnos), umkippen, kentern (*TatDWb.*)

avuč Handvoll s. *uč*

ayaq Fuß. — Vgl. kar. k. *ayaq*, t. *ayaχ*, h. *ayak* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ayïl Bauchgurt des Pferdes. — Vgl. Krm. Kir. [= ksk.] *ayïl* id. (Radl. I, 221); tat. *ayel* Sattelgurt, Bauchriemen (Pferd) (*TatDWb.*)

ayqïr- yan bakmak (sic); recte: schreien, rufen. — Vgl. krm. *ayqïr-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

aylaqta mutlaka; unbedingt, jedenfalls. — Vgl. krm. *aylaq* sehr, zu viel, zu sehr (*KrmRSl.*); Krm. Osm. *aylaq* umsonst, unentgeltlich, ohne Arbeit (Radl. I, 35)

aylan- dönmek; sich abwenden, zurückkehren. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *aylan-*, k. *eyl'en-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

aynaǯï aldatıcı; Betrüger. — Vgl. kar. k. *ayneǯi*, *eyneǯi* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ayrïm ačïq açıktan açığa; deutlich, klar. — Vgl. Krm. Kas. *airïm ačïq* sehr deutlich (Radl. I, 30); kar. k. *ačïq*, t. *ačïχ*, h. *acïk* offen, klar, deutlich (*KarRPSl.*)

ayruq mukaddes; heilig. — Vgl. kar. k. *ayruγ*, *ayruq*, *ayruqsu*, *ayruqsï* id., t. *ayrïχsï* abgesondert, gewidmet, h. *ayrïksï* heilig (*KarRPSl*); k. *ayruqsu* saint (Sul.)

Aysülu Frauenname. — Vgl. kas. *Aysïlu* id. (Kúnos) < *ay* Mond (vgl. kar. k. t. h. *ay* id.: *KarRPSl.*) und *sïlu* schön. — S. *Sïlu Bike*

ayt-, *eyt-* söylemek; sagen, sprechen; *eytken* söyleyen; sagend, sprechend. — Vgl. kar. k. *ayt-*, *eyt-*, t. h. *ayt-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

aytuǯï söyleyen; der Sprecher. — Vgl. kar. t. *aytuvču*, *aytïvču*, h. *aytuvcu* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kar. t. *aytuvču*, *aytïvču* Sprecher; Person (eines Schauspiels) (Kow.)

az- zayıflamak. — Vgl. kar. k. *az-* errer, vaguer, se perdre, s'égarer (Sul.); karatsch. *az-* magern, herabkommen (Pröhle); Krm. Kir. [= ksk.] *az-* sich abhärmen, abmagern (Radl. I, 557). — S. *azay-*

azay- az kalmak, azalmak; weniger werden, sich vermindern. — Vgl. Kir. [= ksk.] Bar. Tob. Kas. Krm. *azai-* weniger werden, sich verringern, abnehmen (Radl. I, 557—8); tat. *azay-* sich vermindern, weniger werden (*TatDWb.*); kar. k. *azal-*, k. t. h. *azar-*, t. *azγay-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

azïq yemek; Nahrung. — Vgl. kar. k. *azïq*, t. *azïχ*, h. *azïk* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

B

baba s. *qart baba*, *quda baba*

baǯ kızkardeş; Schwester. — Vgl. Krm. *baǯ* die ältere Schwester (Radl. IV, 1521)

baǯa pencere; Fenster. — Vgl. kar. k. *baǯa* Schornstein (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *baǯa* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

baqa Frosch. — Vgl. kar. k. *baqa*, t. h. *bayа* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

baqïldaš- ses vermek; schnattern, quaken; *ördekler, baqalar baqïldašalar* die Enten schnattern, die Frösche quaken. — Vgl. krm. *baqïlda-* quaken (*KrmRSl.*); Kas. Tob. Kir. [= ksk.] *baqïlda-* schnattern, quaken, schwatzen (Radl. IV, 1440—1)

balaban büyük; groß, riesig. — Vgl. kar. k. *balaban* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

balavuz balmumu. — Vgl. kar. k. *balayuz*, k. t. h. *balavuz* Wachs (*KarRPSl.*)

bar: *barda birge* hepsi birde; alle zusammen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *bar* Existenz, Dasein, Zustand; aller, ganz (*KarRPSl.*); kar. t. ganz allein, all, gesamt (Kow.). — S. *birge*

bar-: *irge bar-* kocaya varmak; sich verheiraten. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *bar-* gehen (*KarRPSl.*)

barča hep, bütün; alle, ganz. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *barča*, h. *barca* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

bastïrïq hapishane; Gefängnis, Kerker. — Vgl. kar. k. *bastïrïq* Riegel (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *bastïrïq* 1. Gefängnis, Kerker; 2. Alpdruck (*KrmRSl.*)

baš: *yumaq baši* tekerleme; Eingang der Erzählung. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *baš*, h. *bas* Kopf, Haupt, Anfang (*KarRPSl.*)

bašmaχ zweijähriges Rind. — Vgl. tat. *bašmak* id. (*TatDWb.*); Dsch. *bašmaq* ein einjähriges Kalb (Radl. IV, 1561)

bašmaq Halbschuh. — Vgl. krm. *bašmaq* Schuh (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *bašmak* id. (*TatDWb.*)

batïr, matur bahadur; tapfer, heldenhaft. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *batïr*, k. t. h. *bayatïr* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

bau bağ; Bindung, Knoten. — Vgl. kar. k. *bay*, k. t. h. *bav* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

bay zengin; reich; *bay uli* ein reicher Sohn. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *bay* reich (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *ul*

bayayï öteki; jenseitig (sic). — Vgl. kar. k. *bayayï*, *bayaqï* recht viel, nicht wenige (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *bayayï* genug, genügend (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *bayayï* das vor kurzem Geschehene; was gerade gefallen ist; *baya* gerade eben, vorhin; unlängst, vor kurzem (*TatDWb.*)

bayyïš garip; fremd (sic). — Vgl. tat. *baygïš* 1. Uhu; 2. (fig.) einfältig, dumm (*TatDWb.*)

bayï- zengin olmak; reich werden. — Vgl. kar. k. *bayï-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

baylïq zenginlik; Reichtum. — Vgl. krm. *baylïq* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *isenlik baylïq*

baytal atın *ïryaǯi* soyu (s. *ïryaǯi*); Stute. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *baytal* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *baytal* junge Stute (*TatDWb.*)

baz çukur; Loch, Grube. — Vgl. kar. t. h. *baz* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

beχil bul- raz olmak. — Vgl. tat. *bäχil bul* vergeben, verzeihen (*TatDWb.*, Kúnos)

beleš hamurdan yapılmış yemek. — Vgl. tat. *bäleš* runde Teigspeise mit Füllung (*TatDWb.*)

ber I. geben s. *bir-*

ber- II. vurmak; schlagen, stoßen. — Vgl. tat. *bär-* id. (*TatDWb.*, Kúnos)

beril- vurulmak; sich stoßen. — Vgl. tat. *bäril* — (Kúnos), *bärel* — (*TatDWb.*)

beyle- bağlamak; binden. — Vgl. kar. k. *beyle-*, *bayla-*, t. h. *bayla-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

beylem bağlanmış; gebunden (sic); recte: Binden, Band. — Vgl. tat. *bäyläm* Bündel, Verband (*TatDWb.*), Bündel, Haufen (Kúnos)

bïqau Fessel. — Vgl. Kas. *bïγau* Fußfesseln (Radl. IV, 1726)

bič- kesmek, biçmek; schneiden, mähen, ernten. — Vgl. kar. k. *bič-*, h. *bic-* schneiden (*KarRPSl.*); Osm. Dsch. Krm. *bič-* 1. schneiden; 2. mähen, ernten (Radl. IV, 1780)

bik: *bik šeb* sehr schnell; *bik ülken* sehr groß. — Vgl. tat. *bik* sehr, äußerst (*TatDWb.*), *bik, bek* sehr, stark, fest (Kúnos)

bike avrat; Frau. — Vgl. kar. k. *biyke*, t. *biyča*, h. *biyće* Frau, gnädige Frau, h. *biče* Zarin (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *bikä* gnädige Frau; Hausherrin (*TatDWb.*). — S. *Sïlu Bike*

bikeš genç haram; junge Frau. — Vgl. tat. *bikäč* junge Frau (*TatDWb.*, Kúnos)

bilgi tamğa; Merkmal, Zeichen. — Vgl. kar. k. *biľgi* 1. Wissen; 2. Zeichen, k. t. h. *belgi* Zeichen, Merkmal (*KarRPSl.*)

bilgili malûm; bekannt. — Vgl. kar. k. *biľgili*, t. *ďeľgili*, k. h. *beľgili* bekannt, mit einem Kennzeichen versehen (*KarRPSl.*)

bir ein, einzig. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *bir* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

bir- vermek; geben; *bergeydim* vermiş olaydım; *berirkeč* verirren; *pey bir-* vorschießen. — Vgl. kar. k. *ver-*, k. h. *ber-*, t. *ďer-* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *irik bir-, pey bir-, iltip bir-*

bireülep allein. — Vgl. kar. h. *birev* ein, einzeln (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *birev* irgendein, jemand (*Chr.*); *bräü* id. (Kúnos)

birge: *barda birge* hepsi birde; alle zusammen. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *birge*, k. *birga*, t. *birǵa*, t. h. *birǵe* zusammen (*KarRPSl.*)

biriš s. *alïš — biriš*

bit büyük (sic); recte: auch, wahrlich; doch (Verstärkungspartikel); *zur bit* pek büyük; eigentlich: wirklich sehr groß. — Vgl. kas. *bit* III. Verstärkungswort: und, auch, wahrlich (Kúnos)

bitik kitap; Buch. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *bitik* Brief, Schrift, Text, Buch (*KarRPSl.*)

bitiklik Bibliothek. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *bitiklik* Bücherschrank, Bibliothek (*KaRPSl.*)

biye kısrak; Stute; *tü biye* Kamelstute. — Vgl. kar. k. *biye* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *biyä* id. (*TatDWb.*, Kúnos)

biyik yüksek; hoch. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *biyik* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

biz wir. — Vgl. kar. t. *biź*, h. *biz, bis* id. (*KarRPSl.*); k. *biz* id. (Sul.)

bol-, bul- olmak. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *bol-* sein, existieren, werden (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *beχil bul-, saq bol-*

bollaš- s. *sau bollaš-*

bolun- bulunmak. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *bolun-* geschehen, werden (*KarRPSl.*)

bora erkek deve; Kamelhengst. — Vgl. Kir. [= ksk.] *būra* id. (Radl. IV, 1807)

borbay baldır, ayak baldırı. — Vgl. Kir. [= ksk.] *borbai, borpai* der Zwischenraum zwischen den Beinen, der Schenkel, die Weichen (Radl. IV, 1669)

borč lahana çorbası; Kohlsuppe. — Vgl. russ. *borščˊ* id.

borq, burïq kalpak; Mütze. — Vgl. kar. k. *börk*, t. *ƀork*, h. *berk* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *bürek bürik* id. (Kúnos). — S. *burïqčï*

boron s. *burun*

boronγu s. *burunγu*

bosaγa eşik; Schwelle. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *bosaγa*, t. h. *basaγa* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

bota deve yavrusu. — Vgl. kar. k. *bota* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *bota* id. (*KrmRSl.*) — S. *susïr botasï*

botqa pilâv; gedünsteter Reis. — Vgl. krm. *botqa* Mehlsuppe (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *butka* Brei (*TatDWb.*); Kir. [= ksk.] *botka* gekochte Grütze, Grützbrei (Radl. IV, 1676)

boy I. (Wuchs, Gestalt; Länge, Rand, Ufer): *yalï boyu tatar* Tatar aus dem Ufer des Meeres. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *boy* Figur, Gestalt (*KarRPSl.*); kas *buyï* im Laufe, entlang; z. B. *yar buyï* am Ufer (Kúnos)

boy II. (frei, unabhängig): *boy qïz* bakire; Jungfrau; *boy oγlan* bekâr; Junggeselle. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *boy* frei, unabhängig; k. *boy-qïz* Jungfrau, t. h. *boy-kïz* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

boydaq bekâr; ledig, unverheiratet; Junggeselle. — Vgl. kar. k. *boydaq*, t. *boydaχ* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

boyun s. *moyïn*

boyunsa s. *moyïnsa*

börk s. *borq*

bu dieser; loc. *munda*; abl. *mundan*. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *bu*, k. *mu*; k. t. h. *bunda*, k. *munda, mïnda*; k. *mïndan* (*KarRPSl.*)

bul- s. *bol-*

bulay böyle; solcher, so. — Vgl. kar. k. *bolay, bïlay*, k. h. *bulay*, t. *boley, buley, buluy* (*KarRPSl.*)

bulγa- çevirmek; drehen (sic); recte: mischen, vermischen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *bulγa-*, k. *bolγa-* mischen, stören, trüben (*KarRPSl.*)

bulγat- çevirtmek (sic); recte: vermischen lassen, stören lassen. — Vgl. kar. k. *bulγat-* vermischen, stören (*KarRPSl.*)

burč- rahatsız etmek; beunruhigen, stören. — Vgl. tat. *borč-* id. (*TatDWb.*), *burč-* id. (Kúnos)

burčï pire; Floh. — Vgl. kar. k. *bïrče, bürče, burača*, t. *birča*, h. *birće* id. (*KarRPSl.*); k. *búrčá* id. (Sul.)

burïq s. *borq*

burïqčï Mützenmacher. — S. *borq, burïq*

burïš borç; Schuld, Verpflichtung. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *borč*, h. *borc* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *burïč* id. (*TatDWb.*)

buri kurt; Wolf. — Vgl. kar. k. *börü*, t. *beri, ƀoŕu*, h. *beri* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *börü* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *büre, büri bre* id. (Kúnos)

buruč biber; Pfeffer. — Vgl. kar. t. *burč*, h. *burc* id. (*KarRPSl.*); Tob. *buruč* id. (Radl. IV, 1825)

burun Nase s. *murïn*

burun, boron evvel; vor, früher. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *burun* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

burunγu, boronγu: *burunγu čaq* evvel zaman; einst, vormals, vor langer Zeit; *boronγu kiši* vorheriger Mensch. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *burunγu*, k. *burunγï* der frühere, alte (*KarRPSl.*)

busï (sic) burası; dieser, hier, dieser Ort. — Vgl. k. t. h. *bu* dieser (*KarRPSl.*)

butarla- ağacın budaklarını kırmak. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *butarla-* zerbrechen, abbrechen (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *botarla-* zerhauen, entzweihauen (*TatDWb.*); kas. *butïrla-* zerhauen, zerspalten (Kúnos)

buyruq emr; Befehl. — Vgl. kar. k. *buyruq, buyrïq, buyuruq*, t. *buyruχ*, h. *buyruk* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

buz: *buz qattï* das Eis ist gefroren. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *buz* Eis (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *qat-*

büldürgü kırbaç kayışları; die Riemenschlinge am Peitschenstiele. — Vgl. Dsch. *büldürgä*, Kir. [= ksk.] *büldürgö* id. (Radl. IV, 1895)

bülme oda; Zimmer. — Vgl. tat. *bülmä* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *bülmä* id. (Kúnos)

bütünley büs-bütün; vollständig, völlig (adv.). — Vgl. kar. k. *bütünl'ein* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *bütünley* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *bötenläy* id. (*TatDWb.*)

Č

čabla yemeni; Pantoffel. — Vgl. krm. *čabla* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

čaγaraq ev bacası; Schornstein, Kamin

čaq vakit; Zeit; *burunγu čaq* evvel zaman; vor langer Zeit; *bu čaqlï* bukadar; bis jetzt; *šul čaqta* şu vakit; zu dieser Zeit. — Vgl. kar. k. *čaγ*, h. *cak* Zeit (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čaγ* id. (*KrmRSl.*): tat. *čaklï* bis (*TatDWb.*)

čaqïr-, çağırmak; rufen, einladen. — Vgl. kar. k. *čaqïr-*, k. t. *čaγïr-*, h. *caγïr-*, *cakïrna-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

čaqïrïm Werst, russische Meile. — Vgl. tat. *čakrïm* Werst (= 1.067 km.) (*TatDWb.*); kas. *čakïrïm* id. (Kúnos)

čaqšïr s. *šaqšïr*

čalaš kulübe; Hütte. — Vgl. kar. k. *čalaš* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čalaš* id. (*KrmRSl.*). Vgl. noch russ. *šalaš* id.

čalï Strauch, Busch. — Vgl. kar. k. *ǯalï, čalï-čïrpï* Gebüsch, Gesträuch (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čalï* Strauch, Busch (*KrmRSl.*); osm. *çalı* id. (HŞ). — S. *čalï qorayï* unten *qoray*

čalqa- sırt üzere yatmak; auf dem Rücken liegen. — Vgl. krm. *čalqa* Rücken, *čalqa tüšüp yatmaq* auf dem Rücken liegen (*KrmRSl.*), *čalqa* Rücken, *čalqa tüšüp yatmap* auf dem Rücken liegen (*KrmRSl.*), *čalqa* auf dem Rükken liegend (*Chr.*); tat. *čalkan* rücklings, auf dem Rücken (*TatDWb.*)

čalma sarık; Turban. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *čalma*, h. *calma* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čalma* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

čaŋ toz; Staub. — Vgl. Dsch. Tar. Kkir. *čaŋ* id. (Radl. III, 1851)

čap- koşmak; laufen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *čap-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

čapčaq büyük fıçı. — Vgl. kar. k. *čapčaq*, t. *čapčaχ*, h. *capcak* Faß, Kübel (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čapčaq* Faß (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *čapčak* (dial.) id. (*TatDWb.*)

čavkï Dohle. — Vgl. kar. k. *čavka* Vogel (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čavke* Dohle (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *čäükä* id. (*TatDWb.*)

čaynïq, čaydannïq Teekanne. — Vgl. kar. h. *čay* Tee (*KarRPSl.*). S. russ. *čaynik* Teekanne

čayra- yayılmak; sich ausbreiten. — Vgl. kar. k. *ǯay-*, k. t. h. *yay-* ausbreiten (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *ǯäyrä-* = *ǯayel-* sich ausbreiten ((*TatRSl.*)

čeber s. *čiber*

čeč- ekin saçmak. — Vgl. kar. k. *sač-*, *seč-*, t. *čač-*, h. *cac-* säen (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *sač-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *čäč-* id. (*TatDWb.*)

ček Ende s. *čïq*

čelek kova, su kovası. — Vgl. kar. k. *čelek*, t. *čeľak*, *čoľak*, *čaľak*, h. *celek* Eimer (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čelik* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *čilek* id. (*TatDWb.*)

čeltek kalbur; Sieb. — Vgl. krm. *čeltek* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

čenge çene; Kinn. — Vgl. kar. k. *čenge*, h. *cenǵe* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čenge* Kinnbacken (*KrmRSl.*)

čepken asker setresi. — Vgl. osm. *çepken* die Art, kurze Jacke, deren Ärmel an den Seiten offen sind (HŞ)

čïbïq değnek, Stock. — Vgl. kar. k. *čubuq*, t. *čibuχ*, *čïbïχ*, h. *cubuk*, *cïbuk*, *cïbïk* Stock; Pfeifenrohr (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čubuq* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

čïbïn sinek; Fliege. — Vgl. kar. k. *čïbïn*, t. *čibin*, h. *cibin* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

čïda- sabretmek; geduldig sein. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *čïda-*, k. *ǯïda-*, h. *cïda-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čïda-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *čïda-*, *čidä-* id. (Kúnos)

čïdavlï sabırlı; geduldig. — Vgl. kar. k. *ǯïdav*, t. *čïdav*, h. *cïdav* Geduld; t. *čïdavsïz* ungeduldig (*KarRPSl.*)

čïγsïz sonsuz; endlos. — Vgl. *čïq*

čïq (sic) son, uç; Ende; *čïγï yuq* sonu yok; es hat keine Ende. — Vgl. kar. k. *ček*, t. *ček*, h. *cek* Grenze (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *čik* Grenze, Rain, Mark, Ende, Rahmen; kas. *čik*, *ček* Rand; Ende, Grenze, Termin (Kúnos)

čïlbur peygir dizgini (Zügel). — Vgl. Dsch. OT. Tar. *čilbur* die Pferdeleine (Radl. III, 2140)

čïlγa- sarmak; winden, umwinden. — Vgl. kar. k. *čurγa-*, *čorγa-*, *čerǵe-*, t. *čulγa-*, *čerǵa-*, *čorǵa-*, h. *cerǵe-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *čilγa-* umgehen, umzingeln (Kúnos); tat. *čolγa-* id. (*TatRSl.*)

čïlpïq çapak; Augenbutter. — Vgl. Dsch. OT. Osm. *čilpik* id. (Radl. III, 2139)

čïn wahr, richtig s. *učun*

čïŋ beyit; Vers. — Vgl. krm. *čïŋ* Gattung der Volksdichtung (*KrmRSl.*, *Chr.*)

čïŋla- beyit söylemek; Vers sagen; klingen; *qulayï čïŋlay* es klingt ihm in den Ohren. — Vgl. kar. k. *čïŋla-*, t. *čïnla-*, h. *cïnla-* id. (*KarRPSl.*);

krm. *čïŋla-* klingen, hallen, tönen (*Chr.*), *qulaγïm čïŋlay* es klingt mir in den Ohren (*KrmRSl.*)

čïpčïq Sperling. — Vgl. kar. t. *čïpčïχ*, h. *cipcik*, *cïpcïk* Vogel (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *čïpčïk* Sperling, Spatz (*TatDWb.*)

čïray yüz; Gesicht. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *čïray* k. *čirey*, t. *čaray*, *čïray*, *čeray*, h. *cïray* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čïray* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *čïtïq čïray*, *yaqtï čïray*

čïraysïz yüzsüz; frech, unverschämt. — Vgl. *čïray*

čïrma- s. *čirma-*

čïrnïq akar su; fließendes Wasser. — Vgl. kar. k. *čïrnïq*, *čïrnaq*, *čirnik*, t. *čïrlaχ*, h. *cïrlak* Strom, Fluß (*KarRPSl.*)

čït s. *cit*

čïtïq: *čïtïq čïray* çirkin yüz; häßliches Gesicht. — Vgl. kar. k. *čatïq* runzelig, zusammengepreßt (Augenbraue) (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *čïtïk* trübe, finster; unfreundlich (*TatDWb.*); kas. *yüz čït-* das Gesicht verzerren (vor Wut) (Kúnos); osm. *çatık* gerunzelt (z. B. Stirn) (HŞ)

čiber güzel; schön. — Vgl. kar. k. *čeber*, *čeb̆er*, t. *čeb̆ar*, h. *ceber* anmutig, niedlich, hübsch (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čeber* geschickt (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *čibär*, *čebär* hübsch, schön (Kúnos)

čilbur s. *čïlbur*

čille ağustos; August. — Vgl. kar. k. *čil'le* Hochsommer, Ferien (*KarRPSl.*)

čilpik s. *čïlpïq*

čilter püskül; Franse; Locke. — Vgl. kar. k. *čil'ter* Gitter aus Holz, Gitterwand (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *čeltär* Spitze; Netz (*TatDWb.*); kas. *čiltär*, *šiltär* Spitze, Franse; *čiltärle* verziert, geschnitzt; mit Gitter versehen (Kúnos)

čimtiyan şalvar; weite, lange Frauenhosen. — Vgl. Krm. *čïmtïyan* id. (Radl. III, 2104); Osm. *čintiyan* id. (Radl. III, 2122)

čipče piliç; Küchlein. — Vgl. kar. k. *čipče*, t. *čipča*, h. *cipce* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čipče* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

čirma- sarmak; wickeln. — Vgl. kar. k. *čirmaš-* flechten, klöppeln (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čïrma-* umschlingen, umwinden, einwickeln (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *čïrma-* wickeln (Kúnos)

čit kenar; Rand, Seite, Ufer. — Vgl. kar. k. *čït* Zaun, Umzäugung (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čït* Zaun, Flechtzaun; Umzäunung (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *čit*, *čet* Rand, Grenze, Seite (Kúnos)

čobanka uzun kalpak. — Vgl. ? kar. k. *čoban* Hirt (*KarRPSl.*)

čočqa s. *čušqa*

čoqan- sarhoş olmak; betrunken sein

čoqmar topuz; Keule, Streitkolben. — Vgl. kar. k. *čoqmar* Schlag, Prügel; Schild, t. *čoχmar* Keule, h. *cokmar* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čoqmar* Keule (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *čukmar* id. (*TatDWb.*)

čoqraq çeşme; Quelle. — Vgl. kar. k. *čoqraq*, t. *čoγarak*, *čoγaraχ*, h. *coγarak* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čoqraq* Quelle (*KrmRSl.*)

čolpan sabah yıldızı. — Vgl. kar. k. *čolpan* Morgenstern (Venus) (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čolpan* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *čulpan* id. (*TatDWb.*)

čomïč kepçe. — Vgl. kar. k. *čomïč*, t. *čoṁuč* Schaumlöffel, Schöpfkelle (*KarRPSl.*)

čonqay- ata binmek (sic). — Vgl. krm. *čoŋqay-* (dial.) sich niedersetzen, sich hinsetzen (*KrmRSl.*); Dsch. V. *čonkai-* auf den zusammengezogenen Beinen sitzen, niederhocken (Radl. II, 2018)

čontïq kısa zurna (sic); kurze Pfeile. — Vgl. kar. k. *čontïq* verkürzt, geschnitten; *čontïq quyrïqlï* mit gestütztem Schwanz (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čontuq* gestützt; kurz (*KrmRSl.*); Tel. *čontïq*, *čoltïq* ohne Schwanz, schwanzlos (Radl. III, 2018, 2024). — S. *čontoχ tay*

čontoχ tay altı aylık at. — Vgl. krm. *čon tay*, *čontoχ tay* Fohlen 6 Monate alt (Kúnos). — S. *contïq*

čöl: *čöl-tatar* in den krimischen Bergen lebender Tatar (recte: Tatar von der Steppe). — Vgl. kar. k. *čöl'* Steppe, Wüste (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čöl* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *tatar*

čubar febral ayı; Februar. — Vgl. ? kar. k. *čubaŕ* bunt, scheckig, gefleckt (*KarRPSl.*)

čuyïn Eisen, Erz. — Vgl. kar. k. *čuyun*, *čüyun*, t. *čoyun*, h. *coyun* Gußeisen; Kessel (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *čuyïn*, *čuyin* Gußeisen (Kúnos)

čulγa-, *čurγa-* umwinden s. *čïlγa-*

čušqa domuz; Schwein. — Vgl. kar. k. *čočqa* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *čočqa* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

ǯ

ǯab- s. *yap-*

ǯabïq kapalı. — Vgl. kar. k. *yabïq*, t. *yabuχ*, h. *yabuk* geschlossen (*KarRPSl.*); k. *yabuq* id. (Sul.); krm. *yapïq* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *yapïq* id. (*TatDWb.*). — S. *yap-*

ǯabtïr- kapatmak. — Vgl. tat. *yaptïr-* schließen lassen (*TatRSl.*)

ǯaq diş etleri; Zahnfleisch. — Vgl. Kir. [= ksk.] Kas. *ǯaq* die Wange (Radl. IV, 10); Alt. Leb. Soj. Küär. Kumd. Kom. *yāq* die Wange, Backe (Radl. III, 22)

ǯala- 1. yalamak; lecken; 2. çalışmak; anstrengen, streben. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yala-* lecken (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yala-* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *ǯalaγay*

ǯalaγay çalışkan. — Vgl. tat. *yalagay* Schmeichler; Speichellecker (*TatDWb.*). — S. *ǯala-*

ǯalaq köpek yemeği (sic); recte: Schüssel für Hundefutter. — Vgl. krm. *yalaq* Schüssel (für das Füttern des Hundes) (*KrmRSl.*); osm. *yalak* Trog, Tränktrog, Wassertrog; Tränke (HŞ)

ǯalda- s. *yalda-*

ǯalïn- yalvarmak; bitten, anflehen. — Vgl. kar. k. *yalvar-*, k. t. h. *yalbar-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *yalïn-*, *ǯalïn-* id. (Kúnos); tat. *yalïn-* id. (*TatDWb.*); Alt. Tel. Küär. Kas. Uig. *yalïn-* id. (Radl. III, 167)

ǯanaš insanın sevdiği kişi. — Vgl. kas. *ǯanaš* Liebchen (Kúnos); tat. *ǯanaš* Geliebte; geliebte Gattin (*TatDWb.*)

ǯančï yürüyücü, mabeyinci (sic). — Vgl. osm. *yansı* nach der Seite hängend; einseitig (HŞ); zu einer Seite hinneigend (Radl. III, 98)

ǯančïla- yürümek; gehen (sic). — Vgl. Osm. R. *yansïla-* zu einer Seite sich hinneigen (Radl. III, 98)

ǯandavur taraftar. — Vgl. Kkir. *yanda-* zur Seite nehmen (Radl. III, 92)

ǯap- s. *yap-*

ǯapma tezek (Torfkuchen, Düngerkuchen zum Heizen). — Vgl. krm. *ǯapma* Bewurf, Mauerbewurf (Kúnos)

ǯarkoy kebap; Braten. — Vgl. russ. *ǯarkoe* id.

ǯartï s. *yartï*

ǯartï-ǯurtï eski püskü. — Vgl. krm. *ǯartï-ǯurtu* yırtık pırtık (vollständig zerrissen) (Kúnos); tat. *yartï-yortï* unbestimmt, nachlässig; soso (*TatRSl.*)

ǯaslan- yaslanmak; sich anlehnen (an etw.). — Vgl. kar. k. *yaslan-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yaslan-* sich hinlegen (*KrmRSl.*)

ǯat yabancı fremd. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yat* ausländisch, fremd, fremdartig, anderer (*KarRPSl.*); krm. (dial.) *yat* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *yat*, *ǯat* id. (Kúnos)

ǯav düşmen; Feind; *ǯav ǯürekli* düşmen yürekli; feindselig. — Vgl. krm. (veraltet) *yav* Feind (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *yau* id. (*TatDWb.*)

ǯayav, *ǯeyev* yayan; zu Fuß; *ǯeyev yürü-* yayan yürümek; zu Fuß gehen. — Vgl. kar. k. *ǯayav*, *yayuv*, k. t. h. *yayav*, *yayan* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yayan* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *ǯäyäü* id. (Kúnos). — S. *ǯeyevlep*

ǯayra- s. *čayra-*

ǯe yā, oh; nun! he!. — Vgl. kas. *yä*, *ǯä* id. (Kúnos)

ǯekken s. *ǯikken*

ǯel rüzgâr, yel; Wind; *ǯel ise* yel eser. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yeľ*, h. *yel* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *ǯeltirmen*

ǯelin emçik, meme. — Vgl. Kir. [= ksk.] *ǯelin* das Euter (Radl. IV, 78); Tar. Kom. Dsch. OT *yälin* das Euter, das Euter der Stute (Radl. III, 350)

ǯeltirmen yel değirmeni; Windmühle. — Vgl. osm. *yel değirmeni* id. (HŞ). — S. *ǯel, tirmen*

ǯenlik hayvan; Tier. — Vgl. tat. *ǯänlek* Wildtier, Jagdtier (*TatDWb.*)

ǯeyev s. *ǯayav*

ǯeyevlep yayan; zu Fuß. — Vgl. kas. *ǯäyäüle-* zu Fuß gehen, *ǯäyäüläp* zu Fuß (Kúnos). — S. *ǯayav*, *ǯeyev*

ǯez s. *yiz*

ǯila-, ǯila- ağlamak; weinen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yïla-*, k. *ağla-*, t. *ila-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *ǯila-, yïla-* id. (Kúnos)

ǯilaš- zusammen weinen. — Vgl. kas. *ǯilaš, yïlaš-* id. (Kúnos)

ǯilat- ağlatmak; zum Weinen bringen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *yïlat-*, t. *ilat-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *yïlat-* id. (*TatRSl.*); kas. *ǯilat-* id. (Kúnos)

ǯilqï at, cins at, sürü peygiri; Hengst. — Vgl. kar. k. *yïlqï* Herde (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yïlqï* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *yïlkï, ǯilkï* Pferd, Hengst (Kúnos)

ǯïvuq çorba; Suppe; *ǯïvuq aš* id. — Vgl. osm. *cıvık* schmierig feucht; klebrig feucht (HŞ); dick flüssig (Radl. IV, 133)

ǯïyïl- toplanmak; sich versammeln. — Vgl. kar. k. *ǯïyïl-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *ǯïyïl-* id (*KrmRSl.*)

ǯïyïn ictima, cemiyet; Versammlung; *toy ǯïyïnï* Hochzeitsversammlung — Vgl. kar. k. *ǯïyïn, čïyïn* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *ǯïyïn* alle; die Welt (Kúnos)

ǯïyïnïš cemiyet; Versammlung, Gesellschaft. — Vgl. kas. *ǯïyïn-* sich versammeln (Kúnos); tat. *ǯiyeliš* Versammlung (*TatDWb.*); kar. k. *ǯïy-* sammeln (*KarRPSl.*)

ǯiber- s. *yiber-*

ǯigüli koşulu (at); angespannt (Pferd). — Vgl. tat. *ǯigüle* eingespannt (Pferd) (*TatDWb.*). — S. *ǯik-*

ǯik- anspannen; *at ǯik-* das Pferd anspannen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yek-*, k. *yik-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yek-* id. (*Chr.*); *yek-, ǯik-* id. (Kúnos)

ǯikken: *ǯikken at* angespanntes Pferd; *ǯekken* araba; Wagen (sic); recte: angespanntes (Wagenpferd). — Vgl. kas. *ǯikkän at* angespanntes Pferd (Kúnos). — S. *ǯik-*

ǯila- s. *ǯila-*

ǯilke, ǯilki omuz, ense; Nacken, Genick. — Vgl. kas. *ǯilkä* id. (Kúnos, *TatDWb.*)

ǯillendir- yellendirmek; schweben lassen. — Vgl. kas. *ǯilländer-* sich in die Luft erheben (Kúnos); schweben lassen (*TatRSl.*)

ǯimer- işten çıkarmak (sic); eig. zugrunde richten, vernichten. — Vgl. tat. *ǯimer-* zerstören, vernichten (*TatDWb.*)

ǯin- s. *yeŋ-*

ǯiniš- yenişmek, galebe olmak; besiegen, (über jn.) siegen. — Vgl. kar. t. *yeniš-*, h. *yenis-* kämpfen, ringen (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yeŋiš* Sieg (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *yeŋ-*

ǯip: *ǯip iš-* ip katmak. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *yip*, t. *ip* Faden, Zwirn (*KarRPSl.*)

ǯir yer. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yer* Erde, Boden, Land, Ort (*KarRPSl.*)

ǯit- s. *yit-*

ǯitekči, yitekči yürütücü; Leiter. — Vgl. tat. *ǯitäkče* Leiter, Führer (*TatDWb.*); Kir. [= ksk.] *ǯitäkči* der bei der Hand führende, der Leiter; Kas, *ǯitäk* das Führen am Zügel, bei der Hand (Radl. IV, 150)

ǯitekle- tutup yürütmek. — Vgl. kas. *ǯitäklä-* bei der Hand führen jn. (Kúnos); führen (Pferd), führen, leiten (Menschen) (*TatDWb.*)

ǯuduruq Faust. — Vgl. kar. t. *yuduruχ*, h. *yuduruk* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ǯuγur- s. *yügür-*

ǯumaq s. *yomaq*

ǯumarla- yuvarlamak. — Vgl. kas. *umarla-* kugelförmig machen (Kúnos); kar. k. *yum-yumarlaq* ganz rund (*KarRPSl.*) — S. *yumγaq*

ǯumγaq s. *yumγaq*

ǯuvan kalın; dick. — Vgl. kas. *ǯuvan* id. (Kúnos); tat. *yuan* id. (*TatDWb.*)

ǯuvanlïq kalınlık; Dicke. — Vgl. kas. *ǯuvanlïk* id. (Kúnos); tat. *yuanlïk* id. (*TatDWb.*)

ǯuvar- s. *yügür-*

ǯuvatqïč teselli; Trösten, Trost. — Vgl. kar. t. *yuvat-*, k. t. h. *yuvut-*, t. h. *yubat-* trösten (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *ǯuvatkïč* trostbringend (Kúnos)

ǯuvuq yakın; nahe. — Vgl. kar. k. *yuvuq*, t. *yuvuχ*, h. *yuvuk* nahe; der Nächste (*KarRPSl.*)

ǯuvuqlan- yakınlaşmak; sich nähern. — Vgl. kar. t. *yuvuχlan-* id. (Kow.); k. *yuvuqlaš-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); k. *yuvuklastïr-* approcher, avancer, admettre (Sul.)

ǯüfekli s. yifekli

ǯügür- s. *yügür-*

ǯüle- dikmek; *ǯüy ǯüle-* dikiş dikmek. — Vgl. kas. *ǯüylä-*, *ǯülä-* ausnähen, sticken (Kúnos); tat. *ǯöylä-* id. (*TatRSl.*). — S. *ǯüy*

ǯürek Herz. — Vgl. kar. k. *yürek*, *yürak*, t. *yüŕak*, *yuŕak*, *üŕak*, h. *yirek* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ǯüy dikiş; Näharbeit, Nähen, Naht. — Vgl. tat. *ǯöy* id. (*TatDWb.*). — S. *ǯüle-*

D

dayï, *dayïn* s. *tayï*, *tayïn*

dam s. *tem*

dau ihtiyar; älter, bejahrt; *dau-qart* id. — Vgl. tat. *däü* 1. groß (physisch); 2. älter, bejahrt (*TatDWb.*). — S. *qart*

de- sagen: *men degenïm*, *sen degensïn*, *o degen*, *biz degenmïz*, *siz degensïz*, *ular degenler* demiştim usw.; *derkeč* derken; sagend. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *de-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *de-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

deŋiš- değişmek; sich ändern. — Vgl. kar. k. *degiš-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *deŋiš-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

dilbüge ata mahsus ip; Zügel. — Vgl. Kas. *dilbägä* die Fahrleine (Radl. III, 1770); *dilbegä* Zügel (Kúnos)

dingiz deniz; Meer. — Vgl. kar. k. *deniz*, *deńiz*, *teniz*, *teńgiz*, t. *ťeńgiź*, *ťeńgiź*, t. h. *tengiz* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *deŋiz* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

dübürde- sallanmak; dröhnen. — Vgl. kas. *dübürdä-* id. (Kúnos); Kir. [= ksk.] *dübürdä-* das Getrampel hervorbringen (Radl. III, 1822)

dünen üç yıllık at; dreijähriges Pferd. — Vgl. Osm. Dsch. OT. Tar. *dönän* ein Pferd im vierten Jahre (Radl. III, 1734)

E

ebanay ebe hatın; Hebamme. — Vgl. kar. k. *ebe, eb, ebanay* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *qočanay*

eger s. *iyer*

ek- s. *ik-*

ekbe heybe; Doppeltragtasche. — Vgl. kar. k. *χebge* id. (*KarRPSl.*); osm. *heybe* id. (HŞ)

eli şimdi; jetzt. — Vgl. kas. *äle, äli* id. (Kúnos)

eligi şimdiki; jetzig. — Vgl. kas. *älege, älige* id. (Kúnos)

elle ya!; ei! — Vgl. *ällä* ob, vielleicht, oder (Kúnos); Kas. Bar. Tar. *ällä* ei! wirklich! (Radl. I, 822)

elle-elle entweder . . . oder

elt- s. *ilt-*

emže amca; Onkel. — Vgl. krm. *emže* id. (*KrmRSl.*); osm. *amca* id. (HŞ)

endir- düşürmek; fallen lassen. — Vgl. kar. t. *eńdir-*, h. *endir-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *endir-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

enekeš biradercik; jüngerer Bruder. — Vgl. kas. *enekäš* id. (Kúnos). — S. *eni* I.

eni I. küçük birader; jüngerer Bruder. — Vgl. kas. *ene, eni, ine, ini* id. (Kúnos)

eni II. meine Mutter! — Vgl. kas. *äni* Mütterchen, Mama (Kúnos); tat. *äni* Mutter (*TatDWb.*); kar. k. t. h. *ana* Mutter (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *eti*

enik hayvan taşağı; Hode. — Vgl. Osm. *ene-* castrieren, verschneiden; *enek* castriert, verschnitten (Radl. I, 730, 731)

enište s. *yenište*

er s. *ir*

eriklevči taklitçi; Nachahmer. — Vgl. kar. k. *erikl'evči* Spötter; *erikl'e-* spotten (*KarRPSl.*)

erin- sızmak. — Vgl. Ad. *ärin-* tauen, schmelzen (Radl. I, 767); osm. *eri-* schmelzen, einschmelzen; sich auflösen (HŞ); kas. *er-* schmelzen (Kúnos)

erinu, ernu sızıntı. — S. *erin-*

erlen fare. — Vgl. Tel. Alt. Schor. Leb. Kas. *ärlän* Maulwurf (Radl. I, 788)

ernu s. *erinu*

erte sabah; morgen. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *erte*, k. *erta*, t. *erťa, örťa* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *erte* früh (*KrmRSl.*)

erten sabah; *ertennen* sabahleyin; morgen. — Vgl. kar. h. *erten bïla* morgen früh (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *irtän* id. (Kúnos)

es Gedächtnis; *esine kel-* in den Sinn kommen, sich erinnern. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *es*, t. *eś* Sinn, Gedanke, Bewußtsein, Aufmerksamkeit, Gedächtnis (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *es* Erkenntnis, Verstand (*KrmRSl.*)

es- s. *is-*

esen s. *isen*

esenlik s. *isenlik*

eski s. *iski*

eskir- s. *iskir-*

esrik s. *irsek*

eš- s. *iš-*

ešek s. *išek*

ešik, išik kapı; Tür; *üy išigi* Tür des Hauses. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *ešik*, h. *esik* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *išek, išik, ešek* id. (Kúnos)

ešil- s. *išil-*

et- s. *it-*

eti atam; mein Vater! *etibiz* unser Vater! — Vgl. kas. *äti* Väterchen (Kúnos); kar. k. t. h. *ata* Vater (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *eni* II.

etik s. *itik*

etmek s. *ütmek*

etüvči edici; Täter, bewirkend. — Vgl. kar. t. *eťuvču*, h. *etivci* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *it-*

eylen- çevirilmek; sich umdrehen. — Vgl. kar. k. *eyľen-*, k. t. h. *aylan-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *aylan-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *äyläń-* id. (Kúnos)

eylenme: *eylenme ǯir* iğri-büğrü yer (krummer und schiefer Boden)

eyt- s. *ayt-*

eytken s. *ayt-*

ezek mide; Magen. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *ez-* zerknittern, zerdrücken (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *azïk* Nahrung, Lebensmittel, Essen (*TatDWb.*)

F

felšir hekim; Arzt. — Vgl. russ. *feľdšer* Unterarzt, Arztgehilfe

feslegen fesleğen; Basilienkraut. — Vgl. kar. k. *fesiľgen* Veilchen, Vergißmeinnicht (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *fesilgen* Basilienkraut (*KrmRSl.*)

fuškï insan boku. — Vgl. osm. *fışkı* Mist, Dünger (HŞ)

G

gade küçük kardeş; jüngerer Bruder. — Vgl. osm. (dial.) *kada, kade, kadak, kadas* kardeş; ağabey; kız kardeş, abla; arkadaş; teyze (*DerlS*); krm; *kada, kaday* (die ältere) Schwester; die Geliebte (Kúnos)

gur kabir, mezar; Grab. — Vgl. kar. k. *gur*, t. *ǵor*, *gör*, h. *ǵer* id. (*KarRPSl.*). kas. *gür* id. (Kúnos, *TatDWb.*)

Y

γalat palto, üst ruba; Mantel. — Vgl. krm. *halat* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *halat* orientalischer, weiter Mantel (*TatDWb.*); russ. *halat* id.

γomur das Leben; *γomur et-* leben. — Vgl. kar. k. *ömür*, *ömir*, t. *ömur*, h. *emir* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *gomer* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *γomer*, *γömer*, *γömür*, *γümür*, *omer*, *ömer*, *ömür*, *umer*, *ümer*, *ümür* das Leben; *ümer it-* leben (Kúnos)

H

hal Lösung, Auflösung: *hal it-* halletmek; lösen. — Vgl tat. *häl it-* entscheiden, lösen (Frage, Problem) (*TatDWb.*); kar. k. *hal*, *χal*, t. h. *χal* Möglichkeit, Zustand, Lage (*KarRPSl.*)

hazïr şimdi, şu saat; jetzt, in dieser Stunde. — Vgl. tat. *häzer* 1. jetzt, sofort, soeben; 2. bereit (*TatDWb.*); kar. k. *hazïr*, *hadïr*, *χazïr*, *χadïr*, t. h. *γadir* fertig, bereit (*KarRPSl.*)

heybetle- güzel selâmlaşmak; mit Ehre begrüßen. — Vgl. kas. *häylätläp* richtig, tüchtig, herzhaft (Kúnos); tat. *äybätläp* gescheit; gut (machen, sagen) (*TatDWb.*)

X

χal s. *hal*

χat I. Brief: *χat ǯiber-* Brief schicken. — Vgl. kas. *χat* Brief (Kúnos); tat. *χat* Brief, Schreiben (*TatDWb.*)

χat II. Grenze, Limit: *ni χatlï* nekadar? wieviel?; *šol χatlï* şukadar; soviel. — Vgl. tat. *χät* Grenze; *χätle* bis (Postp.) (*TatDWb.*)

χatun Frau. — Vgl. kar. k. *χatïn*, *qatïn*, t. h. *katïn* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *χatïn* Ehefrau, Gattin; Frau, Weib (*TatDWb.*)

χazïr s. *hazïr*

χebge s. *ekbe*

χonan s. *χunan*

χonuš Schnürriemen. — Vgl. kar. k. *qonč* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *kunïč* id. (*TatDWb.*)

χonušlu: *χonušlu potoq* Schnürschuh. — S. *χonuš*

χorlan- hiddetlenmek (sic). — Vgl. kar. t. h. *χorlan-* beschimpft sein (*KarRPSl.*); t. gering geschätzt werden (Kow.); k. *χorla-* verachten, geringschätzen (Sul.); krm. *χorla-* id., *χorlan-* gering geschätzt sein (*KrmRSl.*)

χorlïq s. *qorlïq*

χoroz horoz; Hahn. — Vgl. kar. k. *χoroz* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

χunan, χonan iki yıllık at; zweijähriges Füllen (sic); üč senelik bala; dreijähriges Kind (sic). — Vgl. Alt. Tel. Leb. Kir. [= ksk.] Dsch. *qunan* ein dreijähriges Füllen; *qunan qoy* ein dreijähriges Schaf (Radl. II, 910)

Ï

ïčqïn- kurtulmak; sich befreien. — Vgl. tat. *ïčkïn-* loskommen, sich befreien (*TatDWb.*); kas. *ičken-* id. (Kúnos)

ïčqïndïr- eli bırakmak; loslassen. — Vgl. tat. *ïčkïndïr-* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *ičkindir-* id. (Kúnos)

ïŋïr akşam; Abend. — Vgl. kar. k. *ïŋïr, ïnγïr ïŋγïr*, t. h. *ingir*, t. *iŋir, iŋgir, eŋir* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ïpraχ çamaşır; Wäsche. — Vgl. kar. k. *yïpraq* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ïrγačï, uryačï dişi; Weibchen (von Tieren). — Vgl. kar. k. *ïrγačï* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *ïrγačï* id. (*KrmRSl.*); Dsch. OT. *uryačï*, Kir. [= ksk.] *uryasï* id. (Radl. I, 1666)

ïrγat hizmetçi; Diener, Knecht. — Vgl. kar. k. *ïrγat* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *ïrγat* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

I

ič das Innere, Bauch, Herz: *iči puša* içi yanıyor; sich kümmern. — Vgl. kas. *ič poš-/puš-* sich kümmern, sich langweilen (Kúnos); kar. t. *ič*, h. *ic* Inneres, Bauch (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *puš-*

iden Fußboden; *iden taχtasï* Brett des Fußbodens, Diele; *taš iden* Fußboden aus Stein. — Vgl. tat. *idän* Fußboden, Diele (*TatDWb.*, Kúnos)

igin Saat; Samen: *igin ik-* ekin ekmek; *igin ur-* ekin biçmek. — Vgl. tat. *igen* Getreide auf dem Feld; Korn; *igen igu* Getreideanbau (*TatDWb.*); kas. *igen* Saat; Samen, Korn; *ik-* säen (Kúnos)

ik- säen s. *igin*

iki iki; zwei. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *eki*, h. *iki* (*KarRPSl.*)

ikiüley ikisi beraber; zwei zusammen. — Vgl. kar. h. *ekev* zwei, Paar, t. *ekovlaŕ* zwei zusammen (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *ikää* id. (Kúnos)

ikmek s. *ütmek*

ilek- yapışmak; kleben. — Vgl. kas. *iläk-* hängen bleiben (Kúnos)

ilektir- yapıstırmak; zusammenkleben. — S. *ilek-*

ilt- getirmek; tragen, hinbringen; *iltip bir-* getirmek. — Vgl. kar. k. *elt-*, t. *elť-*, t. h. *elt-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *iltep bir-* id. (Kúnos)

inčχir uçkur; Leibschnur, Hosenband. — Vgl. kar. k. *inčkir* Gurt, Gürtel (*KarRPSl.*)

inčke s. *ničke*

inčkele- s. *ničkele-*

ine Nadel: *temen ine* büyük iğne, çuvaldır. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *yine*, t. *iṅa*, h. *ine* Nadel (*KarRPSl.*)

inek inek; Kuh. — Vgl. kar. h. *yinek* id. (*KarRPSl.*); k. *inek* id. (Sul.)

ir koca; Mann, Gemahl; *ir-tuγan* Bruder; *irge bar-* kocaya varmak; sich verheiraten. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *er* Mann; männlich; t. *erǵa čiχ-* sich verheiraten (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *ir* id. (*TatDWb.*). — S. *tuγan*

irik rahat; Ruhe (sic); recte: Recht, Freiheit; *irik bir-* hürriyet vermek; Freiheit geben. — Vgl. tat. *irek* Freiheit (*TatDWb.*); kas. *irek*, *irik* Recht, Möglichkeit; Wille, freier Wille; *irek bir-* Möglichkeit geben (Kúnos)

irsek (sic) sarhoş; betrunken. — Vgl. kar. k. *esrik*, k. t. h. *esirik* id. (*KarRPSl.*); k. *esirik* id. (Sul.); tat. *iserek* id. (*TatDWb.*)

is-: *ǯel ise* yel eser. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *es-* wehen (Wind); krm. *es-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *is-*, *es-* id.; *il isä* es weht (Kúnos)

isen sağ; gesund. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *esen*, k. *esan*, h. *eśań* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *isän* id. (*TatDWb.*, Kúnos)

isenlik: *isenlik bayliq* Gesundheit und Reichtum. — Vgl. kar. k. *esenlik* Gesundheit (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *esenlik* id. (*Chr.*); tat. *isänlek* id. (*TatDWb.*, Kúnos)

iski eski; alt, veraltet. — Vgl. kar. k. *eski*, t. h. *eśki* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *eski* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *iske* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *iske*, *iski* id. (Kúnos)

iskir- eski olmak. — Vgl. kar. k. *eski-*, *eskir-* alt werden, altern (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *isker-* id. (*TatDWb.*)

iš- drehen, zwirnen: *ip iš-* ip katmak. — Vgl. kar. t. *eš-* drehen, zwirnen, zusammendrehen, -rollen (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *iš-* id. (*TatDWb.*). — S. *išil-*

išek pis adam (sic). — Vgl. kar. k. *ešek*, *eṡek*, t. *eśak*, h. *esek* Esel (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *išäk* id. (*TatDWb.*); Kas. *išäk* der Esel, ein Schimpfwort für einen Faulen und Dummen (Radl. I, 1552)

išik s. *ešik*

išil- sarılmak. — Vgl. kas. *išil-* sich verflechten (Kúnos), zusammengedreht werden (Radl. I, 1553). — S. *iš-*

išk- reiben; bügeln. — Vgl. tat. *ïšk-* reiben, einreiben, durchreiben (*TatDWb.*)

iškï Schabeisen. — Vgl. tat. *ïškï* Schabeisen; (dial.) Rauhbank; Hobel (Tischlerei) (*TatDWb.*)

iškïč Bügeleisen. — S. *išk-*, *iškï*

it Hund. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *it*, *yit*, t. *iť* (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *it* id. (*Chr.*)

it-, *et-* machen: *yomur et-* leben; *hal it-* halletmek; lösen; *ubïr it-* verzaubern; *yal it-* ausruhen. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *et-*, t. *eť-* tun, machen, schaffen (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *etüvči*, *qatïyïm*

itekči Schuhmacher, Schuster. — Vgl. tat. *itekče* id. (*TatDWb.*). — S. *itik*

itik, etik ayakkabı; Schuh, Stiefel. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *etik* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *itek* id. (*TatRSl.*, Kúnos). — S. *itekči*

ittir- s. *yal ittir-*

iye sahip, hoca; Besitzer, Wirt, Herr. — Vgl. kar. k. *iye, ye* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *iyä* id. (*TatRSl.*, Kúnos)

iyelen- sahip olmak. — Vgl. kar. k. *iyeʎen-* besitzen (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *iyälän-* sich an etwas gewöhnen, sich einleben (*TatDWb.*)

iyer Sattel; *iyer sal-* eyerlemek; satteln. — Vgl. kar. k. *eger*, t. *eǵer, yer, er*, h. *ïyïr* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *eger* id. (*KrmRSl.*); osm. *eyer* id. (HŞ)

ize- işaret etmek; zeichnen; *qul ize-* mit der Hand winken, Zeichen geben. — Vgl. Kas. *qul izä-* id. (Radl. I, 1537)

izle- aramak; suchen. — Vgl. kar. k. *izʎe-, izʎa-*, t. *iźʎa-*, h. *izle-, izde-* suchen, jm. auf der Spur folgen (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *izle-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

K

kebeš yaş hanım; junge Frau. — Vgl. Sag. W. *kebäs* die Tochter (Radl. II, 1193)

keč s. *kič*

kel- s. *kil-*

kelin Braut. — Vgl. kar. k. *kelin*, t. *keʎin*, h. *kelin* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *kelin* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

kelinǯik junge Frau. — Vgl. Dsch. Sart. V. *kälinčäk* eine jüngst verheiratete Frau; Kir. [= ksk.] *kelinšäk* die Braut, eine junge Frau bis zur Geburt des ersten Kindes (Radl. II, 1118)

keliš s. *kiliš*

kemir- s. *kimer-*

kemiš- bırakmak, terk etmek; verlassen, hinterlassen. — Vgl. kar. k. *kemiš-*, t. *kemiš-*, h. *kemis-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

kenǯe yaş, genç; jung. — Vgl. krm. *kenǯe* der jüngere, der jüngste (*KrmRSl.*)

keniš breit. — Vgl. kar. k. *keniš, keŋiš* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *keniš* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

keŋeš cemiyet; Versammlung (sic); recte: Beratung. — Vgl. kar. k. *keŋeš, kenaš, keneš, keńeš*, t. *keńaš*, h. *keńes, kenes* Rat, Beratung (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *keŋeš* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

kese s. *kise*

kesek s. *kisek*

kesme: *kesme potuq* Halbschuh (für Männer). — Vgl. kar. k. *kesme* geschnitten (*KarRPSl.*)

ket- s. *kit-*

keter- s. *kiter-*

keviš Galosche. — Vgl. tat. *käveš* Ledergalosche (*TatDWb.*); kas. *käviš, kävüš* Galosche, Überschuh (Kúnos)

kevišči Schuhmacher, Schuster. — Vgl. tat. *käveščе* Ledergaloschenmacher (Schuster) (*TatDWb.*)

kič gece; Nacht; *kič kurun, kiš koron* akşam üstü; nachts. — Vgl. kar. k. *keč, keče, keča, geže, geča, ǵeže, geče,* t. *keč, keča,* h. *kece* id. (*KarRPSl.*); t. *keč, keča* id. (Kow.); tat. *kič* id. (*TatDWb.*)

kiči küçük; klein; *kičirek* daha küçük; kleiner. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *kiči,* h. *kici* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *kičik* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

kičkine, kiškene küçük; klein. — Vgl. kar. k. *kičkene, kičkine* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *kičkene* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *kečkenä* id. (*TatRSl.*); kas. *kičkenä, kičkinä* id. (Kúnos)

kil-, kel- gelmek. — Vgl. kar. k. *keľ-,* t. *keľ-,* h. *kel-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *keľ-* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *esine kel-*

kiliš, kileš geliş; das Kommen. — Vgl. kar. k. *keliš,* h. *kelis* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

kilet ambar, aşlık hambarı. — Vgl. tat. *kelät* Speicher, Scheune (*TatDWb.*); kas. *kilät* Häuschen, Kammer (Kúnos) < russ. *kleť* id.

kilit s. *kirt*

kilitle- s. *kirtle-*

kimer- dış ile çiğnemek; kauen. — Vgl. kar. k. *kemir-,* t. *ǩemir-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *kemiriži* Nagetier (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *kimer-* nagen, kauen, knacken, beißen (*TatDWb.*)

kindik s. *künlük*

kinen- rahatlanmak. — Vgl. kar. k. *könün-* zufrieden sein, sich beruhigen (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *kinän-* sich freuen, sich trösten, genießen (*TatDWb.*)

kinendir- rahatlandırmak; beruhigen, befriedigen. — Vgl. tat. *kinänder-* trösten lassen, Kaus. zu: *kinän-* (*TatDWb.*). — S. *kinen-*

kirt, kirit kilit. — Vgl. kar. k. *kilit* Schoß, Schlüssel (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *kilit* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

kirtle-, kiritle- kilitlemek; schließen. — Vgl. kar. k. *kilitle-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *kiliťe-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

kise kese; Säckchen, Geldbeutel. — Vgl. kar. k. *kese* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *kise* Beutel, Tabaksbeutel (*KrmRSl.*)

kisek parça; *etmek kisegi* ekmek parçası; Brotstück. — Vgl. kar. k. *kesek,* t. *ǩešak,* h. *ǩesek* Abschnitt, Stück (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *kesek* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

kiš s. *kič*

kiši Mensch, Person, jemand. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *kiši,* h. *kisi* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *kiši* (dial.) id. (*KrmRSl.*)

kište raf; Regal. — Vgl. tat. *kištä* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *kičtä* id. (Kúnos)

kit- gitmek; gehen; *kiterkeč* giderken; *kitü yat-* weggehen. — Vgl. kar. k. *ket-,* t. *ǩeť-,* t. h. *ket-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *ket-, kit-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

kiter- gidirmek; wegführen, entfernen; *sač kiter-* die Haare scheren lassen. —

Vgl. kar. k. *keter-*, t. *keťar-*, h. *keter-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); k. *ketir-* apporter, déposer (des offrandes) (Sul.)

kiyiz keçe, yünden yapılmış keçe; Filz, Teppich. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *kiyiz*, t. *kiyiź*, h. *tiyiz* id. (*KarRPSl.*); t. *kiyiź* Filzdecke, Filzmantel (Kow.); krm. *kiyiz* Filz (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *qara kiyiz*

kök, kük mavi; blau; Himmel; *kük šiše* lamba şişesi; Lampenzylinder. — Vgl. kar. k. *kök*, t. *ḱok*, h. *ḱek* Himmel; blau (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *kök* Himmel; blau (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *kük* id. (*TatDWb.*)

kölmek gömlek; Hemd. — Vgl. kar. k. *köľḿek, köľmak* t. *keľḿak*, h. *ḱelmek* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *köľmek* id. (*KrmRSl*)

köm- s. *küm-*

kömeč s. *kümeč*

könün- s. *kinen-*

köp s. *küp*

köpsin- s. *küpsin-*

körklü s. *kürklü*

körksüz çirkin; häßlich. — Vgl. kar. k. *körsiz* id.; k. *körk*, t. *ḱork*, h. *ḱerk* Schönheit (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *kürklü*

köter-, küter- kaldırmak; heben, erheben. — Vgl. kar. k. *köter-*, *kötar-*, *kötür-*, t. *koťur*, h. *ketir-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *köter-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

köz s. *küz*

kübre Mist, Dünger. — Vgl. kar. k. *kübre* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *kübre* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

küč kuvvet; Kraft. — Vgl. kar. k. *küč*, t. *kuč*, h. *kic* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *küč* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

küčlü kuvvetli; stark. — Vgl. kar. k. *küčli, küčlü*, t. *kučʼu*, h. *kicli* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *küčlü* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

kük s. *kök*

kükre- gürlemek; donnern; *kük kükre-* donnern. — Vgl. kar. k. *kükre-*, *kökre-*, t. *ḱokŕa-*, h. *ḱekre-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *kökrek* Dröhnen (*KrmRSl.*) tat. *kükre-* donnern (*TatDWb.*)

küm- gömmek; begraben. — Vgl. kar. k. *köm-*, t. *ḱom-*, h. *ḱem-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *küm-* id. (*TatDWb.*)

kümdür- gömdürmek; begraben lassen. — Vgl. tat. *kümder-* Kaus. zu *küm-* (*TatDWb.*)

kümeč ekmek; Brot. — Vgl. kar. k. *köḿeč* großer, runder Fladen (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *kümäč* Semmel, Brötchen, Weißbrot (*TatDWb.*)

kün Tag: *kün-tün* gece gündüz; Tag und Nacht. — Vgl. kar. k. *kün* Sonne; Tag, *gun* Tag, t. *kuń* Tag, h. *kin* Tag (*KarRPSl.*), k. *kün* Tag (Sul.); krm. *kün* Tag (*KrmRSl.*) — S. *tün*

kün- razi olmak. — Vgl. tat. *kün-* einverstanden sein (*TatDWb.*); kas. *kün-* einwilligen (Kúnos)

künčü neidisch, eifersüchtig. — Vgl. *künžü, künži*, t. *kuńuču* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *künžü* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *könčelek* Eifersucht, Neid (*TatDWb.*); kas. *künčülik* id. (Kúnos)

kündür- razi etmek; überzeugen. — Vgl. tat. *künder-* id. (*TatDWb.*). — S. *kün-*

künleš- beneiden. — Vgl. kar. k. *künľe-, küľľe-, künüvľe-, künüľe-*, t. *końula-, kuńula-*, h. *kinil-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); *kü[nü]lävči* (< *künlävči*) neidisch (Sul.); *künle-* beneiden (*KrmRSl.*)

künlük (sic) göbek; Nabel. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *kindik* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *kendek* id. (*TatDWb.*)

künnük şemsiye; Sonnenschirm. — S. *kün* Sonne

künüži razi olan. — S. *kün-*

küp çok; viel. — Vgl. kar. k. *köp*, k. t. *kop*, h. *kep* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *köp* (dial.) id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *küp* id. (*TatDWb.*)

küpček tekerlek; Rad. — Vgl. kar. k. *küpček, qupčaq*, t. *kipčak, kipček, kupček*, h. *kipcek, tipcek* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *köpček* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

küpsin- zu hoch finden. — Vgl. kar. k. *köpsin-* sparen, schonen (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *küpsen-* zu hoch finden (Preis), (fig.) jmdn. überflüssig finden (*TatDWb.*)

kürke hind tavuğu, hindi; Truthenne. — Vgl. tat. *kürkä* id. (*TatDWb.*, Kúnos)

kürken güzel; schön. — Vgl. tat. *kürkäm* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *kürkän* id. (Kúnos); kar. k. *körk*, t. *koŕk*, h. *kerk* Schönheit (*KarRPSl.*)

kürklü, kürikli güzel, dilber; schön. — Vgl. kar. k. *körklü, körkli*, t. *koŕkľu*, h. *kerkli* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *körksüz*

kürsi s. *qursï*

kürši komşu; Nachbar. — Vgl. tat. *kürše* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *kürši* id. (Kúnos)

küt- 1. beklemek; warten; 2. hüten (Vieh), weiden. — Vgl. kar. k. *küt-, kütü-*, t. *kuť-*, h. *kit-* hüten, weiden (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *küt-* beachten (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *köt-* 1. warten, erwarten, abwarten; 2. hüten (Vieh) (*TatDWb.*)

küter- s. *köter-*

küttür- bekletmek. — Vgl. *küt-*

kütü hayvan sürüsü; Herde; *at kütüsü* peygir sürüsü. — Vgl. kar. k. *kütüv*, t. *kuťuv*, h. *kitiv* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *kötü* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *kütü kitü, kötü* id. (Kúnos)

kütü i Hirt. — Vgl. kar. k. *kütüvži, kütüvči, kütivči*, t. *kuťuvču*, h. *kitivci* id. (*KarRPSl.*); k. *kütövči* id. (Sul.); tat. *kötüče* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *kütüče* id. (Kúnos)

küy- yanmak; brennen. — Vgl. kar. t. *kuv-*, h. *kiv-, ťiv-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *küy-* id. (*KrmRSl.*, Kúnos); tat. *köy-* id. (*TatDWb.*)

küydir- yakmak; brennen, verbrennen. — Verg. kar. k. *küydür-, küydir-*, t. *kuvdur-*, h. *kivdir-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *küydür-* id. (*KrmRSl.*), *küydir-* id. (*Chr.*)

küygen yanmış; angebrannt; *küygen ikmek* yanmış ekmek. — S. *küy-*

küyme örtü; Verdeck; *arba küymesi* araba örtüsü. — Vgl. Kir. [= ksk.] *küimö* das Verdeck des Wagens; *küimölü arba* ein gedeckter Wagen (Radl. II, 1422); tat. *köymä* 1. Boot; 2. Kilitka (verdecktes Fuhrwerk) (*TatDWb.*)

küyüv damat; Schwiegersohn. — Vgl. kar. k. *küyüv, küyev, kiyiv, kiyüv, giyev,* t. *kiyov,* h. *kiyev* Schwiegersohn, Bräutigam (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *kiyev* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

küz göz; Auge. — Vgl. kar. k. *köz, goź,* t. *koź,* h. *kez* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *köz* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

küzgü ayna; Spiegel. — Vgl. kar. k. *küzgü, küzgi,* t. *kuźġu,* h. *kiźgi* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *küzgü* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

Q

qabïm lokma; Bissen. — Vgl. tat. *kabïm* id. (*TatDWb.*). — S. *qap-*

qačan wann? — Vgl. kar. k. *qačan,* t. *kačan,* h. *kacan* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qačan* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qadaq mıh; Nagel. — Vgl. kar. t. *kadaχ* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *kadak* id. (*TatDWb.*)

qaχlïχ çay; Fluß

qala taş duvarı; Steinmauer (sic). — Vgl. kar. k. *qala, qale, qal'e* Festung (*KarRPSl.*)

qalaqay külde pişmiş ekmek; Aschbrot. — Vgl. krm. *qalaqay* Blätterteig [„sloënyj pirog"] (*KrmRSl.*)

qalay bardak; maşrapa. — Vgl. kar. k. *qalay* Zinn, Gefäß aus Zinn, t. *kalay* Blechplatte (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qalay* (dial.) Krug (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *kalay* Blech (*TatDWb.*)

qalčïn çorap; Strumpf. — Vgl. kar. k. *qalčïn* Strumpf, Socke (*KarRPSl.*)

qalïm gelinlik; Aussteuer. — Vgl. kar. k. *qalïn* , t. *kalïn,* h. *kalïm* id. (*KarRPSl.*) tat. *kalïm* (hist.) Brautgeld (das der Vater für die Tochter erhält) *TatDWb.*)

qalq- hervorkommen. — Vgl. kar. k. *qalq-* auftauchen, zum Vorschein kommen, t. *kalχ-* gehen, erreichen, h. *kalk-* erreichen (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qalq-* aufstehen, sich erheben (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *kalk-* aufstehen, auftauchen (*TatDWb.*)

qamut peygir koşumu. — Vgl. tat. *kamït* Kummet (*TatDWb.*); kas. *kamït* Hals, Joch (Kúnos). — S. russ. *homut* id.

qamzol gömlek; Kamisol. — Vgl. tat. *kamzul* Kamisol; Weste (*TatDWb.*, Kúnos). — S. russ. *kamzol* id.

qandala tahta biti; Wanze. — Vgl. kar. k. *qandala,* t. *kandala, kïndala,* h. *kïndal* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qandalay* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *kandala* id. (*TatDWb.*)

qap- kapmak. — Vgl. kar. k. *qap-*, t. h. *kap-* ergreifen, fassen (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qap-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qapčïq çuval, torba; Sack, Säckchen, Beutel. — Vgl. kar. t. *kapčuχ*, h. *kapcuk* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *kapčïk* id. (*TatDWb.*)

qapï Tür, Pforte. — Vgl. kar. k. *qapu* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qapï* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qara schwarz; *qara kiyiz* schwarzer Teppich, auf den man sich bei Todesfällen setzt. — Vgl. kar. k. *qara*, t. h. *kara* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qara* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *tïmqara*

qara- bakmak; schauen. — Vgl. kar. t. h. *kara-* verfolgen, beobachten (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qara-* (dial.) schauen (*KrmRSl.*)

qaraq Dieb. — Vgl. kar. t. *karaχ* Raub, *karaχčï* Räuber, *karaχla-* rauben, h. *karakla-* id.; *karakčï* Räuber (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *karak* Dieb, Einbrecher, Räuber (*TatDWb.*)

qaranγu dunkel. — Vgl. kar. k. *qaranγu* dunkel, Dunkelheit, t. h. *karanγï* dunkel, t. *karaŋγï* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qaranγï* Dunkelheit (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *karaŋγï* dunkel; Dunkelheit (Kúnos)

qaranγuluq karanlık; Dunkelheit. — Vgl. kar. k. *qaranγuluq*, *qaranγulïq*, t. h. *karanγïlïk*, t. *karaŋγïlïχ* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

qaraučï bakıcı; Zuschauer, Beobachter. — Vgl. tat. *karaučï* sehend, schauend; Pfleger; Zuschauer; Aufseher (*TatDWb.*)

qarčïq kart kadın; alte Frau. — Vgl. tat. *karčïk* alte Frau; Greisin (*TatDWb.*, Kúnos). — S. *kart*

qardaš küçük birader. — Vgl. kar. k. *qardaš*, *qarïndaš*, t. *kardaš*, *karïndaš*, *karandaš*, h. *karïndaš*, *karandaš* Bruder, (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qardaš* jüngerer Bruder, jüngere Schwester (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *kardäš* Verwandter, Bruder (*TatDWb.*)

qarγa- beddua etmek; verfluchen. — Vgl. kar. k. *qarγa-*, t. h. *karγa-*, t. *karga-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qarγa-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *karga-* id. (*TatDWb.*)

qarγïš beddua; Fluch. — Vgl. kar. k. *qarγïš*, t. *karγïš*, *kargïš*, h. *karγïs* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qarγïš* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *kargïš* id. (*TatDWb.*)

qart alt; Greis; *qar baba* (sic) dede; Großvater. — Vgl. kar. k. *qart*, t. h. *kart*, *kartï* alt; k. *qart baba* Großvater (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qart* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *qarčïq*

qartan ambar; Speicher

qartay- ihtiyarlanmak; altern, alt werden. — Vgl. kar. k. *qartay-*, t. h. *kartay-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qartay-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qartop patates; Kartoffel. — Vgl. kar. k. *qartof* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. russ. *kartofel* id.

qaru karşılık. — Vgl. kar. k. *qaruv* Antwort, Entgegnung, Verantwortung, t. h. *karuv* Antwort (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *karu* Widerspruch, Entgegnung; Rache (*TatDWb.*)

qat- mert olmak; stark sein; *buz qattï* das Wasser ist gefroren. — Vgl. kar.

k. *qat-* 1. zugeben, hinzufügen; 2. sich verhärten; t. h. *kat-* sich verhärten (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qat-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *kat-* hart werden, sich verhärten; gefrieren, zu Eis werden; frieren, frösteln (*TatDWb.*)

qatïq yoğurt; Joghurt. — Vgl. kar. k. *qatïq* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qatïq* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *katïk* id. (*TatDWb.*)

qatiyim s. *qay, it-*

qay welcher? *qay yaq* hangi taraf? welche Seite? *qatiyim* (< *qay iteyim*) was soll ich machen? — Vgl. krm. *qay* (dial.) welcher? (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *kay* id. (*TatDWb.*) — S. *qaya, qaydan*

qaya nereye? wohin? — Vgl. tat. *kaya* id. (*TatDWb.*). — S. *qay, qaydan*

qaydan nereden? woher? — Vgl. kar. k. *qaydan*, t. h. *kaydan*, h. *kaan* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *kaydan* id. (*TatDWb.*). — S. *qay, qaya*

qayγïr- gam etmek; sich betrüben. — Vgl. kar. k. *qayγïr-*, *qayγur-*, t. h. *kayγïr-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qayγïr-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qayraq bileği taşı; Schleifstein. — Vgl. krm. *qayraqtaš* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *kayrak* id. (*TatDWb.*)

qayrïl- dönmek; sich umdrehen. — Vgl. kar. k. *qayïrïl-*, t. h. *kayïrïl-*, *kayrïl-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *kayrïl-* id. (Kúnos)

qaysï hangi? welcher? *qaysï kiši* hangi adam? welcher Mensch? — Vgl. kar. k. *qaysï*, t. h. *kaysï* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qaysï* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qayt inatçı; eigensinnig, trotzig. — Vgl. kar. k. *qayt* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qayt* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qayt- dönmek; umkehren, zurückkehren; *uyγa qayt-* nach Hause zurückkehren. — Vgl. kar. k. *qayt-*, t. h. *kayt-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qayt-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qaytar- döndürmek; umkehren lassen. — Vgl. kar. k. *qaytar-*, t. h. *kaytar-*, *kayttïr-*, t. *kaytïr-* zurückgeben; absagen (*KarRPSl.*); k. *qaytar-* rendre, répondre (à la question), donner une réponse (Sul.); krm. *qaytar-* zurückgeben (*KrmRSl.*)

qazï sucuk; Pferdewurst. — Vgl. tat. *kazï* Hauswurst (kalt geräuchert); Alt. Schor. Leb. Sag. Kir. [= ksk.] Kkir. Kas. *qazï* eine Wurst, die mit an den Rippen befindlichem Fleisch und Fett gestopft ist (Radl. II, 372)

qïčqïr- haykırmak; rufen, schreien. — Vgl. kar. k. *qïčqïr-* t. *kïčχïr-*, h. *kïckïr-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qïčqïr-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qïmïz kısrak sütü. — Vgl. tat. *kïmïz* Kumys (gegorene Stutenmilch) (*TatDWb.*); kas. *kïmïz, kumïz* id. (Kúnos)

qïrïmčaq tatarisch sprechender Jude. — Vgl. Krm. *Qïrïmčaq* die in der Krym (in Theodosia und Karassu-Basar) wohnenden türkisch sprechenden Talmud-Juden (Radl. II, 746)

qïrmïsqa karınca; Ameise. — Vgl. kar. k. *qïrmïsqa, qumusqa, qïmïrsaq*, t. h. *kumurstka, kumurstχu* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qïrmïsqa* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qïsqar- kısalmak; sich verkürzen. — Vgl. kar. k. *qïsqar-*, t. *kïsχar-*, h. *kïskar-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qïsqar-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *kïskar-* id. (*TatDWb.*)

qïsqart- kısaltmak; kürzen, verkürzen. — Vgl. kar. k. *qïsqart-*, t. *kïsχart-*. h. *kïskart-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qïsqart-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *kïskart-* id, (*TatDWb.*)

qïy Mist; *üküz qïyï* Ochsenmist. — Vgl. Kir. [= ksk.] der Schafmist, Kūr. der Mist, Misthaufen, Osm. Z. Eiter (Radl. II, 687)

qïyïš eğri; krumm, schief. — Vgl. kar. k. *qïyïš* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qïyïš* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qïz Mädchen, Tochter; *qïz tuγan* Schwester. — Vgl. kar. k. *qïz*, t. h. *kïz* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qïz* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *boy qïz, sïlu qïz*

qïzγan- acımak; jn. bedauern. — Vgl. *qïzγan-*, *qïzan-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *kïzγan-* id. (*TatDWb.*)

qïzïq: *qïzïq it-* aldatmak (sic); recte: erhitzen, erzürnen. — Vgl. kar. k. *qïz-*, t. h. *kïz-*, h. *küs-* brennen; sich ärgern, zornig sein (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qïz-* sich erhitzen, *qïzdïr-* erhitzen (*KrmRSl.*)

qočanay kuzu, koyun yavrusu (sic). — Vgl. kar. k. *qoč* Lamm (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *ebanay*

qol, qul Hand. — Vgl. kar. k. *qol*, t. h. *kol* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qol* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *ize-*

qolač Klafter. — Vgl. kar. t. *kulač* id. (Kow.); krm. *qulač* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qolčaq eldiven; Handschuh. — Vgl. kar. k. *qolčaq, qončaq* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qolčaq* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qolla- saklamak; hüten, bewachen. — Vgl. kar. k. *qolla-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qolla-* id. (Kúnos)

qon- s. *qun-*

qona ağaçtan sofra. — Vgl. kar. k. *qona*, t. h. *kona* Hocker, Bank (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qona* runder Speisetisch (*KrmRSl.*)

qonaq s. *qunaq*

qonč s. *χonuš*

qop- s. *qup-*

qoŋora- kabarmak; schwellen. — Vgl. kar. k. *qonγuruv*, t. h. *konγurov, kunγurov*, t. *kunkurov*, h. *kongurav* Glöckchen (*KarRPSl.*)

qopar- s. *qubar-*

qoražï yabancının erazisinde gezen mal

qoral Werkzeug: *qoral sarayï* Kammer für Werkzeuge. — Vgl. kas. *kural* Bewaffnung, Rüstung (Kúnos); tat. *koral* Waffe; Werkzeug (*TatDWb.*). — S. *quran*

qoray kalan otun kurumuşu: *lahana qorayï, čalï qorayï*. — Vgl. kas. *kuray* getrocknetes Kraut (Kúnos); tat. *kuray* hohler, dicker Grashalm (*TatDWb.*)

qorïč s. *quruč*

qorlïq felaket; Unglück. — Vgl. kar. k. *χorlïq*, k. h. *χorluq*, t. h. *χorluk*, t. *χorluχ* Demut, Unannehmlichkeit, Unglück (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *χorluq* Demütigkeit (*KrmRSl.*)

qoron, qurun: *kič qurun, kiš qoron* akşam üstü; nachts. — Vgl. tat. *kor* (veraltet) Zeit (*TatRSl.*); tschag. *qurun* temps, époque, *keč qurun* tard (PdC 429); arm.-kiptsch. *χurun* dans le temps, *kieč χurun* tard (Tryj.)

qotaq erkek zekeri; Penis. — Vgl. čag. kzk. *kotak* penis, Schweif, Federbusch; krč. *kotak* Rute des Pferdes; šor, sag. küär, kč. koib. *kotak* penis; oir. tel. leb. *kottok* id. (Räs.)

qoy- s. *quy-*

qoydur- s. *quydur-*

qoyï, quyï kalın; dick; *quyï süt* saure Sahne. — Vgl. kar. k. *qoyï*, t. h. *koyu*, h. *kuyu* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *quyur-*

qoyma tahtadan ihata; Zaum. — Vgl. tat. *koyma* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *kuyma, küyma* id. (Kúnos)

qoyur- s. *quyur-*

qozγal- s. *quzγal-*

qozγat- s. *quzγat-*

qubar- koparmak. — Vgl. kar. k. *qopar-* ausreißen, abbrechen (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qopar-* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *qup-*

quda akraba; Verwandte (sic); *quda ana* Schwiegermutter, *quda baba* Schwiegervater. — Vgl. kar. h. *kuda* Heiratsvermittler, Schwiegervater, k. *qudalïq* Verwandtschaft, *qudalaš-* sich verschwägern (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *quda* Brautschau; *qudalïq* Brautwerbung (*KrmRSl.*)

qudača Schwiegermutter. — Vgl. krm. *qudača* id. (Kúnos); tat. *kodača* Schwägerin (*TatDWb.*)

ququč çekirdek; Kern

qul s. *qol*

qulač s. *qolač*

qulaq Ohr; *qulaγï čïŋlay* es klingt ihm in den Ohren. — Vgl. kar. k. *qulaq*, t. *kulaχ*, h. *kulak* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qulaq* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

quluq I. Bruthenne. — Vgl. Dsch. *qurq* Bruthenne, Gluckhenne (Radl. II, 937)

quluq II. hayvanlı araba

qulun peygir yavrusu; Fohlen. — Vgl. krm. *qulun* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *kulun* id. (Kúnos)

quman ibrik. — Vgl. kar. k. *quman, qumγan*, t. *kuman*, t. h. *kumγan* Krug (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *quman* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qun- oturmak; sich setzen, sich niederlassen. — Vgl. kar. k. *qon-*, t. h. *kon-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qon-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qunaq misafir; Gast. — Vgl. kar. k. *qonaq*, t. *konaχ*, h. *konak* Gast; Nachtquartier (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qonaq* Nachtquartier (*KrmRSl.*)

qunan dreijähriges Schaf. — Vgl. krm. *qunan* zwei- oder dreijähriges Fohlen (*KrmRSl.*)

qunčaχ tayï altı aylık at. — ? < *qunančïχ*; s. *qunan*

qup- kopmak. — Vgl. kar. k. *qop-*, t. h. *kop-* abbrechen, sich abreißen (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qop-* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *qubar-*

quran silah; Waffen. — Vg . kar. k. *qoran, quran* Waffen, Rüstung (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *qoral*

quranlï silahlı; bewaffnet, gerüstet. — S. *quran*

qurčanγï uyuz; räudig. — Vgl. kas. *kurčaŋγï* räudig (Pferd) (Kúnos); tat. *korčaŋgï* (med.) Krätze; (fig.) erbärmlich, abscheulich

qurq s. *quluq*

qursaχ karın; Bauch. — Vgl. kar. k. *qursaq*, t. *kursaχ*, h. *kursak* Leib, Bauch (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qursaq* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

qursï sandaliye; Sessel. — Vgl. krm. *kürsü* Hocker, Taburett (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *kürse* Kanzel (Kúnos); tat. *körsi* Bank in tatarischer Medrese (*TatDWb.*)

quruč Esche. — Vgl. karatsch. *kürüč*, balk. *küyrüč* id. (Pröhle) tat. *koričaγač* id. (*TatDWb.*)

qurun s. *qoron*

quš çadır, ağaçtan yapılmış çadır; Zelt aus Holz. — Vgl. tat. *kuïš* Hütte, Zelt (*TatDWb.*); kas. *kuš* id. (Kúnos), *kuš, koš* id. (Radl. II, 1024)

quš- buyurmak, emretmek; befehlen, verordnen. — Vgl. tat. *kuš-* id (*TatDWb.*); kas. *kuš-*, *koš-* id. (Kúnos)

qušlaq iki kulplu çömlek

qutqar- kurtarmak; befreien, retten. — Vgl. kar. k. *qutqar-*, *qutar-*, t. *qutχar-*, h. *kutkar-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *kotkar-* id. (*TatDWb.*)

quvan- sevinmek; sich freuen. — Vgl. kar. k. *quvan-*, t. h. *kuvan-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *quvan-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

quy- bırakmak (sic). — Vgl. kar. k. *qoy-*, t. h. *koy-* legen, setzen, stellen (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qoy-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

quyaš güneş; Sonne. — Vgl. kar. k. *quyaš*, t. *kuyaš*, h. *kuyas* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *koyaš* id. (*TatDWb.*)

quydur- legen lassen. — Vgl. kar. k. *qoydur-* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *quy-*

quyï s. *qoyï*

quyur- sich verdichten. — Vgl. kar. k. *qoyur-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qoyur-* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *qoyï, quyï*

quzγal- hareket etmek, kımıldanmak. — Vgl. kar. k. *qozγal-* t. h. *kozγal-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *qozγal-* sich beunruhigen, sich aufregen (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *quzγat-*

quzγat- kımıldatmak, işletmek; bewegen, arbeiten lassen. — Vgl. kar. t. *kozγat-* berühren, stören, erregen (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *kuzγat-* id. (*TatDWb.*). — S. *quzγal-*

quzγatqïč hareket edici. — S. *quzγat-*

L

lahana Kohl. — Vgl. kar. h. *laɣana* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *lahana* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *lahana qorayï* unten *qoray*

lokata fırsat; Gelegenheit (sic). — Vgl. osm. *lükata* sokakta bulunup alınan ve sahibi belli olmıyan şey (Dev.)

M

maqta- rühmen, loben. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *maχta-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *maqta-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

maqtanlï bereketli; gesegnet (sic); recte: gerühmt, gelobt. — Vgl. kar. k. *maχtovlï*, h. *maχtavlu* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *maktaulï* id. (*TatDWb.*)

mali küçük at; kleines Pferd. — Vgl. krm. *mali(y)* kljača [= Mähre, Schindmähre]

mamïz peygirin mamızı [= mahmuzu]; Sporn. — Vgl. krm. *mamuz* Dorn; Sporn (*KrmRSl.*)

marža urus hatunu; russische Frau. — Vgl. Kas. Chiv. *marža* eine russische Frau (aus dem russ. *Marija*) (Radl. IV, 2032)

matur s. *batïr*

mayla- ölen, einfetten; einschmieren. — Vgl. kar. k. *may* Fett (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *may* id., *mayla-* (dial.) schmieren (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *mayla-* id. (*TatRSl.*)

men ben; ich; *miŋa* bana; mir; *miŋa taba* bana doğru; mir entgegen. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *men*, t. *mńeń* ich (*KarRPSl.*)

meti ufak fıçı; kleines Faß. — Vgl. kar. k. *metiy* Eimer, *metin* Faß (*KarRPSl.*)

metinni meşhur; berühmt. — ? < *metin-li*; vgl. krm. *aytuvlï* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

meža sınır; Rain; *meźa taši* sınır taşı; Grenzstein. — Vgl. tat. *meža* Grenze, Rain (*TatDWb.*) < russ. *meža* id.

mïltïq tüfenk; Gewehr, Flinte; *mïltïq at-* mit Gewehr beschießen. — Vgl. tat. *mïltïk* id. (*TatDWb.*)

mïnavdan bundan; *mïnavɣa* buna. — Vgl. kar. k. *mïnavu*, *mïnavï* dieser; *mïnavda* hier; *mïnavdan* von hier (aus) (*KarRPSl.*)

mïsïq kedi; Katze. — Vgl. Kir. [= ksk.] *mïsïq* Katze (Radl. IV, 2145)

mïyïq bıyık; Schnurrbart. — Vgl. kar. k. *mïyïq*, t. *mïyïχ*, h. *miyuk* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

min- steigen, aufsteigen. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *min-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

minlep um tausend, Tausende. — Vgl. tat. *meŋläp* id. (*TatDWb.*); kar. k. *bin*, k. h. *min*, t. *miń* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

mizgil vakit; Zeit. — Vgl. tat. *mizgel* Zeitabschnitt, Saison; Jahreszeit (*TatDWb.*)

molča hamam; Dampfbad. — Vgl. tat. *munča* Badestube, Bad (*TatDWb.*)
moyïn, muyïn boyun; Hals. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *boyun* id. (*KarRPSl.*); k. *boyïn* id. (Sul.); kas. *muyïn, moyïn* id. (Kúnos); tat. *muyen* id. (*TatDWb.*)
moyïnsa, moysa yakalık; Halskette. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *boyunsa* id. (*KarRPSl.*); k. *boyïnsa* id. (Sul.); tat. *muyensa* id. (*TatDWb.*)
muh Moos. — Vgl. russ. *moh* id.
munčala Lindenbast. — Vgl. tat. *munčala* zerfaserter Lindenbast (*TatDWb.*) < russ. *mučalo* id.
munda bu yerde, burada. — Vgl. kar. k. *munda, mïnda*, k. t. h. *bunda* id. (*KarRPSl.*)
mundan arï s. *arï*
murïn, murun burun; Nase. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *burun*, h. *borun* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *murïn* id. (Kúnos); Tel. Schor. Küär. Kir. [= ksk.] *murun* id. (Radl. IV, 2194)
muyïn s. *moyïn*

N

ne was: *nasayïχ* (< *ne yasayïχ*) was sollen wir machen?; *ni χatlï* nekadar? wieviel? — Vgl. kar. k. h. *ne*, t. *ńe* id. (*KarRPSl.*)
nečik s. *ničik*
nerse ne, şey. — Vgl. kar. t. *ńerśa, ńerśe*, h. *nerse* etwas, ein Ding (*KarRPSl.*)
nïq kuvvetli; kräftig; *nïγraq* daha kuvvetli; stärker. — Vgl. tat. *nïk* fest; dauerhaft; hart, stark (*TatDWb.*)
nïqla- tazelendirmek; erfrischen (sic). — Vgl. tat. *nïklap* fest, stark (Adverb.) (*TatDWb.*)
ničik nasıl? auf welche Weise? — Vgl. kar. k. *nečik*, t. *ńečik*, h. *necik* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *niček* id. (*TatDWb.*)
ničke ince; dünn, fein. — Vgl. kar. t. *inčke, ińčka*, h. *incke* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *ničkä* fein, schlank (Kúnos); tat. *nečkä* dünn, fein, schlank (*TatDWb.*)
ničkele- ince atmak (sic); recte: incelemek. — Vgl. kar. t. *inčkeľe-, ińčkaľa-*, h. *inckele-* analysieren (*KarRPSl.*); t. *ińčkala-* detaillieren, zergliedern, analysieren (Kow.); tat. *nečkälä-* verdünnen (*TatRSl.*)
ničkelik incelik; Dünnheit. — Vgl. kar. t. *inčkelik* Dünnheit (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *nečkälek* id. (*TatRSl.*)
ničker- yumuşlamak; dünn werden. — Vgl. tat. *nečkär-* id. (*TatRSl.*)
ni χatlï wieviel? — S. *ne* und *χat* II.
nindi hangı? welcher? — Vgl. kar. k. *nindiy*, k. h. *nendiy*, t. *ńińdi*, h. *nendi* id. (*KarRPSl.*)
noγay çöl-tatar (sic); Nogai-Tatar. — Vgl. kar. k. *noγay* Nogai (*KarRPSl.*)
nuqta yular, peygir yuları; Halfter, Zaum. — Vgl. tat. *nukta* id. (*TatDWb.*)

O

o er (sie, es), der (die, das), jener (jene, jenes); plur. *ular* sie. — Vgl. kar. k. *o*, t. h. *ol* id. (*KarRPSl.*); k. *ol* id. (Sul.)

obur s. *ubïr*

oγlan Bube, Junge: *boy oγlan* bekâr; Junggeselle. — Vgl. kar. k. *oγlan* Sohn; k. t. h. *ulan* Sohn, Kinder, Junge (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *boy* II.

oγul s. *ul*

oχša- benzemek; ähnlich sein. — Vgl. kar. k. *oχša-*, t. *ukša-*, *uχša-*, t. h. *uša-*, h. *uksa-*, *usa-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

oχšaš resim, surat; Bild, Form, Äußere, Gesicht. — Vgl. kar. k. *oχšaš*, *oqšaš*, t. *ukšaš*, h. *uksas* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

oltur- s. *ultur-*

olturt- s. *ulturt-*

oŋ 1. recht, rechtseitig; 2. bereketli; gesegnet. — Vgl. kar. k. *oŋ*, k. t. h. *on* id.; k. *oŋ* Fülle, Reichtum (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *oŋ* gerecht, rechtlich; reichlich; (gut) gelungen (*KrmRSl.*); Kir. [= ksk.] *oŋ* heilsam, heilbringend (Radl. I, 1025). — S. *uŋ-*

oŋal- şifa bulmak; gesund werden. — Vgl. kar. k. *oŋal-*, t. *oŋγal-* t. h. *oŋgal-*, *onγal-* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *uŋ-*

oŋaltuǯï hekim; Arzt. — Vgl. kar. t. *oŋγaltuvču*, h. *onγaltuvcu* id.; k. *oŋalt-*, *oŋγalt-* heilen (*KarRPSl.*)

oŋar- müyesser olmak; Erfolg haben, zum Ziel gelangen. — Vgl. kar. k. *oŋar-*, t. h. *onar-* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *uŋ-*

oŋorγa kaburga; Rippe. — Vgl. kar. k. *oŋurtqa* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

or- s. *ur-*

oram s. *uram*

orman: *zur orman* tiefer Wald. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *orman* Wald (*KarRPSl.*)

ornat- s. *urnat-*

oron, *orun* s. *urun*

osal s. *usal*

otarǯï s. *utarǯï*

otur- s. *ultur-*

oturt- s. *ulturt-*

oyan- s. *uyan-*

oyat- s. *uyat-*

oymaq Fingerhut. — Vgl. kar. k. *oymaq*, h. *oymak* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

Ö

ögüz, *üküz* Ochse, Stier; *üküz qïyï* Ochsenmist. — Vgl. kar. k. *ögüz*, t. *öǵuź*, h. *egiz* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ökür- s. *ükir-*

öl- s. *ül-*
ölče s. *ülčeü*
ölče- s. *ülče-*
öldir- s. *üter-*
ömür s. *γomur*
ördek Ente. — Vgl. kar. t. *örďak*, h. *erdek* id. (*KarRPSl.*)
ös- s. *üs-*
östel sofra; Tisch. — Vgl. kas. *üstäl, östäl* id. (Kúnos) < russ. *stol* id.
östür- s. *üstür-*
öt- s. *üt-*
öten- s. *ütin-*
ötmek s. *ütmek*
öyür- wirbeln. — Vgl. tat. *öyer-* aufrühren, aufwirbeln (*TatDWb.*). — S. *üyürme*
özen s. *üzen*

P

pamador, pomedil domates; Tomate. — Vgl. krm. *pamodor, pamador* id. (Kúnos) < russ. *pamidor* id.
pan falsches Geld. — Vgl. kar. k. *paη* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *pan* id. (Kúnos)
papï ördek; Ente. — Vgl. kar. k. *pepiy* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *papiy* id. (*KrmRSl.*)
peki bıçak, ustura; Messer, Rasiermesser. — Vgl. kar. k. *peki* Rasiermesser (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *päke* Federmesser, Rasiermesser (*TatDWb.*); kas. *päke, päki* Messer (Kúnos)
pepiy s. *papï*
pey Vorschuß; *pey bir-* vorschießen. — Vgl. kar. k. *pey* id. (*KarRPSl.*); k. *pay* partie, part, destinée (Sul.)
pïčmaq uç; Winkel, Ecke; *üy pïčmaγï* Winkel des Hauses. — Vgl. tat. *počmak* Ecke, Winkel, (dial.) Küche (*TatDWb.*); kas. *pučmak, pïčmak, pičmak* Winkel, Ecke (Kúnos)
pičen kurumuş ot; Heu. — Vgl. kar. k. *pičen*, t. *bičań, bičen, bičan*, h. *bicen* id. (*KarRPSl.*)
pomedil s. *pamador*
potuq, potoq Schuh, Stiefel; *χonušlu potoq* Schnürschuh; *kesme potuq* Halbschuh (für Männer). — Vgl. krm. *potik* Schuh (*KrmRSl.*)
puš- yanmak; erregt sein; *ičі puša* içi yanıyor; sich kümmern. — Vgl. Uig. OT *puš-* erregt sein, heftig sein, zornig sein, zürnen (Radl. IV, 1389); tat. *eč poš-* sich grämen; Kummer haben (*TatDWb.*); kas. *ič poš-/puš-* sich kümmern, sich langweilen (Kúnos)

R

raf Regal. — Vgl. kar. k. *raf*, h. *rav* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

renžit- lânet etmek; beleidigen, verfluchen. — Vgl. tat. *ränžet-* kränken, beleidigen (*TatDWb.*); kas. *ränžit-* id. (Kúnos)

S

sač Haar; *at sači* Mähne. — Vgl. kar. k. *sač*, *seč*, k. t. *čač* h. *cac* Haar (*KarRPSl.*)

sayat Stunde: *šuluχ sayat* in dieser Stunde. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *saat*, t. h. *sayat*, *saχat* Uhr; Stunde (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *šuluk sayat* eben in dieser Stunde, sofort (Kúnos)

saq I. vorsichtig: *saq bol-* dikkat etmek; achtgeben. — Vgl. kas. *sak bol-* vorsichtig sein, achtgeben (Kúnos); tat. *sak* wachsam, sorgsam, feinfühlig, feinhörig (*TatDWb.*) — S. *saq* II.

saq II. gece kuşu; Käuzchen. — Vgl. tat. *sak* Wache (*TatDWb.*); Tel. Alt. Schor. Sag. Koib. Kir. [= ksk.] Kar. Kom. Krm. *saq* wachsam; die Wachsamkeit (Radl. IV, 239). — S. *saq* I.

saqau peltek. — Vgl. kar. k. *saqav* stammelnd (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *saqav* stammelnd, mit schwerer Zunge sprechend (*KrmRSl.*)

sal- koymak; legen; *iyer sal-* eğerlemek; satteln. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *sal-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

salqïnnïq Regenschirm (sic). — Vgl. kar. k. *salqïm* Kühle; kühl, frisch (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *salkïnlïk* Kälte (*TatDWb.*)

san sayı; Zahl. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *san* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

sana- saymak; zählen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *sana-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

sandra- korkudan bağırmak. — Vgl. kar. k. *sandraq* Fieberwahn, *sandraqla-*, *sandïraqla-* irrereden, im Traume reden (*KarRPSl.*)

saray ahır; Stall; *qoral sarayï* Kammer für Werkzeuge. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *saray* Palast (*KarRPSl.*); Kas. Tob. Kūr. *sarai* der Stall, die Wagenremise (Radl. IV, 315)

sarïq Schaf. — Vgl. tat. *sarïk* id. (*TatDWb.*)

sarpan saman yığını; Strohschober. — Vgl. krm. *sarpan* Hocke, Haufen (*KrmRSl.*)

sau bollaš- sağ ol [söylemek]; sich verabschieden. — Vgl. tat. *saubullaš-* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *saubullaš-*, *saubollaš-* id. (Kúnos); kar. k. t. h. *sav* gesund (*KarRPSl.*)

savaš cenk, muharebe; Krieg. — Vgl. kar. k. *savaš* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

savut kap; *aš savutï* Geschirr für Speise. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *savut*, k. *sayït* Gefäß, Topf (*KarRPSl.*)

say- zählen, rechnen. — Vgl. kar. k. *say-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

sayïn gemäß, nach; alles; *at sayïn* at başına; dem Pferd gemäß; *inek sayïn* inek içün; wegen der Kuh, der Kuh gemäß; *ü sayïn* her evde; in allem Haus. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *sayïn* gemäß, nach; alles (*KarRPSl.*)

sayla- seçmek; wählen, auswählen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *sayla-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

sekir- seğirmek. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *sekir-*, t. *śekir-* springen, tanzen (*KarRPSl.*)

sele sepet; Korb. — Vgl. kar. k. *sel'e* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *sele* id. (*KrmRSl.*, Kúnos)

sen du; acc. *seni* dich. — Vgl. kar. t. *śeń*, h. *sen* id. (*KarRPSl.*); k. *sen* id. (Sul.)

sendre Liegebett. — Vgl. tat. *sänderä* Schlafstelle (in Bauernstuben); Hängeboden (*TatDWb.*); kas. *sändrä* Hängematte (Kúnos)

sep zincir; Kette. — Vgl. russ. *cep'* id.

sïčavul fare; Maus. — Vgl. kar. k. *sïčavul* große Maus; Ratte (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *sïčavul* Ratte (*KrmRSl.*)

sïči s. *sïlavči*

sïla- hürmet etmek; beehren. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *sïyla-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *sïyla-* bewirten (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *sïla-* II. bewirten, beehren (Kúnos). — S. *sïy-*

sïlavči, sïči (sic) hürmet eden. — Vgl. kar. k. *sïylavči*, t. *sïylavču*, h. *sïylavcu* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

sïlu güzel; schön; *sïlu kïz* schönes Mädchen. — Vgl. tat. *sïlu* id. (*TatDWb.*, Kúnos)

Sïlu Bike Frauenname: „Schöne Frau". — S. *Aysïlu*

sïlulïq Schönheit. — Vgl. kas. *sïlulïk* id. (Kúnos)

sïn- kırılmak, parçalanmak; zerbrechen, in Stücke gehen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *sïn-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

sïna- tecrübe etmek; probieren. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *sïna-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

sïndïr- kırmak; brechen, zerbrechen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *sïndïr-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

sïŋar einer von einem Paare: *sïŋar küz* bir gözlü; einäugig. — Vgl. kar. k. *sïŋar avuč* eine Handfläche (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *sïŋar* Hälfte (eines Paares) (Kúnos)

sïr boya; Farbe. — Vgl. tat. *sïr* Rippe, Verzierung, Muster (*TatDWb.*)

sïrla- boyalamak; färben. — Vgl. krm. *sïrla-* glasieren (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *sïrla-* rippen, mustern, verzieren (*TatDWb.*)

sïrlï boyalı; gefärbt. — Vgl. krm. *sïrlï* glasiert (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *sïrlï* gerippt, gemustert, verziert (*TatDWb.*)

sïy hürmet; Verehrung. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *sïy* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *sïy* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *sïla-*

sïyla- s. *sïla-*

sïylavči s. *sïlavči*

sib- s. *sip-*

sižim ince ip; feines Faden (sic). — Vgl. osm. *sicim* Bindfaden, Packetschnur (HŞ)

silte- sallamak; schwingen. — Vgl. tat. *seltä-* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *siltä-* id. (Kúnos)

siŋ- kaybolmak; verschwinden. — Vgl. krm. *siŋ-* sich einsaugen, eindringen, durchsickern (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *seŋ-* verschwinden (in etwas), eindringen, einsickern, sich einsaugen (*TatDWb.*)

sip-, sib- serpmek; streuen. — Vgl. tat. *sibu* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *sip-, sib-* gießen, streuen, spritzen (Kúnos)

siyrek selten, rar. — Vgl. krm. *siyrek* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

siz ihr. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *siz* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

soq- s. *suq-* I.

soqur kör; blind. — Vgl. kar. k. *soqur, soqïr,* t. h. *sokur* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *soqur* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

solabaš Haferbrei. — Vgl. tat. *solï* Hafer, *solïbaš* Haferbrei (*TatRSl.*); kas. *sulu* II. Hafer, *solobaš* Haferbrei (Kúnos)

soŋ link. — Vgl. kar. k. *soŋ,* k. t. h. *son* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

sorušïžï görücü; Heiratvermittlerin. — Vgl. kar. k. *sorïžï,* t. *soruvču,* h. *soruvcu* der jemanden befragt (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *surašučï* id. (Kúnos)

sögüš küfr; Fluch, Verwünschung. — Vgl. kar. k. *sögüš, sögiš* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

spor (sic) Sporen. — Vgl. russ. *špora* id.

suq- I. sokmak; stecken. — Vgl. kar. k. *soq-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *soq-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

suq- II. vurmak; schlagen. — Vgl. tat. *suk-* id. (*TatDWb.*)

suqtur- vurdurmak; schlagen lassen. — Vgl. tat. *suktïr-* id. (*TatDWb.*)

sura- sormak; fragen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *sor-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *sor-, sora-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *sura-* id. (Kúnos)

suraš- soruşmak; jn. befragen, erkundigen. — Vgl. kar. k. *soruš-, sorïš-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *suraš-* id. (Kúnos)

susïr (sic) manda; Büffel. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *suv sïyïrï* (*sïyïr*) id. (*KarRPSl.*); osm. *susığırı, susur, susuru* manda, dişi manda (*DerlS*)

susum (sic) durstig. — Vgl. kar. k. *susa-,* k. t. h. *suvsa-* dürsten (*KarRPSl.*); osm. *susamış* durstig (HŞ)

susumlïχ (sic) Durst. — Vgl. kar. k. *susïzlïq, suvsuzluq,* h. *suvsïzlïk* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

suv su; Wasser. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *suv,* k. *suy* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

suvur- çıkarmak, emzirmek; herausziehen, saugen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *suvur-,* t. *čuvur-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

süt Milch: *quyï süt* saure Sahne. — Vgl. kar. k. *süt,* t. *śuť,* h. *sit* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *qoyï, quyï*

süv- sevmek; lieben, liebkosen. — Vgl. kar. k. *süv-, süy-, sev-,* t. *śuv-,* h. *siv-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

süyek kemik; Knochen. — Vgl. kar. k. *süyek, süvek, suyak,* t. *śuvak,* h. *sivek* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

Š

šaqšïr deriden şalvar; Hosen (aus Leder). — Vgl. osm. *çakşır* die lange Hose (in alter Zeit) (HŞ)

šan- emin olmak, inanmak, dayanmak; glauben, sicher sein. — Vgl. kar. t. *ušan-* sich freuen (mit etwas), t. h. *uša-* sich eignen (zu) (*KarRPSl.*); t. *uša-* sich ziemen, sich schicken, taugen (Kow.); kas. *šan-*, *ušan-* glauben, jm. vertrauen (Kúnos); tat. *ïšan-* id. (*TatDWb.*)

šandïr- emin etmek. — Vgl. tat. *ïšandïr-* überzeugen, beteuern, versprechen (*TatDWb.*)

šanïč dayanış. — Vgl. kar. t. *ušanč*, h. *usanc* Freude, Genuß (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *ïšanïč* Vertrauen; Zuversicht (*TatDWb.*); kas. *šanïč* Glauben, Vertrauen (Kúnos)

šanïšlï emin. — Vgl. tat. *ïšanïčlï* zuverlässig, sicher; glaubhaft (*TatDWb.*)

šaŋŋïrdat- ses vermek (sic). — Vgl. kar. k. *šïŋŋïrdat-* donnern, klingeln (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *šaŋïrdat-* Kaus. zu: *šaŋŋïrda-* läuten, klingeln (*TatDWb.*)

šar top; Kanon (sic); recte: Kanonenkugel; *temir šar* demir top (sic). — Vgl. ? russ. *šar* Kugel

šeb çabuk; schnell; *bik šeb* pek çabuk; sehr schnell; *šebrek* daha çabuk; schneller. — Vgl. tat. *šäp* schnell; gut, ausgezeichnet (*TatDWb.*)

šïŋŋïrdat- s. *šaŋŋïrdat-*

širpï zırnıt, kibrit; Streichholz. — Vgl. tat. *širpï* id. (*TatDWb.*)

širpïndï fındıkçı kadın; ausschweifende, unzüchtige Frau. — Vgl. kar. k. *širfïndï* unzüchtige Frau (*KarRPSl.*)

šik s. *šišek*

šiklemikli, *šiklemiš* şüpheli— zweifelhaft. — Vgl. tat. *šiklelek* Zweifelhaftigkeit (*TatDWb.*)

šiklen- şüphelenmek; zweifeln. — Vgl. tat. *šiklän-* id. (*TatDWb.*)

šiše Flasche: *kük šiše* lamba şişesi; Lampenzylinder. — Vgl. kar. k. *šiše*, t. *šiše*, h. *sise* Flasche (*KarRPSl.*)

šišek, *šik* iki senelik koyun; zweijähriges Schaf. — Vgl. osm. *şişek* Lamm (im zweiten Jahr) (HŞ)

šol, *šul* dieser, jener; *šol χatlï* şukadar; soviel; *šul čaqta* şu vakit; zu dieser Zeit. — Vgl. kar. k. *šol*, *ušol*, *ïšol* dieser, jener (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *šul* id. (*TatDWb.*)

šu- rutschen. — Vgl. tat. *šu-* gleiten, dahinflitzen (*TatDWb.*)

šul s. *šol*

šuluχ şu; jener; *šuluχ sayat* in dieser Stunde. — Vgl. kas. *šuluk sayat* eben in dieser Stunde, sofort (Kúnos)

šuuš- (herum)rutschen. — Vgl. tat. *šüš-* kriechen; gleiten (*TatDWb.*). — S. *šu-*

šuušqan rutschig. — S. *šuuš-*

šurlïq raf; Regal

T

tab- s. *tap-*

taba doğru; gerade; *miŋa taba* bana doğru; mir entgegen; *tüben taba* aşagı doğru; hernieder. — Vgl. tat. *taba* Pp. in Richtung auf . . ., auf . . . zu; gegen . . . (*TatDWb.*)

taγï, taγïn yeniden; noch, wieder. — Vgl. kar. k. *daχï*, k. h. *daγïn*, t. h. *dayï* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *taγïn* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *taγï, taγïn* id. (Kúnos)

taχta: *iden taχtasï* Brett des Fußbodens, Diele. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *taχta* Brett (*KarRPSl.*)

taqïr-baš rasiert köpfig. — Vgl. krm. *taqïr* bloß, nackt; Heide (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *takïr* glatt, eben, festgetreten; nackt, bloß, kahl, elend, arm (*TatDWb.*)

tal- yorulmak. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *tal-* ermüden (*KarRPSl.*)

talay zaman; Zeit (sic); recte: einige, mehrere. — Vgl. kar. k. *bir talay* viel; Menge (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *talay* ein gewisser, einige; *bir talaydan* seit einiger Zeit (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *talay* einige, mehrere; *bir talay zaman* eine Weile (Kúnos)

talïq maskara. — Vgl. ? tat. *taľk* Talk (*TatDWb.*)

talïqla- utandırmak; beschämen. — S. *talïq*

tam s. *tem*

tamaq Kehle; *tamaq toydïr-* karın doydurmak; schlingen; satt werden. — Vgl. kar. k. *tamaq*, t. *tamaγ, tamaχ*, h. *tamak* Gaumen, Kehle (*KarRPSl.*)

tamčï damla; Tropfen. — Vgl. kar. t. *tamčï*, h. *tamcï* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *tamčï* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

tamšalan- [Ms.: *tamšan-*] imrenmek, heveslenmek (sic). — Vgl. kar. t. *tamašalan-*, h. *tamasalan-* sich wundern; k. t. *tamaša* Wunder, Belustigung (*KarRPSl.*); t. *tamaša* Schauspiel, Wunder (Kow.)

taŋ sabah; Tagesanbruch; *taŋ at-* sabah olmak; dämmern. — Vgl. kar. k. *taŋ*, k. t. h. *tan* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *taŋ* id.; *taŋ at-* dämmern (*KrmRSl.*)

taŋ- terk etmek, inkâr etmek; verlassen, verleugnen. — Vgl. kar. k. *taŋ-*, k. t. h. *tan-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

taŋnay çene; Kinnbacke (sic). — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *taŋlay*, t. h. *tanlay* Gaumen (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *taŋlay* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

tap-, tab- bulmak; finden; *taba al-* finden können. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *tap-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tapčan peke [= tahta sedir]; Bank, Bänkchen. — Vgl. kar. k. *tapčan* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tapšïr- sığınmak; Schutz suchen bei. — Vgl. kas. *tapšïr-* jm. vertrauen, übergeben (Kúnos); tat. *tapšïr-* auftragen; aushändigen; abgeben (*TatDWb.*)

tapta- basmak; abtreten, zertreten. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *tapta-* id. (*KarRPSl.*) < ? russ. *toptať* id.

tart- ziehen: *temeke tart-* tütün içmek; rauchen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *tart-* ziehen, schleppen (*KarRPSl.*)

tasma kayış; Riemen, Band. — Vgl. kar. k. *tasma* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *tasma* is. (*KrmRSl.*)

taš: *taš iden* Fußboden aus Stein; *meža taši* sınır taşı; Grenzstein; *tura-taš* Idol. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *taš*, k. *daš* h. *tas* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tašla- bırakmak; lassen. — Vgl. kar. k. *tašla-* jeter, rendre (aux mains) (Sul.), t. h. *tašla-* verlassen; werfen h. *tasla-* Stein (*KarRPSl.*)

tata s. *tete*

tatar: *čöl tatar*, *noγay* Tatar aus der Steppe; *yalï boyu tatar* Tatar aus dem Ufer des Meeres. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *tatar* Tatar (*KarRPSl.*)

tauš ses; Stimme. — Vgl. kar. k. *tavuš* Stimme, Schrei (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *tavïš* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *tavïš*, *tavuš*, *tauš* id. (Kúnos)

taušlan- ses çıkarmak; Stimme geben. — Vgl. tat. *tavïšlan-* lärmen, schreien (*TatDWb.*)

tay Fohlen: *čontoχ tay* altı aylık at; *quančaχ tayï* id. — Vgl. kar. k. *tay* Fohlen (*KarRPSl.*)

taza temiz; rein. — Vgl. kar. k. *taze*, *teze* frisch, neu (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *taze* frisch, neu (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *taza* sauber, frisch, rein (*TatDWb.*)

tazart- temizlemek; reinigen. — Vgl. krm. *tazert-* erfrischen (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *tazart-* II. reinigen (Kúnos)

tazï Windhund. — Vgl. kar. k. *tazï*: *it tazï* Windhund, Jagdhund (*KarRPSl.*)

tegelle- yuvarlamak. — Vgl. kar. h. *teǵerle-* abrunden; k. *teger* Rad (*KarRPSl.*) — S. *tegermeč*

teger-, *toγïr-* yuvarlamak. — Vgl. tat. *tägärä-* rollen (*TatDWb.*); kar. k. *toγaraq*, *tögerek*, t. *ťeǵaŕak* Kreis (*KarRPSl.*)

tegermeč Rad, Wagenrad. — Vgl. tat. *tägärmäč* id. (*TatDWb.*); kar. k. *teger*, *tegerčik*, h. *teǵere* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *tegercik* (dial.) id. (*KrmRSl.*)

telmer- s. *termel-*

tem tat, lezzet. — Vgl. kar. k. *dam*, t. h. *tam*, t. *taam* Geschmack (*KarRPSl.*)

temeke tütün; Tabak; *temeke tart-* tütün içmek; rauchen; *temeke tür-* tütün sarmak; Zigarette drehen. — Vgl. tat. *tämäke* Tabak (*TatDWb.*); Kir. [= ksk.] *tämäkä* id. (Radl. III, 1129)

temen ine büyük iğne, çuvaldır. — Vgl. Kom. Dsch. *tämän*, Alt. Tel. *tämänä* eine große Nadel (Radl. III, 1130)

temir: *temir šar* demir top (sic); recte: eiserne Kanonenkugel. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *temir*, k. *demir*, t. *ťemir* Eisen (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *šar*

temli tatlı; süß. — Vgl. tat. *tämle* schmackhaft, lecker; süß (TatDWb.)

tentek sersem; einfältig. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *tentek*, t. *ťeńťak* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *tentek* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

terek s. *tirek*

tereze, *terez*, *tirez* pencere; Fenster. — Vgl. kar. k. *tereže*, *taraža*, t. *ťeŕeže*, *ťerža*, *teŕaža*, h. *teredze*, *tereze* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

termel- hoffen, zuversichtlich sein. — Vgl. kar. k. *teľmer-*, t. h. *telḿer-*, t. *teľmar-*, h. *telmer-* id. (*KarRPSl.*), sich sehnen, verschmachten (Kow.)

teš- s. *tiš-*

tešik delik; Loch, Lücke. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *tešik*, t. *ťešik*, h. *tesik* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tete, tata nine. — Vgl. kar. h. *tete* Tante (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *tätäy* id. (*TatRSl.*); kas. *tätä, tätäy* ältere Schwester (Kúnos) < russ. *tëtja* Tante

tezrek s. *tizrek*

tülsim s. *tülsüm*

tümqara sim-siyah; ganz schwarz. — Vgl. kar. k. *tümtüz* ganz flach (*KarRPSl.*); Dsch. *tim* ganz, gerade (Radl. III, 1408)

tünič rahat; Frieden, Ruhe. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *tinč*, h. *tinc, tinis* ruhig, still (*KarRPSl.*); t. *tinč* ruhig; Ruhe (Kow.); tat. *tünič* still, ruhig, sorglos (*TatDWb.*)

tünič̈la- rahat bırakmak. — Vgl. kar. k. *tinčlaš-* sich beruhigen (*KarRPSl.*)

tünič̈lan- rahatlanmak; in Frieden sein. — Vgl. tat. *tünič̈landïrgič̈* beruhigend (*TatDWb.*)

tünïš nefes; Atem; *tünïš al-* nefes almak; atmen. — Vgl. krm. *tünïš* Atem (*KrmRSl.*); kar. k. t. h. *tün-* atmen; sich beruhigen (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *tün* Atem; *tün al-* atmen (*TatDWb.*)

türïš- çalışmak; sich bestreben. — Vgl. kar. k. *türïš-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *türïš-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

türïšqan (*kiši*) çalışkan (adam); strebsame, eifrige (Person). — Vgl. kar. k. *türïšqan* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

türmïq ekin toplayan alet. — Vgl. osm. *tırmık* Harke, Rechen (HŞ)

tüynaq tatlı su göl; Süßwasserteich (sic). — Vgl. kar. k. *tüymaq* Fischbehälter (*KarPRSl.*); krm. *tüynaq* Süßwasserteich, künstlicher Teich, Fischteich (*KrmRSl.*)

ti- değmek, dokumak; erreichen, berühren. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *tiy-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *tiy-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *tiy-, tey-, ti-* id. (Kúnos)

tigi o, ol, öteki; jener, der gewisse. — Vgl. tat. *tege* jene (*TatDWb.*); kas. *tigi, tige, tege*; jener, der gewisse, der erwähnte (Kúnos)

tigiley öyle; so. — Vgl. tat. *tegeläy* anders; *tegeläy-bolay* so oder so; *tegeläyräk* ein bißchen anders (*TatDWb.*)

tiginde orada; dort, an jenem Ort. — Vgl. tat. *tegendä* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *tigindä* id. (Kúnos) — S. *tigi, tiginden*

tiginden ordan; von dort. — S. *tigi, tiginde*

tikšir- teftiş etmek; besichtigen. — Vgl. tat. *tikšer-* durch-, nachsehen, kontrollieren, untersuchen (*TatDWb.*)

tikširt- besichtigen lassen. — Vgl. Kas. *tikširt-* id. (Radl. III, 1351)

tile- dilemek; beten. — Vgl. kar. k. *diľen-, kiľen-*, t. *kľań-*, h. *kilen-, klen-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *tile-* wollen, wünschen; *tilen-* beten (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *tilä-* wollen, wünschen, beten (Kúnos)

tin Kopeke. — Vgl. Kir. [= ksk.] Kas. Uig. *tin* eine Kopeke, ein Heller (Radl. III, 1360); kas. *tin* id. (Kúnos)

tire- dayamak; stützen. — Vgl. krm. *tire-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *tirä-* id. (Kúnos)

tirek kırdaki büyük ağaç; (großer) Baum. — Vgl. kar. k. *teraq, derek, diraq, direk*, k. h. *terek*, t. *ťeŕak* Baum (*KarRPSl.*)

tireüč direk; Pfahl, Säule. — Vgl. Kas. *tiräüč* die Stütze, das Sperrholz (Radl. III, 1412)

tirez s. *tereze*

tirgiz- diri etmek; beleben. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *tirgiz-*, t. *tirgiź-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tiri diri; lebendig. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *tiri* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tirmen değirmen; Mühle. — Vgl. kar. k. *tiyirmen, degirmen*, t. *tiyirńań, tigirńeń*, h. *tiyermen, kiyermen* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *tirmän* id. (Kúnos). — S. *ǯeltirmen*

tirmenči Müller. — Vgl. kar. k. *ďegirmenči*, t. *tiyirńańči*, h. *tiyermenci* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *tirmänči* id. (Kúnos)

tisker (sic) diğer, başka; andere; *tisker yaq* die andere Seite. — Vgl. tat. *tiskärä* verkehrt, rückseitig (*TatDWb.*)

tiš- yırtmak; zerreißen. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *teš-*, t. *ťeš-*, h. *tes-* durchlöchern, zerreißen (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *teš-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

tišil- yırtılmak; zerreißen. — Vgl. kar. k. *tešiľgen* geschnitten (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *tešil-* zerreißen (*KrmRSl.*)

tišle- ısırmak; beißen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *tišľe-*, k. *tišle-, čišľe-*, t. *tišľa-*, h. *tisle-, kisle-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tišlem lokma; Bissen. — Vgl. kar. k. *tišľem, čišľem*, k. t. *tišľam*, h. *kisľem, kislem, tislem* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tiy- s. *ti-*

tiyirmen s. *tirmen*

tiyirmenči s. *tirmenči*

tizanay teyze; Tante. — Vgl. krm. *tize* Tante (*KrmRSl.*); osm. *teyze* id. (HŞ) und kar. k. t. h. *ana* Mutter (*KarRPSl.*)

tizrek tez, çabuk; schnell (sic); recte: schneller, sehr schnell. — Vgl. kar. k. *tezrek* schneller; k. h. *tez*, t. *teyiz, ťeyz*, h. *teyz, tiz* schnell (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *tiz* schnell, *tizräk* schneller (Kúnos)

tobarsï bayat (nicht frisch, alt)

tobasï- bayatlanmak; *tobarsïγan ekmek* bayatlanmış ekmek

toγïr- s. *teger-*

toqal kısa; kurz (sic); recte: stumpf, verschnitten; *tos-toqal* ganz stumpf. — Vgl. kar. k. *toqal* stumpf (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *toqal* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

toqlï einjähriges Lamm. — Vgl. kar. k. *toqlu* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *toqlu* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

toqta- durmak; stehen bleiben. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *toχta-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tomalaq toparlak; rund. — Vgl. kar. k. *tomalaq* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *tomalaq* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

top Kanone: *top at-* kanonieren, mit Kanonen beschießen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *top* Kanone (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *top* id; *top at-* kanonieren (*KrmRSl.*)

toryay s. *turyay*

toron Enkel. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *torun*, k. *torïn* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tos-toqal s. *toqal*

toš beden (sic); recte: Brust, Busen. — Vgl. kar. k. *töš*, t. *ťoš*, h. *tes* Brust; Euter (*KarRPSl.*)

toy düğün; Hochzeit; *toy ǯiyïnï* Hochzeitsversammlung. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *toy* Hochzeitsschmaus, Hochzeit (*KarRPSl.*)

toyaq at tırnağı; Huf. — Vgl. kar. k. *tuyaq*, t. *tuyaχ*, h. *tuyak* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

toydïr: *tamaq toydïr-* karın doydurmak; schlingen, satt werden. — Vgl. kar. t. h. *toydur-* sättigen; k. t. h. *toy-* satt sein/werden (*KarRPSl.*)

toz s. *tuzan*

tögerek, tügerek yuvarlak; rund. — Vgl. kar. k. *tögerek, toyaraq*, t. *ťeǵaŕak* Kreis; rund, kreisförmig (*KarRPSl.*)

töle- s. *tüle-*

töš s. *toš*

töz- s. *tüz-* II.

trupka tübe; Pfeife. — Vgl. russ. *trubka* id.

tuyan kardaş; *ir tuyan* Bruder; *qïz tuyan* Schwester. — Vgl. kar. k. *tuyan*, t. h. *tuvyan* blutsverwandt (*KarRPSl.*)

tuyaq s. *toyaq*

tur- durmak. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *tur-*, k. *dur-* aufstehen, sich aufhalten, leben (*KarRPSl.*)

tura-taš duran taş (Idol). — Vgl. tat. *torataš* Götze (*TatDWb.*)

turyay Name eines Vogels; russ. žavrinek (recte: žavoronok = Lerche). — Vgl. kar. k. t. *toryay*, h. *turyay* Sperling, Spatz (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *toryay* id. (KrmRSl.); tat. *turgay* Lerche (*TatDWb.*)

turyuz- oturtmak. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *turyuz-*, k. *turyïz-* stellen, setzen; aufhalten (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *turyuz-* aufheben, aufstellen (*KrmRSl.*)

turmïš hayat; Leben. — Vgl. krm. *turmuš* id. (KrmRSl.); kas. *turmïš* id. (Kúnos)

tutun- başlamak; anfangen, beginnen. — Vgl. kar. t. h. *tutun-* sich halten (*KarRPSl.*), sich halten, fest sitzen, fest beschließen (Kow.); krm. *tutun-* beginnen, anfangen (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *tutïn-* id. (Kúnos)

tutunïčï başlayıcı; anfangend. — Vgl. kar. h. *tutunuvcu* sich haltend (*KarRPSl.*)

tuzan toz; Staub. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *toz* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *tuzan* id. (TatDWb.)

tü Kamel: *tü-biye* kısrak; Stute (recte: Kamelstute). — Vgl. kar. k. *tüye, deve*, t. *ťeŕa*, h. *teve* Kamel (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *tüye* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

tüben aşağı; niedrig, niederwärts; *tüben taba* aşağı doğru; hernieder. — Vgl. krm.

tüb Unter; *tübünde* unten (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *tübän* niedrig, niederwärts (Kúnos)

tüfenk Gewehr, Flinte: *tüfenk at-* mit Flinte beschießen. — Vgl. kar. k. *tüfek*, h. *kefek*, *kiefek* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *tüfek* id.; *tüfek at-* mit Flinte beschießen (*KrmRSl.*)

tügerek s. *tögerek*

tüle- ödemek; zahlen, bezahlen. — Vgl. kar. k. *töľe-*, t. *ťoľa- teľe-*, h. *tele-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tülkü (sic) Rubel. — Vgl. tat. *täηkä* Münze, Geld; (umg.) Rubel (*TatDWb.*); kas. *tellä*, *tillä* Goldmünze (Kúnos)

tülsüm tılısım, sihir; Talisman, Zauber. — Vgl. kar. k. *tïlsïm* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *tïlsïm* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

tün gece; Nacht; *kün-tün* gece gündüz; Tag und Nacht. — Vgl. kar. k. *tün* Nacht (*KarPRSl.*); krm. *dün* id.; *tünevin* gestern (*KrmRSl.*)

tüngek tepe; Hügelchen. — Vgl. tat. *tümgäk* Erdhügel; grasbewachsenes, bemoostes Hügelchen (*TatDWb.*)

tüngelek halka. — Vgl. Tob. *tüηäläk* der Ring (Radl. III, 1542)

tüp, *tüpčük* çocuk; Kind. — Vgl. kar. k. *tüp*, *tib*, t. *ťup*, h. *tip*, *kip* Boden, Grund; Geschlecht, Abstammung; k. *tüpčik*, *tipčik* Zweig, Baumstumpf, Stütze (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *tüpčik* geistig unentwickeltes (ungebildetes) Muttersöhnchen (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *töpček* letztes Kind der Eltern (*TatDWb.*); kas. *tüpčük*, *tepček* die jüngste; *tepček kïz* jüngste Tochter (Kúnos)

tür- sarmak; zusammenrollen; *temeke tür-* tütün sarmak; Zigarette drehen. — Vgl. tat. *tör-* einwickeln, einpacken (*TatDWb.*); kas. *tür-* zusammenrollen, einwickeln (Kúnos)

türlü: *türlü yaq* verschiedene Seite. — Vgl. kar. k. *türlü*, *türli*, t. *ťurľu*, h. *tirli*, *kirli* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tüs renk, yadigâr; Farbe, Andenken, Geschenk. — Vgl. kar. k. *tüs* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *tüs* Farbe (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *tös* Farbe; Aussehen, Andenken (*TatDWb.*)

tüš: *tüš yora-* den Traum deuten. — Vgl. kar. k. *tüš*, *čüš*, t. *ťuš*, h. *tis*, *kis*, *tiš* Traum (*KarRPSl.*)

tüš- inmek; herabsteigen; *attan tüš-* absitzen. — Vgl. kar. k. *tüš-*, *čüš-*, t. *ťuš-*, h. *tis-*, *kis-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tüšür- indirmek; herabsteigen lassen. — Vgl. kar. k. *tüšür-*, *čüšür-*, t. *ťuşur-*, *ťuvşur-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tüye s. *tü*

tüyrüm eğri-büğrü; krumm und schief

tüz- I. düzmek; ordnen. — Vgl. kar. k. *tüz-*, h. *tiz-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tüz- II. sabretmek; ertragen, erdulden. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *töz-*, k. *toz-*, t. *ťoź-*, h. *tez-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

tüzümlü sabırlı; geduldig. — Vgl. tat. *tüzemle* geduldig, ausdauernd (*TatDWb.*)

U

ubïr cinli abeş (sic) (= Hexer, Hexe); *ubïr qarčïγï* Hexe; *ubïr it-* zaubern. — Vgl. kar. t. h. *obur* Hexe; *oburla-* zaubern (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *öbür* Hexe (*KrmRSl.*)

uč avuç; Handvoll. — Vgl. kar. k. *avuč*, t. h. *uvuč*, h. *uvuc* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *uǯlïq*

učra-, *učura-* rast gelmek (= rasgelmek); sich treffen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *učra-*, h. *ucra-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *očra-* id. (*TatDWb.*); kas. *učra-*, *učura-* id. (Kúnos)

uǯlïq: *bir uǯlïq* bir avuç(luk); eine Handvoll. — S. *uč*

ufaq s. *yïfaǯïχ*

ul oğul; Sohn. — Vgl. kar. k. *oγul*, *oγïl*, t. h. *uvul*, h. *ovul* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *ul* (Kúnos)

učun (sic) doğru, sahih; wahr, richtig. — Vgl. tat. *čïn* echt, wahrhaftig (*TatDWb.*)

ular s. *o*

ultur- oturmak, sich setzen. — Vgl. kar. k. *otur-*, *otïr-*, t. h. *oltur-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ulturt- (nieder)setzen. — Vgl. kar. k. *oturt-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ulu, *uluγ* büyük; groß. — Vgl. kar. k. *ulu*, t. *ulluχ*, t. h. *ullu* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ulus kavim, millet; Volk, Nation. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *ulus* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

uη- bol olmak; im Überfluß vorhanden. — Vgl. kar. k. *oη* Fülle, Überfluß, Reichtum (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *uη-* I. gelingen (Kúnos). — S. *oη*, *oηal-*, *oηar-*

upraχ elbise, ruba; Kleid, Anzug. — Vgl. kar. k. *upraq*, t. *upraχ*, h. *uprak* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

uprat- harap etmek, mahvetmek; verbringen, vernichten. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *uprat-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ur- kesmek, biçmek; ernten; *igin ur-* ekin biçmek (ernten). — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *or-*, k. *ora-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *ur-* II. id. (Kúnos)

uram sokak; Gasse. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *oram* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *uram* id. (*TatDWb.*)

uryačï s. *ïryačï*

urla- çalmak; stehlen. — Vgl. kar. t. h. *urla-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

urluq çekirdek, tohum; Same. — Vgl. kar. k. *urluq*, *urlïq* t. *urluχ*, h. *urluk* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

urnat- yerleştirmek; setzen, pflanzen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *ornat-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

uršuš azarlayış (= Rügen, Tadeln). — S. *uruš-*

urun, *oron* mevki, makam; Ort. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *orun*, k. *orïn* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

urunlaš- yerleşmek; sich niederlassen, sich ansiedeln. — S. *urun*

uruš- azarlamak (= rügen, tadeln). — Vgl. kar. k. t. *uruš-* h. *urus-*, *orus-* sich schlagen, kämpfen (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *urïš-*, *uruš-*, *urš-* schimpfen (Kúnos)

uruv Geschlecht. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *uruv* Geschlecht, Stamm, Abstammung, Familie, Generation (*KarRPSl.*)

us akıl; Vernunft. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *us* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

usal vahşi; böse, wild (sic); *usal kiši* emniyetsiz; unsicher, unzuverlässig (Person). — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *osal* lässig, untätig (*KarRPSl.*)

ušan- s. *šan-*

ušanč s. *šanïč*

ušandïr- s. *šandïr-*

utarǯi çoban; Hirt, Schäfer. — Vgl. kar. k. *otar* Weide (*KarRPSl.*); Krm. Nog. *otar* eine Herde Schafe, die auf verschiedene Weideplätze getrieben wird (Radl. I, 1105)

uvat-, vat- kırmak, bozmak; zerbrechen, verderben. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *uvat-*, k. *ufat-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *uvat-, vat-* id. (Kúnos)

uvatïq, vatïq bozuk; zerbrochen, verdorben. — S. *uvat-, vat-*

uvatïl-, vatïl- kırılmak, bozulmak; sich verstückeln, verderben. — S. *uvat-, vat-*

uvatïlyan zerbrochen. — S. *uvat-*

uy I. fikir; Gedanke. — Vgl. tat. *uy* Gedanke, Nachdenken, Meinung (*TatDWb.*)

uy II. s. *üy*

uyan- aufwachen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *oyan-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

uyat, yat aip; Scham. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *uyat* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

uyat- uyandırmak; aufwecken. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *oyat-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

uyatsïz s. *yatsïz*

uyla- düşünmek; denken, durchdenken, meinen. — Vgl. tat. *uyla-* id. (*TatDWb.*)

uzaq çok; viel (sic); recte: lang, weit; *uzaq ɣomur* langes Leben. — Vgl. kar. k. *uzaq*, t. *uzaχ*, h. *uzak* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

Ü

ü s. *üy*

üčeülep drei zusammen. — Vgl. kar. t. *üč̊*, h. *yic, ic, oc* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *öčäü* zu dritt (*TatDWb.*); *üčäüläš-* zu drei sein (Kúnos); *öčäüläšep* drei zusammen (*TatRSl.*)

üčkündür pancar; rote Rübe. — Vgl. kar. k. *üčkündür* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *üčkündir, čükündir* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

ükir- bağırmak; brüllen, grölen; *ögüz ükre* öküz bağırır; der Ochse brüllt. — Vgl. kar. k. *ökür-, aqïr-*, t. *ökur-* h. *ekir-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

üküz s. *ögüz*

ül- ölmek; sterben. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *öl'-*, h. *el-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ülče- ölçmek; messen. — Vgl. kar. k. *öl'če-*, t. *öl'ča-*, h. *elce-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ülčeü ölçü. — Vgl. kar. k. *öl'če, olču, öl'čü, öl'či* Maß (*KarRPSl.*)

ülekse leş; Kadaver. — Vgl. tat. *üläksä* id. (*TatDWb.*)

ülen ot; Gras. — Vgl. tat. *üläп* id. (TatDWb.)

ülenlik otluk yer; Wiese. — Vgl. tat. *üläпlek* ein mit Gras bewachsener Platz (*TatRSl.*)

üleš- verteilen. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *üľeš-*, k. *üľüš-*, *öľeš-*, t. *üľač-*, h. *iľes-*, *ilis-*, *iles-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ülgü Vorhang; *tereze ülgüsi* id.

ülken ulu, büyük; groß. — Vgl. tat. *ölkän* älter; erwachsen (*TatDWb.*)

ülker sabah yıldızı. — Vgl. tat. *ölkär* Plejaden; Siebengestirn (*TatDWb.*)

ülüš kismet; Anteil, Schicksal. — Vgl. kar. k. *üľeš*, *üľüš*, t. *üľuś* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

üpčük kilit; Schloß

ür- üfürmek; blasen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *ür-*, h. *ir-*, *yir-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

ürdür- üfürtmek; blasen lassen. — S. *ür-*

ürken mavi; blau

üs- büyümek; wachsen; *zur üs-* aufwachsen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *ös-*, t. *öš-*, h. *es-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

üstür- büyütmek, terbiye etmek; wachsen lassen, erziehen. — Vgl. kar. k. *östür-*, *östir-*, t. *öśtur-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

üstüre- çekmek; schleppen. — Vgl. tat. *österä-* schleppen (auf den Boden) (*TatDWb.*); kas. *üstürä-* id. (Kúnos)

üstürel- çekinmek; sich schleppen. — Vgl. tat. *österäl-* id. (*TatRSl.*); kas. *üstüräl-* id. (Kúnos)

üstüreš- çekişmek (sich zanken). — S. *üstüre-*

üt- geçmek; vorbei/vorübergehen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *öt-*, h. *et-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *üt-* durchgehen, durchfahren (*TatDWb.*)

ütin- rica etmek, yalvarmak; bitten, flehen. — Vgl. kar. k. *üten-*, *öten-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); tat. *üten-* id. (*TatDWb.*)

ütinič rica; Bitten. — Vgl. kas. *ütenič* Bitten, Wunsch (Kúnos); tat. *ütenüče* Bittsteller (*TatDWb.*)

ütir-, *üter-* öldürmek; töten. — Vgl. kar. k. *öľdir-*, t. *öľtur-*, h. *eltir-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *üter-* id. (Kúnos)

ütirik yalan; Lüge. — Vgl. Kir. [= kzk.] Dsch. *ötürük* id. (Radl. I, 1266)

ütirikči yalancı; Lügner. — Vgl. Dsch. *ötürükci*, Kir. [= ksk.] *ötürükšü* id. (Radl. I, 1267)

ütkir kilici, sözü geçen adam (sic). — Vgl. tat. *ütker* = *ütken* 1. scharf (Messer); 2. geistreich; 3. gewandt, flink, fix (*TatDWb.*); kas. *ütker* lebhaft, flink, frisch (Kúnos)

ütmek, *etmek*, *ikmek* Brot; *etmek kisegi* ekmek parçası; Brotstück. — Vgl. kar. k. *ötmek*, t. *öťmak*, *eťmak*, h. *etmek*, *ekmek* (*KarRPSl.*)

üy, *ü*, *uy* ev; Haus; *uyya qayt-* nach Hause zurückkehren. — Vgl. kar. k. *üy*, t. *üv*, *yuv*, *yüv*, h. *yiv*, *iv* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

üyürme kasırğa; Wirbel. — Vgl. tat. *öyermä* Wirbelsturm, Sturm (*TatDWb.*). — S. *öyür-*

üzen, *özen* çay, ırmak; Fluß. — Vgl. kar. k. *özen*, t. *öźań*, h. *ezen* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *özen* id. (KrmRSl.); tat. *üzän* Tal, Niederung; Flußbett (*TatDWb.*)

V

vat- s. *uvat-*
vatïq s. *uvatïq*
vatïl- s. *uvatïl-*

Y

yab- s. *yap-*
yaban s. *yalan-yaban*
yabïq s. *ǯabïq*
yaχšï gut, brav; es ist gut! — Vgl. kar. k. t. *yaχši*, t. *yakši*, h. *yaχsï*, *yaksï* id. (*KarRPSl.*)
yaq taraf; Seite, Gegend; *ast yaq* alt taraf; *qay yaq* hangi taraf? welche Seite? *tisker yaq* die andere Seite; *türlü yaq* verschiedene Seite. — Vgl. kar. k. *yaq* Seite (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yaq* id. (*KrmRSl.*)
yaqtï nurlu; licht, hell; *yaqtï čïray* açık yüz; glänzendes Gesicht. — Vgl. kas. *yaktï* Licht; licht, hell (Kúnos); tat. *yaktï* Licht, Beleuchtung; hell; *yaktï yözle* freundlich (*TatDWb.*); kar. k. *yaq-* entzünden (*KarRPSl.*)
yal I. saç; Haar (sic); recte: Mähne. — Vgl. kar. k. *yal* Mähne (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *yal* id. (Kúnos)
yal II. Ruhe: *yal it-* yorgunluk almak; ausruhen; *yal ittir-* ruhen lassen. — Vgl. krm. *yal* Ruhe, Erholung (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *yal* Ruhe; *yal it-* ruhen (Kúnos); tat. *yal* Erholung, Urlaub, Pause (*TatDWb.*)
yala- s. *ǯala-*
yalan açık yer. — Vgl. kas. *yalan* Wiese (Kúnos); Feld, Acker, Wiese, Steppe (*TatDWb.*)
yalan-yaban sahra. — Vgl. kar. k. *yaban* Wüste (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yaban* Wüste, Steppe (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *yalan*
yalanlï-yabanlï sahralı adam. — S. *yalan-yaban*
yalda-, *ǯalda-* yüzmek; schwimmen. — Vgl. kar. k. *yalda-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yalda-* id. (*Chr.*)
yalyač çıplak; nackt. — Vgl. kar. k. *yalyač*, k. t. *yalaŋyač* id. (*KarRPSl.*)
yalyïz, *yalyïz-yïna* allein, einsam. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yalyïz*, k. *yalïnyïz* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *yalyïz* id. (Kúnos)
yalï Ufer des Meeres. — Vgl. kar. k. *yalï* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yalï* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *boy* I.
yalpaχ yassı; platt, flach. — Vgl. kar. k. *yalpaq*, *yapalaq*, h. *yaplak* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yalpaq* id. (*KrmRSl.*)
yaman schlecht, böse. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yaman* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yaman* id. (*KrmRSl.*)
yaŋa yeni; neu. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yanγï*, k. t. *yańγï* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yaŋï* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

yaŋadan yeniden; von neuem. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *yana*, k. *yene*, *gene*, t. *yanï*, *yane* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *yaŋadan* id. (Kúnos)

yap-, *yab-*, *ǯap-*, *ǯab-* örtmek; bedecken; zuschließen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yap-* id.; machen (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yap-* 1. machen; 2. schließen, bedecken (*KrmRSl.*)

yaptïr- s. *ǯabtïr-*

yar- kesmek; schneiden, spalten. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yar-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yar-* id. (*KrmRSl.*). — S. *yartï yar-*

yarγïč keskin; scharf (sic); recte: scharfes Messer, Mahlmaschine usw. — Vgl. tat. *yargïč* verschiedene Mahlmaschine (*TatRSl.*)

yarï güzel, yaχšï! ist gut, paßt! — Vgl. kas. *yarï* gut! es ist richtig! in Ordnung! (Kúnos); tat. *yarïy* id. (*TatDWb.*)

yarïχ, *yarïq* aydın, aydınlık; hell, Helle. — Vgl. kar. k. *yarïq*, t. *yarïχ*, h. *yarïk* klar, hell (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yarïq* Licht, Glanz (*KrmRSl.*)

yarïχlïχ aydınlık; Helligkeit, Licht. — Vgl. kar. k. *yarïqlïq*, t. *yarïχlïχ*, h. *yarïklïk* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

yartï, *ǯartï* yarım, yarısı; halb, Hälfte; *yartï alma* Halbapfel; *yartïya yar-* entzweispalten. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yartï*, *yarïm*, k. *yarï* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *yartï* id. (Kúnos, *TatDWb.*)

yasa- machen: *nasayïχ* (< *ne yasayïχ*) was sollen wir machen? — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yasa-* machen (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yasa-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *yasa-* id. (*TatDWb.*)

yaslan- s. *ǯaslan-*

yašar- gençleşmek; sich verjüngen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *yašar-*, h. *yasar-* sich verjüngen; grünen, blühen (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yašar-* sich verjüngen (*KrmRSl.*)

yašïm yıldırım, şimşek. — Vgl. kar. k. *yešim* Blitz (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yašïn* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *yašin* id. (Kúnos); tat. *yašen* Blitz; Gewitter (*TatDWb.*). — S. *yašïmla-*

yašïmla-: *yašïm yašïmlay* şimşek çakıyor; es blitzt. — Vgl. kar. k. *yešimle-* blitzen; *yešim yešimley* es blitzt (*KarRPSl.*)

yat I. fremd s. *ǯat*

yat II. Scham s. *uyat*

yat- liegen: *aša yat-* essen; *kitü yat-* weggehen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yat-* liegen; sich niederlegen; ruhen (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yat-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

yatsïz insafsız. — Vgl. kar. t. h. *uyatsïz* schamlos, unverschämt (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *uyat*

yazγačar dreijähriges Kind

yek- s. *ǯik-*

yel s. *ǯel*

yenište enişte; Schwager. — Vgl. kar. k. *enište* der Mann der Tante (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *enište* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

yeŋ-, žin- yenmek, galip olmak. — Vgl. kar. k. *yeŋ-*, t. *yeń-*, t. h. *yen-* siegen, besiegen (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yeŋ-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); tat. *žiŋ-* id. (*TatRSl.*). — S. *žiniš-*

yer s. *žir*

yešir- gizlemek; verbergen, verheimlichen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *yašïr-*, h. *yasïr-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yašïr-* (dial.) id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *yäšir-* id. (Kúnos)

yeširin- gizlenmek. — Vgl. kar. t. *yašïrïn-*, h. *yasïrïn-* sich verbergen (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *yäširin-* id. (Kúnos)

yïbrïq kahve cezvesi. — Vgl. kar. k. *yïbrïq, yïbïrïq* Kaffeekanne aus Kupfer (*KarRPSl.*)

yïfažïχ ufak; winzig, ganz klein. — Vgl. kar. k. *ufaq*, t. *uvaχ*, h. *uvak* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *ufaq* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

yïfaχ aši Fladen. — Vgl. kar. k. *yufqa* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

yïla- s. *žïla-*

yilat- s. *žïlat-*

yïlγa çay; Fluß, Bach. — Vgl. kar. k. *yïlγa*, h. *ilγa* Flußbett (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *yïlγa* Fluß (Kúnos)

yïlqï s. *žïlqï*

yïpïš gümüş üzerine altın yaldız (sic); recte: Goldstaub, Blattgold zum Vergolden. — Vgl. kar. k. *yapïš-, yapuš-, yabuš-*, h. *yabus-* klebenbleiben, sich ankleben (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yapïš-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

yïpïqla- yaldızlamak (vergolden). — S. *yïpïš*

yïpraq s. *ïpraχ*

yïraq ırak, uzak; weit, ferne. — Vgl. kar. k. *yïraq*, t. *yïraχ*, *irax*, h. *yïrak* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

yïrt- yırtmak; zerreißen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yïrt-*, t. *irt-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yïrt-* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

yïrtqïč vahşi; Raubtier. — Vgl. kas. *yïrtkïč* id. (Kúnos)

yiber-, žiber- göndermek, yollamak; senden; *χat žiber-* mektup yollamak; *Brief* schreiben, schicken. — Vgl. kar. k. *yibir-*, k. h. *yeber-*, t. *yeber-* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

yifek ipek; Seide. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *yipek, ipek*, t. *yipak, ipak* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

yifekli, žüfekli seiden, aus Seide. — Vgl. kar. h. *yipekli* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

yik- s. *žik-*

yinge die Frau des älteren Bruders. — Vgl. kar. k. *yingeče, yengeče* id. (*KarRPSl.*); Bar. *yiŋgä* id. (Radl. III, 512); Alt. Tel. *yäŋä* id. (Radl. III, 323)

yip s. *žip*

yit-, žit- yerişmek; hinreichen, gelangen. — Vgl. kar. k. h. *yet-*, t. *yet-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *žit-, yit-* id. (Kúnos)

ñitekci s. *žitekči*

yitkir- yetiştirmek; erreichen lassen. — Kar. k. h. *yetkir-*, t. *yetkir-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *žitkir, yitkir-* führen, bringen; melden (Kúnos)

yiz, ǯez Mörser aus Kupfer. — Vgl. kar. k. *yez* Kupfer (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yez* id. (*KrmRSl.*, Kúnos); kas. *ǯiz* Messing (Kúnos)

yoγardan, yoγarya, yoγarï s. *yuγardan, yuγarya, yuγarï*

yoχsem belki; vielleicht (sic). — Vgl. kar. k. *yoqsa, yoqsamï, yoχsa, yoχsam* oder (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yoqsa* oder, denn, vielleicht (*KrmRSl.*)

yoq, yuq es gibt nicht. — Vgl. kar. k. *yoq*, t. h. *yo, yok, yoχt*, t. *yoχ* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

yol s. *yul*

yomaq, yumaq masal; Erzählung; *yumaq baši* tekerleme; Eingang der Erzählung; *ǯumaq* tapmaca; Rätsel. — Vgl. kar. k. *yomaq*, t. *yomaχ*, h. *yomak* Erzählung (*KarRPSl.*)

yora- tâbir etmek; lösen, erraten, deuten; *tüš yora-* den Traum deuten. — Vgl. kar. k. *yor-, yora-* id.; *tüš yora-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yora-* erklären, deuten (*KrmRSl.*)

yuduruq s. *ǯuduruq*

yuγal- yok olmak, kaybolmak; vernichtet werden, verlieren. — Vgl. krm. *yoγal-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *yuγal-* id. (Kúnos, *TatDWb.*)

yuγalt- yok etmek; vernichten. — Vgl. kas. *yuγalt-* id. (Kúnos)

yuγardan von oben. — Vgl. kar. k. *yoγardan*, k. t. h. *yoγartïn* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *yuγarï, yuγarya*

yuγarya hinauf, empor. — Vgl. kar. k. *yoγarya* id. (*KarRPSl.*). — S. *yuγarï, yuγardan*

yuγarï yuqarı; hinauf, aufwärts. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yoγarï* id. (*KarRPSl.*)

yuq s. *yoq*

yuqla- uyumak; schlafen. — Vgl. kar. k. *yuqla-, yuχla-*, t. h. *yukla-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yuqla-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *yukla-* id. (Kúnos)

yuqlat- uyutmak; einschläfern. — Vgl. kar. t. *yuklat-* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yuqlat-* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *yuklat-* id. (Kúnos)

yuqu uyku; Schlaf. — Vgl. kar. k. *yuχu, yuχï*, t. h. *yuku* Schlaf; Traum (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yuqu* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *yuku* id. (Kúnos)

yuqučan çok uyuyan adam. — Vgl. Bar. *yuqlazan* der zu schlafen liebt (Radl. III, 539)

yul Weg; *zur yul* Landstraße. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *yol* id. (*KarRPSl.*); krm. *yol* id. (*KrmRSl.*); kas. *yul, yol* id. (Kúnos)

yumaq s. *yomaq*

yumγaq yumak; Knäuel; *umγaq* yuvarlanmış .— Vgl. kar. k. *yumγaq* Knäuel, Wickel (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *yumγak* Knäuel (Kúnos)

yuvuq s. *ǯuvuq*

yuvuqlan- s. *ǯuvuqlan-*

yügür-, ǯügür-, ǯuγur-, ǯuvar- koşmak; laufen. — Vgl. kar. k. *ǯuvur-*, k. t. h. *yuvar-* id. (*KarRPSl.*), k. *yuvur-* id. (Sul.); kas. *yügür-, yïγïr-, ǯügür-, ǯïγïr-* id. (Kúnos)

yügürük çabuk giden; schnell gehend, laufend. — Vgl. kas. *yügürük* (*at*) schnell, schnellfüßig (Pferd) (Kúnos); tat. *yögerek* id. (*TatRSl.*)

yürek s. *žürek*

yürt -(< *yürüt*-) gezdirmek (sic). — Vgl. kar. k. *yürüt*-, h. *yuŕut*- fortschicken, antreiben, abgehen lassen (*KarRPSl.*); kas, *yürt*-, *yürüt*- führen, leiten (Kúnos)

yürü- gezmek (sic); gehen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. *yürü*-, *yuŕu*-, t. *üŕu*-, h. *yiri*- gehen (*KarRPSl.*); kas. *yür*-, *yürü*-, *žür*-, *žürü*- id. (Kúnos)

yüzlep um hundert. — Vgl. tat. *yözläp* um hundert (ungefähr) (*TatDWb.*); kar. k. t. *yüz*, t. *yuž*, h. *yiz*, *iz* hundert (*KarRPSl.*)

Z

zenger mavi renk; blau. — Vgl. krm. *zenger* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

zïbïn Bluse. — Vgl. krm. *zïbïn* id. (*KrmRSl.*)

zïpïr hapis; Gefängnis (sic). — Vgl. krm. *Zïpïr* Sibirien (Kúnos)

zimlenke mağara; Höhle, Grotte (sic). — Vgl. kas. *zimlänkä* in die Erde gegrabene Hütte (Kúnos); *zimänkä* die Erdhütte (Radl. IV, 918) < russ. *zemljanka* Erdhütte

zontuq Schirm. — Vgl. tat. *zontik* Sonnenschirm, Regenschirm (*TatDWb.*) < russ. *zontik* id.

zur büyük; groß; *zur orman* tiefer Wald; *zur yul* Landstraße; *zur üs*- aufwachsen. — Vgl. kar. k. t. h. *zor* id. (*KarRPSlt*); tat. *zur* id. (*TatDWb.*)

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НАХОДКИ САСАНИДСКИХ, ВИЗАНТИЙСКИХ И КУФИЧЕСКИХ МОНЕТ НА ТЕРРИТОРИИ ДАГЕСТАНСКОЙ АССР

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(Москва)

Сведения о находках монет в Дагестане появились в начале XX века,[1] однако систематически они начали публиковаться лишь с середины 20-х годов, когда известный нумизмат проф. Е. А. Пахомов предпринимает издание серии выпусков «Монетные клады Азербайджана и других республик, краев и областей Кавказа» (вып. I—IX, Баку, 1926—1966 гг.).[2] Публикация находок и скрупулезное изучение материала позволили ему наметить основные этапы денежного обращения на Кавказе в античную эпоху и в средневековье. Обобщающие работы проф. Е. А. Пахомова «Монеты Грузии»,[3] «Монеты Азербайджана»,»[4] «Монетное обращение Азербайджана в XII — начале XIII вв.»,[5] «О Дербентском княжестве XII—XIII вв.»,[6] выполненные на высоком научном уровне, даже по прошествии десятилетий служат верным ориентиром для историков и нумизматов-кавказоведов.

Проделанный проф. Е. А. Пахомовым многолетний и систематический труд по сбору сведений о находках монет, публикации нумизматического материала дали мощный импульс изучению нумизматики Кавказа. К сожалению, в Дагестане не нашлось специалистов, которые бы подхватили успешно начатые проф. Е. А. Пахомовым исследования и продолжили сбор и изучение нумизматического материала. В отличие от других республик Кавказа, где систематически издаются своды находок монет, в Дагестане эта работа не

[1] *Отчет Императорской археологической комиссии за 1903 г.*, с. 171, 208; Грен А. Н., Отчет о летней командировке в Хасав-юртовский округ Терской области. *Труды Московского археологического* общества., т. XXI, вып. 2, М., 1907, с. 185.

[2] К сожалению, подготовленный Е. А. Пахомовым X выпуск этой монетной летописи Кавказа в связи с его смертью не был опубликован и сохранился в рукописи в архиве нумизматики Гос. Эрмитажа.

[3] Пахомов, Е. А., *Монеты Грузии*, ч. 1, СПб., 1910; ч. 2, Тбилиси, 1970.

[4] Пахомов Е. А., *Монеты Азербайджана*, вып. 1—2, Баку, 1959—63.

[5] Пахомов Е. А., Монетное обращение Азербайджана в XII, начале XIII вв. Нумизматический сборник, ч. II., *Труды ГИМ*, вып. XXVI, М., 1957.

[6] О Дербентском княжестве XII—XIII вв. — *Известия АзГНИИ*, т. 1., вып. 2 (историко-этнографическое и археологическое отделение). — Баку, 1930.

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Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

велась и свода монет, найденных в республике до сих пор нет. Этот пробел пытался заполнить дагестанский краевед М. И. Исаков, издавший «*Археологическую карту Дагестана*». Он включил в Карту известные ему находки монет на территории Дагестана, опираясь на публикации Е. А. Пахомова и мало чем их дополняя.[7]

Между тем широкие археологические работы, развернувшиеся в Дагестане в последние десятилетия, значительно пополнили количество монетных находок, обнаруженных на территории республики. Некоторые из них до сих пор не были определены и не введены в научный оборот.[8]

В 1971 г. В. В. Кропоткин издал свод находок сасанидских и куфических монет в Восточной Европе, куда вошли и некоторые из найденных в ДаССР.[9] Последней и очень важной публикацией найденных в Дагестане монет является издание клада дирхемов Сельджукидов Рума, обнаруженного в районе Дербента. З. М. Буниятов и А. М. Раджабли справедливо подчеркивают исключительное значение этой находки для изучения экономической и политической истории Восточного Кавказа и Малой Азии в XII—XIII вв.[10]

К настоящему времени в фонды Дагестанского Государственного объединенного историко-архитектурного музея, Дербентского краеведческого музея, Музея истории и этнографии Дагестанского Государственного университета поступили новые монеты, найденные на территории республики. К сожалению, часть этих монет утеряна, а некоторые депаспортизованы.

Все эти обстоятельства побудили нас взяться за составление свода монетных находок, причем целый ряд монет вводится в научный оборот впервые.[11]

1. Находки византийских монет

1. Верхний Чирюрт, Кизилюртовский р-н, 1969 г. В кургане № 17 найдена золотая византийская монета с припаяным ушком, напротив ушка, внизу — заклепка на месте отверстия.

[7] Исаков М. И., *Археологические памятники Дагестана*. Махачкала, 1966.

[8] Опубликованные монеты включены в данный свод, соответствующая литература будет указана при описании находок.

[9] Кропоткин В. В., Новые находки сасанидских и куфических монет в Восточной Европе. *НЭ* — IX, М., Наука, 1971, с. 76—97.

[10] Буниятов З. М., Раджабли А. М., Монеты Сельджукидов Рума — источник для изучения взаимоотношений Азербайджана и Малой Азии в XII—XIII веках. *Известия АН АзССР. Серия истории, философии и права*. 1987, № 3, с. 43—55.

[11] Выражаем признательность И. Г. Добровольскому, А. М. Раджабли, А. В. Фомину и сотрудникам Дагестанского Государственного объединенного историко-архитектурного музея, оказавшим содействие в подготовке публикации.

Л. С. (лицевая сторона): бюст прямо, в короне с орнаментом, в богатой одежде, в правой руке держит тиару, в левой — крест. Легенда: DN MAVRC TIbPPAVI (= Dominus noster Mauricius Tiberius perpetuus Augustus).

О. С. (обратная сторона): ангел прямо, в правой руке держит длинный жезл, в левой — сферу с крестом. Легенда: по кругу — VICTORI AAVCCA (= Victoria augustorum, 4-я officina, т. е. Победа Августов, четвертая мастерская); внизу — CON[OB] (= Constantinapolis obryzum, т. е. Константинопольское чистое золото).

Солид императора Маврикия Тиберия (583—601 гг.), Константинополь, 4-я officina (мастерская), *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittmore Collection.* Edited by Alfred R. Bellindger and Philip Grierson. Vol. I—III. Washington. 1966—1973 — I, p., 296, № 5, (pl. CXVI), — DOC.

Д — 2,17 см. В — 4,77 г. Т — 0,075 см. Таблица 1,1.

Лит.: Магомедов М. Г., *Образование Хазарского каганата.* — М., Наука 1983, с. 86, рис. 28.

Хр.: Дагфилиал АН СССР, Вчм—69, № 170.

2. Верхний Чирюрт, Кизилюртовский р—н, 1970 г. В кургане № 61 найдена золотая монета с припаянным ушком.

Л. С.: бюст императора прямо, в короне, в одежде, в правой руке сфера с крестом, над правым плечом — застежка, справа от головного убора — звезда. Легенда: ONMAVRC TIbPPAVI

О. С.: ангел прямо, в правой руке держит длинный жезл, в левой — держава. Легенда: по кругу — VICTORI AAVϚϚA... CONO[B]

Д — 2,1 см. В — 4,14 г. Т 0,075 см. Табл. 1, 2.

Солид Маврикия Тиберия (583—601), чеканен в Константинополе, 4-я officina (мастерская) 1, p. 297, № 5 (pl CXVI).

Лит.: Магомедов М. Г., там же.

Хр.: Дагфилиал АН СССР, Вчм — 70, № 88.

3. Верхний Чирюрт, Кизилюртовский р-н, 1969 г. В кургане № 16 найдена золотая монета с припаянным ушком.

Л. С.: два погрудных изображения императоров Ираклия и Ираклия Константина с бородами, в коронах с крестами, у каждого на правом плече круглая застежка, между ними — крест.

Легенда частично стерта: [ddNNhER] ACLIЧSЄTNЄRACONSTPPA[VC] (= Domini nostri Heraclius et Heraclius Constantinus, perpetui Augusti.)

О. С.: крест на голгофе, справа от креста ⊢I, легенда: по кругу — VICTORIA AVϚЧ (= Victoria Augusti),

внизу — CONOB P (= Constantinopolis obryzum).

Д — 1,9—2,0 см. В — 4,93 г. Т — 0,0,075—0,1 см. Табл. 1,3 Сохранность хорошая.

Солид Ираклия и Ираклия Константина (625—629 гг.). Толстой, т. VI, № 127; DOC, II, I, p. 247, pl. VIII, 8; Grierson Ph., *Byzantine coins*, pl. 16, № 274; p. 93—94.

Лит.: Магомедов М. Г., *Образование Хазарского каганата*. М., Наука, 1983, с. 86. рис. 28.

Хр.: Дагфилиал АН СССР, Вчм-69, № 169.

4. Верхний Чирюрт, Кизилюртовский р-н, 1956 г. В погребении 40а найдена золотая монета с отверстием для подвешивания.

Л. С.: два бюста императоров, справа — с бородой, меньшего размера, в короне с крестом, в плаще с застежкой на правом плече; слева — большего размера, с бородой и длинными волосами, в короне с крестом, в плаще с застежкой на правом плече; между ними — крест. Ободок слитноточечный, легенда не читается: [...]

О. С.: крест на голгофе из 4-х ступеней, справа — 4 выпуклые точки, слева — 5. Ободок линейный сплошной, отверстие внизу слева.

Легенда варваризована:

Д — 2,1—2,2 см. В — 2,6 г. Т — 0,05 см. Табл. 1,4; Рис. 1,1 Подражание византийскому солиду Ираклия и Ираклия Константина (613—625 гг.), Толстой, т. VI; табл. 47, № 27—148, 161—169; Gzierson Ph., *Byzantine coins*, p. 93, 94; DOC, VIII, I, p. 247, pl. VIII, 8 и сл.

Лит.: Путинцева Н. Д., Верхнечирюртовский могильник. *МАД*, т. 2, Махачкала, 1961, с. 256; Путинцева Н. Д., Северо-Восточный Дагестан в эпоху раннего срадневековья (по материалам раскопок в зонах строительства Чирюртовской и Чиркейской ГЭС). *РФ ИИЯЛ*. — ф. 3, оп. 3, № 113, 113а. Махачкала, 1961, с. 120; Костюченко И. П., Предварительное сообщение о раскопках раннесредневекового Верхнечирюртовского могильника. *Материалы отчетной сессии ИИЯЛ за 1956 г. РФ ИИЯЛ*, ф. 4, оп. 1, № 34, с. 72, Махачкала, 1957.

Хр.: Дагфилиал АН СССР, Вчм — 56, № 165.

5. В погребении 72 была найдена такая же золотая монета. Утеряна.

Лит.: там же.

6. В погребении 79а найдена золотая монета с припаянным ушком.

Л. С.: два бюста императоров, справа — без бороды, маленький, в короне, с крестом, в плаще с застежкой на правом плече; слева — лицо с бородой и длинными волосами, в короне, с крестом, застежка на правом плече, между ними крест, ободок линейный. Легенда не читается:

О. С.: крест на четырех ступенях, ободок линейный. Легенда варваризована: по кругу — , внизу — (подражание:).

Д — 2,2 см. В — 3,93 г. Т — 0,05 см. Табл. 1,5. Рис. 1,2. Сохранность хорошая.

Подражание византийскому солиду Ираклия и Ираклия Константина (613—616 гг.) типа: Толстой, т. VI, табл. 47, № 127 и сл.; Grierson Ph., *Byzantine coins*, pl. 16, 274, p. 93—94; DOC, II, 1, p. 247, pl. VIII, 8.

Лит.: там же.

Хр.: Дагфилиал АН СССР, Вчм — 56, № 164.

7. Верхний Чирюрт, Кизилюртовский р—н, 1970 г. В кургане № 20 найдена золотая монета с двумя припаянными ушками.

Л. С.: два бюста императоров: справа — с бородой, меньшего размера, в короне с крестом, в плаще с застежкой на правом плече; слева — большего размера, с бородой и длинными волосами, в короне с крестом в плаще с застежкой на правом плече; между ними — крест; ободок линейный. Легенда не читается: ⊍ʏ⋌Ͻᔓoᔓ)N ?ϛ(⊍o.ѵ.

О. С.: крест на голгофе, ободок линейный. Легенда не читается: по кругу — IICVORIѴ ѴϚ⊍N (Вероятно, подражание надписи: VICTORIA AVϚЧA = Victoria Augusti). Внизу C[ON]OB (= Constantinopolis obryzum).

Д —2,1 см. В — 4,12 г. Т — 0,075 см. Табл. 1,6. Рис. 1,3. Сохранность хорошая.

Подражание солиду Ираклия и Ираклия Константина (616—625 гг.), типа: Толстой, т. VI, табл. 47, № 127 и сл.; Griersone Ph., *Byzantine coins*, p. 93—94; DOC, II, 1, p. 247, pl. VIII, 8.

Лит.: Магомедов М. Г., там же.

Хр.: Дагфилиал АН СССР, Вчм-70, № 98.

8. Верхний Чирюрт, Кизилюртовский р—н, 1970 г. В кургане № 14 найдена золотая монета с двумя припаянными ушками.

Л. С.: два бюста императоров, справа с бородой, меньшего размера, в короне с крестом в плаще с застежкой на правом плече; слева — большего размера, с бородой и длинными волосами, в короне с крестом, в плаще с застежкой на правом плече; между ними — крест. Ободок линейный. Легенда: ⅂ЬCONTAN∼TIПЧICCAN (Вероятно, подражание надписи: ⊍NCONSTANTINЧSCCONSTAN⅂ (= Domini nostri Constantinus et Constantinus).

О. С.: крест на голгофе. Легенда частично стерта: по кругу — <ϚЧC (Вероятно, подражание надписи: VICTORIA AVϚЧA). Внизу — [...]ИOB (подражание: CONOB).

Д — 2,3—2,4 см. В — 4,77 г. Т — 0,05 см. Сохранность: изображения частично стерты. Табл. 1,7. Рис. 1, 4.

Подражание солиду Константа II и Константина (654—659), Grierson Ph., pl. 16, N 284, p. 95; DOC, 11, 2, p. 427, 428, pl. XXIV, 25—27; Толстой, VII, табл. 53, № 36; табл. 55, № 247.

Лит.: Магомедов М. Г., там же.

Хр.: Дагфилиал АН СССР, Вчм — 70, № 90.

Все византийские монеты и их подражения, обнаруженные в Дагестане, происходят из Верхнечирюртовского могильника. Среди них определены 3 солида VI—VII вв. и 5 подражаний византийским золотым монетам. Наиболее ранние монеты относятся ко времени правления императора Маврикия, наболее поздние — ко времени правления Константа II и Константина.

2. Находки сасанидских монет

1. Белиджи, Дербентский р-н, 1971 г. В районе пос. Белиджи был найден клад серебряных драхм, доставленный в Дербентский краеведческий музей. 7.04. 1972 г. клад был послан на обработку и определение в Государственный музей истории Азербайджана (г. Баку). Клад представлял собой комок слипшихся монет, часть из которых рассыпалась после обработки. Целыми остались 24 монеты, которые и определялись.

Монеты оказались серебряными драхмами, чеканеными от имени сасанидских шаханшахов Кавата 1 (487—497 и 499—531 гг.) и Хосрова 1 (531—579 гг.). Последняя монета относится к 15 году правления Хосрова 1, т. е. к 546 г., когда и был зарыт, по-видимому, данный клад.

Определение А. М. Раджабли.

Лит.: Письмо зав. отделом нумизматики и эпиграфики Гос. музея истории Азербайджена А. М. Раджабли директору Дербентского краеведческого музея Н. Девришбекову от 15/XII — 1972 г.

Хр.: утеряны.

2. Гонода, Гунибский р-н. Жителем сел. Гонода Шамхаловым Магомедом при вспашке земельного участка была найдена серебряная монета. Вместе с монетой были найдены бусы, в т. ч. янтарные. В 1967 г. находки переданы в музей Даггосуниверситета.

Л. С.: изображение царя сбито, слитноточечный ободок, внутри ободка едва различимы остатки надписей. На полях монеты — 4 полумесяца, в полумесяце, расположенном над головой царя, изображение священного пламени.

О. С.: изображения частично сбиты, можно разобрать алтарь и горящий в его верхней части огонь. Справа от горящего огня — полумесяц, слева — звезда. Слева от алтаря частично сохранилось изображение стражника — фигурная корона, по сторонам её, чуть ниже — по точке, которые обычно стоят над плечами. Легенда неразборчива, справа — . . . Сев. Месопотамия. За слитноточечным ободком изображений нет.

Д — 3,0 см. В — 3,66 г. Т — 0,975 см. Сохранность: пробито отверстие для подвешивания, изображения сильно сбиты. Табл. 2, 1.

Драхма Хосрова 1 Ануширвана (531—579 гг.), Пахомов Е. А., *Монеты Азербайджана*. Баку, Изд-во АН АзССР. Вып. I., 1959, с. 18—35; Джала-

гания И., Л., *Монетные клады Грузии.* Часть вторая, с. 5—15, №№ 51; Göbl R., *Sasanian numismatics.* Braunschweig 1971. — Tabl. XVI. Логинов С. Д. Никитин А. Б. *Монограммы монетного двора Мерва. ЭВ.* — XXIV.— Л., Наука, 1988, с. 37—43.

Хр.: Музей истории и этнографии Даггосуниверситета, № 697.

3. Верхний Чирюрт, Кизилюртовский р-н, 1966 г. В погребении 79а вместе с подражанием золотой византийской монете найдена сасанидская драхма.

Л. С.: Изображение царя вправо, с бородой, на голове трехзубчатая корона, от короны кверху отходит стержень, два крыла от стержня выходят за слитноточечный ободок, над головным убором — на стержне полумесяц со звездой, над передним плечом — полумесяц, за короной — звездочка. Легенда плохо видна: ...ІЭУС⊥ Ободок двойной, второй внутренний ряд точек только до половины. На полях монеты симметрично размещены 4 полумесяца с шестиконечными звездочками внутри.

О. С.: в центре — алтарь, на алтаре — священный огонь, справа от него — полумесяц, слева — шестиконечная звезда. По сторонам алтаря стоят обращенные к зрителю стражники, опирающиеся на мечи. Между их изображениями и тройным точечным ободком справа и слева — легенда: слева удалось разобрать — ⌐◡JJI.(= SYh — 30-й год правления); справа — монетный двор —?. На полях 4 полумесяца с шестиконечными звездами внутри.

Д — 3,1—3.2 см. В — 1,99 г. Т — 0,05 см.

Сохранность: часть монеты отломана после того, как в ней было сделано отверстие для подвешивания. Табл. 2,2.

Драхма Хосрова II Парвеза (591—628 гг.), чеканенная в 621 г.: Джалагания И. Л. *Монетные клады Грузии.* Клад сасанидских и византийских монет из Цители Цкаро (часть вторая), Тбилиси, Мецниереба, 1982, с. 89—128, №№ 478—709.

Лит.: Путинцева Н. Д. Северо-Восточный Дагестан в эпоху раннего средневековья (по материалам раскопок в зонах строительства Чирюртовской и Чиркейской ГЭС), Махачкала, 1961, *РФ ИИЯЛ,* ф. 3, оп. 3, д. 113, 113а, с. 119—121, рис. XXXIV, 3.

Хр.: Дагфилиал АН СССР, Вчм — 56, № 768.

4. Кизилюрт, окрестности, случайная находка. Передана в 1988 г. преподавателю Даггосуниверситета А. Е. Криштопе учителем одной из школ г. Кизилюрта.

Л. С.: бюст царя вправо, на голове трехзубчатая корона, от короны кверху отходит стержень, два крыла от стержня выходят за ободок. Диадема из двух параллельных слившихся рядов точек. Волосы на затылке собраны в пучок. Над передним плечом — полумесяц, за короной — звезда. Ниже уха — (подвеска?) — три точки. Вдоль двойного слитноточечного ободка, справа и слава — легенда: не разобрана. За ободком, в поле 3 полумесяца с шести-

конечными звездами внутри, 4-й полумесяц со звездой не сохранился — край монеты обломан. Легенда: слева: 𐭠𐭩𐭫𐭮 ...𐭠𐭩𐭮.

О. С.: в центре — алтарь, на алтаре — священый огонь, справа от него — полумесяц, слева — звезда. По сторонам алтаря — обращенные к зрителю стражи, опирающиеся на мечи. Между их изображениями и точечным ободком справа и слева — легенда: справа — 𐭫 — монетный двор, не локализован; слева — 𐭧𐭮 𐭣 𐭲 (37 год правления), вокруг тройной точечный ободок, за ним в поле — 3 полумесяца со звездами, 4-й полумесяц не сохранился, обломан.

Драхма Хосрова II Парвеза (591—628 гг.), чеканенная в 627 г. н. э.: Göbl. R., *Sasanian numismatics*. Table XII, XIV—XVI.; Джалагания И. Л., *Монетные клады Грузии*. Часть вторая, с. 131, № 566, 690.

Д — 2,4—3,2 см. В — 2,34 г. Т — 0,05 см. Сохранность: край отломан. Табл. 2,3.

Хр.: А. Е. Криштопа, преподаватель Даггосуниверситета.

3. Арабо-сасанидские монеты

1. Советское, Советский р-н. В 1971 г. при земляных работах на глубине была найдена серебряная монета.

Л. С.: бюст наместника вправо, на голове трехзубчатая корона, от короны кверху отходит стержень, два крыла от стержня выходят за ободок. Диадема из двух параллельных слившихся рядов точек. Над передним плечом — полумесяц. За слитноточечным ободком, двойным в нижней части, на полях монеты симметрично расположены 4 полумесяца со звездами, один из полумесяцев расположен на стержне над короной.

На полях надпись на арабском языке: ابن علا Ибн ал-Ала.

О. С.: в центре изображен алтарь с горящим в верхней его части огнем, по сторонам алтаря — стражники, между их изображениями и ободком справа и слева — легенда. За тройным слитноточечным ободком симметрично размещены 4 полумесяца со звездами и 4 троеточия между ними.

Д — 2,25—2,35 см. В — 1,45 г. Т — 0,05 см. Сохранность: сильно стерта. Табл. 2,4.

Драхма аббасидского правителя Табаристана: Омар ибн ал-Ала (155—164/60 = 771—780/76 гг.): Джалагания И. Л., *Иноземная монета в денежном обращении Грузии V — XIII вв.* Тбилиси, Мецниереба, 1979, с. 37—44, табл., 9—11, №№ 378—381, 384, 392.

Хр.: ДГОИАМ, № 19173.

4. Куфические монеты: омайадские

1. Тарки, г. Махачкала, 1973 г. В 1973 г. на окраине города (пос. Тарки) во время строительных работ был разрушен могильник, в одном из склепов которого найдена куфическая монета.

Омайадский динар, 114 г.х. = 732/3 г. анонимный. Основа бронзовая, покрыта золотой фольгой.

Лит.: Федоров-Давыдов Г. А., *Новые находки восточных монет VIII—XIII вв. на территории Восточной Европы. ЭВ*, XXIII, Л. Наука, 1985, с. 47; Магомедов М. Г., Таркинский склеповый могильник. *Этнокультурные процессы в древнем Дагестане*. Махачкала, Дагфилиал АН СССР, 1987, с. 93.

Хр.: Дагфилиал АН СССР.

2. Гоцатль, Хунзахский район, 1965 г. В 3 км к западу от сел. Гоцатль, на правом берегу реки жителями селения были подобраны различные предметы из разрушающегося средневекового могильника; среди находок оказалась куфическая монета с пробитым отверстием.

Омайады, дирхем, Димашк, 117 г. х. = 735/36 гг.

Д — 2,69 см. В — 1,93; г. Т — 0,04 см.

Сохранность: сломан пополам. Табл. 2,5.

Определение А. В. Фомина.

Лит.: Атаев Д. М., Абрамова М. П., Криштопа А. Е., Отчет о работе Аркасского отряда Дагестанской археологической экспедиции в 1965 г. Махачкала, 1966. *Архив ИА АП СССР*, Р-1, № 3168, л. 52.

Хр.: Дагфилиал АН СССР, Гоцатль — 65, кор. 6, № 1.

3. Дербент, 1973 г. В ходе археологических исследований архитектурного комплекса VIII— начала IX вв. в цитадели найдена серебряная монета.

Омайады, дирхем, анонимная, Васит, 129 г. х. = 746/47 гг.

Определение М. Е. Массона.*

Лит.: Кудрявцев А. А. Великий город на Каспии. Махачкала, Даг. кн. изд-во, 1982, с. 45.

Хр.: Дагфилиал АН СССР.

4. Дербент, 1849 г. При рытье котлована для фундамента русского собора в числе других найден халифский фельс, якобы халифа 'Абд ал-Малика (685—705 гг.).

Лит.: Пахомов Е. А., II, 21 : 381.

Хр.: неизвестно.

* Публикация А. А. Кудрявцевым описываемой монеты как аббасидской неверно, так как такой крупный специалист, как проф. М. Е. Массон не мог отнести монету 129 г. х. к чекану Аббасидов, поскольку они стали править в Халифате только с 132 г. х. = 749/50 гг (См.: Тизенгаузен В., *Монеты Восточного халифата*. СПб., 1873: Босворт К. Э., *Мусульманские династии. Справочник по хронологии и генеалогии*. М., 1971; Грюнебаум, фон Г. Э., *Классический ислам*. М., 1988).

5. Куфические монеты: аббасидские

1. Дербент, 1973 г. В ходе археологических исследований архитектурного комплеска VIII- начала IX вв. в цитадели найдена серебряная монета.

Аббасиды, дирхем, анонимная, Арминийа, 153 г. х. = 770 г.

Определение М. Е. Массона.

Лит.: Кудрявцев А. А., *Великий город на Каспии*, с. 45.

Хр.: Дагфилиал АН СССР.

2. Дербент, 1972 г. В ходе археологических исследований архитектурного комплекса VIII — начала IX вв. в шахристане города найдена серебряная монета.

Аббасиды, дирхем, анонимная, Двин, 153 г. х. = 770 г.

Определение М. Е. Массона и Г. А. Федорова-Давыдова.

Лит.: Кудрявцев А. А., Раскопки богатого здания VIII—XIII вв. в жилом квартале средневекового Дербента. *Археологические памятники раннесредневекового Дагестана*. Махачкала, 1977, сс. 84—95.

Хр.: Дагфилиал АН СССР.

3. Дербент. Случайная находка.

Аббасиды, фельс, анонимная, ал-Йазидия, 150 г. х. = 767/68 гг.

Определение Е. А. Пахомова.

Лит.: Пахомов Е., А., VIII, 28 : 1964.

Хр.: неизвестно.

4. Дербент. Случайная находка.

Аббасиды, фельс, от имени Яхъи ал-Хараши, ал-Баб, 178 г. х. = =794/95 гг.

Определение Е. А. Пахомова.

Лит.: Пахомов Е. А., VIII, 28 : 1964.

Хр.: неизвестно.

5. Дербент, 30-е гг. Случайная находка. Аббасиды, фельс, с именем наместника Халида ибн Йазида без упоминания имени Халифа, Арран, 197 г. х. = 812/3 гг.

Определение Е. А. Пахомова.

Лит.: Пахомов Е. А., IV, с. 33.

Хр.: неизвестно.

6. Дербент, 30-е гг. Случайная находка.

Аббасиды, фельс, неразборчивые обрывки надписей, IX в.

Определение Е. А. Пахомова.

Лит.: Пахомов Е. А., IV, с. 33.

7. Дербент. Случайная находка.

Л. С.: квадрат из рубчатых линий, углы которого соединены рубчатыми же кружками с таким же ободком; в квадрате 3 строки: /Нет божества, кроме/

Аллаха единого/— не прочитанное слово-/в сегментах: (года) пятого и сотого/.

О. С.: остатки символа в 3 строки, обрывок не читаемой круговой надписи, ободок рубчатый.

Д — 2,1—2,3 см. В — 1,66 г. Сохранность: сильно выщерблена.

Аббасиды, фельс, имя и город сбиты.

Определение Е. А. Пахомова.

Лит.: Пахомов Е. А., VIII, 28 : 1964.

Хр.: неизвестно.

8. Дербент. Случайные находки.

Аббасидские фельсы VIII—IX вв. с неразборчивыми именами, городами и датами — 5 экз.

Определение Е. А. Пахомова.

Лит.: Пахомов Е. А., VIII, 28 : 1964.

Хр.: неизвестно.

9. Куллар, Дербентский р-н. В катакомбном подкурганном погребении в конце XIX в. найдена серебряная монета.

Аббасиды, дирхем, ал-Мухаммедия, 153 г. х. = 770 г.

Лит.: Е. А. Пахомов, VII, 34 : 1173; Уварова П. С. Древности. *Тр. МАО*, XV, вып. I, Протоколы, с. 83.

Хр.: неизвестно.

10. Агачкала, Буйнакский р-н. В 1948 г. в погребении найдена серебряная монета с пробитым отверстием.

Аббасиды, дирхем, ал-Мансур, Аббасийя, 156 г. х. = 772/3 г.

Определение С. А. Яниной.

Лит.: Смирнов К. Ф., Агачкалинский могильник — памятник хазарской культуры Дагестана. *КСИИМК*, XXXVIII, 1951, с. 117.

Хр.: неизвестно.

11. Агачкала, Буйнакский р-н, 1980 г. В результате доисследования разрушающегося склепа найдена серебряная монета с пробитым отверстием.

Аббасиды, дирхем, ал-Мансур, Аббасийя, 164 г. х. = 780/81 гг.

Д — 2,25—2,35 см. В — 2,2 г. Т — 0,05 см.

Сохранность: обрезан в кружок, сильно стерт. Табл. 2,6.

Определение И. Г. Добровольского.

Лит.: Магомедов М. Г., Отчет о работе Северодагестанской археологической экспедиции. *Архив ИА АН СССР*. Р — 1, № 8836, Махачкала, 1980, 39 л.

Хр.: Дагфилиал АН СССР, АКМ — 80, Р — 1, № 107.

12. Аркас, Буйнакский р-н. В 1964 г. в ходе археологических исследований в цитадели Аркасского городища найдена монета с пробитым отверстием.

Аббасиды, дирхем, сохранность плохая, чеканен примерно в 150—160 г. х. = 767—777 гг. Бронзовая основа, покрытая серебряной фольгой.

Определение Е. А. Пахомова и А. М. Раджабли.

Лит.: Атаев Д., Ахмедов Ш., Федоров Г., Отчет о работе Аркасской археологической экспедиции летом 1964 г. Махачкала, 1965, *Архив ИА АН СССР*. Р — I, № 2995, с. 18.

Хр.: неизвестно.

13. Кубачи, Дахадаевской р-н. Около 1938 г. при закладке нового здания найдена золотая монета.

Аббасидский динар, 200 г. х. = 815/6 гг.

Определение: Е. А. Пахомова.

Лит.: Пахомов Е. А., IV, 32, 33 : 1081.

Хр.: Гос. музей истории Азербайджана.

14. Карчаг, Касумкентский р-н, 1903 г. В урочище Аламише при вспашке земли в глиняном кувшине найден клад серебряных монет — 5 целых и 14 в обломках. Сасаниды —? обломков. Аббасиды —? обломков и 5 определенных монет. Дирхемы:

1. город стерт 177 г.х.=793/4;
2. ал-Мухаммедия, 181 г.х.=797/8;
3. Мадинат ас-Салам, 188 г.х.=803/4;
4. Ифрикия, 1*3; г.х.

полудирхем: Санаа, 180 г.х.=796/7.

Определение А. К. Маркова.

Лит.: *Дело ИАК*, № 175/1903 г.; Пахомов, VIII, 74: К вып. 1, 79.

Изучение топографии отдельных находок и кладов монет, их состава, сопоставление этих данных со сведениями археологических и нарративных источников позволяет прояснить наши представления о проникновении сасанидских, византийских и куфических монет на территорию Дагестана, возникновении денежного обращения в Дербенте и его округе.

Рождение в III в. нового персидского государства — сасанидского Ирана и его экспансия на Кавказе оказали огромное влияние и на развитие населения Дагестана, его экономику, культуру, этнополитические процессы.

Ряд исследователей склонны считать, что уже в правление Шапура I (242—272 гг.) Иран совершил поход к Дербентскому проходу, отождествляемому ими с Албанскими воротами.[12] К сожалению, ни письменные, ни археологические источники не дают убедительных доказательств о проникновении сасанидского Ирана в район Дербента в этот период. Определенно говорить о проникновении Сасанидов в район Дербента можно не ранее середины V в., когда в Дербенте была построена мощная сырцовая стена.[13] Целью строитель-

[12] Фрай Р. *Наследие Ирана*. М. Наука 1972, с. 295; Кудрявцев А. А., *Древний Дербент*. М. Наука 1982, с. 67; Гаджиев М. С., *Южный Дагестан в* III—V *вв.* н. э. Автореферат канд. дисс. М. 1982, с. 14.

[13] Кудрявцев А. А., *Древний Дербент*, с. 77.

ства этой стены, перекрывавшей весь 3,5-километровый проход между горными отрогами и морем, была защита от кочевых племен, не раз разорявших Закавказье и проникавших в Переднюю Азию.[14]

В VI в. сасанидским Ираном был возведен грандиозный оборонительный комплекс из камня против усилившегося натиска Тюркского каганата.[15] Создав грандиозное сооружение, имевшее протяженность более 40 км, Иран более надежно оградил себя от нашествий воинственных кочевников, переживавших эпоху распада военной демократии и образования классов и государственности.[16]

Находка клада сасанидских монет в районе Белиджей, на наш взгляд, свидетельствует о наличии крупного политического и торгово-экономического центра в его окрестностях. Таковым и являлось грандиозное городище Торпах-кала (ок. 100 га), сырцовая архитектура, планировка и подъемный материал которого позволяют предположить его сооружение в сер. V в.[17] М. С. Гаджиев предпринял попытку локализации сасанидского города Шахристан-и-Йездигерд на месте описанного Белиджинского городища Торпах-кала и пришел к выводу о том, что «дербентские укрепления V в. и город-крепость Шахристан-и-Йездигерд (Торпах-кала) представляли собой единый оборонительный комплекс».[18] К сожалению, археологические раскопки на городище в настоящее время невозможны.

Проникновение сасанидских и византийских монет в район Верхнего Чирюрта связано с захватнической политикой кочевых племен, населявших степи Прикаспия в VI в. н. э. и входивших в состав Тюркского каганата, а после его распада составивших ядро Хазарского каганата. Хазария выделилась из состава Западнотюркского каганата в начале 50-х гг. VII в.[19] Американский историк П. Голден датирует возникновение Хазарского каганата 630—650 гг.[20] Германским автором Д. Людвигом предложена сходная дата возникновения Хазарского каганата — между 630 и 653 гг.[21]

[14] Гадло А. В. *Этническая история Северного Кавказа* IV—X вв. Л. Из-во ЛГУ, 1979, с. 18, 29—30.

[15] Гадло А. В. *Этническая история*... с. 95—96; Кудрявцев А. А., *Древний Дербент*, с. 93—96.

[16] Лашук Л. П., О характере классообразования в обществах ранних кочевников. *ВИ* 1967, № 7, с. 117.

[17] Исаков И. М., Исчезнувший город в Дагестане. *ИЖ* 1941, № 6; Гаджиев М. С., К вопросу о местоположении сасанидского города Шахристан-и-Йездигерд. *Древние и средневековые археологические памятники Дагестана*. Махачкала, 1980, с. 144—152.

[18] Гаджиев М. С., *Южный Дагестан в III—V вв.* С. 9.

[19] Артамонов М. И., *История хазар*. С. 171; Гадло А. В., *Этническая история*..., с. 136.

[20] Golden P., *Khazar Studies*. Vol. 1. Budapest 1980, pp. 49—57.

[21] Ludwig D., *Struktur und Gesellschaft des Chazaren — Reiches im Lichte der schriftlichen Quellen*. Münster 1982, S. 134.

Укрепление хазар в Крыму и их соперничество с Византией привело к появлению на территории Северного Кавказа византийских монет.[22] Проникновение византийских монет в район Чирюрта связано с захватнической политикой Хазарского каганата. Монеты проникали из Причерноморья, куда простирались владения Хазарии. Золотые монеты изымались из обращения и использовались в качестве украшений (подвесок). Монеты представлены солидами Маврикия Тиберия (583—601 гг.) и Ираклия и Ираклия Константина и снабжены припаянными ушками или отверстиями для подвешивания. Индикации являются подражениями солиду императора Ираклия и Ираклия Константина (613—625 гг.) — 3 экземпляра и 1 экземпляр — индикация с солида Константа II и Константина (654—659 гг.).[23] Индикации также снабжены припаянными ушками. Место производства подобных подражаний, к сожалению, не установлено. Еще в начале нашего века И. И. Толстой, выделивший близкие подражания, подобные нашим, назвал их «восточными».[24] Отметим, что 3 индикации имеют толщину 0,05 см, а один экземпляр, как и подлинные монеты, толщиной 0,075 см.

Подражаний византийским монетам, подобных верхнечирюртовским, на Северном Кавказе больше не зафиксировано. Довольно большое количество подражаний выявлено в могильниках близ Кисловодска, но они оттиснуты на тонкой фольге и являют собой односторонний чекан (брактеаты).[25] Судя по технике изготовления, они-то, вероятнее всего, и производились местным населением.

По всей видимости, византийские монеты и их индикации проникли в Дагестан не ранее к. VI — нач. VII вв. и не позже к. VII в. Византийские монеты могли попасть сюда в качестве платы за участие в боевых действиях на стороне Византии.

Находки двух драхм сасанидского царя Хосрова II Парвеза (591—628 гг.) связаны с военными походами насельников степей Прикаспия в Закавказье. С 627 до 630 гг. они принимали активное участие в войнах, которые вел Тюркский каганат совместно с Византией против Ирана.[26] Крупные военные походы были осуществлены в 663 и 667—668 гг.[27]

Возникновение Халифата и разгром им сасанидского Ирана привели к смене власти в Южном Дагестане и Дербенте. Заключение договора араб-

[22] Новосельцев А. П., Хазария в системе международных отношений VII—IX веков. *ВИ*, 1987, № 2, с. 24.

[23] Толстой И. И., *Византийские монеты*, т. VI, с. 662—664.

[24] Толстой И. И., *там же*. №№ 462, 463, с. 717.

[25] Ртвеладзе Э. В., Рунич А. П., Находки индикаций византийских монет вблизи Кисловодска. *ВВ*, 1971,;№ 32, с. 219—222; Ртвеладзе Э. В., Рунич А. П., Новые находки византийских монет и индикаций в окрестностях Кисловодска. *ВВ*, 1976, № 37, с. 151—130.

[26] Гадло А. В., *Этническая история*..., с. 130

[27] *Там же*, с. 138—139.

ским военачальником Абд-ар-Рахманом ибн Раби'а в 643 г. с сасанидским правителем Дербента Шахрияром, обязавшимся оборонять Дербент от хазар, привело к возникновению политических контактов арабов с хазарами. Походы арабов в 643 и 653 гг. против хазар к успеху не привели.[28] Хазары вскоре активизируют свои действия в Закавказье.[29]

Финансовая и административная реформы, проведенные халифом Абд ал-Маликом (685—705 гг.), стабилизировали обстановку в Халифате,[30] что позволило арабам значительно активизировать свои действия на Кавказе. Арабо-хазарские войны первой половины VIII в. захватили весь Кавказ, включая и горные районы. Несмотря на поражение хазар и захват арабами их столицы Самандара, возможно, располагавшейся на территории современного города Махачкала,[31] хазары время от времени продолжали совершать походы в Закавказье.

Между тем, включение Дербента в состав арабского халифата способствовало включению первоначально приморской части Южного Дагестана, а затем и предгорных и горных районов в систему оживленных экономических связей Ближнего Востока и Восточной Европы. Установление господства арабов в Дагестане происходило на фоне частых арабо-хазарских войн. Поход Мервана ибн Мухаммада в 737 г. оказался решающим. Столица хазар Самандар была захвачена и разрушена.[32] Затем Мерван обложил в Дагестане политические образования данью.[33]

К VIII в. относится оформление товарно-денежных отношений в Дербенте и чеканка здесь монеты вначале Омайадами, а затем Аббасидами. К настоящему времени известно более 50 экземпляров дирхемов и фельсов, чеканенных в ал-Бабе (Дербенте).[34] в VIII в. Самая ранняя из куфических монет дербентской чеканки датирована 115 г. х. = 733/4 гг., самая поздняя — 178 г. х. = 794/5 гг.[35] Чеканка в Дербенте омайадских монет дает все основания говорить о денежном обращении в городе и его округе уже в этот период.

Находки сасанидских и арабо-сасанидских монет в горных районах дают основание говорить об экономических связях этого региона посредством перевальных путей с Грузией, где зафиксировано большое количество находок подобных монет.[36]

[28] Ахмад ибн А'сам ал-Куфи, *Книга завоеваний*. Баку, 1981, с. 11. ;

[29] Гадло А. В., *Этническая история . . .*, с. 138—139.

[30] Беляев Е. А., *Арабы, ислам и Арабский халифат в раннее средневековье*. М., 1966, с. 187—189.

[31] См.: Магомедов М. Г., *Образование Хазарского каганата*, с. 52—58.

[32] Йакут ал-Хамави ар-Руми, *Муджам ал-булдан*. Бейрут 1955—1957, т. 1, с. 530, т. 3, с. 253.

[33] Ал-Йакуби., *Тарих*. Пер. с арабского проф. П. К. Жузе. Баку, 1927.

[34] Пахомов Е. А., *Монеты Азербайджана*. вып. I—II. Баку, 1959, 1963.

[35] Пахомов Е. А., *Монеты Азербайджана. вып.* I., с. 51; вып. II, с. 90—91.

[36] Джалагания И. Л., *Иноземная монета . . .*, с. 8—44.

Находка субератной омайадской монеты в Таркинском склепе свидетельствует об экономических связях населения Прикаспия в IX в. с Ближним Востоком. Производство субератных монет было вызвано началом серебряного кризиса на Востоке.

Аббасидские монеты из Агачкалинских склепов X—XI вв. наряду с многочисленными изделиями из византийского стекла свидетельствуют об активных экономических связях населения Агачкалинского городища. Здесь же отметим находку аббасидского субератного дирхема с Аркасского городища, находящегося неподалеку от Агачкалинского, и омайадского дирхема из Гоцатлинского могильника X—XI вв. Эти находки фискируют проникновение куфических монет в горные районы в X—XI вв.

Изучение монетных находок на территории Дагестана позволяет сделать вывод о включении Дербента и Южного Дагестана в систему товарно-денежных отношений арабского Халифата в сер. VIII в. Дербент являлся форпостом Халифата и с сер. VIII в. выступал крупнейшим транзитным торговым центром на Восточном Кавказе. Прекращение безмонетного периода в Восточной Европе в конце VIII — начале IX вв. и появление в это время на её территории в большом количестве серебряных дирхемов свидетельствует об открытии и стабилизации Волжско-Каспийского пути.[37]

Изучение находок византийских, сасанидских и куфических монет на территории Дагестана позволяет уточнить наши представления об экономическом развитии края в эпоху раннего средневековья.

[37] Кропоткин В. В., *Экономические связи Восточной Европы в 1 тысячелетии нашей эры*. М., 1967, с. 118—120, 125—126.

№ п/п	Определение	Дата чеканки	Монетный двор	Вес
	Византийские монеты и их индикации			
1.	Маврикий Тиберий (583—601), солид		Константинополь	4,77
2.	Маврикий Тиберий (583—601), солид		Константинополь	4,14
3.	Ираклий и Ираклий Константин (625—629), солид		Константинополь	4,93
4.	Подражание солиду Ираклия и Ираклия Константина (613—625)			2,6
5.	Подражание солиду Ираклия и Ираклия Константина (613—625)			?
6.	Подражание солиду Ираклия и Ираклия Константина (613—616)			3,93
7.	Подражание солиду Ираклия и Ираклия Константина (616—625)			4,12
8.	Подражание солиду Константа II и Константина (654—659)			4,77
	Сасанидские монеты			
1.	Кавад I (487—497 и 499—531) и Хосров I (531—579) Всего — 24 шт.	самая подняя — 546 г.	?	?
	Единичные находки сасанидских монет			
2.	Хосров I Ануширван (531—579), драхма	575 (?)	...ט — Северная Месопотамия	3,66
3.	Хосров II Парвез (591—628), драхма	621 г. н. э.		1,99
4.	Хосров II Парвез (591—628)	627 г. н. э.	לא — не локализован	2,36
	Арабо—сасанидские монеты			
1.	Испегбед (арабский наместник) Табаристана Омар иби ал-Ала (771—780/76)	?	Табаристан	1,45

№ п/п	Определение	Дата чеканки	Монетный двор	Вес
		Омаядские монеты		
1.	Анонимная, субэратная, динар	732/3		
2.	Дирхем	735/6	Димашк	1,93
3.	Анонимная, дирхем	746/7	Васит	
4.	'Абд ал-Малик ?, фельс	685—705 ?		
		Аббасидские монеты		
1.	Анонимная, дирхем	770	Арминийа	
2.	Анонимная, дирхем	732/3	Двин	
3.	Анонимная, фельс	767/8	ал-Йазидийа	
4.	Яхъя ал-Хараши, фельс	794/5	ал-Баб	
5.	Наместник Халид ибн Йезид, фельс	812/3	Арран	
6.	Фельс	IX в.		
7.	Фельс	?		
8.	Фельсы — 5 шт.	VIII—IX вв.		
9.	Дирхем	770	ал-Мухаммедия	
10.	ал-Мансур, дирхем	772/3	Аббасийя	
11.	ал-Мансур, дирхем	780/81	Аббасийя	2,2
12.	Субэратная, дирхем	767—777		
13.	Динар	815/6		
14.	Клад:			
	Аббасиды, дирхемы			
	1)	793/4		
	2)	797/8	ал-Мухаммадия	
	3)	803/4	Мадинат ас-Салам	
	4)	1×3 г. х.	Ифрикия	
	полудирхем	796/7	Санаа	
	обломков — ?			
	Сасаниды — ?			
	Омайады — ?			

Список сокращений

АзГНИИ — Азербайджанский Государственный Научно-исследовательский институт
ГИМ — Государсвенный Исторический музей СССР
ВВ — *Византийский временник*
ВИ — *Вопросы истории*
ИА — Институт археологии
ИАК — Императорская археологическая комиссия
КСИИМК — *Краткие сообщения Института истории материальной культуры*
МАД — *Материалы по археологии Дагестана*

МАО — Московское археологическое общество
НЭ — *Нумизматика и эпиграфика*
РФ ИИЯЛ — *Рукописный фонд Института истории, языка и литературы Дагестанского филиала АН СССР*
Толстой — И. И. Толстой, *Византийские монеты*. Вып. I—IX. СПб, 1912—1914 гг.
ЭВ — *Эпиграфика Востока*
DOC — *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*. Edited by Alfred R. Bellinger and Philip Grierson. Vol. I—III. Washington, 1966—1973.

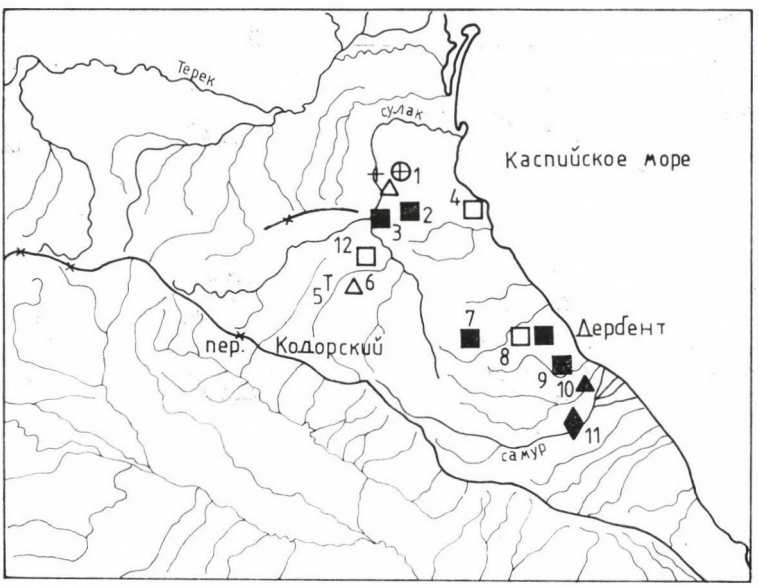

Рис .1. Клады, единичные находки византийских, сасанидских и куфических монет на территории Дагестанской АССР. 1 — Верхний Чирюрт. 2 — Агачкала. 3 — Аркас. 4 — Тарки. 5 — Советское. 6 — Гонода. 7 — Кубачи. 8 — Дербент. 9 — Куллар. 10 — Белиджи. 11 — Аламише. 12 — Гоцатль

△ — сасанидские монеты (единичные).
▲ — сасанидские монеты (клад).
\+ — византийские монеты.
⊕ — подражания византийским монетам.
□ — омайадские монеты.
■ — аббасидские монеты.
♦ — клад аббасидских и сасанидских монет.
T — монета испегбедов (наместников) Табаристана.

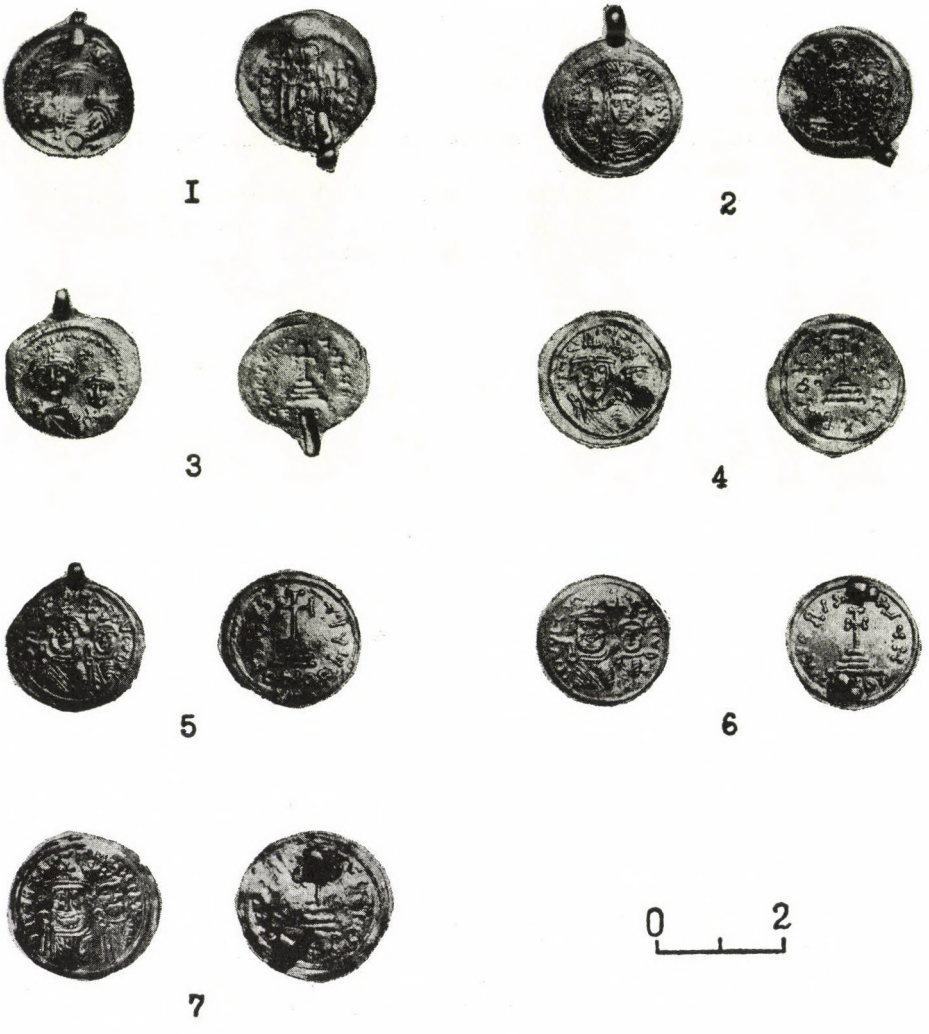

Таблица 1

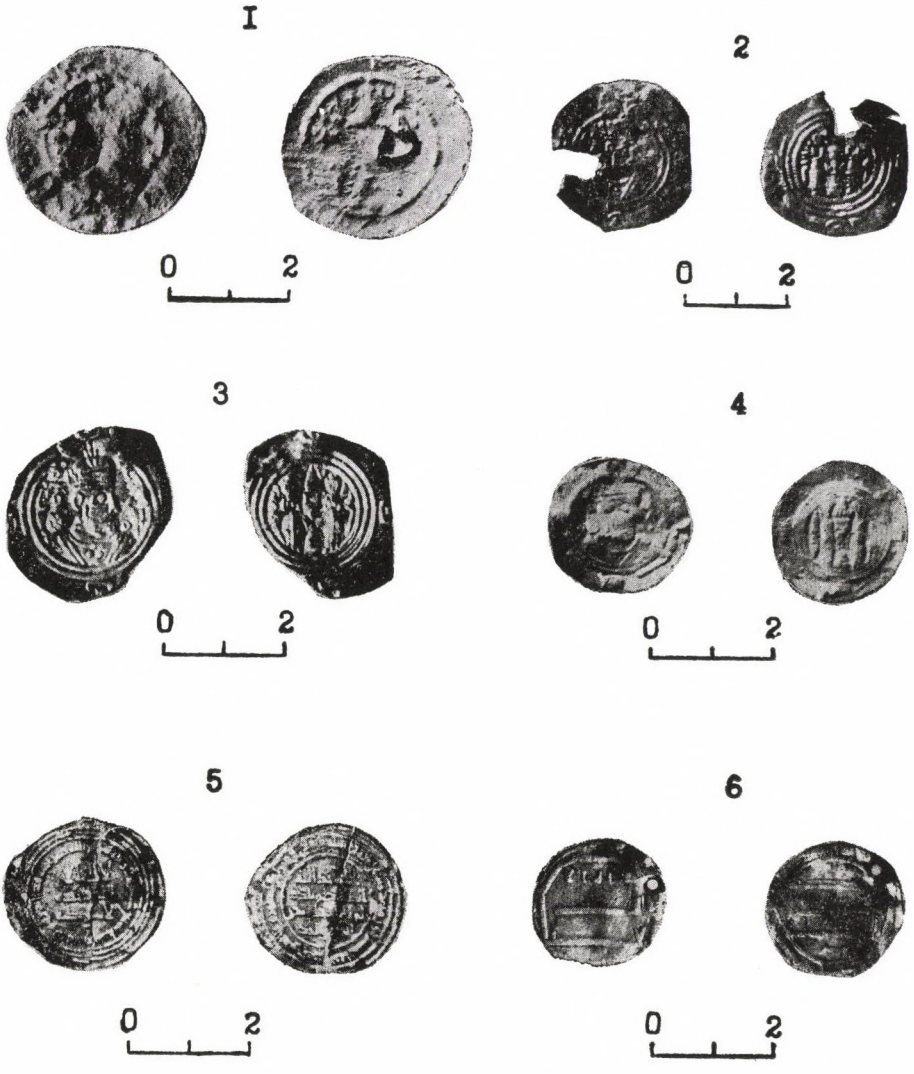

Таблица 2

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К ВОПРОСУ О РИФМОВКЕ ТРАДИЦИОННОЙ ПОЭЗИИ ВЬЕТНАМА

ЛАСЛО СЕГО

Введение

Традиционная вьетнамская литература[1] — (как стихотворные так и прозаические произведения) — разделяется на две главные группы, составляющие друг с другом с точки зрения филологии и истории культуры диалектическое единство линии: на литературу, написанную китайскими иероглифами (*chữ' Hán*) на классическом китайском языке (漢文, *Hán văn*) и на литературу, написанную вначале (от конца XIII века до конца XIX века) характерами национального вьетнамского письма, буквами Nôm (*chữ' Nôm*, 字字喃), позже (главным образом в нашем столетии) латинскими буквами (*Quô'c ngữ'*)[2].

Формы вьетнамской литературы на классическом китайском языке, однако, практически не показывают никакого отклонения от форм произведений, написанных в Китае на этом же языке,[3] и, таким образом, они не рассматриваются в настоящем исследовании.

[1] Под термином «традиционная литература» здесь и дальше будут подразумеваться произведения древней литературы, оцениваемые вьетнамской и иностранной эстетикой литературы как особо важные и/или ценные. Воздерживаемся от употребления термина «классическая литература», так как — особенно в литературе восточноазиатских народов — это может закономерно вызвать представления какого-то литературного произведения, написанного на классическом, отличающемся от повседневной речи языке, а в отношении вьетнамской литературы об этом говорить нельзя. То что во Вьетнаме считается классическим, точно совпадает с первым из двух, ниже показанных главных направлений.

[2] На этом месте не собираемся заниматься взаимодействиями этих двух направлений и вообще: вопросами истории вьетнамской литературы — только упоминаем литературоведческие работы, охватывающие тему наиболее полно: И. И. Никулин: Вьетнамская литература X—XIX вв. Москва, 1977. — о письме *Nôm* см. подробнее: *Sô' Cu'ông Lê Du', Ngu'ôn gô'c văn học nu'ó'c nhà và n'ên văn học mó'i: Nam-Phong N.P.* 190., *a Ki'êu Thanh Quế', Cuộc tiế'n hoá văn học Việt-nam*. Hanoi, 1943.

[3] В том случае, если существуют такие различия, то они не являются влиянием литературы, написанной на национальном вьетнамском языке, а *местной и случайной* спецификой, присущей литературе, написанной на классическом китайском языке, употребляемом по всей Азии, так сказать — «на восточно-азиатской латыни».

Рождение литературы на вьетнамском языке в XIII в. совпадает с рождением письма Nôm. Для вывода, касающегося совокупности выразительных средств национальной литературы Вьетнама, а главным образом техники рифмовки в ней, у нас имеются в распоряжении два источника: с одной стороны — древняя литература на вьетнамском языке, которая — как это подчёркивают авторы каждой историко-литературной работы — по сравнению с европейскими национальными литературами всегда имела более тесную связь с фольклором; а с другой стороны — вьетнамская народная поэзия, последовательный и научный сбор которой фактически начался только в самом конце прошлого и в начале нашего столетия.[4]

Здесь следует отметить, что настоящая работа не посвящена одному — в остальном значительному и важному — виду вьетнамской литературы, ритмической прозе. Так как произведения, принадлежащие к этому виду, обычно не являются рифмованными и их просодия ни в чём не отличается от просодии ритмических прозаических произведений на китайском языке.[5] Стоит упомнуть также (по крайней мере, с методологической точки зрения), что произношение въетнамских слогоморфем[6] за прошедшее полуторатысячелетие, по всей вероятности, едва ли изменялось. Таким образом то, что звучит римфой в переписке прошлого века на латинском алфавите, вероятно, было рифмой и в средневековых текстах, написанных буквами *Nôm*.[7]

[4] В последние десятилетия во Вьетнаме вышло в свет довольно много фольклорных собраний. Среди них мы использовали следующие:

— *Dân ca Thanh-hóa* (Ред. *Nhóm Lam-Sơn*), *Hà-nội*, 1965. (*Dân ca*)
— *Thơ ca dân gian Phú Khánh*, T. I., *Phú Khánh*, 1982. (*Thơ ca*)
— *Về Nghệ-tĩnh*, T. II., *Hà-nội*, 1965. (*Về*)
— *Văn nghệ dân gian Quảng Nam — Đà Nẵng*, T. I., *Đà Nẵng*, 1985. (*Văn nghệ*).

[5] Естественно, что с ритмической прозой мы встречаемся только в литературе, а в фольклоре нет — хотя, например, в поэзии народа эдэ (*ê-đê*), тоже существующего во Вьетнаме, ритмическая проза довольно сильна, но, по нашим сведениям, она там нерифмованная.

[6] Во вьетнамском — так как и этот язык многосиллабичный — слог в сегда совпадает с морфемой и vice versa.

[7] Транслитерация литературных произведений, оригинально написанных буквами chữ Nôm на Quốc ngữ, началось в XIX веке в большом масштабе (напр. произведение « *Truyện Kiều* » *Nguyễn Du*, являющееся выдающимся стихотворным романом вьетнамской литературы, впервые издали латинским письмом в 1875 году — имя транслитератора Tru'o'ng Vĩnh Ký). В наши дни — учитывая, что с 1945 года Quô'c ngữ является единственным официальным вьетнамским письмом, — уже почти все произведения древней литературы можно читать в передаче латинскими буквами. Здесь мы должны упомянуть, что исследователи не согласны с датой рождения письма Nôm. В своей работе, напр., *Viet Nam co van hoc su* Nguyễn Đô'ng Chí относит это к началу XV века (стр. 420.).

Понятие рифмы в просодии вьетнамского стихотворения

Рифма (*v'ân* или *vận*) во вьетнамском стихотворении, как и в поэзии других моносиллабических языков, представляет собой только созвучие отдельных слогов.[8] Вьетнамская поэзия различает два типа рифмы: *v'ân tho'* (в буквальном переводе: «рифма строк», «стихическая рифма»), или *v'ân chân* («основная рифма», «рифма ног») указывает на созвучие последних строк, что реализуется в народной поэзии и в древней литературе (до XX века) чаще всего в парной или половинной рифме. Второй тип, *v'ân lu'ng* (дословный перевод: «задняя рифма»), — с другим, реже употребленным названием *yêu v'ân* («милая рифма» ср. 腰韻), — своеобразное явление вьетнамской национальной стихотворной литературы, традиционной внутренней рифмовкой.[9] В дальнейшем подробно будут исследованы оба эти типа рифмы и мы постараемся охватить путь их интеграции от фольклора до вьетнамской литературы и их развитие в литературе.[10]

Стихическая рифма в фольклоре

Традиционная вьетнамская эстетика фольклора вместо жанровой группировки народных стихотворных произведений определяет категории на основе характера их цели. Не употребляются такие понятия, как, например, венгерские «колыбельная песня», «любовная песня», «вербовка» и т. д. — хотя и во вьетнамском фольклоре существуют произведения таких типов. Вместо этого народная стихотворная поэзия разделяется на следующие три главные

[8] Таким образом, более длинные — продолжающиеся по нескольким слогам — рифмы не имеют повышенной эстетической ценности.

[9] По устному сообщению профессора Đặng Văn Lung, хотя фольклор этнического меньшинства mu'o'ng, живущего во Вьетнаме, и знаком с внутренней рифмой в одной строке и текст состоящей из многих сотен тысяч строк шаман-эпопеи этого народа *Đê˅ đâ't đê˅ nu'ó'c* . . . содержит ряд таких рифм, вероятно, что народ mu'o'ng имеет не только близкое языковое родство с вьетнамцами, но первоначально является и идентичным с ними. Надо упомянуть и то, что И. И. Никулин в одном месте сравнивает вьетнамский фольклорный жанр *ca dao* в большинстве случаев с внутренней рифмой с малайским пантуном, который подобным же образом содержит рифмы в строке: Вьетнамская литература. Москва, 1971, стр. 104.

[10] Учитывая уже упомянутую двуязычность древней вьетнамской литературы и то, что мы можем быть твёрдо уверенными в следующем: во время рождения литературы на национальном языке уже существовал *какой-то* фольклор вьернамского народа (мы должны априори исключить возможность другого пути, обратного этому), хотя и во Вьетнаме, как и у других народов мира, есть ряд примеров на «опускание» тем, произведений и, может быть, даже жанров. Но рифма как элемент поэтики — определенно фольклорного происхождения.

группы: 1. *tục ngữ'* (俗語 пословицы);[11] 2. *vè* (песни, относящиеся к происшедшим событиям); 3. *ca dao* (歌謠, лирические песни)[12, 13].

Стоит обратить внимание на то, что — по крайней мере в материале, исследованном с точки зрения цифровой частности *v'ân tho'* чаще всего в произведениях 2. группы, а в лирических песнях *ca dao* реже всего. Кроме этого нужно отметить, что большинство произведений т. н. *vè*, собранных в провинции *Nghệ-tĩnh* (Средний Вьетнам) состоит (из 90 песен 66) из строк с нечетными слогами — а это характерно и для китайской поэзии, содержащей стихические рифмы.[14] Надо добавить, что строки этих песен состоят из пяти слогов, т. е. точнее: вьетнамские народные песни со стихической рифмой состоят не менее чем из четырёх слогов. (В материале, имеющемся в нашем распоряжении, нет строк, состоящих из 7, 9 или более слогов, и это, вероятно, относится ко всему стихотворному фольклору со стихической рифмой.)

Стихическая рифмовка в поэзии

Появление стихотворений со стихической рифмой во вьетнамской литературе на национальном языке совпадает с началом нашего столетия.[15] Стоит обратить внимание на то, что в лирике со стихическими рифмами периода новой истории редко находятся реминисценции на народные песни со стихической рифмовкой,[16] таким образом, можно сказать, что вьетнамская поэзия со стихическими рифмами находит свой архетип не в национальной лирике, а в лирике *Hán văn*. К этому, естественно, надо добавить, что во Вьетнаме почет имеют стихотворения с внутренней рифмовкой в противоположность стихотворениям с рифмованными окончаниями так же, как и — с противоположным знаком — в прошлом имели приоритет произведения, написанные не на вьетнамском, а на китайском языке.[17]

[11] О жанре подробнее см.: Nguyên Văn Hoàn, *Thê' lục bát từ' ca dao đê'n Truyện Kiê'u* Tạp chí văn học 1974. No. 1., стр. 43—58., Nguyễn Văn Ngọc (ред.), *Tục ngữ' phong-dao*. Hà-nội, 1928., Thiện Đình, *Tổ -quố'c phong-thi:* Nam Phong, No. 142., 143., 145., 1929., Vũ Ngọc Phan, *Tục ngữ' ca dao dân ca Việt Nam*. Hà-nội, 1971.

[12] Другое название: *phong dao* (風謠).

[13] Обобщающее название народной песни по-вьетнамски: *dân ca*, ср. 民歌.

[14] См.: *Vè*.

[15] Письменность латинскими буквами официально признана во Вьетнаме с 1913-го года и более или менее с этого времени существует современная вьетнамская поэзия. Стихическая рифма в современных стихотворениях на вьетнамском языке появляется впервые в лирике поэтов группы *Tho' mó'i* («Новая Поэзия») (Lu'u Trọng Lu, Xuân Diệu, Huy Cận, Tê' Hanh, Chê' Lan Viên и другие) — предположительно под влиянием европейской, главным образом французской поэзии, ведь эти поэты переводили впервые на вьетнамский произведения Бодлера, Рембо, Лампартен и других западных поэтов.

[16] Такое исключение, напр, стихотворение *Voi* («Слон») Tô' Hũ'u, берущее свою тему явно из какого-то фольклорного *vè*. (См.: Tô' Hũ'u, *Tho'*. Hà-nội, 1968, стр. 76.)

[17] См.: Galla Endre, *A legújabb vietnámi irodalomról:* Helikon, Budapest, 1979. No. 1—2, стр. 119.

Источники внутренней рифмовки

Вьетнамские и зарубежные исследователи согласны в том, что *v'ân lu'ng*, настолько характерный для сокровищницы форм вьетнамской лирики на национальном языке, происходит из пословиц с внутренней рифмовкой, т. е. из фольклора. В своей историко-литературной работе Жорж Кордиер[18] подробно занимается типами и структурами *v'ân lu'ng*, находящимися во вьетнамском фольклоре. Он исследует внутреннюю рифмовку сначала в пословицах:

Cửa làm ra đề' trên gác
cửa cò' bạc *đề' ngoài* sân
cửa phù vân *đề' ngoài ngõ,*

т. е.: Имущество оказывается на балконе этажа
серебро оказывается во дворе
беду выбрасывают на улицу —

т. е. (приблизительно) «люди гордятся своими деньгами, а забот стесняются»; а потом он устанавливает следующие правила:

1. С последним слогом первой строки может рифмоваться 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 или 6 слог второй строки;[19]

2. (в *nói lố'i*, т. е. в «отвечающем» стихотворении), если в тексте каждая часть строки состоит из 2 или 3 слогов, то любой слог второй части может рифмоваться с последним слогом первой, напр.:

Tay làm / hàm *nhai*

«Рука работает, чтобы рот мог есть»,

Đa sự' / *đa* lự'

«Беспокоиться о чём/ком»,

Ăn xem n'ôi / ng'ôi *xem hu'ó'ng*

«Когда ест, смотрит только на кастрюлю
— когда садится, оборачивается к ней»
— т. е. является обжорой, и т. п.

3. Если строка разделяется на две четырехсложных части, последний слог первой части будет рифмоваться с вторым слогом второй части, напр.:

Hay ăn thì đói / *hay* nói *thì sai*

«Ешь, когда голодный; говори,
когда знаешь, что сказать».

[18] *Étude sur la littérature Annamite*. Hanoi, 1940.
[19] *Цит. произв.*, стр. 33—34.

4. Если строку можно разделить таким образом: 5—5 слогов, то во второй части рифма находится на 2, 3 или на 5 слоге — или очень редко на 4 или на 1 слоге:

Cả vú lấ'p miệng em, / *cả* hèm *lấ'p miệng hũ*

т. е.: «Всю грудь суёт в рот ребёнка, всю впадину засовывает в посуду» —

т. е. плохо кормит грудью.

5. Если строки состоят из шестисложных частей, то рифма обнаруживается на 4, порой на 6 слоге второй части.

6. Если в строке находятся части из 7—7 слогов, то последний слог первой части рифмуется с 3, 4, 5, или с 7 слогом второй.

7. Если вторая часть на один слог длиннее первой, то действует правило второго случая. Если она длиннее на 2 или 3 слога, то рифма приходится на предпоследний слог второй части.[20]

Кордиер упоминает и названия типов *nói lố'i*: названием двухстопного типа является *v'ân hai*, четырёхстопного — *v'ân tư'*, шести и восьмистопного — *v'ân lục bát*,[21] а семистопного — *v'ân thấ't ngôn* (七言). В рамках этого автор описывает *v'ân hai* и *v'ân tư'* более подробно: основной тип *v'ân hai*: xaab / xbxc / xcxd / xdxe и т. д., а в случае *v'ân tư'*: xxxx / xxxa / xxxa / xxxb / xxxb и т. д. Видно, следовательно, что *v'ân tư'* — по европейским понятиям — «не подходит к строю»: это не настоящая внутренняя рифма.[22]

Lục bát в фольклоре

Lục bát имеет особое значение среди вьетнамских стихотворных форм с внутренней рифмой.[23] Слово *сам* китайского происхождения (六八), как и многие другие термины вьетнамской поэтики. Его особое значение, вероятно, связано со сравнительно большим объёмом, ведь форма, состоящая из двух строк, содержит всего (6 плюс 8) четырнадцать слогов, — а это уже делает возможным формулирование значительных количеств поэтических информаций. Если размышлять над проблемой, возникающей для переписчика фольклорного произведения во время расчленения многих *vè* на строфы: «где разделить строки с парной рифмой на строфы»,[24] то станет очевидным, ему надо обходиться двухстроковыми периодами как самостоятельными строфами.[25] Понимание его как самостоятельной единицы является возможным и

[20] *Цит. произв*, стр. 42.

[21] Ср. с исложенными далее.

[22] Georges Cordière, *цит. произв.*, стр. 47.

[23] См.: *Világirodalmi Lexikon*. Т. VII, стр. 436. Budapest, 1982.

[24] См. случаи во многих произведениях *vè*.

[25] См.: Т. Н. Филимонова, *Взаимосвязи стихотворного размера и стихотворной речи во вьетнамской народной и литературной поэзии*. Москва, 1980, стр. 3.

необходимым и из-за того, что его начало может быть только началом слова, а его конец — концом слова (или концом словосочетания),[26] и вьетнамские стихотворные формы фольклорного происхождения не знают анжамбмана. Рифмовая система *lục bát* следующая:

x x x x x a
x x x x x a x b
x x x x x b
x x x x x b x c
x x x x x c
x x x x x c x d и т. д.[27]

Ритм *lục bát* является не менее связанным, чем его строгая формула рифмовки. Вообще действует правило — стихотворение такого типа скандируется по другим слогам, напр.:

Trên trò'i | có ông | sao Tua
Ò' làng | Minh-giám | có vua | Ba Vành

т. е. В небесах есть один господин, Плеяды
В деревне Минь-ям есть один король, Ба Вань.[28]

Во вьетнамской поэтике кроме ритма важное формальное средство — ритмическое чередование музыкального ударения слогов. Правило это в

[26] *Цит. произв.*, стр. 6.

[27] Хотя иногда встречаются и формы, отличающиеся от этого:

x x x x x a
x x x a x b x x, напр.
Núi cao chi lắm núi o'i,
Núi che mặt trò'i *chăng* thâ'y *ngu'ò'i thu'o'ng* . . .

т. е.: Ах, высокая вершина горы,
Почему прячешь небо от наших глаз —

цитирует Phu'o'ng Lựu. *Lục bát*, В *Từ' điện văn học*, Т. I., Hà-nội, 1983, стр. 48.
В течение нашего разговора Bùi Công Hùng однажды упомянул, что такие формы, как, напр.:

x x x x x a
x x x a x x x b
x x x x x b
и т. д.

считаются непременно более архаичными по сравненно с чистой основной формулой.

[28] Ср. нп. Ngô Văn Phát. *Nguyễn Du et la métrique populaire*, в *Mélanges sur Nguyễn Du*. Paris, 1966, стр. 195.
Правда, что по мнению Bùi Công Hùng, ритм в восьмисложной строке *lục bát*: 4–2–2. (См.: Bùi Công Hùng, *Góp ph'ân tìm hiê'u nghệ thuật tho' ca*. Hà-nội, 1983, стр. 92.

lục b'ât, в формуле:

С—П/Н—С—Пр—С—П/Н
С—П/Н—С—Пр—С—П/Н—С—П/Н[29]

напр.:

Ở' đây có đấ't đế' vu'o'ng
Ai v'ê B'ông-báo c'âm cu'o'ng ngự'a h'ông

т. е. На этой земле король может обосноваться,
Тот, кто приведёт в Бонг-бао, внуздает своего коня.[30]

Известно, что некоторые произведения, написанные в *lục bát*, содержат несовершенные рифмы (такие имеются и в «*Truyện Ki'êu*» Nguyên Du),[31] но ритм стихотворной формы во всех произведениях, написанных таким способом (как в фольклоре, так и в литературе), должен быть безупречным[32]. Точное соблюдение правил ритма вообще характерно почти без исключений для каждый *lục bát*. Иногда встречающиеся ошибки в рифмовке, по нашему мнению, объясняются в большинстве случаев тем, что интерпретация произведений, написанных в национальных стихотворных формах, во Вьетнаме обычно речитативна, и этот метод представления неизбежно снижает как самоконтроль создателя—исполнителя, так и проверочное внимание слушателей (особенно в случае более крупных произведений).

Этот относительно большой объём формы *lục bát* мог влиять, по нашему мнению, на то, что большинство жанров вьетнамского фольклора с удоволь-

[29] Где:
С — свободный, т. е. любой
П — прямой, т. е. длинный и высокий или длинный и глубокий (ø или ˈ)
Н — нисходящий, т. е. длинный и глубокий (ˋ)
Пр — прыгающий, т. е. нисходяще-восходящий (ˇ) или резко нисходяще-восходящий (~) или тяжёлый (.), или восходящий (ˊ) тон.

По вьетнамской терминологии 2-й слог шестисложной строки *bằng* (т. е. первого или третьего тона), 4-й слог *trắ́c* (т. е. второго, четвёртого, пятого или шестого), 6-й слог снова *bằng*. Второй, шестой и восьмой слог восьмисложной строки *bằng*, четвертой trắc. (См.: Bùi Công Hùng, *цит. произв.* стр. 86.)

[30] *Dân ca* стр. 89.

[31] Напр.
Nhữ'ng là lạ nu'ó'c lạ non,
Lâm-tri vù'a một tháng tròn tó'i no'i.
Xe châu dù'ng bánh cử'a ngoài,
Rèm trong đã thấ'y một ngu'ò'i *bu'ó'c ra.*

т. е.: Реки и горы — все они чужды,
В течении круглого месяца возможно поехать в Лам-чи.
Коляка с бисерной занавеской останавливается вне ворот
Из-за шторы выступает человек.

[32] Ср. Т. И. Филимонова, *цит. произв.*, стр. 5.

ствием употребляет её.[33] Особенно часто встречаемся с ней в текстах песен лирического содержания *ca dao*, но известно и частое начало и окончание (или же оба) текста одной или двух строковой парой *lục bát* в основном эпическом жанре *vè*.[34]

Надо добавить, что жанр *ca dao* «per definitionem» предпочитает форму *lục bát*, ведь название самого жанра значит «песня в строфах»,[35] и уже было упомянуто, что период *lục bát* может восприниматься как самостоятельная строфа (и его надо воспринимать таким образом с точки зрения чисто поэтического подхода). Во Вьетнаме этот жанр традиционно разделяется на три группы: (*phú* 賦 *-tỉ* 比 *-hứ'ng* 興), то есть на «описательные», «сравнительные» и «аллегорические» песни,[36] но форма *lục bát* считается самой частой рифмой в каждой из этих подгрупп.[37] Вообще можно сказать, что *ca dao* в каждом случае предпочитает внутреннюю рифмовку,[38] хотя, естественно, существуют песни в форме *ca dao* и со стихическими рифмами.

Lục bát в художественной литературе

В цитированном произведении Т. Филимонова указывает на то, что форма *lục bát* особенно подходит к осуществлению закона моносиллабизма,[39] а всё же древняя вьетнамская литература на национальном языке, выросшая из 文言, очевидно, крепко была связана с идеей классической китайской односложности. Многосиллабизм часто сильно заметен даже в фольклорных произведениях, созданных в *lục bát*[40], а в художественной литературе он становится почти нормой.[41]

[33] См. Chu Xuân Diêu, *Ca dao*, в *Tù' điê²n văn học*, T. I., Hà-nôi, 1983, стр. 92—94., а Bögös László, *Ca*, в *Világirodalmi Lexikon*, T. I. Budapest, 1970, стр. 1222—1223.

[34] Вьетнамское название такой единицы *lục bát*: *mu'ô'u*, и можно считать её некоторой эвокацией. Подробнее см.: Nguyễn Văn Ngọc, *Đào nu'o'ng ca*. Hà-nội, 1931.

[35] На значение слова *dao* «строфа», «абзац» — кроме других его значений, известных из словарей — обращает внимание: Hoàng Trinh: *Đố'i thoại văn học*. Hà-nội, 1986, стр. 47.

[36] См. напр. Phạm Van Diêu, *Văn học Việt-Nam*. Saigon, 1960, стр. 152—154.

[37] Мы можем найти её даже и в жанре головоломки. См.: Tho' ca, стр. 141—145., а Văn nghệ, стр. 115—138.

[38] Phạm Thê' Ngũ упоминает ещё *ca dao*, состоящие из 4—10 пар строк, где рифма падает на 8. слог десятисложной строки (Phạm Thê' Ngũ, *Việt-Nam văn học lịch sử'*. T. I., Hà-nội, 1963, стр. 37.). Известно и ряд других вариаций чисел слогов.

[39] Т. Н. Филимонова, *Цит. произв.*, стр. 5.

[40] Такое можем читать в произведении Vũ Ngọc Phan-a, *Tục ngữ' ca dao dân ca Việt Nam*. Hà-nội, 1971.:

Ai o'i, chó' vội cu'ờ'i nhau,
Cu'ờ'i ngu'ờ'i hôm tru'ó'c, hôm sau ngu'ờ'i cu'ờ'i'!

т. е. Ах, не высмеивай других
(Ведь) если сегодня высмеиваешь ты, завтра тебя будут высмеивать.
(Стр. 86.)

[41] Надо знать, что большинство вьетнамских слов состоит из двух слогов.

Если мы считаем *truyện*, т. е. стихотворный роман самым характерным жанром вьетнамской национальной литературы, написанной буквами Nôm, то надо обязательно восстановить определение жанра Мориса Дюрана: по его дефиниции *truyện* — это «более или менее длинное, написанное на национальном языке в стихотворной форме, обычно в *lục bát*, произведение, автор которого в большинстве случаев неизвестен».[42] Nguyễn Lộc тоже подчёркивает, что «с начала XVIII века исчезают стихотворения эпохи Тан и рождаются только стихотворные *truyện*, написанные в *lục bát*, название которых: *truyện* с рифмой *lục bát*».[43]

Возникает вопрос: почему вьетнамские поэты, порывающие связь с поэзией, написанной на китайском языке, выбрали именно *lục bát* как самую распространенную форму своих произведений — ведь в арсенале вьетнамских народно-национальных форм существовала и стихотворная рифма? Методом механического сопоставления возможностей разных типов и техник рифм ответить на этот вопрос невозможно. Надо пойти дальше и привлечь к исследованию также и теорию жанров. Профессор Phan Cự' Đệ в личном разговоре сообщил, что в целях распространения письма Nôm в XVII веке (после того, как император *Trịnh Tac* жёг всё, что было напечатано буквами *Nôm*, считая их нежелательной литературой) оказалась самой подходящей публикация *ca dao*.[44] Значит, в сущности в этот период, т. е. в 1600-е годы во Вьетнаме письменность встречается с фольклором: печатаются общеизвестные и популярные произведения фольклора, и среди граммотного населения постепенно становится естественным, что литература, написанная национальным письмом на национальном языке, употребляет средства, отличающиеся от ранее исключительно употребляемых китайских прозодических средств, в данном случае *lục bát* — ведь большинство произведений *ca dao*, вероятно, и в это время было с внутренней рифмой. Вероятно, это был тот момент, когда происходила интеграция, «поднятие» *ca dao* в художественную литературу. Примечательно, что после XVII века в стихотворной литературе, написанной на вьетнамском языке, имеется довольно мало произведений без внутренних рифм,[45] и те, которые не в этой рифмовке — в большинстве — написанны

[42] Maurice Durand, *Problèmes posés par le Kim Van Ki'êu*, в *Mélanges sur Nguyễn Du*. Paris, 1966, стр. 1.

[43] Nguyễn Lộc, *Truyện Nôm*, В *Từ' điê'n văn học*, Т. II., Hà-nội, 1984, стр. 458.

[44] По современному вьетнамскому мнению, в популяризации письма *Nôm* в ущерб китайскому играла важную роль и политическая идея. Ведь факт, что число букв письма Nôm не достигает десяти тысяч, и это письмо можно усвоить за гораздо более короткое время, таким образом распространять его в более широких кругах легче, чем китайское.

[45] Кроме *lục bát* популярная рифмовая форма с внутренней рифмой и *song thâ't lục bát* (雙七六八). Такой рифмовкой было написано, например, произведение Nguyễn Du *Văn chiêu h'ồn*. Эту форму однако — из-за её «разительного» характера — в эпических произведениях не употребляли. (По любезному устному сообщению профессора Hoàng Văn Hành).

в китайских стихотворных формах.[46] Распространение стихической рифмы в некитайских формах во Вьетнаме объясняется влиянием западной поэзии и, в сущности, начинается в начале нашего столения.

Что касается стихотворного романа, *truyện*, играющего большую роль в древней вьетнамской литературе, то, хотя верно, что «качество стихотворений во многих из них неудовлетворительно»,[47] но почти каждое из них написано в форме *lục bát*. Эта стихотворная форма характерна главным образом для более коротких *truyện* — большинство их таково — и встречается ещё в диалогах длинных (4—8 тысячст рок) стихотворных романов.[48]

Становление общераспространённым *lục bát* в репрезентативном жанре древней въетнамской литературе *truyện* объясняется, по нашему убеждению, тем, что, во-первых, это жанр, который проявляет особый интерес к эмоциональному миру индивида,[49] а во-вторых — *lục bát* был известен грамотным вьетнамцам после XVIII века на основе лирического фольклорного жанра

Формула *song thất lục bát*-а:

x x x x x a
x x x x x a x x
x x x x x x b
x x x x b x c
x x x x x c
x x x x x c x x, напр.:

Còn chi ai quý ai hèn,
Còn chi mà nói ai hiền *ai ngu.*
Tiết đầu thu lập đàn giải thoát,
Nước tịnh bình rưới hạt *dương* chi.
Muôn nhờ đức Phật từ bi,
Giải oan, cứu khổ, hộn về Tây phương.

т. е.: Кто важный и кто незначительный,
И кто талантлив и кто простоват?
В начале осени они попадают в нирвану,
И польют на ветку ивы святую воду из вазы,
стоящей на алтаре.
Пусть десять тысяч добродетелей Будды и добро
Простит грехи, бережёт от беды, несёт души
в рай (строки 15—20).

[46] Хотя заметно, что обычная ритмика китайского стихотворения 4—3 во Вьетнаме превращается в 3—2—2. (См.: Hữu Ngọc — François Corrèze, *Tuyển tập văn học dân gian*. Hà-nội, 1982.)

[47] Văn Tân — Nguyễn Hồng Phong, *Lịch sử văn học Việt-nam*. Hà-nội, 1963, стр. 187.

[48] *Цит. произв.*, стр. 188.

[49] Ср.: Nguyễn Đổng Chí, *Kho tàng truyện cổ tích Việt-nam*. Hà-nội, 1958, Т. I, стр. 52—57.

ca dao, выражающего в первую очередь чувства. Эта гипотеза становится особенно убедительной, если обратить внимание на то, что жанр *truyện* в своё время развивался по произведениям авторов, очевидно лучше знающих фольклор, чем литературные произведения, написанные до тех пор исключительно на китайском языке: ведь речь шла о деревенских певичках, о мандаринах, малообразованных и с низким служебным рангом.[50]

Однако цитированная дефиниция Дюрана (см. выше) дословно действительна, поскольку форма *lục bát* в *truyện* присувствует только «обычно». В *truyện «Quan Âm Thị Kính»*, написанном несомненно в конце XVIII или начале XIX века неизвестным автором, местом действия где является Корея (само произведение состоит из 786 строк), находятся несколько писем не в форме *lục bát*. В одном из них встречается даже и перекрёстная рифма:

Mự'c mài nư'ớ'c mắt, (a)
Bút chép nên thư', (b)
Gử'i quan phò mã. (a)
Tôi v'ê âm phủ, (b)
Tuổ'i mớ'i ba mư'o'i... (и т. д.)

т. е.:
Мои слёзы — это тушь
Свою кисть я макаю в них, так и пишу
Мужу императрицы —
Возвращаюсь в царство мёртвых
В возрасте едва тридцати лет...

Во время династии *Nguyễn* (с 1802-го года) появился *truyện «Lục súc tranh công»*, написанный в китайской форме: в семисложных стихах с парной рифмой. Интересно обратить внимание на то, что в тексте этого короткого, аллегоричного *truyện* бывают и четырёсложные строки,[51] а иногда встречаются строки, где внутренняя рифма падает на 5 слог следующим образом:

x x x x x x a
x x x x x x a
x x x x a x b
x x x x b x b и т. д., напр.:

[50] Ср.: Никулин И. И., *Цит. произв.*, стр. 110.

[51] Напр.:
Làm không kịp thở',
Ăn chẳng kịp nhai...
т. е.: Работает, но не запыхивается,
Кушает, но не грызёт...
(См.: *Họ'p tuyê'n tho' văn Việt Nam*. Hà-nội, 1978, стр. 870.)

Một minh trâu ghe nỗi gian nan,
Lóng canh gà vù'a mó'i gáy tan
Chủ đã gọi thẳng chăn *vội* vã,
Dạy rằng: *đuổ'i trâu* ra *thảo* dã. . .

т. е.: Трудно буйволу одному лодку из воды вытащить,
(Пока) ночью голос петуха слышен,
Хозяин понукает парня
Такими словами: «Гони буйвола на поле![52]

(В этом случае, конечно, нельзя исключить и факт случайности, так как в появлении никакой регулярности нет).

В *truyện «Tố'ng Trân, Cúc Hoa»*, написанном неизвестным автором, тоже есть двадцатистроковая часть не в *lục bát* (одна лирическая вставка).[53]

Надо добавить ещё, что до XVII—XVIII веков рождалось сравнительно много *truyện*, написанных не в *lục bát*, как, напр., *«Lâm tuy'ên kỳ ngộ»*, *«Truyện Vu'o'ng Tu'ờ'ng»*, *«Tô công phụng sú»* или *«Nghĩa sĩ truyện»*.[54] В это время *lục bát* только искал, но пока еще не находил своего места в художественной литературе.

[52] *Цит. произв.*, стр. 869.

[53] См. *Цит. произв.*, стр. 947.

[54] Более подробно см.: Đặng Thanh Lê, *Truyện Ki'êu và thê' loại truyện Nôm*. Hà-nội, 1979, стр. 45—47.

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MISCELLANEA

METHODISCHE BEMERKUNGEN ZUR ERWÄGUNG DER »UMSTRITTENEN TSCHUWASCHISCHEN ETYMOLOGIEN« VON M. ADAMOVIĆ

KLÁRA AGYAGÁSI

Milan Adamović veröffentlichte neulich einige von seinen tschuwaschischen etymologischen Einfällen mit dem Titel: Umstrittene tschuwaschische Etymologien (*UAJb* 1985, *Neue Folge*, Band 5, pp. 74—97), die zehn Stammwörter und vier morphologische Elemente des tschuwaschischen Wortschatzes aus hauptsächlich dem Tscheremissischen erklären. Sie sind nach Meinung des Verfassers unbekannten und umstrittenen Ursprungs.

Mit dem Grundgedanken kann man einverstanden sein, dementsprechend muß man die Herkunft zahlreicher tschuwaschischer Wörter unbekannten Ursprungs auch im Tscheremissischen suchen, weil nicht nur die historischen Bedingungen der Entlehnung der tschuwaschischen Wörter in das Tscheremissische seit mehreren Jahrhunderten gegeben sind (die Forschung dieses Themenkreises trat in der Linguistik immer mehr in den Vordergrund), sondern auch die der Entlehnung der tscheremissischen Wörter in das Tschuwaschische (bei diesem Thema kam man nur bei dem Nachweis der späten tscheremissischen Lehnwörter vorwärts, vgl. Fedotov 1968, pp. 171—213, Lukojanov 1974).

Wenn der Grundgedanke auch akzeptabel ist, so kann man jedoch nicht mit der Methode einverstanden sein, insofern als Adamović in seiner Argumentation miteinander nicht vereinbare Formen verknüpft und mit dem Thema eng verbundene Parallelen außer acht läßt. Es ist auch nicht zu verstehen, warum er früher schon richtig gelöste Fragen erneut behandelt. Hier möchte ich einige seiner typischen, aus methodischen Unvollkommenheiten stammenden Fehler korrigieren.

1. Das tschuwaschische Wort A *śĕr* V *śŏr* »Nacht« vergleicht Adamović mit dem tscheremissischen Wort *jüt* »Nacht«. Als Urform des tscheremissischen *jüt* rekonstruiert er die Form *jüδe*. Seine Rekonstruktion von *t* im Auslaut als *δV* stützt sich auf die stimmhaften, in den abhängigen Fällen des heutigen tscheremissischen *jüt* erscheinenden Stammvarianten und auf den in den entsprechenden sprachverwandten Formen nachweisbaren Auslaut *-de*, und er bezieht die Feststellung von Collinder auf das gegebene Wort, demgemäß

diejenigen Stämme, in denen finnische, lappische, mordwinische und tscheremissische Entsprechungen *δ* oder *Ø* zu finden sind, in der Mitte des Wortes auf *δ* des Uralischen zurückgehen. Er setzt die Zeit der Entlehnung im 13. Jahrhundert an.

Bei der Behandlung des Wortes muß man die Frage nach der Richtigkeit der tscheremissischen Rekonstruktion und die phonetischen und chronologischen Möglichkeiten der tschuwaschischen Entlehnung der rekonstruierten übergebenden Form unterscheiden. Nehmen wir an, daß die tscheremissische Rekontruktion richtig ist und im 13. Jahrhundert eine **jüδe* Form aus dem Mitteltschuwaschischen entlehnt wurde. Für Adamović ist die Entlehnung von *j* (in turkologischer Umschrift *y*) als *ś* »nicht problematisch«, weil den gemeintürkischen Wörtern mit dem Anlaut *y* im Tschuwaschischen ein Anlaut *ś-* entspricht wie *yel* ~ *śil* »Wind«, *yawug* ~ *śĭwăx* »Nähe«. Seiner Meinung nach zeigen auch die Lehnwörter die Entwicklung *y* > *ś*, obwohl er außer seiner zu beweisenden Etymologie kein solches Beispiel anführt. So eines gibt es auch nicht. Das heutige tschuwaschische *ś* geht nämlich nicht unmittelbar auf *y* zurück, sondern auf *ǰ* und *č*, und nur das *ǰ* kann auf *y* zurückgeführt werden. Das ursprüngliche *y* wurde vor langer Zeit, im frühen Altbulgarischen, annähernd zwischen dem 3. und dem 5. Jahrhundert n. u. Z. zu *ǰ*, dann verlor es seine Gültigkeit. Das sich so herausgebildete *ǰ* im Anlaut blieb in bestimmten Dialekten bis zum 13.—14. Jahrhundert erhalten (siehe den Dialekt der wolgabulgarischen Grabinschriften mit *ǰ*), in anderen Dialekten wurde es schon im 9.—10. Jahrhundert zu *ś*.[1] Den Entwicklungsgang, den das ehemalige urbulgarische *y* bis zum heutigen tschuwaschischen *ś* durchmachte, *y* > *ǰ* > > (*č*) > *ś*, illustrieren und bestimmen zugleich solche Lehnwörter, die aus verschiedenen bulgartürkischen Dialekten zu verschiedenen Zeitpunkten in einzelne uralische Sprachen übernommen wurden, auch chronologisch sehr gut. In das Ursamojedische wurde vor der Wanderung der Nordsamojeden (in den ersten Jahrhunderten unserer Zeitrechnung) ein urbulgarisches Wort übernommen, das ein *y* im Anlaut zeigt: UB **yür* »hundert« → PS *yür*, siehe Janhunen 1977/a, p. 129, Róna-Tas 1980, p. 380. In diesem Beispiel ist das samojedische *y* im Anlaut in bezug auf das anlautende Phonem der türkischen überlieferten Form doppeldeutig. Es kann ein überliefertes *y* andeuten, aber es kann auch *ǰ* ersetzen. Ein Teil der bulgartürkischen Lehnwörter der ungari-

[1] Die Entwicklung *ǰ* > *ś* fand im Sprachzustand am Ende der späten alttschuwaschischen Periode, von der mittleren Stufe abhängig, auf zweierlei Art statt:

ǰ > *ź* > *ś*
ǰ > *č* > *ś*

Der zweite Vorgang fiel mit der ursprünglichen *č* > *ś* Entwicklung zusammen. Über die Geschichte der türkischen und der finnougrischen Affrikaten siehe Róna-Tas 1972/a.

schen Sprache bewahrt ein überliefertes *ǰ* ersetzendes *gy* [*d'*] (und *d*), ein anderer Teil ein *ś* ersetzendes *sz* [*s*] — über diese Frage siehe Ligeti 1986, pp. 19—25. Weil die ungarische Prähistorik die Zeit der bulgartürkisch-ungarischen geschichtlichen Beziehungen auf Grund von Erwägungen zwischen dem 5.—13. Jahrhundert datiert, zeigen die ungarischen Belege, daß das ursprüngliche *y* im 13. Jahrhundert in den verschiedenen bulgarischen Dialekten noch nirgends als *y* vorhanden war. Das bestärken von anderer Seite diejenigen altbulgarischen Lehnwörter, die vom Gemeinpermischen übernommen wurden, bevor die Syrjänen nach Norden gewandert waren (annähernd im 9.—10. Jahrhundert), weil sie an der Stelle des anlautenden *y* ein überliefertes Phonem verraten. (Rédei—Róna-Tas 1983, p. 12.) Ein Lehnwort mit einem ursprünglichen anlautenden *y* (wenn wir eine direkte Entlehnung hypothesieren) könnte in dem heutigen Tschuwaschischen nur dann ein *ś* ergeben, wenn das betreffende Wort vor dem 5. Jahrhundert in den Sprachzustand am Ende der späten altschuwaschischen Periode übernommen worden wäre. Wenn also irgendwelcher Dialekt des Altbulgarischen (das Altschuwaschische) die von Adamović rekonstruierte (alttscheremissische?) **jüδe* Form entlehnt hätte, dann müßte man den Anfang der tscheremissisch-tschuwaschischen geschichtlichen Kontakte vor das 5. Jahrhundert datieren. Für einen solchen frühen Anfang der tscheremissisch-tschuwaschischen Kontakte spricht kein Argument, noch weniger sprachliche Belege. Wenn wir aber die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts als obere chronologische Grenze des Anfangs der intensiven tscheremissisch-tschuwaschischen Kontakte annehmen (was die archäologischen Forschungen und die Ortsnamen der Wolgagegend warscheinlich machen), dann muß man auf die Entsprechungen des überlieferten tscheremissischen anlautenden *y* und des tschuwaschischen *ś* ein für allemal verzichten. Diejenigen Lehnwörter mit einem anlautenden *y*, die nach dem Tatarenzug, aber vor der Tendenz zur Schließung der Vokale im Mitteltschuwaschischen (oder während der Gültigkeit dieser Tendenz) in dem Sprachzustand am Ende der späten alttschuwaschischen Periode übernommen wurden — auch die früheste Schicht der tscheremissischen Lehnwörter kann dazu gehören —, bewahrten ihren anlautenden Konsonanten nach und nach in der Eigenschaft von *y*, vgl. mittelmischerisch **yiγït* »Bursche« → MČ **yikit* > Č *yĕkĕt* id.; MM **yumšaγ* »weich«→MČ **yumšak* > Č V *yŏmšak*, A *yămšak*; MM **yezne* »Tochtermann«→ MČ **yesne* > Č *yïsna* id.; altrussisch[2] *júrkij* »flink« → MČ **yurï* Č V *yŏr*, A *yăr(ă)* id.; AR *v'jurók* »Fink« → MČ **yurok* > Č V *yŏrek*, A *yĕrek* id. usw. Zu dieser Zeit konnte das anlautende *y* der Fremdwörter auch darum unverändert als *y* bewahrt werden, weil zu dieser Zeit im Sprachzustand am

[2] Das Fachwort »altrussisch« bedeutet zwei sprachgeschichtliche Perioden: 1. 8.—9. Jahrhundert. 2. 14.—17. Jahrhundert. Die russische Terminologie unterscheidet sie, die erste Periode heißt: »древнерусский«, die zweite »старорусский«. In den Beispielen soll man unter »altrussisch« die Periode »старорусский« verstehen.

Ende der späten alttschuwaschischen Periode schon wieder ein anlautendes *y* vorhanden war. Es steht aber mit dem einstigen anlautenden *y* der ursprünglichen Wörter in keinem Zusammenhang, sondern es kam sekundär, als eine Prothese in der Position vor *e, ĭ/i* zustande. Als Beweis, daß sich auch die *y*-Prothese vor der Tendenz zur Schließung der Vokale im Mitteltschuwaschischen (am Ende des späten Altbulgarischen oder am Anfang des Mitteltschuwaschischen) herausbildete, dient, daß in den betreffenden Wörtern die Vokale schon geschlossener wurden (der Reduktionsvorgang spielte sich ab), das Ergebnis war, daß das anlautende *i* nirgendwo als *i* bewahrt wurde, *y* jedoch am Wortanfang erhalten blieb.

Die Erscheinung der *y*-Prothese kann auch an eine absolute Chronologie geknüpft werden, Ibn Fadlan hinterließ im 10. Jahrhundert den Titel des bulgarischen Fürsten *Almĭš* in Form von *yïltawar* (= *eltäbär*) der Nachwelt, der in Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos den Namen des zweiten Sohnes des ungarischen Fürsten Árpád in Form von *Jelek* (< *Ilig*) an. (Siehe ausführlicher Ligeti 1986, p. 42.)

Soviel über die turkologische Seite der Sache. Es scheint, daß auch die tscheremissische **jüδe* Form, die bis jetzt bedingt als richtige Form angenommen wurde, nicht ganz in Ordnung ist. Der erste Widerspruch ist auch hier von chronologischer Art. Man kann nämlich nicht wissen, für welche Periode der tscheremissischen Sprachgeschichte die als **jüδe* rekonstruierte Form vom Verfasser erschlossen wurde. Wenn es das 13. Jahrhundert ist, wie er das in seiner Arbeit behauptet, dann kann man nicht genau verstehen, warum er zur Begründung der Richtigkeit der Rekonstruktion die für die Uralzeit erschlossene vorangehende Form des tscheremissischen Wortes *jüt* benutzt. Zwischen der uralischen und der alttscheremissischen Zeit bestehen ja mindestens fünftausend Jahre. Abgesehen davon, daß Collinder an der angeführten Stelle (*Comparative Grammar of the Uralic Languages*, Stockholm 1966, §. 177) nicht das sagt, was Adamović dem zitierten Passus entnehmen will. Das Mißverständnis wird dadurch hervorgerufen, daß Adamović als Ausgangspunkt das tscheremissische *jüt* als zweisilbiges Wort betrachtet, mit Rücksicht darauf, daß es in den abhängigen Fällen wirklich zweisilbige Formen hat. Aber ein Substantiv wird, der Silbenzahl entsprechend, nie auf Grund der variablen Struktur der abhängigen Fälle eingeordnet, auch dann nicht, wenn diese und die sprachverwandten Angaben geschichtlich zwei Silben wahrscheinlich machen, sondern mit ausschließlicher Rücksicht auf die Grundform (= Nominativ). Collinder rekonstruiert das uralische *δ* an gegebener Stelle auf Grund der Stammentsprechungen des betreffenden Phonems, die in der Mitte der Wörter der heutigen finnougrischen Sprachen vorkommen, sehr klar. Das behandelte tscheremissische Wort ist heute zweifelsohne einsilbig, so kann darin kein *δ* in der Mitte des Wortes vorkommen. Collinder selbst bestätigt am Ende des zitierten Werkes, wie falsch die Rekonstruktion von *δ* an der Stelle des heuti-

gen tscheremissischen *t* ist, und er gibt auf Seite 406 die uralische Form des tscheremissischen *jüt* als **jütʒ* an. (Diese Rekonstruktion übernimmt auch Rédei, siehe *UEW*, p. 99, und behandelt die uralischen Zusammenhänge des Wortes bis in die Einzelheiten.) Es scheint, daß diese überaus irreale, als alttscheremissisch eingestellte Rekonstruktion im Auslaut nur darum notwendig war, damit durch die Anführung der altbulgarischen Lautentwicklungstendenz $V\delta V > VrV$ das *r* des tschuwaschischen Wortes »Nacht« erläutert werden kann.

Die oben ausführlich dargelegten phonetischen und chronologischen Ursachen schließen aus, daß der Konsonantismus des heutigen tschuwaschischen Wortes *śə̆r, śĕr* aus der alttscheremissischen rekonstruierten **jüδe* Form des 13. Jahrhunderts erläutert werden kann. Die richtige Etymologie soll im Samojedischen gesucht werden, und Adamović hatte die Lösung in der Hand.

In den samojedischen Sprachen haben folgende Wörter die Bedeutung »Abend«: sam. selk. Ta. Ke. *yydə* »Abend« Ke. *ýydä*, Tur. *ŭtit* »id.«; »am Abend«, *Nȳ·d,yyd*; kam. *nwd'i*; koib. (Beitr. 70) *niude*; mot. (op. cit.) *nudiu-n*; taig. (op. cit.) *njude* »Abend« (Rédei *UEW*, p. 99). Obwohl das Wort nur im Selkupischen und in den sajanischen Sprachen vorhanden ist, ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß man die gemeinsamojedische Form rekonstruieren kann (weil dieses Wort später in den nordsamojedischen Sprachen ausstarb). Das Wort hat eine uralische Etymologie, und die Möglichkeit, daß die samojedischen Formen wogulische oder ostjakische Lehnwörter seien, kann aus phonetischen Gründen ausgeschlossen werden. Zur Rekonstruktion der einzelnen Phoneme der gemeinsamojedischen Form geben diejenigen Wörter eine phonetische Parallele, die das betreffende Phonem in einer ähnlichen phonetischen Position enthalten und in irgendwelcher nordsamojedischen Sprache vertreten sind. Solches Wort ist das Verb »hören«, das in den samojedischen Sprachen folgenderweise vorhanden ist: ng. (aor. sg. 1. obj.) *jindi'ema*; en. (Ch. aor. sg. 1.) *úddiro'*; ju. *юнрась, jə̯ŭ̆ńŋarə̄* »sich erkundenc«; sk. va *üntiqo ŭńtiqo*, (aor. sg. 1.) *ŏ̯ndaɢ*; kam. (prs. sg. 1.) *nwńńėm*; kb. (sg. 1.) *нюныбамъ*; mot. (?aor. sg. 1.) *нюндамъ* (Janhunen 1977/b, p. 49). Eine teilweise Analogie ist ferner das Substantiv »Bescheid«, das folgende Formen hat: ju. *юн, jə̯ŭ̀n, d̯'wń*; mot. *нюндё*. In den obenstehenden Beispielen steht das nördliche *j* den anlautenden *ø, n, ń* der südlichen Dialekte gegenüber (mit dem uralischen anlautenden **j* übereinstimmend). Das weist darauf hin, daß das gemeinsamojedische Phonem **j* sein konnte, wobei seine südlichen Entsprechungen spätere Entwicklungen sind (vgl. Janhunen ebd.). Das bedeutet, daß auch bei der gemeinsamojedischen Rekonstruktion des Wortes »Abend« ein anlautendes **j* anzunehmen ist. Der Vokalismus der ersten Silbe kann als **ü* rekonstruiert werden, vgl. die Formen des Verbs »hören« (siehe weiter oben), ferner die Formen des Stammes 'hineingehen': ng. va *t'id'i*; en (aor. sg. 3.) *чуа* (< **tüj-ŋå*); ju. va *тюсь, t̯'ʒ̯ə̄ŭ̆ś*, (imp. sg. 2.) *t̯'ʒ̯u·''*; kam. (prs. sg. 1.) *šwl'ɛm* (Janhunen, 1977/b, p. 167). Dem-

nach zeigen die heutigen südlichen Sprachen ebenso ein *t* und ein *d*. Ähnlicherweise kommen Mediä und Tenues auch in den nördlichen Sprachen in der Mitte des Wortes verschieden vor, vgl. die Formen des Verbs »aufwecken ~ aufwachen«: ng. (tr. aor. sg. 1. obj.) *kidi'ema*; prt. *kitijiema*; en (tr. aor. sg. 1. obj. Ch) *kiriabo* B *kideabo*; neT (tr. va T) *сидесь* (0) *sid'o*, (< **kitə̂ — jə̂j*); sk. (intr.) *šitį-*; km. (prs. sg. 1. tr.) *šüddirl'im*; kb. (pr. sg. 1.) *судурлямь*, mt. (tr. ? aor. sg. 1) *кудумгамь* (Janhunen *op. cit.*, p. 72), in einigen Sprachen fallen sie sogar aus, oder sie werden verschieden vertreten, vgl. die Entsprechungen des Wortes »Fichte«: ng. *kuo,ku'a*; en. *ka, kari, kaɖi* (< **kaə̂t-ə̂jə̂*); jr. *cha, хады, xāδī, kāt, kaadы*, sk. *qut, k̲ʿùḏ, k̲eače, k̲ʿāᴅe*; km. *ko'd,ko'n, k̲ʿo'*; tg. *kat* (Janhunen, *op. cit.*, p. 61). In den aufgezählten Fällen stammen *t, d, Ø, č, r* aus dem gemeinsamojedischen **t* (siehe Janhunen ebd.), es bedeutet, daß die gemeinsamojedische Form des Wortes »Abend« als **jüte* ~ **jüti* wiederhergestellt werden kann (die Qualität des auslautenden Vokals ist unsicher). Das gemeinsamojedische *t* wurde aber entweder am Ende des Bestehens der samojedischen Einheit oder kurz nach ihrer Auflösung stimmhaft. Einen chronologischen Anhaltspunkt bietet eben ein Lehnwort, das ins Urbulgarische geriet, das das Tschuwaschische bis heute bewahrte: sam. **qadi* »Fichte« → urbulgarisch **qadï* > AB *qaδï* > Č *xïrǎ* »Pinus silvestris« (Róna-Ras 1982, p. 161). Das überlieferte samojedische **qadi* ist die Entwicklung des gemeinsamojedischen **kaə̂'t-ə̂'jə̂'* (Janhunen *op. cit.*, p. 61.). Mit Rücksicht auf Obengesagtes können wir voraussetzen, daß ins Urbulgarische eine samojedische Form **jüde* oder **jüdi* kam, die dann an der bulgarischen Entwicklung *y* > *ǰ* > *ś* regelmäßig teilnahm, ihr *-d-* in der Mitte des Wortes beteiligte sich an dem bulgarischen Spirantisationsvorgang des türkischen *-d-* (über die Einzelheiten des Vorgans siehe Róna-Tas 1982, p. 160), ihre Vokale wurden, der mitteltschuwaschischen Tendenz entsprechend, geschlossener und reduziert bzw. wurden sie im Anatri-Tschuwaschischen delabialisiert:[3] sam. **jüdi* ~ (**jüde*) → UB **yüdi* > AB **ǰüδi* > MB *śür(i)* > V *śö̆r*, A *śěr*.

[3] Man kann sich in der samojedischen überlieferten Form nur auf Annahmen verlassen, was den Vokalismus der zweiten Silbe betrifft, aber welcher hohe Vokal am Ende des samojedischen Wortes (*e, i, ü*) auch immer war, man kann seinen Schwund bis zum heutigen Tschuwaschisch als regelmäßig betrachten. Im Mittelbulgarischen reduzierten sich nämlich die geschlossen Vokale, aber die im Auslaut verschwanden oft. Was das *e* betrifft, gibt es zwei Erklärungen: *a*) das *e* wurde auf die Wirkung der ersten Silbe, infolge einer progressiven labialen Assimilation zu *ü*, reduzierte sich und verschwand, *b*) in der ersten Silbe spielte sich die übliche Entwicklung *e* > *i* ab, dann reduzierte sich das *i* und verschwand. Nach Ašmarin (1937, p. 101) darf man, was die Geschichte des Wortes betrifft, die Wirkung der fünf Homonyme nicht außer acht lassen, vgl. A *śěr*, V *śör* I. »*земля*« (Ašmarin *op. cit.*, p. 84), II. »*название духа*« (op. cit., p. 101), III. »*сто*« (op. cit., p. 105), IV. »*цевка*« (op. cit., p. 106), V. »*кольцо*« (op. cit., p. 106). Die Wörter, die ursprünglich verschiedene Etymologien hatten, glichen sich nämlich sowohl hinsichtlich der Labilität als auch der Silbenzahl aus.

Der Unterschied zwischen den samojedischen Angaben und der Bedeutung des heutigen tschuwaschischen Wortes war zur Zeit der Entlehnung wahrscheinlich nicht vorhanden. In den finnougrischen Entsprechungen des Wortes kommen sowohl die Bedeutung »Nacht« als auch »Abend« vor, so kann man annehmen, daß das Wort mit der Bedeutung »Nacht« vom Urbulgarischen aus dem Ursamojedischen entlehnt wurde, diese Bedeutung starb seitdem in den südlichen samojedischen Sprachen aus.

2. Adamović leitet das tschuwaschische *śĭn* »Mann« aus dem tscheremissischen *jeŋ* »Mann« ab, nachdem er Paasonens (tschuw. *śĭn* < AT *yan* »Form; Charakter«) und Benzings frühere Etymologien (tschuw. *śĭn* ← per. *ǰan* 'Seele' oder tschuw. *śĭn* karachanida *yalaŋug* »Mann«) aus semantischen Gründen abgelehnt hat. Es ist sinnlos, die Lösung des Problems in solcher Weise aufzuwerfen, wo eine heutige tscheremissische Form den Ausgangspunkt zu einer Entlehnung der altbulgarischen Zeit bildet, wie das aus den Erläuterungen des Verfassers wahrnehmbar ist. Aber auch dann, wenn das tscheremissische Wort im 13. Jahrhundert als *yeŋ* vorhanden gewesen wäre, hätte das tschuwaschische Wort trotz der semantischen Übereinstimmung nicht davon abstammen können, vgl. Obengesagtes über die Lautentwicklung $y > ǰ > ś$. Solange sich in phonetischer und semantischer Hinsicht keine vollkommenere Lösung bietet, muß man bei der Etymologie des tschuwaschischen Wortes zu der Ableitung aus dem persischen *ǰan* »Seel« zurückkehren (über deren Einzelheiten neulich Scherner schrieb, 1977, p. 52), mit der Einschränkung, daß der semantische Unterschied das Ergebnis einer inneren tschuwaschischen Bedeutungsentwicklung ist.

3. Adamović denkt, nachdem er Egorovs Etymologie richtig abgelehnt hat, daß das tschuwaschische Wort *mime* (dial. *vime*) »Hirn; Mark« die direkte Entlehnung des tscheremissischen *wime* »id.« ist. Das wäre nicht weiter schlimm, wenn Adamović die genaue Quelle der tscheremissischen *wime* Form angeben würde. Nach den gewöhnlich zugängigen tscheremissischen Wörterbüchern haben nämlich das bergtscheremissische Wort *vim* und das wiesentscherem. Wort *vem* die Bedeutungen »Gehirn« und »Mark«, vgl. B. M. Васильев, *Марий тутэр, Москва.* 1926; Y. Wichmann, *Tscheremissische Texte mit Wörterverzeichnis.* Helsinki, 1953, *Марийско-русский словарь Москва.* 1956, *Русско-марийский словарь Москва.* 1966, und auch Rédei, der die finnougrische Etymologie des Wortes neulich behandelte, zitiert keine Angabe über das Wort *wime* aus dem Tscheremissischen (*UEW*, p. 572). Wenn aber die Form *wime* im Tscheremissischen nicht nachweisbar ist, muß man die Frage der Etymologie des tschuwaschischen Wortes auch weiterhin offen lassen. (Über dieselbe Etymologie schrieb auch Lukojanov — *op. cit.*, p. 107. —, mit dem Unterschied, daß er das tschuw. V *vime* und die auf dem ganzen Sprachgebiet ge-

bräuchliche Form *mime* für zwei unabhängige Wörter hält. Er erklärt das auslautende *e* des Wortes *vime* mit der Wirkung von *mime*. Die Schwäche dieser Konzeption ist, daß er die Etymologie von *mime* nicht angibt.)

4. Das Wort A *yumšă*, V *yomšă* »Zauberer« behandelt Adamović noch einmal, nachdem er die Etymologie von Solotnizki aus morphologischen Gründen abgelehnt hat: *yumšă, yomšă* < AT *qam* »Schamane« + Formans *či* für nomen agentis. Adamović sieht das Problem richtig, es ist wirklich auffällig, warum ein Wort, dessen absoluter Stamm auch selbst die handelnde Person in grammatischem Sinne bedeutet, mit einem Suffix versehen ist, dessen Grundfunktion die Bezeichnung der handelnden Person ist. Zur Ausschließung dieses Problems empfiehlt der Verfasser eine neue Etymologie, demgemäß: tschuw. *yumšă* ~ *yomšă* < *yom* + *šă* (**äm* »Heilmittel« + *či* nomen agentis Formans, **ämči* »Arzt«). Adamović bringt zur Begründung der von ihm angenommenen Lautentwicklung *ä* < *yo* auch zwei Beispiele, tschuw. *yoman* »Eiche« < tü. *ämän*, *yop* »passend« < tü. *äp*.

Gegen die oben behandelte Etymologie spricht, daß es bis jetzt nicht gelang, in der tschuwaschischen Lautgeschichte eine *ä* > *yo* Entwicklung nachzuweisen. Die Beispiele von Adamović demonstrieren nur, daß der Verfasser annimmt, daß die altbulgarischen und die alt- (gemein-) türkischen Lautformen hinsichtlich der zitierten Wörter gleich sind. Die Forschungen beweisen trotzdem immer öfter, daß außer dem Rhotazismus und dem Lambdazismus auch andere phonetische Unterschiede innerhalb der zwei großen Dialektgruppen vorhanden waren. Solche sind die voneinander abweichende Entwicklung der auslautenden gutturalen Verschlußlaute (siehe Róna-Tas 1971, pp. 389—399), die Unterschiede des Vokalismus hinsichtlich der Labialität und der Illabialität (zum Beispiel das Wort »Steigbügel« siehe bei Róna-Tas 1982, pp. 120—122), und dazu gehört unter anderem die Schwankung des geschlossenen und des offenen *e* in den zwei Gruppen. Das offene und das geschlossene *e* funktionierten in den altbulgarischen Dialekten als Allophone, im Alttürkischen standen sie in einer phonematischen Opposition. Infolgedessen fiel die Unterscheidung der *e*-Laute in den zwei Gruppen notwendigerweise nicht zusammen. Bis zum Ende der mittelbulgarischen Periode wurden sie aber auch im Sprachzustand am Ende der späten alttschuwaschischen Periode phonologisiert, die früheren Allophone und die Schwankung verschwanden, und die Aussprache des einen oder des anderen stabilisierte sich in den einzelnen Wörtern. Als Ergebnis dieses Vorgangs kamen die Phoneme *e* und *ä* in einem Teil der mittelbulgarischen Wörter mit dem Alttürkischen übereinstimmend vor: vgl. tschuw. *ilt-* »hören« < MB* *el(i)t-*, AT *ešid-* »to hear« (Clauson, p. 257), as. *ešit-* id.; tschuw. *ală* »Hand« < MB **äliγ*, AT *älig* »hand, forearm« (Clauson, p. 140), as. *äl* id.; in einem anderen Teil abweichend, vgl. tschuw. *-alăk* »Tür« < MB **älik*, AT *ešik* »threshold« (Clauson, p. 260), as. *ešik* id., tschuw. *allă*

»Fünfzig« < MB **älli*, AT *ellig* »fifty« (Clauson p. 141), as. *älli* id. Zur Rekonstruktion des mittelbulgarischen Phonems bietet die heutige tschuwaschische Lautform ein sicheres Kriterium, weil das heutige *i* nur auf *e* zurückgehen kann, dagegen das heutige *a* nur auf das mittelbulgarische *ä*.

Das Wort »Heilmittel« gehört auch zu derjenigen Gruppe des türkischen Wortschatzes, wo sich die gemeintürkischen und die tschuwaschischen Formen voneinander unterscheiden, was die *e*-Laute betrifft. In den gemeintürkischen Sprachen ist das Wort mit einem offenen *ä* vorhanden, vgl. AT *äm* »remedy« (Clauson, p. 155), während das tschuwaschische *im* nur eine Entwicklung des mittelbulgarischen *em* sein kann. Weil die regelmäßige bulgarische Entsprechung des gemeintürkischen *äm* im Tschuwaschischen *im* ist, kann der Stamm des Wortes *yumśă* nicht daraus erläutert werden.[4] Über die Etymologie des tschuwaschischen *yumśă*, die sowohl in phonetischer, morphologischer, als auch in semantischer Hinsicht die Kritik besteht, schrieb Szalontai-Dmitrieva im Jahre 1982 (pp. 171—178).

5. Der Verfasser nimmt neben der Berührung anderer morphologischen Probleme auch zur Frage des Ursprungs des tschuwaschischen Allativs Stellung. Den Vergleich der Kasusendungen *-la/-le*, *-alle/-elle* mit dem Tscheremissischen kann man zulassen, aber es fehlt hier eine Fragestellung: Wie paßt die vielleicht aus dem Tscheremissischen übernommene Kasusendung in das paradigmatische System der urtürkischen Nomina? Levitskaja behandelte 1976

[4] Die Entwicklungen *e* > *i ä* > *a* waren die letzten Stationen der Veränderung des mittelbulgarischen Vokalismus, das wird auch dadurch bewiesen, daß sich vor dem *i*, das sich aus *e* entwickelte, keine *y*-Prothese herausbildete, das aus *ä* entstandene *a* nahm an der Umwandlung *a* > *o* > *u* nicht teil. Trotzdem hat der tschuwaschische Wortschatz solche Elemente, die anscheinend auf eine Entwicklung ä > *u* hinweisen. In ihrer Geschichte kann man aber immer einen sekundären Vorgang nachweisen, der zu einem »unregelmäßigen« Ergebnis führt, darin entwickelt sich nicht das *ä* direkt zu *u*, z.B. das Wort »Gott« heißt im heutigen Tschuwaschisch *tură*, das auf die altbulgarische Form *täŋri* zurückgeht. Die sich in der ersten Stufe abgespielte Entwicklung *ä* > *ü* wurde in diesem Falle durch die diphthongierende Wirkung des *g* ausgelöst, das infolge der Denasalisierung des *n* zustande kam. Den Wechsel der Tonfolge verursachte die Veränderung des Tons des auslautenden *i*: *täŋri* > *tägri* > *täγri* > *täg̈iri* > *türi* > *turĭ* > *tură*. Ein Beispiel anderen Typs ist das tschuwaschische Wort »Gang«, das im heutigen Tschuwaschisch *yusta* heißt. Es ist eine Entlehnung des altrussischen *ѣзда*. (*ѣ* bezeichnete in der altrussischen Sprache einen langen geschlossenen Laut [e].) In der Geschichte dieses Wortes spielte sich die *e* > *a* Entwicklung noch an russischer Seite (Akanje), in den südlichen Dialekten ab, in das Mittelbulgarische kam die dialektische Form *yazda*, die in dem heutigen Tschuwaschischen regelmäßig *yusta* wurde. Auch hinsichtlich der von Adamović als Beweis angeführten Wörter *yoman* »Eiche« und *yop* »passend« ist es nicht angezeigt, das anlautende *ä* der gemeintürkischen Entsprechungen als Ausgangspunkt der tschuwaschischen Wörter mechanisch anzunehmen, obwohl noch nicht gelang, statt dessen eine phonetisch haltbare Etymologie zu finden.

die Frage des urtürkischen Dativs als Richtungskasus und sein Verhältnis zu der tschuwaschischen Kasusendung *-la/le, -alla/-elle* in ihrer Monographie zur diachronischen Morphologie der tschuwaschischen Sprache (pp. 26—27).

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Abkürzungen

A	Anatri-Tschuwaschisch
AB	Altbulgarisch
AR	Altrussisch
as	Aserbaidschanisch
AT	Alttürkisch
en	Enzisch

ju	Juraksamojedisch
kb	Koibalisch
km	Kamassisch
MB	Mittelbulgarisch
MČ	Mitteltschuwaschisch
MM	Mittelmischerisch
mt	Motorisch
nen	Nenzisch
ng	Nganasanisch
PS	Protosamojedisch
sk	Selkupisch
UB	Urbulgarisch
V	Virjal-Tschuwaschisch

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CRITICA

ANJA BUDER, *Aspekto-temporale Kategorien im Jakutischen. Turcologica.* Hrsg. von Lars Johanson. Fortführung der von Horst Wilfrid Brands begründeten Reihe Frankfurter Turkologisches Arbeitsmaterial. Band 5. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1989, XIV + 117 p.

Das zu besprechende Werk von Anja Buder war die — unter der Betreuung von Prof. Lars Johanson während der Jahre 1986—89 geschriebene — Dissertation der Verfasserin.

Das von A. Buder zur Untersuchung gewählte Thema ist für eine Dissertation besonders gut geeignet: Das jakutische Verbalsystem ist ein relativ wenig erforschtes Gebiet innerhalb der Turkologie, ein Gebiet, wo man ausreichend großen Platz für eigene Forschungsinitiative und gute Chancen hat, etwas Neues zu sagen. Als großer Verdienst der Verfasserin sei hier erwähnt, daß sie beide Möglichkeiten in ihrem Werk ausgenutzt hat.

In der Einleitung (pp. IX—XIV) der zu besprechenden Monographie bringt die Verfasserin deutlich zum Ausdruck, daß ihre Arbeit zu zeigen versucht, daß das jakutische Verbalsystem nicht — wie früher behauptet wurde — nur ein rein temporales, sondern ein *aspekto-temporales* System darstellt.

Der erste Teil des Werkes führt den Titel *Theoretische Grundlagen* (pp. 1—19). Durch einen kurzen Überblick über die in die weitere Funktionsanalyse aufzunehmenden finiten Verbalformen des Jakutischen wird es gut ersichtlich, daß das jakutische System asymmetrisch ist:

-ar, -ara, -ar ätä, -ar äbit;
-bït, -bïta, -bït ätä, -bït äbit;
ta, -ta ätä.

Die Verfasserin schließt aus der Untersuchung andere finite Einheiten des Jakutischen — so z.B. *-iax* (Futur), *-bïttāx, -an turardāx* (episodische Vergangenheit), *-taγa* (eine Einheit, die verschiedene Tempora bezeichnen kann) —, die mehr oder weniger als rein modale Formen aufgefaßt werden können, aus.

Hier bespricht die Verfasserin im weiteren (5—7) die höchst interessante jakutische Besonderheit des Nebeneinanderlebens der Elemente *ä-* und *är-*, die — wie die Verfasserin mit vollem Recht vermutet — letzten Endes auf das alttürkische *är-* 'sein, werden' zurückzuführen sind.

Anschließend bekommt der Leser im Teil *Theoretische Grundlagen* eine kurzgefaßte und sehr klare Einführung in die Terminologie des Werkes. Wie die Verfasserin selbst schreibt, beruht die überwiegende Mehrheit der in der Monographie verwendeten Termini technici (s. auf S. 117 den *Index der Termini technici*) auf denen des grundlegenden Werkes von Lars Johanson (*Aspekt im Türkischen.* Uppsala 1971).

Die Verfasserin weist auf die Notwendigkeit der Unterscheidung zwischen den verschiedenen Diskurstypen bei der weiteren Untersuchung hin, und sie bespricht

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(10—15) dementsprechend die auf *-ta-*, *-bïta-*, *-bït-* und *-ar-* basierten Diskurstypen. Die ersten drei der hier aufgezählten Einheiten (*-ta*, *-bïta* und *-bït*) weisen ein gemeinsames inhaltliches Merkmal auf (d.h. sie zeigen »eine temporale Abstandnahme von der nächstliegenden Realität« an), und sie stehen temporal der einzigen jakutischen präsentischen Einheit *-ar* ganz offensichtlich gegenüber.

Die Verfasserin stellt fest, daß die Unterschiede zwischen den Einheiten *-ta*, *-bïta* und *-bït* nicht durch temporale, sondern vielmehr durch aspektuelle Kriterien zu beschreiben sind.

Aufgrund der Bearbeitung jakutischer Texte kommt die Verfasserin zu der Folgerung, daß die Diskursebene bzw. relative Anteriorität in den erwähnten Erzähltypen von den folgenden Einheiten vertreten bzw. bezeichnet werden:

Diskurstyp	*Diskursebene*	*relative Anteriorität*
-ta	*-ta, -ar*	*-bïta, -bït*
		-ara, ar- ätä
-bïta	*-bïta, -ara*	*-bït ätä, -ar ätä*
-bït	*-bït, -ar äbit*	*-bït äbit, -bït äbitä -bïta* (+ *ühü* Partikel)
-ar	*-ar*	*-bït ätä, -bït*

Auf S. 14 führt Buder ein interessantes Beispiel an, wo der Erzähler zwischen auf *-ta*, *-bïta* und *-bït* basierter Erzählung wechselt.

Ferner weist die Verfasserin darauf hin, daß die Einheiten *ätä*, *äbit*, *äbitä* (das sind die mit *-ta*, *-bït* und *-bïta* gebildeten Formen des Verbs *ä-* 'sein, werden') von den übrigen Formen auf *-ta*, *-bït* und *-bïta* gesondert zu untersuchen sind. Im Vergleich zu den Formen *-ta*, *-bït* und *-bïta* sind *ätä*, *äbit* und *äbitä* aspektuell neutral. Mit anderen Worten besteht zwischen den *-ta* usw. und *ätä* usw. Formen ein deutlicher funktioneller Unterschied.

Das zweite Kapitel der Monographie (20—29) untersucht das jakutische Präsens. Im Jakutischen wird die Gegenwart durch eine einzige Präsensform (*-ar*) repräsentiert. Diese — mit *-ar* markierte — Präsensform bezeichnet —wie die Verfasserin schreibt — nicht nur Ereignisse, »bei denen am Blickpunkt aktionale Fülle herrscht«. Sie kann auch Ereignisse, die »sich im Moment der Rede nicht *in cursu* befinden«, bezeichnen. Auf die verschiedenen Interpretationsmöglichkeiten eines kontextlosen Satzes (übernommen von Charitonov 1947) deutet Buder sehr überzeugend hin (21):

Bu kolxoz burdugun kombayn bïhar.
'Das Getreide dieser Kolchose schneidet ein Mähdrescher.'

(A) Der Mähdrescher schneidet das Korn normalerweise, aber im Moment der Rede gerade nicht (*aktionale Leere*).

(B) Der Mähdrescher schneidet das Korn gerade jetzt, so wie er das gewöhnlich auch tut (*aktionale Fülle*).

Aufgrund weiterer Beispiele kommt die Verfasserin zu der Folgerung, daß das Jakutische keinen formalen Unterschied zwischen aktuellem und generellem Präsens kennt. Im Gegensatz dazu erwähnt sie das Türkeitürkische, wo man verschiedene Präsensformen findet (*-ir*, *-iyor*, *-mekte*), die verschiedenen aktionalen Inhalt von Ereignissen beschreiben können. Sie weist ferner darauf hin (22—23), daß die *-ar* Markierung allein keine Zukunftsreferenz hat und z.B. in einem Satz wie *Min sarsïn barabïn.* 'Ich gehe morgen.' erst das Wort *sarsïn* 'morgen' darauf hindeutet, daß die Verbform ein zukünftiges Ereignis wiedergibt. Mit Johanson 1971, 183 bezeichnet Buder diesen Gebrauch des jakutischen Präsens als 'programmatisches Präsens'.

Die Verfasserin beweist ferner genauso überzeugend — anhand genügender Beispiele —, daß die sog. »analytischen Präsensformen« des Jakutischen (*-a/-an* Gerundien + *tur-*, *olor-* usw. als Hilfsverben) in der Tat keine Präsensanzeiger sind. In Formen wie *-a tur-ar*, *-a olor-or* usw. wird das Präsens allein durch die Einheit *-ar* (*-or*) signalisiert.

Der dritte Abschnitt des Werkes wird der Kategorie der Intraterminalität (30—

44) gewidmet, im vierten Kapitel beschäftigt sich die Verfasserin mit Fragen der Postterminalität (45—88). Leider kann ich hier nicht alle wichtigen Beobachtungen der musterhaft gründlichen Beschreibung des jakutischen aspekto-temporalen Systems verfolgen. Als besonders lehrreiche Ergebnisse bzw. Teilergebnisse seien hier beispielsweise die klare Darlegung über die aspektuelle Opposition *-bïta*: *-ta* und die Beschreibung der Unterschiede zwischen den Einheiten *-bït*, *-bïta* und *-ta* erwähnt.

In dem letzten Kapitel ihrer Dissertation behandelt Anja Buder die jakutischen Einheiten *äbit*, *-ar äbit* und *-bit äbit* (89—109). Hier möchte ich unter den wichtigen Ergebnissen der Verfasserin die gründliche Definition und Beschreibung der Form *äbit* (<*ä-* + *-bït*) hervorheben. Aufgrund einer ausführlichen Analyse stellt die Verfasserin fest, daß »*äbit* weder Postterminalität noch Anteriorität signalisiert. Es ist eine nicht-temporale und modale Einheit, die die modalen Nuancen, die dem einfachen *-bit* anhaften können, in pertinenter Weise signalisiert.« (99)

Am Ende der Rezension sei nochmals betont, daß Anja Buders Werk eine auf hohem wissenschaftlichem Niveau geschriebene Monographie ist, ein Werk, das nicht nur für die Jakutologen, sondern für jeden Turkologen als ein wichtiges Handbuch gelten kann.

Á. Berta

V. Z. GUMAROV (1985). *Baškirskaja narodnaja medicina*. Baškirskoe knižnoe zdatel'stvo. Ufa. 144. S.

Gumarovs kleines Buch ist in 5000 Exemplaren erschienen, ist also nicht nur in der ganzen Sowjetunion, sondern auch in Baschkirien eine wahre Buchseltenheit. Der Verfasser hat sich schon vor Veröffentlichung der Monographie einen Namen als in russischer Sprache veröffentlichender Darsteller der traditionellen baschkirischen Heilkunde gemacht. (*Lečebnye sredstva životnogo proshoždenija v baškirskoj medicine*: *Étnografija Baškirii*. Ufa 1976, pp. 139—147; *Narodnaja gigiena baškir i ohrana detej. Kones XIX-načalo XX veka*: *Obyčai i kul'turnobytovye tradicii baškir*. Ufa, 1980, 129—134; *Empričeskaja fizioterapija baškir. Konec XIX-načalo XX veka*: *Issledovanija po istoričeskoj étnografii Baškirii*. Ufa 1984, pp. 131—136.)

Obwohl der Verfasser in der Einführung seines Buches eindeutig feststellt, daß das Ziel seines Werkes »die gesundheitliche Aufklärung, der Kampf um eine gesunde Lebensweise, die Ausmerzung schädlicher Angewohnheiten und atheistische Propaganda« ist, zeigt sich schon im ersten Kapitel des Buches (»Aktuelle Gesichtspunkte des Studiums der Volksheilkunde«, S. 6—9), daß der Leser im Vergleich zu diesem einseitig didaktischen Ziel ein nuancierter formuliertes und themenreicheres Buch in die Hand bekommt, da er das Erbe der Volksheilkunde, insbesondere die »volkstümliche Psychiatrie«, die Geburtshilfe und die »heilkundliche Folklore« sehr anerkennend würdigt.

Weitere wichtige Kapitel des Buches sind »Allgemeine Fragen der baschkirischen Volksheilkunde« (S. 11—28), »Heilende Mittel und Methoden« (S. 29—72), »Volkshygiene« (S. 73—106), »Heilkundliche Folklore« (S. 107—125), »Die Weisheit des Volkes in den Dienst des Volkes« (S. 126—129), die Tabelle »Aufreihung der in der baschkirischen Volksheilkunde gebräuchlichen Medikamente« (S. 130—137) und »Literatur« (S. 138—143).

Im Unterkapitel »Zur Frage der Eigenständigkeit« (S. 11—13) weist er mit vollem Recht die Ansicht zurück, daß die Baschkiren alles von der mit reichen Traditionen verfügenden russischen Heilkunde übernommen hätten. Die entsprechende Lösung findet er trotzdem nicht, da er die sich zu den mongolisch-türkischen bindenden genetischen Wurzeln und die sich zu den finnugrischen Völkern bindenden arealen Fäden außer acht läßt.

Auch das Kapitel »Volkstümliche Vorstellung über Grund und Wesen der Krankheiten« ist ähnlich zum Ganzen des Werkes

durch das Fehlen ordnender Prinzipien gekennzeichnet. Trotzdem sind folgende Krankheistgründe herausschälbar: das Nichtgeschütztsein vor schadenden Faktoren (z. B. Kleinkindalter, Periode der Menstruation, Zeit der Schwangerschaft und der Zustand des Wochenbettes), Überanstrengung, Vererbung, das Herausfliegen der Seele, vom Schlag getroffen werden, schadende Geister, Verfluchung, Erschrokkenheit, schlechtes Blut, »das Festwerden« der Wirbelsäule.

Im Kapitel »Heilende Mittel und Methoden« (S. 29—72) zählt er die in der baschkirischen Heilkunde bekannten Heilpflanzen und ihre Anwendung auf (S. 30—38), um dann auf die tierischen Stoffe überzugehen (S. 37—44). Unter diesen nehmen die Milchprodukte (*gorot* »steinhart getrockneter Käse«, *gatig* »aus aufgekochter Milch gemachte Sauermilch«, *kumiss* »leicht alkoholische, gegärte Pferdemilch«) einen herausgehobenen Platz ein. Schließlich reiht er die Benutzung von mehr als 30 Mineral- und chemischen Stoffen auf (S. 44—47). Hierzu gehören: Schwefelpulver, Alaun, Kupfervitriol, Salmiaksalz, Quecksilber, Gold, Silber, Kalkspat, Tropfstein, Seife usw.

Im Kapitel »Alltägliche Physiotherapie« (S. 47—54) geht es um die Darstellung von Bädern, Packungen, Massagen, Schwitzen, Dämpfen und sonstiger Methoden (z. B. die Arbeit der Knochenschmiede).

Obwohl Gumarov überall die für »rationell« gehaltenen Elemente betont, geht er doch auch in zwei Unterkapiteln kurz auf die magischen Verfahren ein: »Heilende Magie« (S. 55—62) und »Vorbeugende Magie« (S. 103—105).

Der Titel »Chirurgischer Eingriff« (S. 62—68) bezieht sich auf das Heilen von Warzen, das Stillen von Blutungen, das Vorantreiben der Vernarbung, die Behandlung von Verletzungen (Frostbeule, Prellung, Verrenkung, Bruch) und dermatologischen Fällen (Furunkel, Vereiterung usw.), das Zahnziehen, die Sterilisierung, das Schröpfen, das Aufsetzen von Blutegeln und nicht auf die Durchführung der Operationen.

Das Unterkapitel »Geburtshilfe« (S. 68—72) stellt die von den Hebammen gespielte Rolle bei der Vorbereitung der Geburt, beim Durchschneiden der Nabelschnur, beim Bad des Neugeborenen und der Mutter und beim Wochenbettsaufenthalt dar.

Das Kapitel »Volkshygiene« teilt sich in folgende wichtigere Teile: »Die Hygiene der Ehe und der Schwangerschaft und der Gesundheitsschutz der Kinder« (S. 73—80); »Wohnungshygiene« (S. 81—85), »Hygiene der Kleidung« (S. 85—87), »Körperpflege« (S. 87—92), »Hygiene der Ernährung« (S. 92—99). In seinen Schlußfolgerungen deutet er auf die Mängel der baschkirischen Volkshygiene hin und schlägt eine Analyse auf naturwissenschaftlichem Niveau vor.

In den weiteren Kapiteln spricht er über die heilkundlichen Bezüge der baschkirischen Folklore (S. 107—125), gibt einen Überblick über die Geschichte des sowjetischen Gesundheitswesens (S. 126—129). Die Tabellen zählen die nach Alphabet geordneten russischen Namen von 99 pflanzlichen, 21 tierischen und 32 mineralischen oder chemischen Stoffen zusammen mit den baschkirischen und lateinischen Namen auf. Das Literaturverzeichnis umfaßt genau 100 Posten.

Zu den unschätzbaren Verdiensten des Buches gehört seine Einmaligkeit, also sein Pioniercharakter. Die Benutzung als Quelle ist jedoch nur mit Kenntnis einiger Fakten empfehlenswert.

Wegen des übertriebenen didaktischen Ziels »verschönert« der Verfasser die Wirklichkeit, d. h. er schreibt nicht das nieder, was heutzutage in Baschkirien in Erfahrung gebracht werden kann, sondern das, worüber er glaubt, daß er es auf Grund ideologischer Gesichtspunkte beweisen muß. Andererseits scheint es, daß er selber weniger Material gesammelt hat. Lieber zitiert er aus der bekannten Literatur oder aus dem gemischten Material der baschkirischen akademischen Filiale.

Obwohl er über irgendwelche Expeditionen spricht, an welchen er teilgenommen hat, ist auf Grundlage des Niedergeschriebenen zu sagen, daß er dabei sehr wenig in Erfahrung gebracht hat. Deshalb datiert er den Gebrauch all dessen, was er aus irgendwelchen Quellen zusammengetragen hat, gewissermaßen wie auf ein Zauberwort auf die Zeit vor der Revolution.

Weitere Einwände:

— aus didaktischem Ziel wertet er jedes Verfahren nach dem heutigen Stand der Wissenschaft (dies wirkt manchmal eher lustig);
— zum Ziehen der Schlußfolgerungen drängt er auch hauptsächlich auf einen »Gesichtspunkt, der dem heutigen Stand der Naturwissenschaften entspricht«;
— seine baschkirischsprachigen Angaben sind ohne Darlegung der Umstände und des Textzusammenhanges herausgerissen (von diesem Gesichtspunkt her bilden die Redewendungen eine Ausnahme, welche er in baschkirischer Literatursprache zitiert, sowie ebenfalls die über die Medikamente gefertigte Tabelle);
— es fehlt auch die notwendige Systematisierung bei der Darstellung der einzelnen Heilverfahren, der Krankheiten und der Anwendung der Medikamente.

All diese Kleinigkeiten verschwinden neben dem Hauptverdienst des Werkes: Gumarov gibt als Erster eine monographische Zusammenfassung über die traditionelle baschkirische Heilkunde. Wir erwarten ungeduldig das in nächster Zukunft erscheinende baschkirisch-rusische medizinische Wörterbuch von Gumarov.

József Torma

HANS ULRICH VOGEL, *Untersuchungen über die Salzgeschichte von Sichuan (311 v. Chr.—1911). Strukturen des Monopols und der Produktion.* Münchener Ostasiatische Studien, Band 51, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1990, (8), 361 p.

This interesting book of modern aspect deals with the history of production, transport, tribute relations, etc. of salt found and produced in the province of imperial times of Ssuch'uan between 311 B.C., when even China is an abstraction, till the end of imperial times in 1911, when the Republic of China was founded, with special respect of the importance of the rarity of salt, tried to provide for official circles and first of all for the capital with the emperor and its court, thus easily contributing to the birth of monopoly at all, their monopolistic structure giving an opportunity to the author to find the data concerned in a written form of the central bureaucracy. By the way, the reader often would be curious to know if sources of private character, memorials and literary writings, etc. could not contain more data, data of a somewhat different character, etc., but first of all the collection of official literacy concerned is to be greeted here, in this important work of economic history of ancient China, for the first time being more economic in its form of expression, tables, figures, and so on, than generally usual, and perhaps formally more modern than the Chinese literacy used to make it possible, hiding more philological problems — not even mentioned here, concentring only on the conclusions — than suspected in the old-documents giving the data of the related salt-history.

The foreword, finishing the work in question, was written in 1990, Heidelberg; the work of the author was sponsored by the Sweizerische Nationalfonds, the time of the research began in 1983, helped by a research trip in T'aiwan. Naturally the scope of the author's interest was beyond the imperial times, — 311 B.C. being earlier than the foundation of imperial China, but

natural possibilities, production circumstances, etc. give an opportunity to the author also to study the antecedents of imperial times, the economy of later times inspected by the bureaucracy to be born in the first centuries after imperial China begun to be regulated both its production and spread, transport and tribute, etc. In pre-imperial times, i.e. in the time of Chou era, in the territory of question the principalities of Shu and Pa were to be found, but the territory in 316 B.C. was conquered by the principality Ch'in, in 221 B.C. founding the imperial power of the First Emperor Ch'in Shih Huang-ti, so the territory of Ssuch'uan represented imperial economy even before imperial times. The author confesses that China for him means but the predecessor territories of modern China — imperial China, Republic of China, and, of course, People's Republic of China —, and this same obligatory simplification is characteristic of the whole summary respect of the data, otherwise decently trying to use the individual data of certain places, in spite of a different character of the historical sources.

The interest of the author does not spread on historical–theoretical problems; the whole patriarchal village economy and bureaucratic–despotic historical power of historical China is characterized by him by the term "paternalistic" but it means through the contrast of politics formulated by him as the possibility of economic activities of "laissez-faire" (p. 6, note 26), and even the historical demage caused to the "germs" of early capitalism or rather trade efforts and results often mentioned by e.g. Étienne Balázs and attributed to its bureaucratic control is to be but read out of the data by the reader than is shown by the rich material of the book in question. "State" is here a form of expression of more than one province, but the central control is by all means decided as a means of monopolization of the whole trade, production, etc. of the salt. Perhaps another history of salt-centre could be also written, should be also formulated by analyzing the role of salt and salt-producing territories in peasant revolts or even connection of wars, civil war relations or even social developments leading as fas as to the Chinese People's Republic, its birth and development, but it is or would be another volume and author.

The title-page of the book is illustrated by a photo of transport of a salt-port, made in 1932, Nanking, showing the final conclusion and interest of history and the author, respectively. The text illustrated with table of statistics, figures, etc. analyzes the term of salt in Chinese literacy, its production in the territory of early and imperial Ssuch'uan as well in the periods 311 B.C. — 758 A.D. (after the re-beginning of life and dynastic power after the An Lu-shan revolt), in 758—1617, and in the period of 1617—1911, era of private trials failing earlier, too, at state dominance, but finally at state control. Then the book shows the salt-relations in Ssuc'huan as concerns its production, circulation and tribute, the related economic and social organizations and relations, the workers connected with them, the conflicts of the workers and organizations concerned, etc., especially rich in the time of the last dynasty. As appendixes we are given analyzes in Fu-jung and Men-t'ou-kou, respectively, the case-studies showing even better the characteristics of the question than real historical sources, especially when quoting the related material from a comparative point of view. Finally, the reader is given a selection of the material (contracts, etc.) from Fu-jung, 1779—1911, as well as statistical tables concerned. We find at the end of the book the quoted literature with the Chinese characters in the Glossar.

Ildikó Ecsedy

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