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K. DÉVÉNYI, I. ECSEDY, P. FODOR, B. PÉRI, GY. WOJTILLA

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ZSIGMOND TELEGDI MEMORIAL VOLUME

EDITED BY
ÉVA M. JEREMIÁS

MAGYAR
TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA
KÖNYVTÁRA



ZSIGMOND TELEGDI

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DEDICATA

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FOREWORD

The contributors to the present volume of *Acta Orientalia* have devoted their studies to the memory of the late Zsigmond Telegdi, who died in March 1994. Our sadness caused by his passing away has been greatly alleviated by the fact that the most prominent representatives of his special field of study, Iranistics, have published their works in this volume. I would like to use this occasion to thank all those who have responded to our invitation for their cooperation.

At the same time another sad event is to be recalled. On 4 to 5 November 1994 professor Jochem Schindler organized a Symposium to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the existence of the Vienna Kommission für Iranistik an der ÖAW. Those of the participants at the conference whose papers concerned the Muslim Iran, offered their studies to be published in the volume dedicated to Zsigmond Telegdi's memory. Soon after the conference, in December 1994 professor Jochem Schindler also died unexpectedly in the prime of his creative life. Thus we are also paying tribute to his professional excellence.

Budapest, June 1995

Éva M. Jeremiás

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus XLVIII (1–2), 9–14 (1995)

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THE 'ORIENTALIST' ESCAPADES OF A CLASSICAL SCHOLAR

ISTVÁN BORZSÁK
(Budapest)

I feel the need to explain how a representative of classical philology, like myself, has got to the symposium convened in commemoration of the linguist and orientalist Zsigmond Telegdi — having been favoured with an invitation by the organizers.

Where can I first chance upon Zsigmond Telegdi's work? In the columns of the 1937 volume of the one-time Universal Philological Review (*Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny*), where the young orientalist revealed the 'general inferiority' of a disputable dissertation (Péter Csepeti's *Egyptian and Hittite historical connections*) in his devastating criticism. A Latin dissertation of a philologist even younger than Telegdi on Plautus' *Mercator* was published in the same volume, where the author took the liberty of tracing down a parody of the ancient novel of romance in the respective Roman comedy.[1] This attempt matches the learned orientalist's debut in as much as its starting point was Károly Kerényi's book on novels, which expressed the author's determination to extend and even transgress the traditional — 'classical' — limits of classical philology already with the way its title was worded: 'Die griechisch-*orientalische* Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung'. What Kerényi, the master consciously stood for already at a young age (in 1927 he was 30 years old) — that it is necessary to adopt a synoptic approach to the Greek and Roman Antiquities and their wider Eastern environment — was arrived at by his pupil 'pedetemptim', at the expense of enormous detours and deviations, initially guided mainly by the sources.

This is how the present author proceeded, for instance, first investigating the character of the Roman *di Indigetes*, then guided by Csokonai's "indiges" counts, then arriving at the two Egyptian gods in Sarastro's aria composed by the Free Mason Mozart ('O Isis und Osiris ...'),[2] and finally identifying, quite unexpectedly, the Alexandrian models of a Cesarean innovation while studying the system of awarding titles (*ornamenta*), a seemingly unimportant Roman

[1] I. Borzsák, Megjegyzések Plautus Mercatorához. *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny* 61 (1937) 212–219.

[2] Zur Indigetes-Frage. *Hermes* 78 (1943) 245–257.

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political institution.[3] In the background not only the preceeding events in the Pharaohs' era, but also the Persian monarchs' similar practices unfolded — however, with a rather moderate degree of consciousness initially.

Soon after the young classical scholar got the chance of roaming about in distant Eastern areas, farther away than at his desk: he found himself in a remote countryside — though somewhat further up to the north: beyond the Urals. It was while doing some reading in Russian that I hit upon a Volga-side tale motif, whose investigation made the presence of the Osiris myth in Southern Russia probable.[4] I gave an outline of the emergence of the Christophorus legend even farther away, in paleo-Siberian, in my study entitled 'The Koryak Christophorus'.[5] In the meantime I continued to be kept in a suspense by the huge bulk of the dying (ḥsj = ἐσιῆς, i.e. 'drowning') and rising Egyptian god made me carry on my investigations. This is how I came to treat the topic 'Augustus and the baptism'[6] and an even bolder one, 'Caesar's burial and the Christian Passion'[7] in continuation of my attempt 'Aquis submersus'[8], the title of which I took from T. Storm. I leave it to the experts to judge if these postulates are well-founded.

So much about myself as an Egyptologist.

How H. Humbach, the Mainz *guru* of Eastern Linguistics received me spectacularly into the guild of Iranists is a different story.[9] My paper 'The 16th century picture of the Antiquity', which was written under rather adversed conditions, grew out of my investigations into Horace's after-life in Hungary. In that the idea of Old Persian great kings held in the Biblical centuries required a separate chapter.[10] In this idea the ancient Greek and Roman historiographic tradition formed a peculiar mix with that of the Jewry, which suffered (and survived) captivity in Babylon, and with that of the Christendom, which canonized the reflection of it all in the Old Testament. As it is known, Nabû-kudurrī-uṣur II (the Nabuchadnezzar of the Bible), king of the Chaldaean Empire of Babylon, deported a great many captives from Jerusalem, which was destroyed in 586. Less than half a century later the Persian Cyrus conquered Babylon as well, after defeating Media and Lydia. In his cuneiform proclamation he cited Marduk, 'the great king, king of god' who found a just king to hold his hand at the New Year ceremony. As indicated on the Cyrus' cylinder, Marduk, the defender of the Babylon's population, appreciated Cyrus' 'pious deeds and true hart' and made way for him to enter Babylon. Cyrus called himself 'king of all four directions',

[3] Ornamenta. In: *PWRE*, Halbband 37, 1939, 1110–1122.

[4] Volgai Osiris-mythos. *Antiquitas Hung.* 3 (1949) 111–120.

[5] The Koryak Christophorus. *Folia Ethnogr.* 1 (1949) 223–228.

[6] Augustus és a keresztség. Előadás a Budapesti Philologiai Társaságban (1948, kéziratban).

[7] Caesars Funeralien und die christliche Passion. *Acta Antiqua Hung.* 10 (1962) 23–31.

[8] Aquis submersus. *Acta Antiqua Hung.* 1 (1952–53) 201–222.

[9] H. Humbach, Herrscher, Gott und Gottessohn in Iran. In: *Menschwerdung Gottes — Vergöttlichung von Menschen.* Ed. by D. Zeller. Freiburg Schw. — Göttingen 1988, 89.

[10] *Az antikvitás XVI. századi képe.* Budapest 1960. (Summary: Das Bild der Antike im XVI. Jahrhundert.) 379 skk.

whose reign was supported by both Bēl and Nabū. He, in return, saw daily to Marduk being paid adoration to, as described on the clay cylinder.

He proceeded towards the West in the spirit of this expressly tolerant policy from a religious point of view, but his plan to conquer Egypt could be implemented only by his son, Kambyses. This is why he allowed right in 538 the remaining Jews, who had been deported to Babylon, to return. This act was commemorated by the grateful Jewry in the Second Book of Kings in the following way: "Now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, so that the word be of the LORD spoken through Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the LORD stirred up the heart of Cyrus king of Persia; and he issued a proclamation throughout his kingdom, both by word of mouth and in writing, to this effect: This is the word of Cyrus king of Persia: The LORD ... has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he himself has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem [in Judah]. To every man of his people now among you I say, the LORD his God be with him, and let him go up (2 Chronicles 22–23) ... to Jerusalem in Judah, and rebuild the house of the LORD the God of Israel, the God whose city is Jerusalem (Ezra 4)."[11] In the Book of Ezra, the charismatic reorganizer of the Jewry, who is honoured in the similar way as Moses, the same words can be read, from around 300, with arbitrarily chosen names and data.

This arbitrariness holds even more fore the Book of Daniel, whose presentation of 'history' was instilled by the ideas of the compilers of the Bible living in the Hellenistic period of their own past and their connections with the Chaldaean, Persian, Greco-Macedonian and the Roman conquerors. This picture continued to influence everybody who had anything to do with the Antiquity for almost two thousand years. This explains why Nebuchadnezzar lived in the Bible-oriented public thinking in the way he was described in the Book of Daniel as a peculiar reflection of the fight of the Jewish people in the era of the Maccabees, in the form of retrospective (*ex eventu*) prophecies. This is how Cyrus' figure was transformed into a fabulously superior monarch in the thinking of the generations to come. Xenophone's Κυρουπαιδεία is a typical example, where the Athenian writer, who had little sympathy for democracy, transformed the legend attached to Cyrus' name into a laudation of Spartan principles planted in a Persian environment and celebrated the Persian king as a person putting *his* political ideas into practice. (Already Aischylos praised his dead rival, Dareios as an ideal king and law-maker.) Subsequent tradition led these threads further as required by the standards of the romantic historiography on the one hand, and on the other, it put him on a pedestal with no chance of him to be attacked, by canonizing the gratefullness of the Jewish people. Isaiah's words forestalled all criticism as the "pastor of the Lord" (i.e. Cyrus) fulfilled his wish when rebuilding the Temple in Jerusalem.

Even Melanchthon passed down this general view, when he taught as matter of course that Cyrus was informed by Daniel, his governor in Susa about

[11] *The New English Bible with the Apocrypha.* Penguin Books, Oxford University Press. 1974, 519–520.

the true faith and Isaiah's prophecies.[12] The Praeceptor did not hide the sad end to the king's life described by Herodotos but to justify the idea he held that Cyrus was 'member of the church, and consequently had the privilege of eternal life' (*verae ecclesiae membrum ac heres vitae aeternae*), yet died such an infamous death, he recalled Joshia who kept waging wars unnecessarily: so Cyrus was thought to be either an example of human weakness or 'to have chosen to bear the cross by divine dispensation'. His appraisement ends in a romantic variety of Κυρουπαιδεία: The Great King passed out silently; before his death he instructed his sons to seek agreement and justice and finally he spoke to those present about the immortality of the spirit — just as Socrates in Phaidon (cf. Cicero, Cato m. 22, 79–81).

Elsewhere we have already dealt with the Christian reinterpretation of the figure of the "mad" Kambyses[13]: the story of the judge passing the wrong judgement being flayed was favourably handled even in the legends of our first king, St. Stephen. We later gave a detailed analysis of the metamorphoses of the clearly negative Xerxes portrait: the story of the Abydos parade of the Great King, who burst into tears saddened by the shortness of human life ranging from a description by Herodotos to Hieronymus' lucubrations and the obituary of Gábor Bethlen's first wife. Another example I discussed was how the story of Xerxes'siesta in Asia Maior was distorted into a grotesque love story by the erotic writers of subsequent periods, getting as far ahead in time as the ideas of film director Fellini.[14]

We have already touched upon the confabulations of the endless traditions of Alexander the Great, which served the propaganda purposes of the Hellenistic Jewry, proceeding to a description of their Christian-motivated interpolations in our monograph on Bornemisza (1960). However, a comprehensive treatment of this large topic was to be completed later.

The stimulation I was exposed to to broaden the scale of my 'orientalist' escapades came from a rather unexpected experience I had as a researcher: the fad overpowering the scholarly activities of the immediate past, which came to verge on *pan-manierism* did not fail to exercise some influence on the researches of the Roman literature either, and there were some who discovered Manierist traits even in Tacitus.[15] Following the initiatives of international Manierism (cf. Curtius, Hauser, Hocke)[16] the doubtful concept of Manierism was applied to ancient phenomena. (For example, out of Hocke's "Manierist periods" the first two would have been "Alexandria" and the Roman "Silver Age".) When examining

[12] *Corpus Ref.* XII 779 sqq.

[13] Die antiken Bezüge einiger Exempla von Pelbárt Temesvári. *Acta Litt. Hung.* 15 (1973) 347–363.

[14] Der weinende Xerxes. Zur Geschichte seines Ruhmes. *Eos* 56 (1966) 39–52; Die Achämeniden in der späteren Überlieferung. *Acta Antiqua Hung.* 19 (1971) 41–37.

[15] E. Burck, *Vom römischen Manierismus.* Darmstadt 1971.

[16] G. R. Hocke, *Die Welt als Labyrinth. Manier und Manie in der europäischen Kunst.* Rowohlts Deutsche Encykl. Heft 50/51. Hamburg 1951; A. Hauser, *Der Manierismus.* München 1963; E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter.* Bern 1948.

two options of "formal Manierism", a play on *acro-* (*tele-* and *meso-*) *stic* poems, and poems of figures (*carmina figurata, paignia*), phenomena at a considerable distance from the ancient times both in time and space tended to attract attention.[17] After citing the machinations of Optatianus Porfyrius of the Constantine era, their imitators in the Middle Ages and the French "winged" poems representing 16th century "Hellenism" (Mellin de Saint Gelais) for example, Curtius also made mention of the fantastic poems of figures, which prevailed long in Persian poetry, and instead of giving explanation he raised the question: "Hellenistisches Erbe?"

In the book entitled "Manierism" Tibor Klaniczay[18] dwelt on George Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), where the author aimed at popularizing in the West the inventive poetic achievement he came across with in the courts of "Chinese emperors and Tartarian princes": the poems composed in geometrical figures, "these rabid manifestations of Manierism". Well, if the reader of today feels Optatianus Porfyrius' "esoterische Kombinationskunst" (Hocke) makes his head swim, he should beware of the similar products of the Eastern poetry or the exaggerated formal manoevring they exhibit, where J. E. Bert'els, a distinguished scholar of the Timuride period, qualified the complete elimination of the messages of any kind "the suicide of literature".[19] The connection between the Manierism*s* in both in the East and the West can hardly be disputed; the only question is, whether we should consider the Greeks as the *originators,* as Curtius did, in the process of Hellenism, or the opposite party. There is more and more to be said for them to have been *recipients* as well, drawing extensively on Eastern sources. Staying within the domains mentioned, let me recall, for example the Eastern origin of the acrostic, which can be demonstrated, or the Persian and other equivalents of the paignions. It is also proper to cite E. Norden's comments on "a certain ancient type elevated style" here (Agnostos theos), which suggest that the "Babylon – Jewry – gnosis – Gospel" line has been proved to have continued in the Islam. It is worth remembering the spreading of Eastern titles in the Roman Empire trough Hellenistic and Alexandrian mediation; Viktor Julow's discovery, the Nippur origin of the Ludas Matyi motif[20]; the thriving of the Assyrian dream-book even in our times or the arguments supporting the Anatolian origin of the word and genre "tragoedia" and a newly added item, "ἴαμβος". In my earlier work I finished my train of thoughts with a rather unorthodox suggestion: perhaps parallels could be found to the obligations of Babylonian Kings to build canals (the subject of their continual boasting), part of the ancient Eastern "Royal Code", in some later

[17] István Borzsák, Tacitus, ein Manierist? *Actes de la XIIe Conférence internat. d'Études Class.* Bucureşti–Amsterdam 1975. (Abstract); Tacitus — ein Manierist? In: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt,* II. Teil, Bd. 33/4. Ed. by W. Haase. Berlin–New York 1991, 2581–2596.

[18] *A manierizmus.* Ed. Klaniczay Tibor. Budapest 1975, 108.

[19] J. E. Bert'els, *Navoi.* Moskva–Leningrad 1948, 41.

[20] Viktor Julow, Ludas Matyi. In: *Acta Classica Debrecen.* 6 (1970) 78.

periods, in Islamic countries:[21] This idea followed in the wake of the quotation of 16th century examples of the traditional picture of Darius and Xerxes and the discussion of the historiography of the Xerxean failures of the feeble successor succeeding the Great Soliman. What could be demonstrated with a single example of the Tarikh of Rückert and Pertsch's Persian poetics *then*, 20 years ago ("Hügel hat man durchgraben, um dem Fluss einen Lauf zu geben; der Arm jedes Berggräbers habe die Stärke Ferhads"), led to the exploration of further connections, while I was tracing down the story of the "mountain-cutter" (Kūhkan) hero and the sweet Shirin.

I cannot aim here at expounding the results of our investigations "From the Garden of Semiramis to the Csörsz Valley"[22], not even in a nutshell, our investigations into the Babylonian kings represented with earth carrier baskets on their heads, through the political gestures of Cyrus, Alexander the Great, Caesar or Nero, to the diversion of a river by the legendary Semiramis (her milk or wine canals) or the romantic Ferhad and Shirin story. Let me just refer to the "handsome" Arā of the Ninos romance (and that of the old Armenian tradition), who failed to return Šamiram, Queen of Assyria's love and had to die as a consequence, only to rise again from the dead — a person identical with Ēr, Son of Armenios we know only too well from Plato's Politeia (X 614 b). Ktesias recorded the originally Assyrian version of the myth, which came to be ingrained in the Median-Persian tradition later, in the early 4th century. By that time the myth itself had already spread in the whole of Asia Minor and elsewhere and the person who gave their name to the numerous "maiden's castles" (Qizqalʿat) along the Persian-Turkish border zone (Koré of the Ninos-romance) is actually a faded image of the great builder, queen of the Ancient East, whose figure still survives in the mind of the Muslim population of these areas. While investigating the development of the Csörsz myth in Hungary, we have perhaps succeeded in bringing up some arguments for the likelihood of the old Babylonian tradition surviving in Muslim countries through the mediation of the Persian Empire, and later, the Hellenistic empires. In this process Armenia probably plays a key role.

My paper "Semiramis in Central Asia"[23] described that although the Chaldaean Bérósos used to criticise the Greek authors' "lies", the Semiramis myth, which had been absorbing more and more adventurous elements, was never to return to the world of historical truth, especially not after Alexander the Great's conquests world-wide, when people were no longer able to distinguish between reality and mystical hopes or phantasies. Perchance they did not even have the intention to do so. The successive conquerors used Semiramis' elusive figure for their own purposes according to their interests in assuming power: this is how

21 Von Semiramis bis Hannibal. *Eirene* 20 (1983) 43–51; Die Punica des Silius Italicus und die Alexander-Überlieferung. In: *Romanitas — Christianitas*. Ed. by G. Wirth. Berlin–New York 1982, 164–174.

22 Semiramis kertjeitől a Csörsz árkáig. *MTA I OK* 30 (1978) 427–443.

23 Semiramis in Zentral-Asien. *Acta Antiqua Hung.* 24 (1976) 51–62.

the Persian conquests were presented as rightful acts, even ones dictated by a feeling of responsibility. After all, the Great King followed in the wake of Semiramis, who ruled over the whole of Asia.

The same is repeated in the historiography of the Macedonian conquest: the new κοσμοκράτωρ did not simply "imitate" his divine models, Heracles and Dionysos, but was to follow the example of the Persian Great King embodied in Cyrus and that of the mystic Semiramis every now and then.

Rather than stay on this general level, we should get involved in giving explanations to a locus, which we might have read thousands of times but are still unable to interpret. This opened up a further perspective to research.

What I am thinking of is Ramses II's mysterious inscription of victory quoted in Tacitus' Annales (II 60), whose statements never came to be brought into correlation with the hieroglyphic records that have come down to us ever since Champollion's discovery. In the context of Germanicus' trip to Egypt Pierre Montet[24] pointed out this trait of the Egyptian way of influencing the public that foreign peoples were presented as nations obliged to pay taxes, even if they maintained only diplomatic or commercial ties with the Pharaoh. Tacitus' paraphrase (*inde ..., hinc ... imperio tenuisse*) may hold for Lybia, Ethiopia and certain areas of Syria at most, but the conquest of the Medes, Persians, Bactria and Scythia was not an issue at all. As a matter of fact the *idea* or wish we are confronted with is that an unidentifiable Pharaoh called Sesóstris (Sesoósis, Sesonchósis...) conquered not only the distant East *years ago*, but also the Scythians, and much of Europe after subjugating Asia-Minor. Already Herodotos' work (II 102) unfolds a land of romance when it summarizes *several* Egyptian conquerors' acts of conquest. It says that the Memphis clerics (II 110) did not allow even Dareios to put up his statue in front of Sesóstris' monuments, as his deeds came nowhere near those of the Egyptian pharaoh: besides the peoples subdued by Dareios Sesóstris defeated even the Scythians. In the era of the Persian rule the Egyptian clerics used the Great King's boastful list of victories for a further extension of the legendary pharaoh's list of conquest. In their view even Alexander the Great was a decadent imitator of the pharaohs of old times. The case of the Macedonian king also comes under this category, whose descent absorbed some fabulous elements ("Nektanebós' fraudulence"), as well as the earlier fictitious story that Kambyses was born to their Apriés' daughter (III 2), which is to say that the descent could be legalized from an Egyptian point of view. That is how the interpreter of the hieroglyphic report on the Qadesh battle could declare the peoples of the coalition Ramses II was going to attack already subjugated without the slightest element of hesitation.

Already years ago I interpreted the Egyptian pretence that the legendary conqueror proceeded far ahead with his triumphal march in the West as well as in the East as part of the Sesóstris tradition. What I have in mind is the illuminating Lucanus' lines (X 276), where the Egyptian high priest, who was clarifying

[24] Germanicus et le vieillard de Thebes. *Publications de la Fac. des Lettres de Strasbourg*, fasc. 106 (Mélanges 1945); *Études historiques*. Paris 1947, 47.

his views to Caesar, made Sesóstris subjugate the distant West, and made him drink out of the water of the rivers Rhône and Po instead of the headwaters of the Nile. At the time when made my contribution relevant to this subject, in 1976, I was only in the position to allude to the possibility that the drafters of the Egyptian imperial ideology expropriated even the *Italian* achievements of the Carthaginian expansion, but subsequently I came to recognize that what it really was, was an attempt to express Alexandrian pretensions associated with Carthage's Hellenization *before* the emergence of the Alexandrian ideology reflected in the Roman Scipio "novel".

My mistaken reputation as an honorary 'orientalist' is probably mainly due to the studies I conducted in Alexander the Great's historiography.[25] I was launched to carry out investigations by an ever-inereasing number of stimulations I was exposed to as a researcher. I would find it hard to set up an order of importance or any chronology. What surely played a part in motivating me were my attempts to explore Tacitus' forerunners, *in concreto*, my repeated investigations into Livius, Curtius Rufus, Iustinus and the Alexandrian vulgata, my interest in Hellenistic historiography, the Eastern aspects of the research into Manierism, the Semiramis–Cyrus–Xerxes complex and last but not least, the perspectives that opened up while I was preparing for Gyula Ortutay's conference on tales[26]: a gradually deepening recognition of the Iranian χᵛarənah-idea.[27] The novel way of interpreting the Perdikkas story, which can be read in Herodotos, went together with the inclusion of a variety of forms of the χᵛarənah. Most instructively so, in the romantic Alexandrian tradition.

Finally I was able to view several details of the story, which had previously been considered ununderstandable and even nonsensical, in unity with the Iranian approach and became aware of the cultivation of the subject not only in the Eastern (Parthian, Pontic), but also in the *Roman* medium.[28] A systematic identification of iunctures, the expressions and romantic motifs with their repeated occurrence (the mountain-cutter hero with his pickaxe, the 'horticulturist' king of the Middle East, the worship of God the Son, the improbable military achievements, the 'miracles', led me to recognize interdependences I had never guessed before from Hispania to Central Asia (e.g. to the legendary birth of Genghis Khan) and the fabulous elements of the Alexandrian tradition proved to have realistic foundations in a thoroughly unexpected context, e.g. in a detail of Rogerius' *Carmen miserabile*, which describes the Mongolian equestrian tactics. Some turns in the Alexandrian myth (e.g. accepting exposure to the dangers *worthy of* a king) even helped me to understand the phraseology of the poetry of the Silver Age (Lucanus, Statius, etc.), not to speak of the Hellenistic

[25] A Nagy Sándor-hagyomány Magyarországon. Akadémiai székfoglaló. Budapest 1984.

[26] Népmese? Királytörténet? Rituális dráma? *MTA I OK* 33 (1982) 103–110.

[27] Vom zentralasiatischen xvarenah bis Attilas Bestattung. *Acta Antiqua Hung.* 31 (1985–88) 35–42; Innoxia flamma. Listy filologické (Praga) 106 (1983) 33.

[28] Zentralasiatische Elemente in dem Alexanderroman. *Acta Antiqua Hung.* 28 (1980) 85; Persertum und griechisch-römische Antike. Zur Ausgestaltung des klassischen Tyrannenbildes. *Gymnasium* 94 (1987) 289–297.

constituents of Tacitus' historiographic art. It is a surprising and novel element that these requisites, which are inseparable from the Eastern traditions, and mainly from the figure of Alexander the Great, were applied in the West not only in a Hellenistic Greek environment, but also, for the first time, in a Carthaginian environment, most conspicuously to Hannibal's person and deeds. According to a verifiable historiographic tradition he was the one who cut his way through the ridges of the Alps as an incarnation of Heracles or the Eastern Kuh-kan hero. Later, as a successor of Semiramis, he built castles in the Caucasus and as an accomplisher of the romantic Alexandrian fiction, he had the columns of Juno Lacinia's shrine drilled to ensure if they were made of pure gold before being 'dragged out' of Italy. The pure gold motif was handed down the Medieval Hungarian chronicles as well.

With respect to the inexhaustibility of the Alexandrian tradition I feel the need to document my activities as an 'orientalist' in another area, as well, for instance in my interpretations of Horace.[29] Let me mention three examples: quite surprisingly, one hits upon an abundance of Eastern motifs in the *closing* poems of the first corpus of odes (i.e. in a conspicuous place): at the end of Book One I tried to demonstrate the *human* antithesis of the recurrent version of the image of the Eastern King (a despot having a drink in the shade of a bower of vine or a palm-tree); referring to the ἀποκύκνωσις of Book Two I called the attention to the Far Eastern equivalents of Socrates' figure, who departed in the form of a swan, raising the possibility that the correspondence might be attributed to the Persian visitors to Plato's Academy. In the resounding *Exegi monumentum* ... I discussed the tangibility of the Capitolian rock, which is higher and less likely to perish than the monumental Egyptian pyramids.

And — just to mention another adventure of mine, where I have even more reason to disclaim competence — I recalled the 'migration' of the love-sicken Stratonike motif from Hippocrates and Galenus to János Arany's 'Ordeal of the Bier' (*Tetemrehívás*) when paying tribute to the millenery of Avicenna.[30]

But finally I can also refer to my more authentic studies on Tacitus[31]: it is a finding whose value is hardly to be disputed that several requisites of the romantic and dramatic Hellenistic historiography have been identified and published among the documents demonstrating the incredible erudition of the Great Lonesome Historian, from Germanicus' Alexandrian whims through the Semiramis-like junior Agrippina's incest attempt to Poppaea's cruel death. In the meantime light was thrown upon the Eastern, mainly Persian models of the classical stereotype of a tyrant's portrait. Among my latest findings let me mention just one: I have recently pointed out the occurrence of the Ninos-romance in the de-

[29] Horatius-interpretációk: C. I 38 (Persicos odi ...). *Živa Antika* 25 (1975) 76–87; C. II 20 (Non usitata ...). *Acta Classica Debrecen.* 13 (1977) 33–40; C. III 30 (Exegi monumentum ...). *Acta Antiqua Hung.* 12 (1964) 137–147.

[30] Avicennas Qānūn im westlichen Ärztekanon. *Acta Antiqua Hung.* 29 (1981) 65–72.

[31] Alexander der Große als Muster taciteischer Heldendarstellung. *Gymnasium* 89 (1982) 37–56; Zu Tacitus' hellenistisch-orientalischen Beziehungen. *Acta Antiqua Hung.* 31 (1985–88) 27–34.

scription of the complicated course of events in the East in Tacitus' Annales: the function of the romantic Radamistus-Zenobia story as an *antithesis* to the Agrippinas and Poppaeas.[32]

We have now turned back to our starting-point: the presentation of proofs to back up Kerényi's idea of a 'griechisch-*orientalische* Romanliteratur'. Károly Kerényi himself was not member of the orientalists' clan, but the Antiquities of the East are inseparable from his comprehensive picture of Ancient Greek and Roman culture. If, as his pupil, I managed to demonstrate decades later that whatever starting point it may set off from, classical philology cannot do without including the phenomena of the Ancient East in its sphere of investigations, I feel my digressions were not in vain. However I do not think it needs to be emphasized that the same holds *vice versa* as well.

[32] Rückschau eines Taciteers. *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 37. Berlin–Heidelberg–New Yor 1993. 117–126.

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THE ABSORPTION OF THE FRAVAŠIS INTO ZOROASTRIANISM

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A solid case has been made out in recent decades for regarding the Avestan liturgical text, the *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti,* as having been, like the *Gāthās*, composed by Zoroaster himself.[1] This case rests on three sets of criteria. There is the philological evidence, with closeness in vocabulary, idiom and grammar between the language of the *YHapt.* and that of the *Gāthās,* the few small differences being explicable, it is maintained, by the fact that the *Gāthās* are intricate poetic works, while the *YHapt.* is embodied in stately formal prose. Then there is that of content, with doctrine and ethics, ritual and social allusions being in harmony, although with differences in emphasis which again appear to arise from the different character and purpose of the two works. Finally there is the similarity of their transmission, since during the four hundred years or so which make up the early Zoroastrian period[2] only these two compositions, together with the two short holy manthras (*Yaθā ahū vairyō* and *Airyəmā išyō*), were strictly memorized, remaining thus preserved in the archaic stage of the Avestan language which was spoken by the prophet. All other religious texts, being less revered, evolved linguistically in the usual way in a more fluid oral transmission, part memorized, part composed afresh by each generation of priests, so that they exist in Young Avestan. The whole small group of Old Avestan texts, recited at the heart of the daily act of worship, the *yasna,* was profoundly reverenced, and *YHapt.*, which is cited as an authority no less often than the *Gāthās*, provided the model for later and longer liturgical compositions.

Although the *YHapt.* is a short text, the attribution of its forty "verses" to Zoroaster plainly greatly increases the materials available for the study of his teachings and of his role as priest. Thus, for example, it is thereby established that the characteristic Zoroastrian terms of *yazata* and *aməša spənta* were used by him himself. It also appears at first sight that he explicitly venerated the

[1] See I. Gershevitch, Old Iranian literature, *Handbuch der Orientalistik* IV. 2.1, Leiden 1968, 1–30 at 18; J. Narten, *Der Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*, Wiesbaden 1986, 20–37; M. Boyce, *Zoroastrianism: its antiquity and constant vigour*, Costa Mesa 1992, 87–94. Contra, J. Kellens, *Zoroastre et l'Avesta ancien*, Paris 1991, 66–7, cf. 17–8.

[2] See, notably, T. Burrow, The Proto-Indoaryans, JRAS (1973) 123–40 at 138; J. Kellens, Quatres siècles obscurs. In: *Transition Periods in Iranian History. Studia Iranica*, Cahier 5, 1987, 135–9 at 135–6.

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fravašis, enjoining thus their worship on his followers; but the solitary lines devoted to these beings (in *Y.*37.3) create in their context a "formidable grammatical difficulty"[3], and lack any congruence with the rest of the passage in which they occur;[4] and from this it has been deduced that they represent an interpolation.[5] Since this interpolation consists of a standard formula for venerating the fravašis, lightly archaized by lengthening final vowels (*ašāunąm frauuašīs narąmcā nairinąmcā yazamaidē* "We worship the fravašis of the just, of men and of women"), it could have been made at almost any time; but, whenever it was done, to introduce new words into this most holy text must have been an act of almost sacrilegious boldness, which to be effective, that is, to have gained acceptance, would have needed very powerful support. Since the cult of the fravašis has been of enormous importance in Zoroastrianism from "Young Avestan" times onwards, this is clearly one of the significant matters brought into new focus by assigning *YHapt.* to Zoroaster; and the present article is an attempt to investigate it afresh in this new perspective.

The point to start from is plainly the concept of the fravašis, for which the chief source is their Avestan hymn, *Yašt* 13. It seems unlikely that there will ever be unanimity about the etymology of the term fravaši (made problematic by the variety of verbal roots *var* from which it might be derived); but a fair measure of agreement has been reached as to its use in Young Avestan, namely for the spirit of a valiant and mighty warrior, which because of his famous feats had attained a happier lot after death than the souls, urvans, of ordinary people;[6] for whereas the latter went by dark paths down to the underworld kingdom of the dead, the fravašis inhabited the upper air, and could, if duly venerated, swoop like birds to aid their living kinsmen, fighting invisibly beside them in battle. They would even contend with other fravašis to procure for their descendants each year the life-giving rainwater for their cattle and crops. The concept of the heroic protector spirit thus blended with that of the guardian ancestor spirit, solicitous for the welfare of his family;[7] and since there is a strong element of

[3] J. Kellens, Les fravaši, in *Homo Religiosus*, 14, *Anges et Démons, Actes du Colloque de Liège et Louvain-la-Neuve* 1987, pub. Louvain-la-Neuve 1989, 99–114 at 101.

[4] For an attempt nevertheless to justify the grammatical construction see Narten, op. cit., 80–2, and Kellens, art. cit., 101–4.

[5] Boyce, op. cit., 91–2.

[6] See notably H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books*, Oxford 1943, repr. 1971, 109 (although against an etymological link of the word with Mid. Persian *gurt* "hero" see Narten, Avestisch frauuaši. *IIJ* 28 (1985) 35–48 at 36); B. Schlerath, Indo-iranisch **var* 'wählen'. *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 5/6 (1980) 199–208.

[7] This led G. Gnoli, Le 'Fravaši' et l'immortalità. In: *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, Cambridge–Paris 1986, 339–47, to argue for a double origin of the concept, in a hero and an ancestor cult. Cf. J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta*, II, Paris 1893, repr. 1960, 503, who saw it as having developed from an ancestor cult through "un travail de spéculation et de spécialisation". J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London 1913, repr. 1972, 270–2, also considered the fravašis to be originally ancestor spirits, whose essential concern he saw as the conceiving of sons (*Yt.* 13:11, 15), so that their line might continue. (Previously N. S. Söderblom, Les fravašis. *RHR* 39

ancestor worship in the Iranian cult of souls, it is likely that the rites for fravaši and urvan were in part shared or duplicated already in pre-Zoroastrian times.

In any such interconnection the cult of the fravašis would have been the borrower, for that of departed souls, represented in Vedic religion by that of the "fathers", the *pitaras*, was immensely old, going back, it is safe to assume, through proto-Indo-Iranian to proto-Indo-European times. That of the fravašis, in contrast, is unique to the Iranians;[8] and this is readily explicable if the veneration of heroic warrior-spirits developed during the Iranian Heroic Age — a phenomenon of the second millennium B.C., occurring, that is, long after the Iranians and Indo-Aryans had become separate peoples.

Heroic Ages, for all their valour and memorable deeds, are essentially times of violent lawlessness, evolving when there is no central power to check the individual pursuit of glory and gain; and on the evidence of the *Gāthās* Zoroaster himself lived when such conditions prevailed in his own land, causing much suffering and loss to his people. Through his words one can see accordingly another aspect of a Heroic Age, with the warriors (when they attacked peaceful settlements) appearing as wolfish predators rather than as brave, high-spirited men, careless of their own lives in the search for adventure.

It is difficult, therefore, to conceive of Zoroaster countenancing veneration of the fravašis. With the cult of the urvan matters were clearly more complex. The prophet maintained much that was good, or ethically neutral, in his ancestral faith, and it would probably have been hard for him to abandon the ancient and seemly reverence for the spirits of his forefathers, or to require his followers to do so. Yet his theology shows him to have been possessed of remarkable logical clarity; and his new teaching of judgment at death, with the souls of the good assigned to paradise, those of the "mixed ones" to a limbo, and those of the wicked to what was now a hell of torment down below, left no place for a cult of the departed, with offerings of food and clothing to cherish them. The souls in paradise lacked nothing, those in hell and in limbo deserved nothing, and all should remain where they had been sent until the Last Judgment.

It is likely, moreover, that the question of maintaining rites for the urvan did not present itself to the prophet as an important problem, but rather as one on the point of resolving itself; for it is accepted as probable that in the beginning he hoped himself to see the end of time, hastened on by his passionate preaching of Ahura Mazdā's word; and that, when it became plain that this was not to be, he still looked for it to come about soon after he himself had "crossed the Činvat Bridge".[9] His thoughts were forward-looking, whereas the cult of the urvan

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(1899) 229–60, 373–418, defined their concept as essentially that of spirits of the dead; but this left it difficult to find a distinction between fravaši and urvan.)

[8] Against the attempt by G. Dumézil, Víṣṇu et les Mārut à travers la réforme zoroastrienne. *JA* (1953) 1–25, to identify the fravašis as counterparts of the Indian Māruts see W. W. Malandra, *The Fravaši Yašt*, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1971.

[9] *Y.* 46:10.

looked backward to those who had gone, and can surely have had little place in his meditations.

Yet even if, inspired by his presence and his teaching, his first followers neglected the soul rites, it is plain that after his death and as his community spread, these came to be once more generally observed; for they still met, although now illogically, a deep-felt human need. But what of the cult of the fravašis? On the hypothesis adopted here, this cult, although relatively new, had probably existed for some two hundred years or more (that is, some seven generations) before Zoroaster lived,[10] which meant, as far as individuals were concerned, since the memory of man ran not to the contrary. It would therefore have been firmly rooted, and was presumably particularly cherished in influential families, those which had prospered through the heroic banditry of their forbears. Moreover, there were clearly "good" as well as ruffianly heroes. It is not known if Zoroaster himself lived to see the defence of his faith against Arəjaṯ.aspa,[11] but, according to tradition, the young religion survived only through the courage and prowess of Vištaspa's kinsmen and followers, whose deeds were celebrated fully in the heroic vein.

The fravaši cult is unlikely, however, even so, to have gained such solid, general support as belonged naturally to that of the urvan; and the evidence suggests that its adherents had a serious struggle to have it recognized by religious authorities as compatible with Zoroaster's teachings. For one thing, how could these roving, amoral spirits of the air fit into a system which assigned the departed soul to a fixed place according to its precisely judged deserts? *Yašt* 13 shows that the fravašis' adherents dealt with this problem in ways which, although irreconcilable with one another, nevertheless proved highly effective. On the one hand, they used what must have been powerful influence to identify the fravaši cult wholly with the presumably more acceptable one of the urvan, annexing for it the great annual feast of Hamaspathmaēdaya, the Iranian festival of All Souls, so that it was not the urvans which were then invoked, but the fravašis, for whom in its later, extended form it was renamed *Rōzān Fravardīgān*, the "Days of the Fravašis" (shortened to Fravardīgān/Frōrdīgan). Since this feast was kept by every family, the veneration of the fravašis thus gained universal acceptance, but at the cost of the fravaši taking over not only the place but also the character of the urvan, and so being seen on this and other memorial occasions as dependent on the goodwill of the relatives to which it then returned, and anxious for their welcome and offerings.

On the other hand, worshippers of the fravašis also sought to gain veneration for them among the orthodox by a quite different route, that of claiming immense power for them collectively as a group of mighty beings who are on a

[10] On the assumption, that is, that the Iranian Heroic Age developed from about 1400 B.C., and that the prophet lived about 1200 B.C.

[11] On the general unreliability of later traditions in this respect see Boyce, op. cit. in n.1, 10 ff. Even if, as seems probable (ib., 83), Zoroaster did in fact live to be old, Vištaspa may have been a considerably younger man.

plane with the yazatas. The implication of this was naturally that they too were therefore worthy of worship, and that their veneration, no less than that of yazatas, would secure powerful protection and benefactions for those who offered it.

Both these strands in the developed concept of the fravašis — identity with the urvan and exaltation to the level of yazatas — are found in Zoroastrian belief as it is known from Young Avestan and later texts, from observances, and from the living tradition. In their *yašt* there is also a third element, in that they are celebrated there in a number of verses in warlike terms; and it is these verses which presumably continue the original tradition of praise for the fravašis as heroic warrior spirits. This tradition is represented also in their fixed epithets, used in a formula of invocation recurring throughout the *yašt*: "mighty, wholly victorious" *(uγra-, aiβiθūra-)*. The second of these is otherwise given only to Mithra, yazata of war, in combination again with *uγra-*.[12]

Of these elements in their concept the one most readily isolated in *Yt.* 13 is that of the fravaši as urvan, for this is strikingly celebrated in two different parts of the *yašt*. One is the short section or *karda* consisting of vv. 49–52. Here the fravašis are identified as those who fly *(āuuaiia-)* towards their (former) abodes at the time of Hamaspathmaēdaya, seeking to be praised by name and to receive offerings of meat and clothing, in return for which they will bless their worshippers. These verses were presumably adapted from ones recited originally for urvans at Hamaspathmaēdaya; and the *karda* has retained a separate identity, being known to priests from its opening words as the *yå̊ visāδa*. It forms the variable section of the text of a number of *Āfrīnagāns*, and typically of the *Āfrīnagān* of Ardā Fravaš ("Fravašis of the Just"), which is one of the most frequently celebrated of all "outer" services. The identity of the fravaši as urvan is thus constantly reinforced.

The other part of *Yt.* 13 where the fravaši is identified as the urvan is the muster by name of souls of the righteous dead (vv. 96–144). This, like the *yå̊ visāδa*, must originally have been a separate text, incorporated with deliberate intent in the hymn to the fravašis, and adapted so that here its recurrent, monotonous formula runs: "We worship the fravaši of righteous So-and-so". Such a structure lent itself readily to the interpolation of new names, either singly or in groups, and it is clear that the list was steadily expanded; but in origin it seems undoubtedly to have been a commemoration of outstanding members of the early Zoroastrian community, and as such it included teacher, pupil and seer, and even a few devout women. There were also of course such genuinely "warrior" spirits as those of Kavi Vištaspa and his kin. This original list of names was almost certainly recited regularly at communal gatherings,[13] like the "bede-rolls" of Christianity; and once the substitution had been attained in it of "fravaši" for "urvan", it would plainly have been another very effective means of making this usage current. The souls first named in it were of people distin-

[12] *Yt.* 10: 5, 78.

[13] See Darmesteter, op. cit., 153, 504; and for an analysis of the list as it exists in the *yašt* ib., 505.

guished, it may be assumed, from the generality by their piety and service to the faith. Similarly the fravašis in their original concept also appear to have been distinguished from the general throng of the departed, though for different reasons; and the thought could easily have been fostered that "fravaši" was actually a respectful term to use for all the illustrious dead. People wish, for various reasons, to be polite to the dead, so this could have encouraged the extended use of the term for all souls, even those of the most obscure and humble believers.

The subsequent introduction of other groups of warriors into the list of the righteous dead appears as part of the weaving together of the various themes of *Yt.* 13; and, conversely, religious elements are introduced into passages of "heroic" character. Verses 31–5, 37–9 form one such passage, in which the fravašis are worshipped as "swift, full of valour, combative, bloodstained, striking down, destroying the enmities of all foes" (*taxmå hąm.varəitiuuaitīš arəzaiieintīš xruuišiieintīš uruuīnaitīš frascandaneintīš vīspaną̊m t̰bišuuatąm t̰baēšā*, v. 33). They are said to have strengthened the brave Xštavis and Karshazids, so that they defeated in battle the Turanian Dānus. But named abruptly with these otherwise unknown warriors of old are the "swift Saošyants" (v. 38), characteristic Zoroastrian figures whose mention here, uniquely with this epithet, seems singularly out of place.

The doctrinal elements in *Yt.* 13 occur mostly, however, in connection with the third strand, the exalting of the fravašis to the level of yazatas. In general their *yašt* has more doctrinal content than any of the other "great" *yašts* (all of which, like it, contain much pre-Zoroastrian material); and this too is explicable on the hypothesis that deliberate effort was needed to have the cult of the fravašis accepted as orthodox, an effort which was unnecessary in the case of the yazatas, recognized from the first as the *spənta* helpers of Ahura Mazdā. In places, however, the endeavour to claim for the fravašis a place at the heart of Zoroastrian belief and myth went very far, and exaggeration approached blasphemy. This is the case at the beginning of the *yašt*, where, with great audacity, Ahura Mazdā is represented as proclaiming (vv. 2–10) that he brought into existence the encircling sky and the broad earth, which supports waters and plants to sustain cattle and men, "through the splendour and glory (*raiia xᵛarənaŋhaca*) of the mighty, victorious fravašis". *Raiia xᵛarənaŋhaca* is a standard expression (variously translated) for divine attributes through which the yazatas act. It is impossible that it should ever be applied to the urvan, and its use in itself raises the fravašis to a higher plane. The claim made for their activity through these attributes is moreover vast, and is developed in succeeding verses; for without their aid, Ahura Mazdā is further represented as saying, "cattle and men" (*pasu.vīra*, the collectivity of pastoral society) would not have been his, but would have belonged to the Evil Spirit, Aŋra Mainyu, who would never thereafter have yielded. This declaration is unsupported by any other text; but a slight justification has been seen for it in that Zoroaster taught that humanity generally has a vital part to play in the cosmic battle against evil, and so, it is suggested, the fravašis, as spirits of "mighty, victorious" men, are shown

fulfilling that part from the very beginning, on behalf of the whole human race.[14] Indeed in the *Bundahišn*, where the great activities of the yazatas are listed, that of the fravašis is defined simply as fighting continually against the Drōj;[15] and in another part of the same work they are explicitly called "warriors" (*arteštarān*), and alloted yet another role in the creation myth; for it is told there that when Ahriman had pierced the sky and entered the world, they were drawn up in close-packed ranks along the sky's rim, mounted and with spear in hand, to imprison him within it.[16]

In their own *yašt*, however, scattered verses tell how the fravašis continue to fulfil varied cosmic roles, helping to sustain the material world, and with it mankind. It is through their "splendour and glory" that waters flow, plants grow, and the luminaries follow their customary paths; and that women bear sons (*Yt.* 13: 14–16). Already in the earliest studies of the fravašis it was suggested that fostering plants was ascribed to them as spirits of the dead, because of chthonic associations, and furthering the birth of sons because as ancestor spirits they were concerned that their lines should continue;[17] and it is of course possible that these were original elements in the veneration of urvans, and that the other cosmic activities were added with the aggrandizement of the urvan as fravaši.

Whatever the genesis of these vast claims singly, taken together they required the assumption that the fravašis pre-existed the creation of the world; but whereas the yazatas, of whom this is believed, are said to have been emanated by Ahura Mazdā from his own being to help him fight evil, no such theological statement is known about the fravašis. As far as existing texts go, they are simply there, unexplained.

The profound awkwardness created by presenting the fravašis as godlike, hugely powerful beings was that this was basically incompatible with their identification with the humble urvan. This awkwardness is compounded by the fravaši also being drawn as urvan into the Zoroastrian creation myth. Thus in a passage in the *Bundahišn* it is told that when Ohrmazd was creating the creations, he consulted with the "fravahrs of men", giving them the choice to remain in his presence, safe from the assault of evil, or to go down into the world and enter into the bodies of men, to fight and destroy the Drōj.[18] This myth, with the offering of choice, and the choosing by those given it not to remain passive but to battle against evil, is wholly in harmony with the spirit of Zoroaster's teachings; but it belongs properly to the sphere of the urvan, and "fravašis" entering into human beings and about to endure human sufferings

[14] R. C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, London 1961, repr. 1975, 146–147.

[15] *Greater Bd.* XXVI. 110 (*abāg drōj hamē kōxšēnd*), ed. and tr. by B. T. Anklesaria, Bombay 1956, 230/1.

[16] *Vichitakiha-i Zatsparam* III. 3, ed. and tr. by B. T. Anklesaria, Bombay 1964, 17/lxxiii; and by Ph. Gignoux et A. Tafazzoli, as *Anthologie de Zādspram*, Paris 1993, 40/41.

[17] So Söderblom and Moulton respectively (see n. 7).

[18] *Greater Bd.* III. 23, Anklesaria, 44/45.

cannot be reconciled logically with the myth of the vigilant army of fravašis along the rim of the sky, nor with the concept of their wider cosmic activities.

These confusions appear also in the hagiology of the prophet. According to the legend of his miraculous conception, his "fravaši" was brought down from on high by Vahman and Ašavahišt to be united here with his bodily substance (*tan-gōhr*);[19] while in the stories of his infancy it is said in one text that during the first ten days of his life Ohrmazd sent Spendārmad, Ardvisūr and Ardāfravard to dwell by him, so that no evil befell.[20] The text here is corrupt, however, and it seems probable that originally it was only the female (*mādag*) yazatas Spendārmad and Ardvisūr who were sent (as beings fitting to cherish a new-born infant), and that "Ardāfravard" has later been awkwardly inserted.[21] This suggests at first glance that the fravašis too were regarded as female, and hence as belonging properly here; but although the noun fravaši is feminine in gender there is no indication otherwise that these warrior spirits were thought of as female,[22] and probably this interpolation is due only to the scholastic liking for symmetry. In their *yašt* the fravašis, numbered 99,999 strong, are said to watch over the shining waters of Vouru.kaša and the seed of Zoroaster, which is hidden in their depths (vv. 59, 62); but according to a *Bundahišn* passage this duty is to be shared by them with [Ardvisūr] Anāhīd.[23] So on this basis a priestly scribe probably at some stage added them in with her in the birth legend also, to protect the infant prophet as they were later to protect his future son. If this is so, the awkward juxtaposition of the fravahr as urvan of the prophet himself with the godlike Ardāfravard watching over him was not there in the original work.

Probably even where there was genuinely close juxtaposition of incompatible concepts this did not seriously trouble the mythmakers, or the great majority of believers. Other scholastics complicated matters still further, however, by working on another level, pondering the nature of man and producing schematizations and analyses. Results of their thinking appear already in *Yt.* 13

[19] *Dēnkard* VII. 2. 19–47, ed. and tr. by M. Molé, *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevis*, Paris 1967, 18–23.

[20] *Zādspram* X. 3.

[21] The Pahlavi text is: *Ohrmazd ... frōd ō zamīg frēstād Spandārmad ud Ardwisūr ud Ardā Fraward mādag (NKḆ) rāy*. E. W. West's translation (*SBE* XLVII, 145) was: "O. sent S., A. and A. down to the earth by way of female (care)", which shows that he thought that after *mādag* some substantive should be supplied. He noted that the three beings represented "earth, pure water and guardian spirits". Anklesaria, op. cit. in n. 16, p. lxxxvii, translated: "O. sent down to earth the female (Yazats) S., A. and A.", assuming apparently that *rāy* had been inserted in accordance with Persian usage by a scribe who did not understand the MPers. construction. Gignoux-Tafazzoli, op. cit. in n. 16, p. 67, rendered *ardā fravard mādag rāy* as "grâce à la sainte « frawashi » des femmes", which is a grammatically impossible rendering of the text as they, with their predecessors, transcribe it, and an interpretation of Ardā Fravard which is incompatible with Zoroastrian usage (cf. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, Vol. I, Leiden 1975, revised 2nd repr. 1996, 122 n. 71).

[22] This is rightly stressed by W. W. Malandra, *An Introduction to Ancient Iranian Religion*, Minneapolis 1983, 103.

[23] *Greater Bd.* XXXV. 60 (Anklesaria, 303).

(vv. 149, 155), where urvan and fravaši are treated as two distinct components of man's immaterial being, along with *ahu, daēna* and *baoδah;* and similar analyses recur in the Pahlavi books.[24] Declaring the urvan and fravaši to be separate entities created then further problems of definition. According to a chapter of the *Dēnkard*,[25] the ruvan is endowed with will and acts according to its will, whereas the fravahr "belongs to nature and its actions are natural", from which it would appear that it is "naturally good and incorruptible: it is beyond the reach of Ahriman and the demons".[26] In a passage of the *Bundahišn* it is said that during a person's lifetime his ruvan dwells in his body and his fravahr in the presence of Ohrmazd, and at his death they are united.[27] But what then of their fate after judgment has taken place? In all liturgical texts veneration is offered only to the fravašis of the just, who are naturally, if those of the departed, enjoying their reward in heaven on high. As a *yasna* passage runs: "We worship the sunny abodes of Aša (i.e. Paradise), in which dwell the souls of the dead which are the fravašis of the just" (*xᵛanuuaitīš ašahe vərəzō yazamaide yāhu iristinąm uruuąnō šāiiente yå asaonąm frauuašaiiō, Y.* 16.7). And in the *Dēnkard* it is declared that the fravahr separates from the ruvān which "becomes druvand", that is, is damned as a sinner.[28] Only the ruvān can go to hell, all fravahrs remain heavenly beings.

These statements, coherent with one another, satisfied the general feeling that the fravaši was more glorious than the urvan; but they could not be reconciled with those myths and legends which fully identified the two (as in the myth of the fravašis' choice, or the legend of the prophet's miraculous conception); and popular belief (which appears throughout to have been the main force, among priests as well as laity, for maintaining the urvan-fravaši cult) was firmly that among the "fravašis" who returned to their former homes at Hamaspathmaēdaya, some (it was hoped, of course, the most) came from heaven with its joys, but that others were allowed then a brief respite from the torments of hell.[29]

The parallel existence of these strands of scholastic and popular thought is illustrated by the different uses to which Manichaean and Christian proselytizers put Middle Iranian forms of the word "fravaši" when translating their own scriptures into Iranian languages. The Manichaeans used Middle Persian *frāwahr* (*pr'whr*), Parthian *ardāw frawardīn* (*'rd'w frwrdyn*, in Sogdian *'rt'w frwrtyy*) for

[24] See Bailey, op. cit. in n. 6, 107–18; S. Shaked, *Dualism in transformation*, Jordan lectures on comparative religion XVI, S.O.A.S, University of London, 1994, 135–41, especially at 138.

[25] *Dēnkard* III. 123, tr. by J. de Menasce, *Le troisième livre du Dēnkart*. Paris 1973, 125–8; and idem, with notes, Un chapitre cosmogonique du Denkart. In: *Pratidānam, Studies presented to F. B. J. Kuiper*. Ed. J. C. Heesterman and others. The Hague 1969, 193–200; transcribed by Bailey, op. cit. in n. 6, 205–9.

[26] Zaehner, op. cit. in n. 14, 270.

[27] *Greater Bd.* III. 13 (Anklesaria, 40/41).

[28] Menasce, *Pratidānam*, 198 n. 16; Zaehner, loc. cit.

[29] Biruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. E. Sachau, London 1879, repr. 1969, 210; M. Boyce, *A Persian Stronghold of Zoroastrianism*, Oxford 1977, repr. Lanham 1989, 213–4.

air or ether, the purest of the five Manichaean light elements. This was plainly because the "fravahr" was regarded by Zoroastrian schoolmen as the highest of the five immaterial components (in Manichaean thought, light elements) of the microcosm, man; and the adoption of this rendering appears to have been approved by Mani himself, presumably after discussions with Zoroastrian priests at the Sasanian court.[30] Christian missionaries in Sogdia, however, working probably among humbler groups of Zoroastrians, adopted *frwrṯ* for "corpse", *frwrṯqty* for "corpse-house, tomb";[31] and this appears to reflect a local usage parallel to the general Zoroastrian one of today of speaking at funerals of the corpse as the "ruvān", a euphemism deprecated by some but partly justified by the belief that the soul, lingering on earth, remains by the body and accompanies it to the place of disposal.

Despite all the confusions, anomalies and logical difficulties which it produced, the postulated struggle to have the cult of the fravašis accepted within Zoroastrianism was overwhelmingly successful. One vital achievement was to gain for them the dedication of a day in each calendar month, with, accordingly, their especial invocation always on that day. This again put them on a level with the yazatas, and their *xšnūman* found its due place in the *Sīrōza.* In *Sīrōza* II. 19 this runs: "We worship the good, strong, bounteous fravašis of the just" (*ašāunąm vaŋuhīš sūrå spəntå frauuašaiiō yazamaide*), a formula which recurs throughout their *yašt.* Furthermore, every liturgical text contains at some point their *xšnūman*, in the formula of *Sīrōza* I or II or both, and so no religious service takes place without their invocation. This is understood to be that of the souls of the departed; and it is as the souls of the departed that they also received the dedication of the first part of each night, from dusk till midnight. All prayers said during that time also contain therefore their especial invocation. Further, when the months too received dedications, the fravašis were allotted one of these also, which meant that they came to have a yearly name-day feast, on the day Frāvardīn ("Of the fravašis") of the month Fravardīn. Unlike that of Hamaspathmaēdaya, this feast has no ancient rituals for the dead; but the custom is maintained that then the devout, and especially those who have lost a relative during the year, go to the *dakhmas* and have services performed there for the souls of departed family members.[32]

It is very probable that all these developments had taken place essentially by the end of the Achaemenian period, and, if so, even the latest of them has the support of a tradition well over two thousand years old. One is therefore peering back into a distant past when asking how it was possible to bring about so

[30] The usage first appears in a passage from the *Šābuhragān*, see F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan* I, Sb. P. A. W. 1932 X, 185 (a I R I 3,5). For other occurrences see W. Sundermann, *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous*, Berliner Turfantexte XVII, Berlin 1992, glossary, 147, 155 svv.

[31] See N. Sims-Williams, *The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2*, Berliner Turfantexte XII, Berlin 1985, glossary, 211 svv.

[32] See K. N. Seervai and B. B. Patel, Gujarāt Parsis. In: *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* IX. 2, Bombay 1899, 216.

successfully acceptance of the cult of the fravašis into Zoroastrianism. Answers can be no more than reasoned guesses; but it is clear that priests played a great part in this, since priests must have been responsible for the hugely important interpolation in *Y.* 37.3; for gaining the calendar-dedications; and for reshaping *Yt.* 13, with the incorporation of the two "urvan" texts, as well as for the scholastic developments. Nor is it necessary to suppose that advocacy of veneration of the fravašis in these and other ways was cynical, prompted by mercenary motives. It may well have been that devotion to them among those concerned was so strong that they felt that Zoroaster could not have meant that their worship should be neglected, but that it must have been a mere failure in transmission which had led to misrepresentation of his teachings in this respect. Thus even the near-sacrilege of tampering with his own words could have been justified, as giving authority for what he really must have intended. Even when the Zoroastrian community was still small, however, any one person or group within it must have needed immense influence to get this particular change accepted in the daily recitation of the *yasna*. A remarkable teacher, introducing the additional words into *Y.* 37.3 through his pupils, is perhaps the most likely author of this particular development, or possibly the head of some widely respected college of priests.[33] There is also the possibility of support for the movement as a whole from some princely ruler with comparatively large sway, who although devout may have been wholly unwilling to abandon the veneration of heroic forbears, or of the spirits of heroes generally, as a pattern and inspiration for himself and other "warriors".

The remarkable development, however, by which the cult of the fravašis was not only accepted as orthodox, but came to form a dominant part of Zoroastrian observance, is surely only explicable by the success in fusing it, at the level of "popular" belief (among priests and laity, princes and peasants) with the ancient one of the urvan. This fusion, as has already been suggested, was probably helped by the rituals of the younger fravaši cult having been to some extent modelled on those for the urvan. Had the fusion not taken place, the simple cult of the urvan, even though fundamentally irreconcilable with Zoroaster's teachings about the fate of souls at death, would have been no more anomalous than the cults of the dead, with intercessionary prayers and offerings, which exist within various branches of Christianity and Islam. It is the linking of the urvan with the fravaši which has brought such a remarkable tangle of illogicality into Zoroaster's strikingly logical religion; but it is perhaps, paradoxically, a proof of the strength of that religion that it could absorb such a development without

[33] An indication of how such changes can be brought about is given in modern times by the adoption by a number of Parsi priests of a *xšnūman* in use among their Irani brethren. This was introduced to them by the Kermani priest, Dastur Jamasp "Velayati", when he visited Surat in 1720 and gave instruction to three young priests. One of them, Jamasp Asa of Navsari, established its recital as usage in his own family, whose members in due course made it more widely current (see Boyce, Dahma Āfriti and some related problems, *BSOAS* LVI (1993) 217–8). A noted teacher of old, such as Saēna Ahūm.stūṯ with his 100 pupils (*Yt.* 13.97), could plainly have exerted great influence.

serious damage to either its dogmatic or its moral theology. Judgment at death remained at the forefront of believers' minds; and they managed, with human inconsistency, to cherish and pray for their dead, whether as urvan or fravaši, without abandoning the belief, instilled in each from childhood, that one's fate hereafter depends on the sum of one's own words, thoughts and actions, and will be decided by the unswerving scales of divine justice.

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BETWEEN HAMMER AND BROWNE: HERMANN ETHÉ AS A HISTORIAN OF PERSIAN LITERATURE

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The choice of the subject for this paper was first of all dictated by the festive occasion which brought us together in Vienna. It seemed appropriate to take a short look at the history of a branch of Iranian studies to which, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the great Vienna scholar Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall made a significant contribution: the study of Persian literature. In Hammer's widely ranging research, Persian subjects may not have taken first place, but they were certainly not among the least of his interests. Already at the start of his career, in the years after 1794, when he awaited his first assignment in the Austrian foreign service, Joseph von Hammer devoted most of his time to all things related to Persia, especially its language and literature, as he anticipated being sent to that country. However, this journey never took place: his seven years in the East (1799–1806) did not bring him further afield than Turkey and Egypt. Being deprived of further opportunities to travel eastwards, the rest of his life was devoted to the indefatigable labour which resulted in his impressive oeuvre. This includes histories of the three great Muslim literatures; still, his *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens* of 1818 preceded by many years the *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst* (1836–38) and the *Literaturgeschichte der Araber* (1850–56). Hammer occupied himself in various ways with Persian literature; he became particularly celebrated as a translator. His complete translation of the *Dīvān* of Hāfiz, a work often spoken of disparagingly, should be granted at least the merit of having been one of the rare seminal translations from Persian poetry in Western literature, especially in German poetry of the early nineteenth century. Hammer has been called, with good reason, "der grosse Anreger".[1] As he was a man with a considerable literary ambition of his own,[2] he also could not resist the temptation to try his hand on original compositions based on Oriental motifs. Examples of these are to be found in the two-volume *Rosenöl oder Sagen und Kunden des Morgenlandes* of 1814 and *Mor-*

[1] Annemarie Schimmel, in: W. Heinrichs, ed., *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft.* Band 5. Orientalisches Mittelalter, Wiesbaden 1990, 552.

[2] See Andreas Tietze's biographical sketch of Joseph von Hammer, added to the reprint of *Morgenlaendisches Kleeblatt*, Vienna 1981, and Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, VII, Wien 1861, 269–89 (I am grateful for these references to my colleague Barbara Flemming).

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genlaendisches Kleeblatt, 1819, with hymns, elegies and eclogues "in dem Geiste des Volkes", that is, of the Zoroastrian Persians, the Arabs and the Turks.

Hammer's *Redekünste* contains the first survey of Persian literature in a Western language. It depends very heavily on the few sources available to the author at that time, of which Daulatshāh's *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarā'* was the most important. As we know now, Daulatshāh is not a very reliable source as far as historical information is concerned, but it provided Hammer with abundant material for the anthology of translations which occupies much space in his work. Even if he could not escape from the limitations of the *tadhkira*s — the only kind of literary history developed in pre-modern Persia — it would be unjust not to mention the many personal additions he made to his survey. Of particular interest is the general introduction of the work, especially the "Dritte Abtheilung" where Hammer tried to answer the question why there is so little mythology in Persian literature and history as compared to other ancient and oriental civilizations. Very clearly his personal frame of mind is involved when he speaks admiringly of the "höhere Verstandes-Cultur" which characterized Persian literature and religion since its most ancient times. In this general trait he saw the reason why Western readers felt a much greater affinity to the literature of the Persians than to that of any other Oriental nation.[3]

The nineteenth century became a period of crucial importance to the study of Persian literature in Europe. First, there was the tremendous influx of Oriental manuscripts to Western collections, both private and public, which resulted from the penetration of Westerners in the East and the establishment of colonial rule over many Asian countries. The libraries in Great Britain profited most from this. The British Museum[4] and the Library of the India Office, institutions of the colonial period, very rapidly developed into equals of the Bodleian with its ancient collection going back to the early flowering of Oriental scholarship in the seventeenth century. Soon the need for careful descriptions of the accumulated collections of manuscripts was felt all over Europe. This came to be regarded as a necessary step before the investigation of Oriental civilizations according to modern positivist principles could really begin. The catalogues that were produced by men like Gustav Flügel (Vienna), Charles Rieu (London), Wilhelm Pertsch (Berlin) and many others were much more than simple inventories. They were designed as sophisticated bibliographical tools, not only valuable for their codicological contents but also for the discussion pertaining to basic problems of literary history.[5]

Towards the end of the century the time seemed ripe for new synthetic surveys. Most important, of course, was Browne's *Literary History of Persia*,

[3] "... wodurch seine Poesie unter den Poesien aller anderen orientalischen Völker als die nächste Verwandte der occidentalischen erscheint." (*Redekünste*, 16).

[4] Cf. Charles Rieu's account of the growth of the Persian collection in the British Museum contained in the Preface to Volume III of his *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1883, ix–xxxii.

[5] Bibliographies and Catalogues I. In the West. In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol. IV, 215.

although the first of its four volumes, published in 1902, was planned as a general history of Persian culture rather than a history of literature:

> "... it was the intellectual history of the Persians which I desired to write, and not merely the history of poets and authors who expressed their thoughts through the medium of the Persian language."[6]

While Hammer had little else to go on than the Persian *tadhkira*s, Browne could already build on an impressive amount of critical studies by scholars from the preceding generations. One of the men to whom he repeatedly gave credit was 'Dr. Hermann Ethé of Aberystwyth'.

Almost at the time when Browne's *Literary History* came out, the publication of the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (Strassburg 1894–1904) was completed, that monumental compilation of the results of more than a century of Iranian studies. In addition to the first version of Theodor Nöldeke's *Shāhnāma* article, it contained a contribution on "Neupersische Literatur" by Hermann Ethé.[7] Both authors were well known as outstanding scholars in the study of Persian literature, and have retained the respect of later generations of scholars. There is, however, a difference: we, Iranologists of the late twentieth century, all have a fairly accurate knowledge of Nöldeke's great contributions to our discipline. Nöldeke spent his long life at the very centre of Oriental studies in Europe. Even his personality has left many traces in the correspondence with colleagues and partly also in oral traditions on which the historian of Iranian studies has often to rely.

But who actually was Hermann Ethé? I asked myself a few years ago when Prof. Ehsan Yarshater invited me to write a short notice on him for the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. It soon became clear to me that there was little information readily available. No *Festschrift* had been published, nor was there any obituary of Ethé to be found in the scholarly journals. Apparently, none of his colleagues had felt obliged to commemorate him, however briefly, when he died. The reason for this silence became clear to me when I discovered the date and place of his death: 7th June 1917, in the English city of Bristol.[8] He was a German scholar dying in Britain at a time when the hatred generated by the Great War among the European nations was at its height. It is understandable, though not excusable, that neither the scholars of Ethé's homeland nor those in the country where he lived and worked for more than forty years bothered to take notice of his disappearance.

There are more reasons, I think, why we owe Hermann Ethé a belated appraisal of his contribution to our studies. If, in spite of everything, we are all still familiar with his name it is because he wrote the catalogues of two of the greatest treasure houses of Persian manuscripts in the Western world, those of

[6] *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. 1. London 1902, Preface, viii.
[7] Vol. 2, 212–368.
[8] *Who Was Who 1916–1928*, London 1947, 333–334.

the Bodleian Library and of the India Office. These works exhibit the qualities of the nineteenth-century catalogues which I mentioned before to the highest degree. If this was all he had done in his life, he would have fully merited the perpetual gratitude of all students of Persian literature. However, Ethé did not limit himself to the task of being the conscientious bookkeeper of the Persian literary heritage. There is, I believe, even more reason to examine his place in the development of the Western knowledge of Persian literature.

Carl Hermann Ethé was born on 13 February 1844 in Stralsund, on the Baltic coast of Pomerania. The family, presumably of Huguenot origin, were part of the professional middle class of that town. His father was a "königlicher Vermessungsrevisor", a land surveyor in the service of the Prussian king to whom Pomerania belonged. Hermann was first educated at the local *Gymnasium* and in 1862 went to the University of Greifswald to study the Classics. Already in his second year his interest in Oriental languages made him decide to continue at the University of Leipzig with Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801–1888). This was at the time by far the best place in Germany to go to for any young orientalist. Johann Fück has portrayed Fleischer as a remarkable personality who made a great impact on all his pupils, who flocked to Leipzig from many countries.[9] An indication of the intellectual training one could receive here can be found in Johann Fück's appraisal of Fleischer's scholarly standards: he was a stern philologist, a rationalist, averse to any kind of mysticism, who found "in der menschlichen Vernunft den obersten Maßstab für die Interpretation orientalischer Textanalyse". The emphasis of Fleischer's scholarship was on the formal aspects of philology, on "Einzelprobleme der Grammatik, des Wortschatzes und des Sprachgebrauchs".[10]

There can be no doubt that the amazing attention to detail which characterizes Ethé's own philological work owed much to his training at the University of Leipzig, as it did in the case of so many other pupils of Fleischer's. A good example of this influence is his *Habilitationsschrift*, on Fattāḥī's *Shabistān-i khiyāl*.[11] Whatever charm this mystical allegory must have had to a man like Hermann Ethé, he kept himself very strictly to philological considerations. The dissertation is a highly technical piece of work in the purest tradition of his teacher.

In 1868 Ethé presented his thesis to the University of Munich, where he was also admitted as a *Privat-dozent* to teach a number of Oriental languages.[12]

9 The atmosphere has been described vividly by Ignaz Goldziher in his *Tagebuch*, Leiden 1978, 41 ff. Goldziher was in Leipzig from August 1868 till March 1871, i.e. shortly after Ethé had left it.

10 *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1955, 170–71.

11 *Das Schlafgemach der Phantasie von Fettâhi aus Niśâbûr*. Erstes Kapitel: Vom Glauben und Islam, Leipzig 1868.

12 According to the *Testimonials* supporting his application to the Oxford chair of Arabic (cf. n. 25), this included Arabic, Ethiopic, Hebrew and Syriac, as well as Persian and Turkish. One

During his Munich years Ethé developed a number of interests outside his professional field. In two volumes of essays (*Morgenländische Studien*, Leipzig 1870, and *Essays und Studien*, Berlin 1872) he collected his writings meant for a wider public than the small circle of his Orientalist colleagues. They deal with a surprisingly wide range of subjects. He wrote on contemporary German literature in articles for newspapers and literary magazines, such as the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *Münchener Propyläen*. They vary from a piece on Karl Lappe (1773–1843), a poet from his native Pomerania, to a review of a travelogue by the unsuccessful Emperor of Mexico, the Austrian Prince Maximilian, and to an essay on the "transatlantisch-exotischer Roman", a genre of adventure novels situated in the Americas which were very popular with the German public even before the days of Karl May. His special love was for the theatre and, as one of his later pupils recalled, he used to say that he had thought seriously about seeking a career on the stage rather than in the academic world. He wrote a verse drama on Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523), the humanist and poet who was a follower of Martin Luther and Zwingli (1870), and very critically reviewed the merits of Richard Wagner as a dramatic poet.

For the benefit of the larger audience which he tried to reach he reported on features of Persian culture which were new in his days: on the rise of Babism and on the Persian passion-plays, the *taʿziya*, basing himself essentially on the then recent publications on these subjects by Arthur de Gobineau. In the same collections there are other "fruits of his leisure", as Ethé called them, belonging to the genre in which, in particular, Joseph von Hammer had preceded him. He tried his hand at creative writing in a series of "morgenländische Novellen und Genrebilder" which are based on motifs from original Arabic tales. These sketches bear titles which allude to their romantic character, such as "Die Brautwerbung", "Der Beduine und sein Weib" and "Die Maid von Bagdâd". In these years he also made several translations from the Arabic, Turkish and Persian.[13]

While he was engaged in these various activities, the young scholar also worked out a plan for his future. He announced that he would serve the spreading of knowledge about the literatures of the Orient, in particular Persian poetry, through the publication of texts and through "eine gediegene und formvollendete Uebersetzung". As he declared very confidently:

> "<ich würde> auf dieser Bahn mit erneuter Kraft vorwärts schreiten und zunächst Nizâmîs »Leila und Medschnûn« in Text und metrischer Nachbildung veröffentlichen, zumal ich gerade auf dieses Gebiet die Hauptthätigkeit meines Lebens zu concentriren gedenke."[14]

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of his pupils at that time was Samuel Landauer, who in the field of Persian studies became known as the continuator of Vullers' edition of the *Shāhnāma*.

[13] Respectively, a section of al-Qazwīnī's ʿAjā'ib al-makhlūqāt (*Kazwîmis Kosmografie. Die Wunder der Schöpfung*, Leipzig 1868), the Turkish popular epic *Die Fahrten des Sajjid Batthâl* (Leipzig 1871), and the Persian allegorical poem *König und Derwisch* of Scheich Hilâlî. (In: *Morgenländische Studien*, 197–282).

[14] *Morgenländische Studien*, VII.

His reputation as a man of letters seems to have been established soon outside academic circles as appears from a mention of Ethé as an essayist in Brümmer's literary Lexicon of 1876.[15]

However, the announced edition and translation of Niẓāmī's poem was never completed. Already in 1872, the course of his life took a turn which forced him to change his designs drastically. Between his various pursuits of letters he had not neglected his scholarly work but had further expanded his knowledge of Oriental manuscripts and Persian *tadhkiras* in so far as they were accessible to him in German libraries. This made him a likely candidate for the vacancy which appeared in Oxford when Eduard Sachau, who had started on the description of the manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, returned to Germany. Hermann Ethé was invited to continue his work, in particular on the description of the Persian, Turkish and Afghan manuscripts. At the same time, he accepted an assignment to prepare a catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the London India Office Library. After Sachau and Charles Rieu, he became the third foreign scholar to whom the important but arduous task of cataloguing the great collections of Oriental manuscripts in Britain was entrusted.

Initially he worked as an assistant librarian of the Bodleian on the basis of a leave of absence from the University of Munich. In 1874 Ethé abandoned his post in Germany and settled down for good in Great Britain. One year later he was appointed a Professor of Oriental Languages at University College of Aberystwyth in Wales. His tasks there were very diverse indeed: apart from Hebrew, Arabic and Sanskrit, he taught German, French and Italian, and moreover announced each year to the students of the College that he would be quite willing to teach other Oriental languages as well. Besides all this teaching Ethé managed to continue his scholarly work in his spare time, which during the first twenty years was spent primarily on the preparation of the catalogues. However, he still found time to publish, with great regularity, learned articles on problems of Persian literary history in German academic periodicals.

The University College of Aberystwyth, which is at present a part of the University of Wales, had only been founded a few years before Ethé was appointed. Until the beginning of this century it remained a provincial institution. During the forty years of his service to the College, he was practically the only scholar on the teaching staff with an international reputation. From this long period, covering almost the rest of Ethé's life, precise information concerning his personality has been preserved in various publications about the College.[16] Several of his pupils have put down in writing their memories of the German professor. They saw him as a most remarkable person, of whom they speak with much affection and respect for "his vast learning and his power and enthousiasm

[15] Fr. Brümmer, *Lexicon der deutschen Dichter und Prosaisten vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart.*

[16] I am grateful to Mr. W. W. Dieneman, the Librarian of the College, for his help in tracing the information about Ethé which is still available in Aberystwyth.

as a teacher".[17] As one of his most devoted students described his appearance and behaviour, he was:

> "(s)hort, thick-set, a man who marched rather than walked. Ethé was altogether larger than life. To the end of his days he retained a thick German accent; he 'drank like an ox' (when asked whether he wanted beer or brandy, his immediate answer was 'both'); he had a quick wit that verged on the blasphemous, and a great uproarious laugh that reverberated like thunder."[18]

Although the west coast of Wales was a stronghold of Welsh nationalism, Ethé never bothered to learn the Welsh language saying that the only word one needed to know was *cwrw* meaning 'beer'.[19] In every aspect he remained a foreigner who reacted to the pecularities of his Welsh environment with selfconscious but goodhearted humour.

In spite of the generally cheerful tone of these recollections, there is also some suggestion of a darker side. It did not escape the student's attention that the German professor was an expatriate both in a figurative and in a literal sense, whose staying on at Aberystwyth for so many years must have frustrated him very deeply. This only increased the admiration for his strong character:

> "But alien as Ethé was, disappointed of his rightful position as so illustrious an orientalist might justly feel, there was nothing in him of the bitterness of the alien, or of the venom of the disappointed man."[20]

In the same sources a political reason is adduced as an explanation for his extended exile. He was, it is said,

> "<a> German Radical, already *persona ingrata* with absolutist governments, ... on the remote strand of the Celtic West where he was destined to spend his working life without hope of return."[21]

It is quite possible, and even likely, that this is based on information provided by Ethé himself. However, if political considerations of any kind contributed to his final decision not to return to Germany, this did not check him from strongly emphasizing his German identity, not only in his behaviour but also in explicit statements.[22] His summer vacations were invariably spent in Oberwesel,

[17] Ellis, *The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth 1872–1972*, Cardiff 1972, 171, referring to a letter of 1908 by the Principal of the College, T. F. Roberts.

[18] E. L. Ellis, *loc. cit.*, citing R. T. Jenkins.

[19] Ellis, *op. cit.*, 171, n. 28.

[20] C. H. Herford, Impressions of Aberystwyth, 1887–1901. In: Iwan Morgan (ed.), *The College by the Sea*, Aberystwyth 1928, 98.

[21] *Op. cit.*, 97.

[22] He boasted of holding on to German nationality in a speech held in 1908 at the celebration of his hundredth term at Aberystwyth as reported in a student magazine, *The Dragon* 30, Session 1907–8, 244.

a resort on the Rhine which he regarded as "the only place in the world for a wise man".[23] Although later in his life he married an English woman, he stuck to his German nationality and took pride in it.

A further indication of his attachment to Germany is the fact that in his scholarly works he nearly always used his native language, with the exception of a few contributions to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.[24] Moreover, in a letter of 21 November 1888, addressed to the Dutch Arabist M. J. de Goeje, he refers to his applications to two prestigious chairs at German universities, to Königsberg in 1881 and to Munich in 1886, which both times were without result. The letter itself is concerned with another application, to the Laudian chair of Arabic at Oxford. Asking De Goeje's suppport in this matter, Ethé points in particular to his wish to continue his work on the Arabic manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, which would be much facilitated by his appointment to the Oxford chair.[25]

This attempt also was unsuccessful. For the rest of his academic career Ethé had to be content with his post in Wales. However, it seems clear from the bibliography of his works that during the last decades of his life this lack of professional recognition gradually became a negative factor in his scholarship. From the early 1890s onwards, a sharp reduction in his scholarly output can be noticed. It is also telling that, after the Orientalist Congress in Vienna of 1890, he no longer took part in these gatherings. All this indicates that he gradually lost touch with the international community of scholars of which he had been such an active and enthousiastic member in his younger years.

Finally, politics did enter his life once more in a most tragic manner. His stubborn refusal to give up his German nationality brought him into great difficulties when the war broke out in August 1914. As usual he and his wife had spent their summer holiday on the Rhine. They were not allowed to enter Great Britain again until October. Meanwhile, the rage over the German invasion of Belgium, and the suspicion that every foreigner could be a spy, had created a climate of hysteria all over the British Isles. The arrival of the Ethés in Aberystwyth turned into a disaster. An angry crowd refused them the entry to their own house, and on the very same day they were forced to flee from the city for the sake of their safety. In 1915 the College succeeded with great difficulty to assign a small pension to Ethé. In spite of his continued efforts to return to his post, this was denied to him. However, he continued to work on the manuscripts of the India Office Library, but this brought him again into difficulties. In November

[23] Herford, *op. cit.*, 98.

[24] In particular: Modern Persian Literature. In: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th Edition, Vol. 18, 1885, 655–660.

[25] "Ich habe trotzdem auch auf diesem Gebiete wacker weitergearbeit und bedarf nur einer grösseren Musse, wie sie die Oxforder Professur bieten würde, um meine wissenschaftliche Thätigkeit auch in dieser Hinsicht wieder aufzunehmen." Leiden University Library, BPL 2389. Dr. John Gurney kindly sent to me the printed *Testimonials* in favour of Ethé's candidacy for the Laudian chair. They include recommendations by several prominent Orientalists (but not by De Goeje). Remarkable is Th. Nöldeke's judgment that Hermann Ethé "has scarcely any rival in the knowledge of Persian Literature, especially of Persian poetry".

1916, some members of the House of Commons accused the British government of "pro-Germanism", because it gave an unnaturalized German access to the Persian collections of the India Office. They saw his case as a typical example of German infiltration throughout the Government departments "for the purpose of inflicting damage on this country". It was also argued, with a complete lack of consistency, that

> "(t)he work on which this wise old German was employed had nothing to do with the war, and in present circumstances was a sheer waste of public money."[26]

Hermann Ethé died in exile, in the most absolute sense of that term. As late as 1972, a historian of University College denounced his tragedy in very strong words:

> "He was a casualty of war just as certainly as any young soldier killed at the Front."[27]

Hermann Ethé's contribution to the study of Persian literature should be measured with due regard for the circumstances of his life. Foremost in his scholarly work stand the two great catalogues. If we take into account that he could only travel to Oxford and London during the academic vacations, the less than twenty years he needed to complete his double task was certainly not too long. To go by his own, not very precise indications the copy for the first part of each catalogue was ready by the end of the 1880s. The printing took considerably more time than the actual preparation. The first volume of the Bodleian Catalogue appeared in 1889, but that of the India Office Catalogue did not appear before 1903. In each case the second part did not come out till several years after Ethé's death, respectively in 1930 and 1937.[28] According to A. F. L. Beeston, who in 1954 published a continuation of his work on the Oxford collection, Ethé was partly himself to blame for the slow progress in the publication of his works. His extreme perfectionism made him plan the indices "on a far too ambitious and extensive scale", and he continued to expand them till the end of his life.[29]

As in the case of Hammer's *Schöne Redekünste*, the basis for the knowledge of Persian literary history as it was laid down in these catalogues remained the Persian *tadhkiras*. Early in the 19th century the English scholar Nathaniel

[26] According to reports in the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Times* of 3 November 1916, which Dr. John Gurney brought to me notice.

[27] Ellis, *op. cit.*, 173.

[28] The second Part of the India Office Catalogue was already nearly completed when the first one appeared and was seen through the press by the care of Ethé's former colleague at Aberystwyth, Edward Edwards.

[29] *Catalogue of the Persian ... manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1954, iv. Later Ethé also prepared catalogues of two minor collections: the collection of the National Library of Wales, published in 1916, and the Persian manuscripts in the Edinburgh University Library, posthumously published in 1925.

Bland had begun to explore this material on a much wider scale. His most important contribution was the first description of ʿAufī's *Lubāb al-albāb*, the oldest specimen of this genre which has survived. Although it is not a particularly rich source as far as historical data are concerned, it is of invaluable importance because of the material from the earliest period of Persian literature it contains. Hermann Ethé systematically inventorized the many *tadhkira*s he found among his manuscripts. In his *Grundriss* article, where fifty of these sources are listed, he noted with pride that his India Office Catalogue contained an exhaustive analysis of the 1560 biographical entries in Amin Ahmad Rāzī's *Haft Iqlīm*.[30]

His preoccupation with the contents of the manuscripts, perhaps more than with their codicological characteristics, led him to the collection and investigation of all the material they contained pertaining to the earliest period of Persian poetry. During the 1870s and 1880s he published monographs on early Persian poetry, focussing on one or more poets at a time. Many of these articles contain remnants of poems not transmitted otherwise, for instance those of Rūdakī and his contemporaries, poems attributed to Firdausī and Ibn Sīnā, quatrains by the mystic Abū Saʿīd and the strife-poems (*munāẓara*s) of Asadī. True to the ideal he had once formulated he usually added metrical German translations which show that he had not yet put his literary aspirations aside completely.

Ethé's inquisitive mind did not stop at the mere collection of scattered poetry, meritorious as this work was in itself. He also tried to solve several questions of a factual nature concerning literary history, which in most cases he was the first to raise. The often doubtful evidence which the *tadhkira*s gave was indeed very much in need of verification and critical testing. One of his theses was that two different men, father and son, had used the pen-name Asadī: the elder was the poet who also was the teacher of Firdausī, the younger the lexicographer who compiled the *Lughat al-furs*. Another one, which he defended with great tenacity, was Firdausī's authorship of the *mathnavī* poem *Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā*, which for a long time had been regarded an apocryph. Like many other solutions suggested by Ethé they have been challenged by subsequent scholars, although it should be added that the true identity of the author of the *Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā* is still a mystery.

As an editor of texts Ethé could not, by far, realize all the plans he once announced. Only two major critical editions are connected with his name: the first is the edition of the didactical *mathnavī Raushanā'ī-nāma* by Nāṣir-i Khusrau, an author in whom Ethé had a special interest during the 1880s; the second that of the poem *Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā* just mentioned.

The edition and printing of the latter poem, which Ethé valued particularly highly because he was convinced that it was the oldest romantic poem in Persian, kept him occupied for many years. The discovery of new material, the slow progress made by the printers, but perhaps also his personal circumstances, postponed the publication of the first part of *Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā*, announced already in 1888, for twenty years. In the end, the edition has remained incomplete.

[30] *Grundriss*, II, 213–17.

Nāṣir-i Khusrau's didactical poem was published in 1879 and 1880 in two instalments of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.[31] However, in the days of great expectations before he left Munich, Ethé still had other plans with this work. In an article of 1872, dealing with the lyrical poems ascribed to Firdausī, he made the passing remark that it was his intention to incorporate the *Raushanā'ī-nāma*, together with a complete translation, in the first volume of his forthcoming history of Persian literature.[32]

As far as I know this is the only mention of such a project Ethé ever made in his published works. Apparently it was intended as a work that would have surpassed the scope of Hammer's *Schöne Redekünste*, and perhaps might have grown into a *magnum opus* comparable to Browne's *Literary History*. If the wide knowledge of the subject he commanded, as well as his great industry are taken into consideration, Ethé's 'history of Persian literature' might have provided German scholarship with a magnificent textbook that could have held its position far into the twentieth century.

Instead, he left us only the great article written in the 1890s for the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, as well as a few shorter surveys of Persian literature, written both in English and German. Whoever reads his article in the *Grundriss* will find among the treasures of factual information, based on his work on the catalogues, many remarks which show the author's wish to arrive at a critical evaluation of Persian poets and Persian literature in general. As a matter of fact, throughout his entire oeuvre, Ethé used to expound with great eagerness on matters which transcend questions of philology or the facts of literary history. Some of his judgments were repeated almost word by word in several of his works and might even be regarded as items from a stock of personal opinions which did not change essentially over the years.

One of these views pertains to what we nowadays would call the 'ideology' behind his scholarly work, although I am not quite sure that that would not be an overstatement of its significance. Like many of his German contemporaries Ethé believed that the Indo-Germanic thesis, one of the great new ideas of nineteenth-century Europe, could be applied to cultural history with the same right as it had been to comparative linguistics. Already in the Munich *Habilitationsrede* of 1868, in which he discussed Sufism and its impact on Persian poetry, Ethé based himself axiomatically on the distinction between the Indo-Germanic and the Semitic mind in explaining the appearance of "pantheistic" mysticism in Islam. The remarkable influence of Sufi ideas (ultimately derived from India) on the Persian poets could historically best be explained as a

[31] Nâsir Chusraus Rûśanâinâma ..., oder Buch der Erleuchtung, in Text und Uebersetzung, nebst Noten und kritisch-biografischem Appendix. *ZDMG* 33 (1879) 645–665, and 34 (1880) 428–464, 617–642.

[32] Firdûsî als Lyriker. In: *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vol. III, Munich 1873, 623.

spontaneous revolt of the Aryan Persians against the rigidity of the Semitic religion imposed on them by the Arabs. By this they rejected :

> "<den> im abstracten Deismus befangenen orthodoxen Islam, dessen strenger Fatalismus von vornherein jeden freien geistigen Aufschwung, jedes selbständige Denken und Schaffen lähmte, und dessen starrer, dem Menschen so fremd und kalt gegenüberstehender Gott die Herzen nicht zu erwärmen vermochte."[33]

Two decades later Ethé used only slightly nuanced words in a general survey of Persian court poetry. In this case, he extended the same idea to Persian poetry as a whole, whether mystical or not. Amongst the Persians, he said, one could observe the pronounced tendency:

> "den aufgezwungenen Geist des Islam mit dem natürlichen arischen Gefühl zu verschmelzen, den starren Deismus der neuen Lehre mit der angeborenen freieren und mehr oder minder pantheistischen Weltanschauung in höherem Einklang zu verbinden."[34]

It is not surprising that speculations in the field of comparative literature also very much attracted his interest. One of his best monographs, the essay on Asadī's strife-poems, contains a magnificent display of his knowledge of European literature.[35] Within the framework of world literature, he considered the Persian epic to be especially valuable because it afforded us

> "einen wunderbar fesselnden Blick in die fernsten Jugendtage der Menschheit, in jene vorhistorischen Zeiten, da alle Zweige des grossen indogermanischen Stammes noch friedlich mit einander wohnten, als eine einzige ungetheilte Familie, ..."[36]

In his critical evaluations of Persian poems Ethé showed a marked predilection for the non-mystical romantic epics, in particular Gurgānī's *Vīs-u Rāmīn*, and the poem *Yūsuf-u Zulaykhā* which he attributed to Firdausī. Gurgānī's poem was to him the equal of the legend of Tristan and Isolde, in the German version by Gottfried von Strassburg, as both poems gave expression to the same literary theme: the power of physical love over all the inhibitions imposed by morality and law. He admired in *Vīs-u Rāmīn* especially the formal perfection, and the "Schmelz der Darstellung", as well as the "Meisterschaft der Charakterzeichnung und Seelenmalerei". Such terms, to which "psychologische Wahrheit und Tiefe", "sittlicher Gehalt" and "Adel der Empfindung" should be added, are very characteristic of the scale of values Ethé applied to Persian literature.

[33] Der Çufismus und seine drei Hauptvertreter in der persischen Poesie, vorzugsweise Dschelâleddîn Rûmî. In: *Morgenländische Studien*, 95–96.

[34] *Die höfische und romantische Poesie der Perser*, Hamburg 1887, 12.

[35] Ueber persische Tenzonen. In: *Verhandlungen des fünften internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, Berlin 1882, II/1, 48–135.

[36] *Op. cit.*, 29.

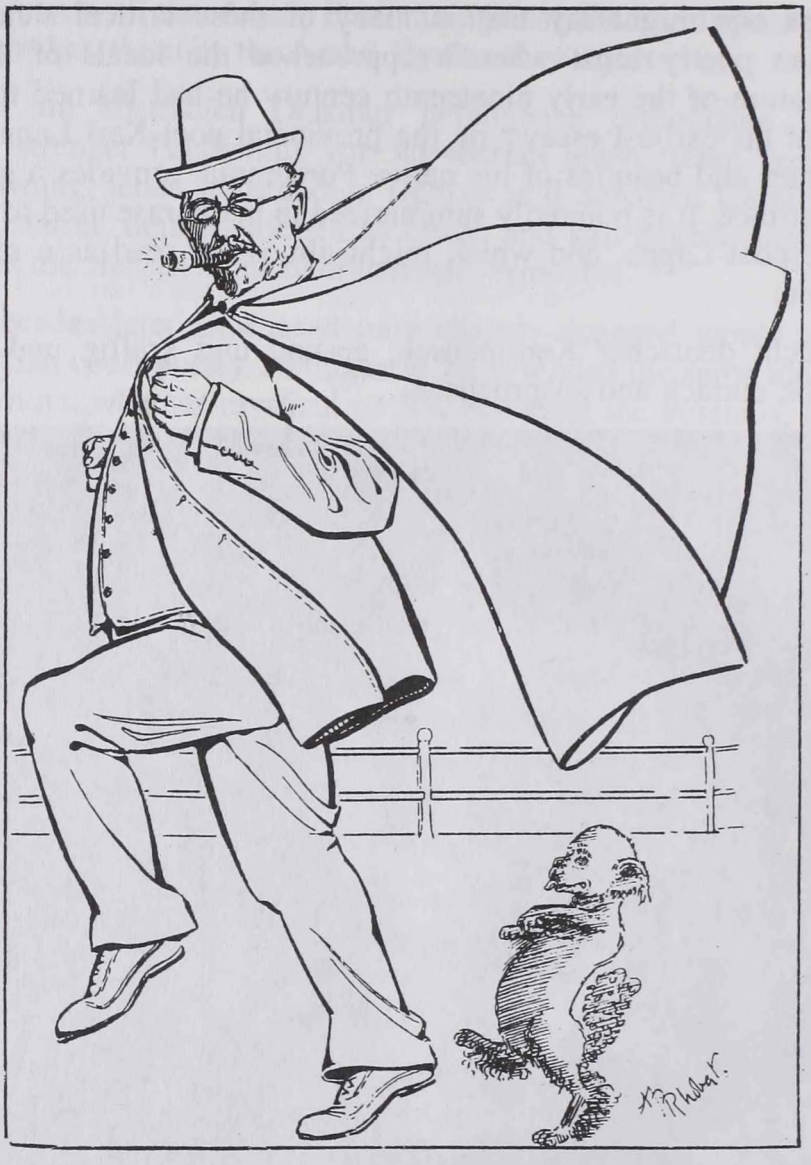
Perhaps one might say that in many of these critical statements Ethé values Persian poetry most when it approached the ideals of the romantic German literature of the early nineteenth century he had learned to love in his youth. One of his earliest essays, on the provincial poet Karl Lappe, who sang the good values and beauties of his native Pomerania, provides a good illustration of this attitude. It is pointedly summarized in the phrase used to characterize the romantic poet Lappe, and which might almost be read as a selfportrait of Hermann Ethé:

> "Ein ächt deutscher Kernmensch, gesund und kräftig und dabei schlicht, einfach und anspruchslos ..."[37]



Hermann Ethé as an Aberystwyth professor.
By courtesy of the Librarian of University College, University of Wales, Aberystwyth

[37] Ein Dichter des Pommernlandes. In: *Essays und Studien*, 6.



"... a man who marched rather than walked".
From: *The Aberdons: 12 caricatures by Ap Rhobert*, Aberystwyth, Galloway, 1910.
By courtesy of the Librarian of University College, University of Wales, Aberystwyth

It may very well be that Ethé's 'history of Persian literature', if it had ever been written, would not have stood the test of time if these ideas had played too much of a conspicuous role in it. Perhaps we should, in the end, be thankful to Fate, which in many ways has been so unkind to this industrious scholar of many talents, for preventing him from completing the most ambitious project of his early years. Perhaps it is best as it is: that we do have the philological works of Hermann Ethé as a monument to his great scholarship, which is really immune to the ravages of time.

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ZUR GESCHICHTE DES STAMMES DER BĪGDELĪS IM SPIEGEL IHRER URKUNDEN

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Ich möchte diesen Text mit einem Plädoyer für methodische Interdisziplinarität eröffnen. Das Reden vom Interdisziplinären — der Begriff galt zeitweilig schlechthin als Modeausdruck — bezog und beschränkte sich in den vergangenen fünfzehn bis zwanzig Jahren allzuoft auf die organisierte Kooperation zwischen institutionalisierten Disziplinen. Die davon erwartete gegenseitige Bereicherung von Gelehrten unterschiedlicher Ausrichtung blieb dabei allzuoft aus. Worin lagen die Gründe dafür? Oftmals wohl darin, daß die Frage nach den jeweiligen methodischen und kognitiven Besonderheiten oder Analogien der interdisziplinären Kooperationspartner vernachlässigt, ja meistens gar nicht gestellt wurde. Oft blieb die vorauszusetzende, gegenseitige Verständigung darüber aus, in welchen Fächern und Ausrichtungen welche Erkenntnisfragen gestellt und welche diskursiven Problemstellungen verfolgt werden, welche Aufklärungen und Erkenntnisse von Vertretern jeweiliger Fächer vor dem Hintergrund ihrer spezifischen professionellen Methoden und der bei ihnen laufenden Diskurse und Forschungsausrichtungen überhaupt erwartet werden können. So kann es leicht passieren, daß aus einem interdisziplinären Treffen keineswegs der ersehnte, synthetisierte Informationsstand auf höherer Ebene zustandekommt, der von manchen vielleicht in praktiziertem Hegelianismus angestrebt worden sein mag.

Interdisziplinäre Sammelbände zu übergreifenden Themen hinterlassen oft den schalen Eindruck, als seien hier zu einem vorgegebenen Rahmenthema methodisch und diskursiv unzusammenhängende Einzelbeiträge versammelt worden; oder es mag sich der Eindruck verfestigen, daß ein und dasselbe methodische Gerüst an zwar inhaltlich unterschiedliche, aber analog strukturierte Einzelthemen angelegt wird, die dann fortlaufend als Fallstudien zu jeweils weithin gleichbleibenden Erkenntniskonzepten präsentiert werden und nicht eben leidenschaftliche Kommentare stimulieren wie: „Aha; so ist das also bei Euch: bei uns ist es in dem und dem Bereich auch so". Man stelle sich dazu Loriots skeptisches Gesicht bei der Feststellung von Banalitäten vor und erhält damit einen Parameter für den begrenzten Unterhaltungswert vieler pompös angekündigter „interdisziplinärer" Gesprächs- und Diskussionsrunden. Aus eben diesem Grunde hat die „Interdisziplinarität" in den jüngsten Jahren vieles von ihrer einstigen Popularität — nicht zuletzt auch bei den Geldgebern — eingebüßt.

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Wie ist dem entgegenzuwirken? Mehrere Strategien sind denkbar. Für sehr überzeugend halte ich die ehrliche Absichtsbekundung, man wolle bei einem Treffen von methodisch und diskursiv unterschiedlich arbeitenden Wissenschaftlern nichts anderes als den jeweiligen *state of the art* vermitteln, sozusagen als eine kontemporäre Leistungsschau. Eher dem intellektuellen Divertimento — nicht notwendigerweise auch der wissenschaftlichen Seriosität — solcher Treffen dienen Radikalkritiken methodischer und diskursiver *mainstreams* durch sektiererisch anmutende, theoretische Außenseiter wie etwa Verfechter der Welteislehre, Nostratiker, Monogenetiker oder *New Age*-Esoteriker und derlei mehr.

Besonders förderlich wären natürlich kritische Auseinandersetzungen von Vertretern unterschiedlicher Richtungen, die versuchen, tatsächlich auf die methodischen, erkenntnistheoretischen und hermeneutischen Besonderheiten der disziplinär verbindlichen, eventuell durchaus konträren Standpunkte der jeweiligen Gesprächsteilnehmer einzugehen. Gerade das kommt leider viel zu selten vor.

Ich möchte meinen folgenden Beitrag als einen Hybrid zwischen den letzten beiden genannten Optionen verstanden wissen. Allerdings riskiere ich dabei, daß mein theoretischer Ansatz zu wenig bizarr und damit zu wenig unterhaltsam sein mag, ohne daß die wissenschaftliche Ernsthaftigkeit dadurch ausreichend gestärkt würde. Für diesen Fall bitte ich Sie vorsorglich um Vergebung.

Gilles Deleuze und Félix Guattari verdanken wir eine sehr bildhafte Gegenüberstellung zweier Erkenntniswege, des „Pfahlwurzeldenkens" und des „Rhizomdenkens", für das sie auch den Ausdruck vom „*mille plateaux*-Denken" geprägt haben. Streng genommen handelt es sich bei diesen beiden Kontrapositionen weniger um methodische, sondern hauptsächlich um diskursorientierte Begriffe. „Pfahlwurzelige" Denkweisen sind auf die Ermittlung zeitlich vorausgegangener Ursächlichkeiten, früherer Stufen von Phänomenen ausgerichtet, definieren gegenwärtige Verhältnisse aus eben diesen vorzeitlichen Phänomenen und finden ihre Erfüllung in der Rekonstruktion und der Markierung jeweils ältester und — parallel dazu — klassischer Phasen untersuchter Themen. Ursprung, Höhepunkt und Dekadenz kennzeichnen „pfahlwurzelige" Fragestellungen, in denen die Analytiker sich geistig so verhalten, wie es Schliemann bei der Ausgrabung Trojas unterstellt wird. Formenreiches, interpretierbares Material wurde der Ermittlung jeweils älterer Schichten geopfert, die schließlich zwar (vielleicht) das älteste Stadium dessen, was Troja gewesen sein mag, repräsentieren, allerdings kaum noch irgendwelche Aussagekraft aufweisen.

In Indien stand jüngst die pfahlwurzelig gedachte Mißachtung jüngerer Bauphasen neben religiösen Ideologemen am Anfang der Demolierung der Baburi-Moschee aus dem Jahr 1526 in Ayodhya zugunsten der Rekonstruktion der Geburtsstelle des Hindu-Gottes Rama. Aus vergleichbaren Überlegungen resultieren manche „denkmalschützerische" Rekonstruktionen, die üppiges Dekor eindrucksvoller Baudenkmäler zugunsten der Herausarbeitung archaischer Unansehnlichkeit ignorieren und folgerichtig vernichten. Die ästhetische Rechtferti-

gung mit dem Argument der „Schönheit" der schlichten, frühen Form ist diskursiver Bestandteil pfahlwurzeliger Denkweise.

Die Rhizomiker interessiert demgegenüber nicht so sehr, was am Anfang stand, sondern was aus dem irgendwann anfänglich Gewesenen geworden ist, die Formen- und Funktionenvielfalt und Entfaltungsfreudigkeit später, gleichzeitiger und miteinander kausal oder assoziativ vernetzter Erscheinungen. Im ästhetischen Bereich mögen solchen Ansätzen Synkretismus, postmoderne Verwirrung oder Beliebigkeit entsprechen.

Zur Belebung das wissenschaftlichen Geschehens dienen die Rhizomiker allemal. Wenn ich im folgenden einen enzyklopädischen Aufsatz des bekannten und — um keine Mißverständnisse aufkommen zu lassen — von mir hochgeschätzten turkologischen Sprachwissenschaftlers Gerhard Doerfer aus Göttingen zum kontrastiven Anlaß für einen rhizomischen Ausfall meinerseits nehme, möchte ich vorneweg eines klarstellen: gerade Doerfer ist in vielen seiner Forschungsbeiträge als rhizomischer Kritiker des Pfahlwurzeldenkens aufgetreten! Als Beispiel genügt es in iranistischem Zusammenhang, auf sein berühmtes und umstrittenes *bonmot* zu verweisen, in dem er das Nordtadschikische als „eine Turksprache *in statu nascendi*" diagnostizierte. Ich gestehe: ich liebe diesen Satz.

In der Encyclopaedia Iranica finden wir allerdings einen Doerfer'schen Beitrag, der solcher Rhizomität absolut entbehrt. Es geht um das Stichwort **„Bīgdelī"** (auch: „Bēgdelī" oder „Bagdīlū"), ein Wort, das Doerfer als die Bezeichnung für einen „former Turkish tribe" angibt.

Der Doerfer'sche Beitrag umfaßt etwa eine Seite. Eingangs wird nicht etwa nach eventuellen heutzutage aktuellen Gesichtspunkten des Begriffs „Bīgdelī" gefragt, sondern nach frühen Belegen des Namens in chronologischer Abfolge von Maḥmūd Kāšġarī bis zu Eskandar Monšī, seiner sprachlichen Analyse und eventuellen toponymischen Assoziationen. Das zweite Drittel des Aufsatzes befaßt sich mit Spekulationen zur im besten Fall vage belegten Frühgeschichte der Bīgdelīs und mit ihrer Evidenz aus Anatolien und Syrien (vom 11. bzw. 14. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert). Der letzte Teil des Aufsatzes ist den Bīgdelīs in Iran gewidmet. Sie konstituierten von etwa 1500 an den vornehmsten und wichtigsten Teil des damals prominenten Qızılbāš-Stammes der sogenannten Šāmlūs, der seinerseits mit dem Zusammenbruch der Ṣafavidenmacht im frühen 18. Jahrhundert aus den gängigen narrativen Quellen — angeblich — verschwindet. Ungeachtet des Umstandes, daß dieser für die frühe Ṣafavidengeschichte wohl wichtigste Qızılbāš-Stamm — ich meine die Šāmlūs — in einer prominenten tribalen Familie — eben den Bīgdelīs — bis zum heutigen Tag weiterlebt, blendet Doerfer sie aus der historischen Berichterstattung mit folgenden Worten aus: „during the 12/18th century their prestige waned and the primacy passed to other tribes. It was apparently during that century that the Bīgdelī became sedentary, settling for the most part in Azerbaijan. While the names of other Oghuz tribes such as the Bayāt are preserved in a number of Iranian toponyms, the name Bīgdelī appears to have survived only in personal names, the best known being Āḏar Bīgdelī."

Das verstehe ich unter Pfahlwurzeltum: zwei Drittel einer Seite für etymologische Belege, eine halbe Seite für zum guten Teil ungesicherte historische Evidenzen dieses Stammes in der Frühzeit sowie in Syrien und in Anatolien, wieder zwei Drittel einer Seite für die „klassische Zeit" der Bīgdelīs im ṣafavidischen Persien (16. und 17. Jahrhundert) — der verbleibende Rest (also die Neuzeit) wird offenbar als so uninteressant verstanden, daß sich weitere Mitteilungen darüber gar nicht mehr auszahlen.

Nun hat es sich aber im Jahr 1367 iranischer Sonnen-Hiğra-Rechnung — 1988/89 nach unserer Zeitrechnung — begeben, daß der iranische Gelehrte Ġolām-Ḥoseyn Bīgdelī unter Mitwirkung seines Verwandten Moḥammad-Reżā Bīgdelī in Teheran einen immerhin 1072 Seiten starken Band unter dem Titel *Tārīx-e Bīgdelī* herausgegeben hat, in dem eine ungeahnte Fülle von Urkunden — insgesamt 317 Schriftstücke — aus der weitverzweigten Familienüberlieferung der Bīgdelīs versammelt worden ist. Der Herausgeber hat sie — nicht ganz systematisch und eher unübersichtlich — gemischt nach inhaltlichen und formalen Kriterien zusammengestellt: 100 Urkunden über Fragen von Grundherrschaft und Grundbesitz; 28 religionsrechtliche Entscheidungen; 56 Ernennungsurkunden; 18 Urkunden über Gehälter, Pensionen und Honorare sowie Steuernachlässe; 7 Erlässe, die sich auf geographische Regionen beziehen; 13 Heiratsverträge; 25 gerichtliche Klageschriften; 51 *vaqf*-Urkunden; 5 Nachlaßregelungen; 14 weitere Dokumente, darunter Bevollmächtigungen, Pachtverträge, Briefe und derlei mehr.

Wir haben es hier also mit einer Art rekonstruiertem Familienarchiv der Bīgdelīs zu tun. Es ist anzunehmen, daß diese erhaltenen Dokumente aus Familienbesitz nicht zuletzt zum guten Teil die kollektive familiengeschichtliche Erinnerung stützen, also durchaus einiges über die Selbstreflexion der rezenten Bīgdelīs aussagen, unter Umständen auch jenseits eventueller Evidenzen in Chroniken oder anderen außerhalb der Familie angesiedelten Quellen. Dabei darf ja keineswegs vergessen werden, daß der familiäre (also der innere) Charakter der hier gesammelten Urkunden sich ja nur auf ihre Inhalte und auf die näheren Umstände ihrer Präservation bezieht; als Dokumente sind sie mit wenigen Ausnahmen samt und sonders öffentlicher Provenienz, stehen also durchaus nicht im Verdacht, Produkte emischer Selbstschau der heutigen Bīgdelīs zu sein!

In seiner Einleitung scheint auch der Herausgeber pfahlwurzelige Traditionen bei der Darstellung der eigenen Familiengeschichte zu verfolgen: er beschäftigt sich ganz besonders intensiv mit der Ṣafavidenzeit, in der er — wie auch Gerhard Doerfer — den Höhepunkt der historischen Überlieferungen seines Stammes sieht. Sehr schnell erkennen wir aber, daß er bei der Schilderung nachṣafavidischer Verhältnisse keineswegs verstummt, sondern sowohl auf der Basis der Dokumente als auch der familieninternen Traditionen die herausragenden Funktionäre seines Stammes aus dem späteren 18., dem 19. und auch des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts genau und konkret vorstellt. Das entspricht durchaus dem Charakter der in seiner Veröffentlichung enthaltenen Dokumente.

Vor dem Hintergrund des nunmehr vorliegenden Materials sollten Historikerinnen zwangsläufig zu der Einsicht kommen, daß — diesseits der inzwischen weithin bekannten Šāmlū-/Bīgdelī-Aspekte der Ṣafavidenperiode (16., 17. und frühes 18. Jahrhundert) — die sicherlich interessanteste und am meisten lohnende Epoche aus der Familiengeschichte der Bīgdelīs die Zeit von der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts und die ganze Qāğārenära hindurch bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts sein muß, also diejenige Zeit, in der Doerfer die Bīgdelīs schlicht und ergreifend aus dem Gang der Weltgeschichte (und auch der Regionalgeschichte) sich ausklinken ließ!

Ich betone noch einmal: meine Ausführungen enthalten keine Zurückweisung der wissenschaftlichen Betrachtungsweise Gerhard Doerfers. Es geht mir vielmehr darum, die Berechtigung, ja vielleicht auch Notwendigkeit einer **anderen** Betrachtungsweise zusätzlich und parallel zu der in Doerfers Artikel zur Anwendung gekommenen vor Augen zu führen.

Es ist also bis jetzt zu resümieren: Die Ermittlung und Präsentation sozusagen „archäologischer" Erkenntnisse über die erste rekonstruierbare Nennung des Namens „Bīgdelī" sowie Spekulationen über ihre frühe Geschichte und ihre Präsenz in Syrien und Anatolien bis zum 15. Jahrhundert bedürfen offenbar für operierende Pfahlwurzler keiner weiteren Begründung ihrer Wertigkeit. Sie gehen wohl davon aus, daß solche Informationen einen grundsätzlichen, axiomatischen Eigenwert haben, der vor allem durch „Anciennität" bzw. „Antiquität" signalisiert wird.

Eine Wertbestätigung bekommen solche Informationen durch den Umstand, daß die Forschung schon seit geraumer Zeit den Bīgdelīs bzw. den Šāmlūs für die Ṣafavidenzeit eine besondere Bedeutung zuerkannt und ihnen mithin einen *locus classicus* in der Geschichte Irans zugewiesen hat. Damit hat die Spurensuche nach historischen und prähistorischen Wurzeln eine zusätzliche, nun aber auch endgültige Sinngebung erhalten.

Unter dem Gesichtspunkt vernetzter Familienforschung und der Frage nach der gesellschaftlichen Relevanz der Bīgdelīs im Gang der sozial- und kulturhistorischen Entwicklung Irans sind aber diese Perioden, bis zu einem gewissen Grad sogar einschließlich der Ṣafavidenzeit, überhaupt nicht oder nur begrenzt erheblich. Entscheidend dafür ist die Quellenlage: Für die Analyse der Bīgdelīs im Persien des 19. Jahrhunderts liegt um vieles mehr Quellenmaterial vor, als *name-dropping* narrative Quellen bis zum Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts anbieten.

Nur ganz wenige Urkunden aus dem hier vorzustellenden Kompendium datieren auf die „große" Zeit der Ṣafaviden zurück. Das hängt damit zusammen, daß die durch sie dokumentierten Rechtstitel in späteren Generationen ihre Bedeutung verloren und wohl von der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts an irrelevant waren. So ist unter den 100 Grundbesitzurkunden nur eine einzige ṣafavidischer Herkunft: sie geht auf das Jahr 995 h.q. (beg. 12. XII. 1586) zurück und wurde offenbar nicht als Beleg eines Rechtstitels, sondern als Antiquität aufbewahrt. Die nächstälteste Urkunde aus diesem Teil datiert aus dem Jahr 1204 h.q. (beg.

21. IX. 1789) und eröffnet eine große Sammlung von 99 einschlägigen Dokumenten, deren jüngstes aus dem Jahr 1312 h.q. (beg. 5. VII. 1894) stammt. Ihre Analyse läßt viele Schlüsse über die territoriale Zuständigkeit und Verbreitung der Bīgdelīs im Persien des 19. Jahrhunderts zu — die sich übrigens diese ganze Zeit hindurch stolz mit dem zusätzlichen Ehrennamen „Šāmlū" schmückten und mithin die These, die Šāmlūs seien in nachṣafavidischer Zeit von der Bildfläche verschwunden, eklatant widerlegen.

Die Bīgdelīs besaßen des ganze Jahrhundert hindurch mit ziemlicher Konstanz Dörfer und Liegenschaften, woselbst sie unterschiedliche Ansprüche und Rechte anzumelden hatten: Anteile am gesamten Ernteaufkommen in unterschiedlicher Bemessung, besonders viele Wasserrechte, an machen Orten besaßen sie *qanāt*-Bewässerungsanlagen bzw. standen ihnen Einnahmen daraus zu. Ihre Besitztitel konzentrierten sich auf folgende Gegenden: Sāvä (1/2, 1/28, 1/32, 1/54), Qom (1/7, 1/10, 1/11, 1/16, 1/32, 1/58, 1/71, 1/76), insbesondere aber auf das dazwischen liegende Xalağestān (1/33, 1/44, 1/75, 1/86, 1/95) und, im späteren 19. Jahrhundert, auf das Xamsä-Gebiet (1/26, 1/70, 1/72, 1/78, 1/79, 1/87, 1/91–1/100). Diese Urkunden bieten reiches Material darüber, wie die führenden Persönlichkeiten und *lineages* der Bīgdelīs darum bemüht waren, die Folgen aufsplitternder Erbteilung möglichst zu verhindern, insbesondere auch die Besitztitel ihrer jeweiligen Frauen genau festschreiben zu lassen und ihre Ansprüche durchaus auch kleinteilig auszuweiten und zu mehren: Ertrags- und Pachtrechte auf Sommer- und Winterweiden wurden erworben (1/13), einzelne Dorfteile oder Anteile des Gesamtaufkommens, Läden, Mühlen, Weiderechte, Plantagenerweiterungen und immer wieder Wasserrechte (1/8, 1/20, 1/21, 1/35, 1/43). Ein besonderer Schwerpunkt lag in dem Areal um Ḥoseynābād unweit von Malāyer (in der Nähe von Šāh-vērdī-Ḥeṣār: 1/40, 1/41, 1/45, 1/50, 1/59, 1/60, 1/66, 1/73, 1/77; s. auch unten, 4/9). Interessant mögen für vergleichend arbeitende Sprachwissenschaftler die heute obsoleten, zahlreichen türkischen Toponyme aus Xalağestān sein, die in vielen Urkunden genannt werden.

Weitere Besitzansprüche erwarben die Bīgdelīs im Laufe der Zeit in der Umgebung Teherans (1/25, 1/64, 1/69 und 1/80) vermutlich im Zusammenhang mit der Ausübung diverser Hofämter, außerdem noch bei Hamadān (1/57, 1/63), Eṣfahān (1/10) und Zanğān (1/82).

Bis in die Zeit vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg zählten die Bīgdelīs mithin zu den ansehnlichen grundbesitzenden Familien, die ihren zeremonialen Ruhm als die Erben eines der großen Stämme der Ṣafavidenzeit seitens der herrscherlichen Administration durchaus zelebrieren ließen. Ihr wirtschaftliches Engagement bei den Xalağ sollte die einschlägige Forschung (ich denke dabei durchaus auch an Gerhard Doerfer, gemeinsam mit Semih Tezcan einer der unbestrittenen „Väter" der Xalağ-Forschung) dazu animieren, über die Bīgdelīs die jüngere Kulturgeschichte der Xalağ zu erschließen oder erschließen zu lassen!

In diesem Zusammenhang mag es besonders anregend sein, die in Teil III („Ernennungsurkunden, Diplome") gesammelten Urkunden näher anzusehen. Von einem Stück abgesehen, hat sich hier der Herausgeber zunächst dazu ver-

leiten lassen, eine Anzahl von die Šāmlūs (Bīgdelīs) betreffenden ṣafavidischen Urkunden anderen Publikationen zu entnehmen und hier noch einmal (durchaus mit Angabe der jeweiligen Quellen) vorzustellen. Interessanter als diese ṣafavidischen Reminiszenzen ist eine Reihe von afšāridischen Ernennungsurkunden, deren Wiedergabe Ġolām-Ḥoseyn Bīgdelī der aus dem 18. Jahrhundert stammenden Chronik *Nāder-nāmä* entnommen hat. Sie belegen allesamt trefflich, daß die Bīgdelīs unter Nāder-Šāh durchaus noch in hohem Ansehen standen; so wurde einer von ihnen (Moḥammad Zamān Xān Bīgdelī Šāmlū) zum Gouverneur von Astarābād ernannt (3/5), und Moḥammad-Qolī Xān Bīgdelī bekleidete für eine Weile die Würde des Wesirsamtes (3/10). Die Urkunden 3/12 bis 3/31 stammen allesamt aus der Qāğārenperiode, und die verbleibenden 25 Stücke entstanden in Kanzleien des Pahlavī-Regimes.

Ich beschränke mich hier vorerst auf eine summarische Einschätzung dieses Materials: Es ist erstaunlich, in welch hohem Maße die Ernennungen — also Bestätigungen öffentlicher Funktionen — mit den aus dem ersten Teil ermittelten topographischen Einheiten korrelieren. Insbesondere sind viele Funktionsernennungen und -ausübungen für Qom und das Xamsä-Gebiet nachweisbar. Bīgdelīs traten ferner im Teheraner Kosakenregiment auf (3/21). Militärische Ränge bekleiden die Bīgdelīs auch noch in der Pahlavī-Ära, wie eine Reihe von Ernennungsurkunden Reżā Šāhs, aber auch des später ermordeten Premiers Teymūrtāš belegen. Hofminister Ḥoseyn ʿAlā ernannte in kaiserlichem Auftrag im Jahr 1326 h.š. (1947/48) Yadollāh Bīgdelī (3/44) zum zeremoniellen Hofwaffenträger *(aslaḥä-dār-bāšī)*, ʿAbbās-qolī Bīgdelī wurde vom Schah persönlich 1336 h.š. (1957/58) als Gouverneur von Gonābād bestallt.

Aber auch andere Karrieren sind bei den Bīgdelīs des 20. Jahrhunderts anzutreffen: Der Theologe Moḥammad-Hoseyn Żiyāʾī-Bīgdelī erlangte im Jahr 1321 h.š. (1942/43) den *eğtehād*-Grad (3/53–55), sieben Jahre später wurde dieser Vorgang vom Teheraner Kultusministerium bestätigt (3/56).

Auch Teil IV steht mit den Urkunden des ersten Teiles in Zusammenhang: als Gehaltsempfänger verfügen die Bīgdelīs über Einkünfte aus dem Gebiet von Tūysarkān und Malāyer, nicht allzuweit von ihren Besitzungen von Ḥoseynābād entfernt (4/5, 5/6 u.a.). Die größere Zahl von Urkunden, die sich auf Gehaltsanweisungen aus dem Steueraufkommen ihrer eigenen Besitztümer beziehen, lassen erkennen, daß in diesem Areal westlich von Hamadān die Bīgdelīs sowohl als lokale Grundherren als auch als staatliche Funktionsträger fest verwurzelt waren und dort in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts keineswegs dem Muster eines *absentee landlord* folgten, sondern in jeder Hinsicht — vermutlich auch militärisch — präsent waren. Die Annahme liegt nahe, daß es gerade ihre längerfristige territoriale Einwurzelung war, die es ihnen immer wieder ermöglichte, seitens der zentralen Finanzverwaltung auf ihren eigenen Besitzungen Steuerbegünstigungen und -nachlässe aller Art zu erwirken. Die Zusammenschau der Besitz-, Ernennungs- und Gehaltsurkunden macht deutlich, daß führende Bīgdelīs von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts an erfolgreich daran gearbeitet

haben, durch Einsatz unterschiedlicher Maßnahmen auf ihren eigenen Latifundien die weitgehende Steuerbefreiung zu erlangen.

Angesichts des starken Interesses, das viele Bīgdelīs für die Besitzverhältnisse ihrer Töchter bzw. ihrer angeheirateten Frauen aufbrachten (s. oben über die Urkunden aus Teil 1), mag auch die Analyse der 13 Heiratsverträge der hier vorgestellten Textsammlung reizvoll sein. Gleiches gilt für die gerichtlichen Klage- und Streitschriften.

Das Kernstück einer sich dieserart anbietenden Untersuchung zur politischen Ökonomie der Bīgdelīs im 19. Jahrhundert wäre allerdings der achte Teil der Sammlung, der die Texte von insgesamt 51 *vaqf*-Urkunden enthält. Bei kursorischem Durchgang fällt auch hier die weitreichende topographische Überlappung von Besitztiteln, Gehalts- und Funktionsrechten und Stiftungen der Bīgdelīs auf. Hamadān (8/4, 8/10, 8/14, 8/17, 8/18), Miyānä (hinter Zanǧān, 8/5), Nahāvand unweit Hamadāns (8/7, 8/9–10), Malāyer (8/10, 8/25, 8/26, 8/27 etc.) werden hier genannt. Urkunde 8/11 ist besonders interessant: In eine Stiftung zugunsten des Grabmales von Imam ᶜAlī in Naǧaf stiftete Ǧānī Xān Šāmlū Bīgdelī Erträge einer Fülle von Dörfern in den Provinzen Aserbaidschan, Kermān, ᶜErāq-e ᶜaǧam (insbesondere aus der Gegend von Eṣfahān), aus der Umgebung von Qom, Golpāygān, Nahāvand, Rey, Qazvīn, Soltānīyä (bei Zanǧān), vor allem aber aus der Umgebung von Hamadān. Sukzessive begegnen wir mithin denjenigen Gebieten, die wir schon als Träger des Bīgdelī'schen Grundbesitzes kennengelernt haben.

Alles in allem stellen sich die Areale zwischen Hamadān und Malāyer als diejenigen Gebiete heraus, die von den *vaqf*-Aktivitäten der Bīgdelīs im 19. Jahrhundert am intensivsten erfaßt worden sind. Das ist wiederum besonders faszinierend vor dem Hintergrund der Tatsache, daß Malāyer seinerseits in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts auf der Basis konzentrierter Einsätze von *vaqf*-Aktivitäten überhaupt erst zur Stadt aufsteigen konnte und folgerichtig seit der Mitte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts ein veritables regionales Zentrum abgab, das seinen Höhepunkt erst in der Zeit nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg überschritt. Der darauffolgende Bedeutungsverlust hängt damit zusammen, daß durch die zentralistische Politik in der Pahlavī-Ära der Einfluß regionaler Zentren zugunsten von Provinzhauptstädten und letzten Endes zugunsten der Metropole Teheran abnahm.

Es wäre mithin sehr interessant zu untersuchen, inwieweit die Bīgdelīs am vorjahrhundertlichen Aufschwung Malāyers und der diese Stadt umgebenden westiranischen Region beteiligt gewesen sein mochten.

Ich komme zu meinem einleitend vorgetragenen Ansatz zurück: In unseren Fächern, die sich unter dem Schirmbegriff der Iranistik versammeln, stimuliert gerade unser multidisziplinärer Ansatz die Überlegung, daß es nicht nur, ja, vielleicht sogar weniger unsere analytischen Methoden sind, durch die wir bestimmte Forschungsrichtungen und -inhalte anstreben, sondern eher unsere jeweiligen intellektuellen Verbindlichkeiten, Diskurse und Paradigmen, die unsere Entscheidungen über den Einsatz unserer jeweiligen analytischen Methoden be-

herrschen. Wir kommen früher oder später nicht darum herum zu akzeptieren, daß sozial- und geisteswissenschaftliche Forschungen und Disziplinen nicht nur durch einen vorgegebenen Methodenkanon bestimmt werden, sondern auch durch metawissenschaftliche, zuweilen auch extrawissenschaftliche Fragestellungen, die nichtsdestoweniger in einzelnen Teildisziplinen und Schulen als verbindlich erachtet werden. Zusammentreffen von Vertretern iranistischer Fächer und Ausrichtungen wie im Moment das unsrige sind von vornherein potentiell erfolgreiche interdisziplinäre Ereignisse. Nicht nur die (selbstverständliche) tolerante Akzeptanz der Vielfalt unserer analytischen Methoden bieten die Voraussetzung dafür, daß dieses Potential auch eingelöst wird. Darüber hinaus sollten wir uns auch über den Stil und den intellektuellen — ja, vielleicht sogar den philosophischen — Hintergrund unserer jeweiligen Erkentniswege verständigen und sie gegebenenfalls auch miteinander erörtern.

Ich räume gern ein, daß mein diesbezüglicher Beitrag auf einem eher schlichten Ansatz beruht. Nichtsdestoweniger war vorzuführen, daß durch Stimulation rhizomischen Raisonnements aus der hier präsentierten Urkundensammlung viel mehr herauszuholen ist als durch die übliche, gutbürgerlich historistische Abhandlung vorhandener Informationen über einen türkischen Stamm in Persien, die ihre Erfüllung erschöpfend in Aussagen über kaum mehr Rekonstruierbares findet, das gewissermaßen reflexartig als bedeutsam und wertvoll vermittelt wird – aus dem einzigen Grund, weil in Teilen unserer Wissenschaftskultur offenbar ALT immer auch schon als SCHÖN gilt.

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SOGDIAN INSCRIPTIONS ON AVAR OBJECTS

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Sogdian inscriptions on objects discovered in Avar graves could be observed on the silver cup from grave 5 of the Middle-Avar cemetery at Budapest XIV – Tihanyi tér and on the similar specimen from grave 1 of the cemetery at Kiskőrös–Vágóhíd for the first time.[1] Both records indicated the weight of the vessels in the Sogdian alphabet of Buxāra and were obviously scratched on them in Buxāra at the time of their production. Thus, apparently, it was only the cups and not the Sogdian silversmiths preparing these records that got at the Avar Kaganate. The situation is the same in the case of the other eight Sogdian vessel inscriptions known from Eastern Europe as well.[2] From among them two records (their finding places are 'Russia' and Kopčiki respectively) represent royal inscriptions. Thus, without doubt, they were scratched on the vessels in Sogdiana. The third inscription (its finding place is Kerčeva) mentions the name of a citizen of Čāč, *viz. Mayāktāv*. Consequently, this record was also inscribed obviously in Central Asia (Čāč = Tashkent). Surely, the Sogdian inscriptions of the vessels from the sites Limarovka and Strelka were also prepared still in Central Asia because beside the Sogdian records Old Turkic runic inscriptions were also scratched on the vessels subsequently. Thus, they were probably brought to Eastern Europe by their Turk owners. It is only the Sogdian inscriptions of the site Nižne Šacharovka that are not accompanied by Old Turkic runic records. Accordingly, they may be supposed to have been brought to Eastern Europe by their Sogdian owners themselves. On one of them, *viz.* the name *Tamγan tarqan* (*tmγ'n trγ'n*) can be read whose bearer may be identical with Tagma tarchan who is mentioned by Menandros as leader of a Western Turk mission sent to Byzantium. Thus, it is only a few of the silver vessels inscribed with Sogdian inscriptions found in Eastern Europe can be supposed to have been brought there by their Sogdian owners. Now, however, the guilt silver big strap end, found in the Avar cemetery at Zamárdi, changes this picture radically.

[1] J. Harmatta, Hephthalita feliratok avar lelettárgyakon. (Hephthalite Inscriptions on Avar Finds.) *Antik Tanulmányok* 33 (1987–88) 145, 150.

[2] Concerning these inscriptions cf. V. A. Livshits–V. G. Lukonin, Srednepersidskie i sogdiyskie nadpisi na serebryanîkh sosudakh. *Vestnik Drevney Istorii* 1964/3. 165 skk.

The guilt silver big strap end discovered in 1992 during the excavations of Edith Bárdos in the Avar cemetery at Zamárdi (grave Nº 1280, Zamárdi Réti Földek; Inv. Nº 93. 16. 1.) deserves attention not only because it is one of the most remarkable pieces of Avar metal-work but the inscriptions scratched on its back side may also arouse keen interest.[3] On the back side of the long solid piece of the strap end two inscriptions can be observed while on the back plate of the short part fixed to the strap one record was scratched. From among these records, on the basis of its position, the Old Turkic runic inscription consisting of 6 letters and beginning on the oval part of the back plate of the long solid piece can be regarded as the oldest one. After the runic text, two stellate pentagons were scratched in and further, near the joint end, one line of an inscription scratched in the cursive Sogdian script of Samarkand can be seen which runs along the width of the strap end *i.e.* at right angles to the axis of the runic record. It reads as follows:

twγ'n'r

The head of *r* was scratched in weakly, so it can only be made out properly with a magnifying glass. The pattern of writing is characterized by squareness. The goldsmith produced the letter types that ought to have been scratched in the strap end in arched strokes, by making several straight scratches. This can easily be observed in the case of *t* which consists of 4 scratches, with the *w* formed by two scratches and in the case of the final *n* whose stroke, bending downwards, was scratched in the metal in two parts.

Obviously, the spelling *twγ'n'r* represents the Old Turkic personal name *Toγan Er* in the Sogdian alphabet of Samarkand. In Old Turkic both elements of the name appear in personal names and in the phrase *toγan ersig* ('manly') the two words are to be found together (*er* appears with the suffix *-sig*).[4] *Toγan Er* might have been the name of one of the subsequent owners of the belt.

On the back plate of the smaller metal mount fitted onto the belt with rivets, another Sogdian inscription scratched in the cursive alphabet of Samarkand can be observed. It was written in a scratched trapezoid square (cartouche) and consists of 3 lines which can be read as follows:

line 1 *'n*
2 *cγn*
3 *'δγγ*

Contrary to the Sogdian inscription of the big strap end, the pattern of writing here is characterized by an excellent execution of arched letter forms. It should be noted that in line 3 the goldsmith first scratched in the form *'γγ* which he later corrected into *'δγγ* outside the rectangular cartouche. In Sogdian the character δ, going back to the *l* of the Aramaic alphabet, was used to denote the *l*

[3] I express my best thanks to Dr. Edith Bárdos for the possibility of the study and publication of the inscriptions scratched on the strap end.

[4] For the Old Turkic data cf. *Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'*. (= *DTS*) Leningrad 1969. 571, 175.

of foreign languages. Thus, *e.g.* the transcription of the Sanskrit word *loka* was *δwk'* in Sogdian. Aramaic *ḥ* and *γ* again coincided in the letter *γ* in Sogdian. Accordingly the letter was used to transcribe both Turkic *γ* and *q* as it is proved among others by the Sogdian transcription *γ'γ'n* of the Old Turkic title *qaγan*. On the basis of these features of Sogdian transcriptions, the inscription can be interpreted as follows:

En Čïqan Alqaγ

In this text an Old Turkic name consisting of three elements can be recognized whose first two elements (*en* 'short' and *čïqan* 'nephew') are common in Uyγur names, *e.g. En Ïnanč tutuq*[5] or *Čïqan Tonyuquq, Išbara Čïqan küli čur*.[6] The third element *Alqaγ* is a derivative of the verb *alqa-* 'bless' 'glorify'[7] formed with the suffix *-γ*, meaning 'blessed', 'glorious'. Judged on the basis of its location, the second Sogdian inscription is the latest among the three records. Thus, *En Čïqan Alqaγ* was probably a later owner of the belt than *Toγan Er*.

It is worth observing that the two Sogdian inscriptions have been made by two different hands which proves the operation of two Sogdian goldsmiths in the area south of Lake Balaton. At the same time this circumstance offers the conclusion that a certain space of time has passed between the scratching of the two Sogdian inscriptions. On the basis of the three inscriptions the history of the strap end may be outlined in the following way. The Old Turkic runic inscription was made for the first owner of the belt who can be idenfied on the basis of the records scratched on it. The probable occurrence of the word *es* 'booty' in the different possible interpretations of the runic inscription may be a reference to the belt or at least to the strap end having got into the possession of a member of the Avar tribal aristocracy who had the inscription scratched, as a booty during the war between the Frank king Sigisbert and the Avar qaγan Bayan. Later on, the strap end became the property of someone else and probably wanted repair or adjustment and this was the reason that it got into the hands of a Sogdian goldsmith who scratched the name of this later owner on it in the Sogdian cursive alphabet of Samarkand. Without doubt, this Sogdian inscription, containing the name *Toγan Er*, is later than the Turkic runic record on the strap end because it was scratched further in than that, moreover because it is hardly conceivable that the engraver of the runic record would not have used the runic script also when scratching the owner's name.

Lastly, a new owner of the belt again turned to another Sogdian goldsmith who might have made the small mounting to be fixed on the belt or he might have attached it onto it and he might have scratched the new owner's name in a cartouche on the back plate. The order the inscriptions were made and the circumstances of the scratching may perhaps explain the difference in style between the big solid part of the strap end and the small mounting attached to

[5] *DTS* 173.
[6] *DTS* 151.
[7] *DTS* 38.

the belt and also the different degrees of wear and tear. In any case, the records the two Sogdian goldsmiths left on the strap end also indicate their contribution to the design and development of its present form and structure.[8]

The Sogdian inscriptions of the Avar strap end from Zamárdi could only have been made locally, accordingly they testify the Sogdian goldsmiths' practising their trade among the Avars. This fact makes the find unique from the view-point of cultural history. It was in connection with the fine execution of the gold belt loop found at Tab (county Somogy) and the gently engraved flower and leaf on it (the latter having close parallels in the metal-work flourishing mainly in Sogdian areas in Central Asia) that the idea arose that the piece could have been made by a craftsman coming from a Sogdian town and continuing the traditions of Sogdian goldsmithry. Thus, the hypothesis was formulated already in 1985 that "... among the Avars not only Byzantine craftsmen should be supposed to have been working but also Turkic and Iranian ones whom they might have brought with themselves from Central Asia or who might have immigrated from there into the Avar Kaganate later."[9] Now, the Sogdian inscriptions from Zamárdi leave no doubt about the fact that Sogdian goldsmiths must have been working among the Avars, at least in the area lying south of Lake Balaton as testified by both the Tab and the Zamárdi finds.

The Sogdians were the most agile traders and craftsmen of the Early Middle Ages.[10] As shown by their inscriptions, they spread as merchants and craftsmen nearly all over Asia from their small country in the valley of the river Zerafšān and their language was a kind of *lingua franca* for some centuries. They left their mark in Mongolia, China, Western Turkestan, North-Western India and in the area of the Seven Rivers but as members of Western Turk missions they also turned up in Byzantium and Iran. It could also be assumed, after all, that Sogdian goldsmiths might have got to the Avars via Byzantium but there can be no doubt that the Avars also had direct connections with the Western Turks. Accordingly, the Sogdians might have got to the territory of the Avar Kaganate within the framework of the Avar–Western Turk relations as well.

[8] In her letter, dated from the 2nd March 1994, Dr. Edith Bárdos already expressed the opinion that the strap end represents a product, going back to Merovingian prototypes, from the end of the 6th century A.D., while the jointed piece, prepared in notched animal style, may be the product of an Avar or in Avar service working goldsmith about the middle of the 7th century A.D.

[9] J. Harmatta, Avar rovásírásos tárgyfeliratok. (Avar Runic Inscriptions on Objects.) *Antik Tanulmányok* 32 (1985) 72.

[10] This peculiarity of the Sogdians is expressly emphasized by the Chinese sources. Thus, the note about Sogdiana of the *T'ang-shu* (ch. CCXXI, p. 1 foll.) says the followings: "Ils excellent au commerce et aiment le gain ; dès qu'un homme a vingt ans, il s'en va dans les royaumes voisins ; partout où on peut gagner ils sont allés." The encyclopaedia *T'ung tien* again included the following quotation about the Sogdians: "Le Mémoire de Wei Tsie sur les Barbares occidentaux dit. Les gens du Royaume de *K'ang* sont tous d'habiles commerçants : quand un garçon atteint l'âge de cinq ans, on le met à l'étude des livres ; quand il commence à les comprendre on l'envoi étudier le commerce ; gagner des bénéfices est considéré pour la plupart des habitants comme une chose exellente." (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue [Turcs] occidentaux.*[2] Paris (s.a.). 133, note 5, 135.



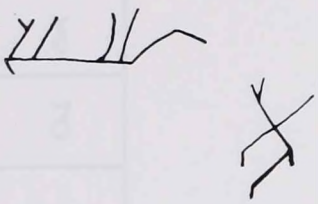
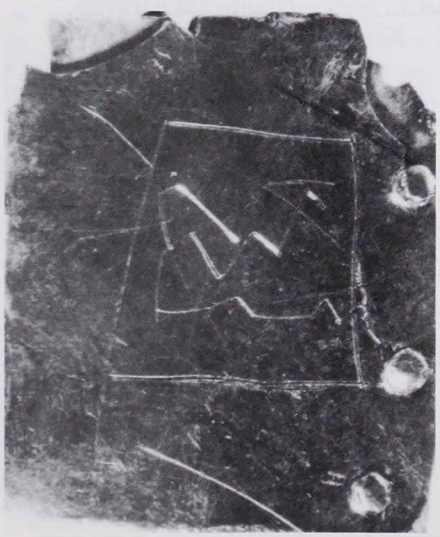


Fig. 1. The earlier Sogdian inscription of the big strap end from Zamárdi
Fig. 2. Drawing of the earlier Sogdian inscription of the big strap end from Zamárdi



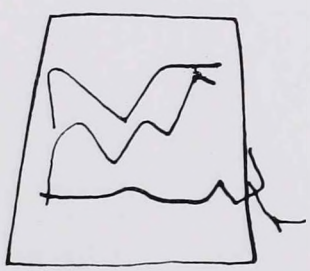


Fig. 3. The later Sogdian inscription of the big strap end from Zamárdi
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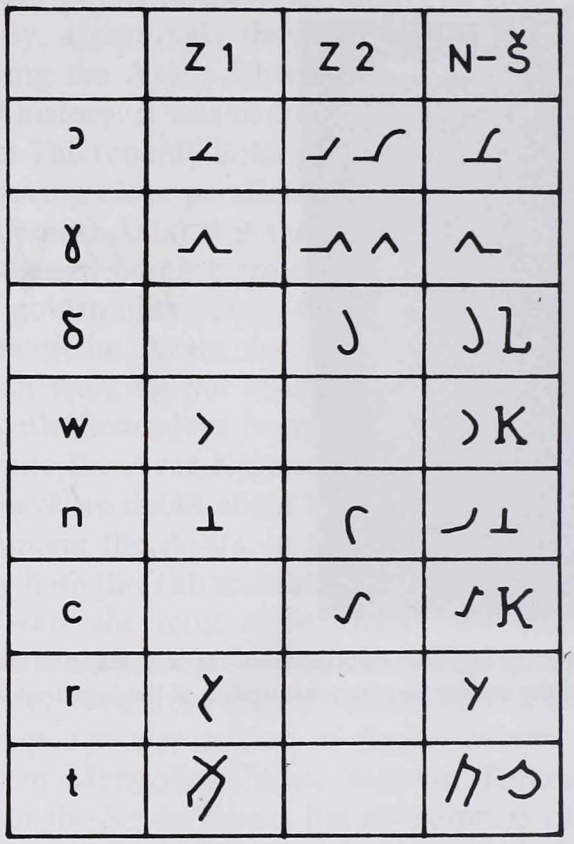
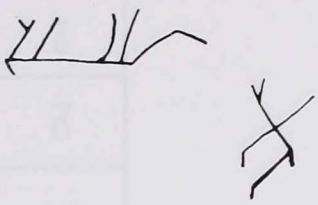


Fig. 5. Comparative table of Sogdian characters.
Abbreviations: Z 1 – earlier Sogdian inscription of Zamárdi,
Z 2 – later Sogdian inscription of Zamárdi, N–Š – Nižne–Šakharovka,
L – Limarovka, K – Kerčeva





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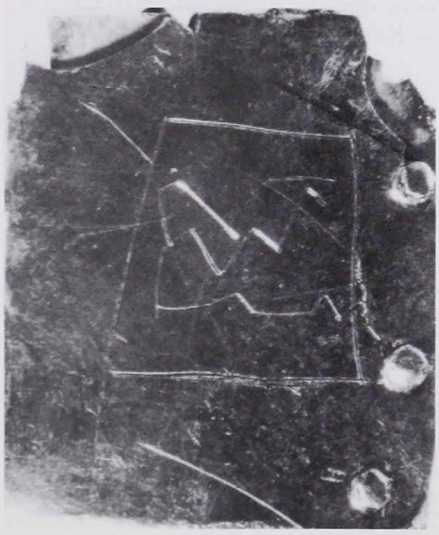



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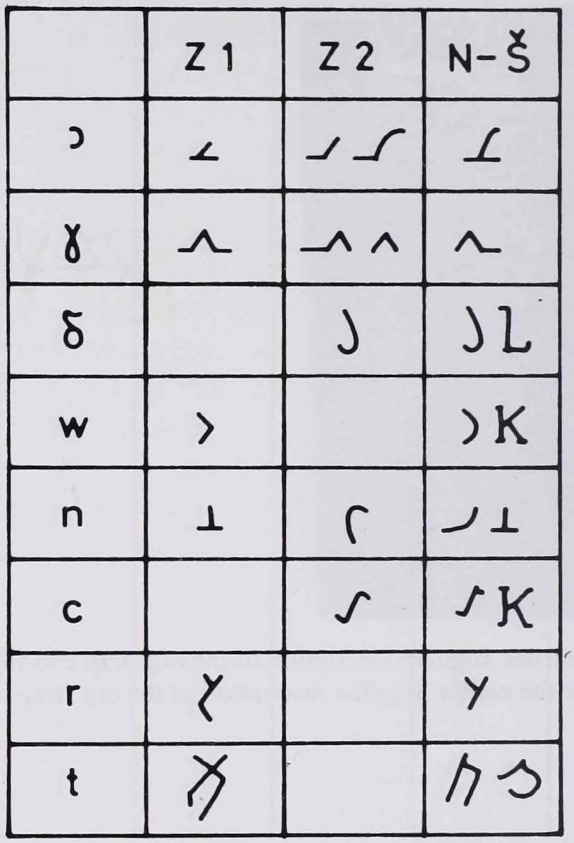

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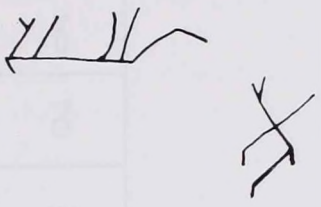

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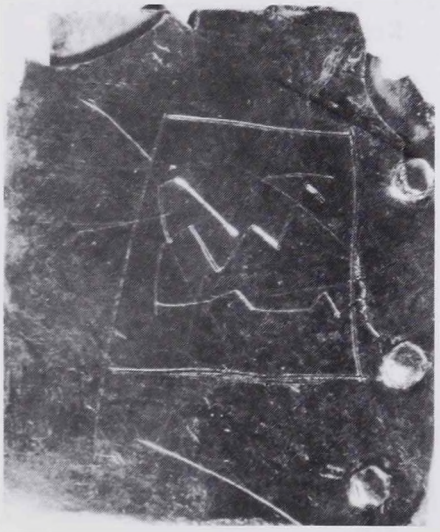



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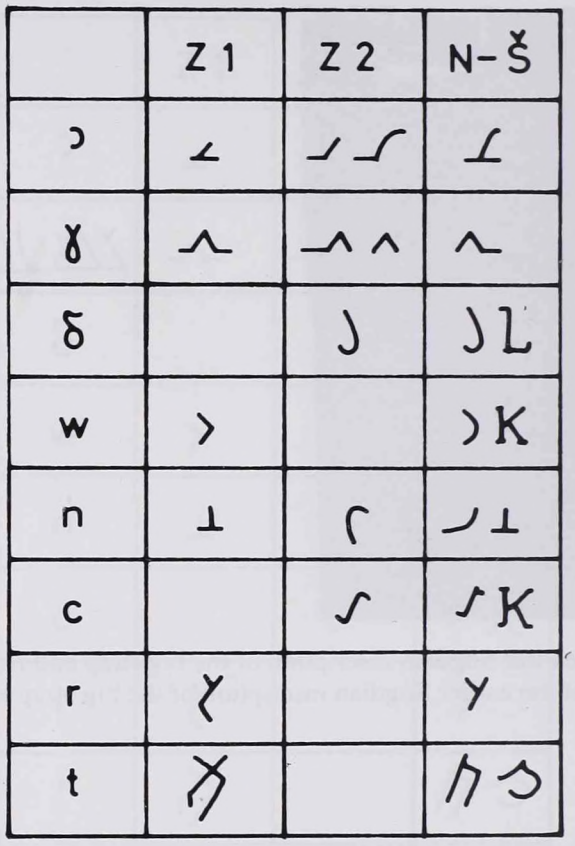

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L – Limarovka, K – Kerčeva



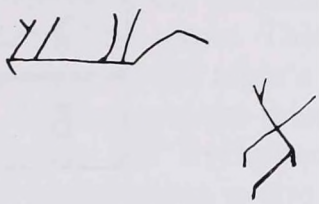
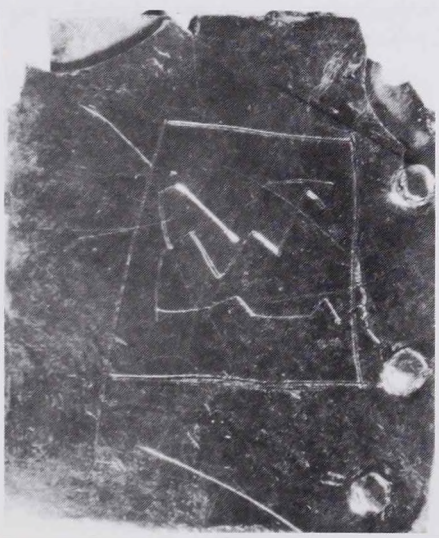


Fig. 1. The earlier Sogdian inscription of the big strap end from Zamárdi
Fig. 2. Drawing of the earlier Sogdian inscription of the big strap end from Zamárdi



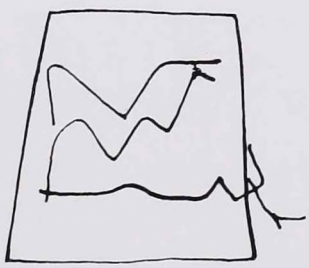


Fig. 3. The later Sogdian inscription of the big strap end from Zamárdi
Fig. 4. Drawing of the later Sogdian inscription of the big strap end from Zamárdi

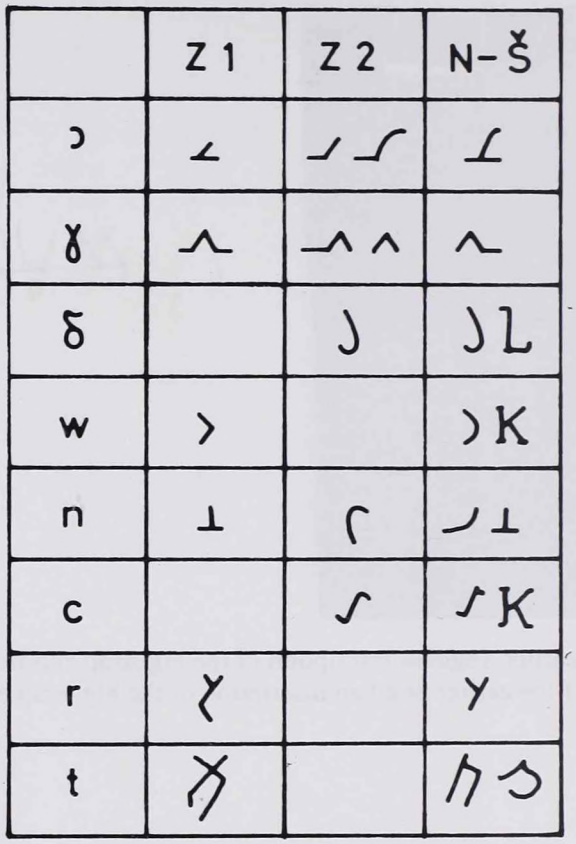


Fig. 5. Comparative table of Sogdian characters.
Abbreviations: Z 1 – earlier Sogdian inscription of Zamárdi,
Z 2 – later Sogdian inscription of Zamárdi, N–Š – Nižne–Šakharovka,
L – Limarovka, K – Kerčeva

In this context we have three important sources at our disposal. One of them is Menandros' report[11] about the talks between the Byzantine envoy Ualentinos and one of the Western Turk monarch Turxanthos who said to him: οἱ μὲν Οὐαρχωνῖται, ἅτε κατήκοοι Τουρκῶν, ἡνίκα βούλομαι, ὡς ἐμὲ ἥξουσι "... as the Uarchonites (Avars) are subjects of the Turks, they will come to me whenever I want them to." This statement can be explained by that rule of the nomadic empires that the leaders of the subject peoples, or at least their missions, were obliged to visit the qaγan in his seat from time to time. Accordingly, Turxanthos' statement proves that soon after their settlement in the Carpathian Basin the Avars admitted the sovereignty of the Western Turk qaγan. This fact is also confirmed by another important source, *viz.* a passage of Kül tegin's epitaph which tells that at the funerals of Istämi qaγan and Bumïn qaγan the missions of the *Apar* and *Purum* peoples, *i.e.* those of the Avars and Byzantines were present.[12] The presence of the latter at the funeral of Istämi qaγan is also proved by Ualentinos' report. Lastly, a third important source is furnished by Theophylaktos' account[13] which relates that the Avar shaman Bookolabra had a love-affair with one of the qaγan's wives and fearing the consequences he wanted to flee to his original tribe, the Western Turks, living north of the Persians, across Byzantine territory.

All this evidence indicates that the contacts between the Avars and the Western Turks were not broken after the immigration of the former into the Carpathian Basin. On the contrary, the Avars recognized the sovereignty of the Western Turks at least nominally and maintained regular contacts with them. Within the framework of these contacts, Sogdian goldsmiths could have easily got to the Avars as it is now clearly proved by the Sogdian inscriptions of the big strap end from Zamárdi. Thus, the significance of these Sogdian inscriptions far exceeds the bounds of Avar archaeology and widens our ideas about the Avars with the perspective of world history.

[11] *Exc. de leg.* De Boor. Berolini 1903. 205.
[12] V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées.* Helsingfors 1896. (MSFOu V) 98.
[13] *Historiae.* De Boor. Lipsiae 1887. I. 8 (53–54).

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DER ALTE NAME DES HINDUKUSCH

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Der altpersische Text von Darius, Behistun § 6 gibt den Namen der Landschaft Gandhāra in der im Altpersischen zu erwartenden Form *Ga-da-a-ra*. Die babylonische Version hat hierfür *Pa-ar-ú-pa-ra-e-sa-an-na*, zu interpretieren als *Paruparaesana*. Von der elamischen Version ist lediglich *Jsa-na* erhalten, das immerhin die obige Interpretation des Wortausgangs stützt.[1] In den babylonischen und elamischen Versionen der späteren achämenidischen Länderlisten findet man dagegen die dem altpersischen Text lautlich entsprechenden babyl. *Gan-da-ri* und elam. *Gan-da-ra*. Die geographische Gleichung *Paruparaesana* = *Gandāra* ist also eindeutig.

Babyl. *Paruparaesana* wurde bereits von Josef Marquart (1905)[2] mit *Paropanisos (Paropamisos)*, dem griechischen Namen des zur Landschaft *Paropanisadai (Paropamisadai)* gehörenden Hindukusch, sowie mit dem avestischen Gebirgsnamen *Upāiri.saēna* verbunden. Im folgenden soll versucht werden, die dabei offengelassenen Details einer Klärung näherzuführen.

Der griechische Name *Paropanisos (Paropamisos)* entspricht offensichtlich dem babylonischen Element *Pa-ar-ú-pa-ra-e-sa*, das als ein Gebirgsname zu denken ist, der im Prinzip aber auch als Name der zugehörigen Landschaft hätte verwendet werden können. Das folgende *-an-na* (elam. *°a-na*) repräsentiert sicherlich das Suffix iran. *-āna*, das den Namen zur eindeutigen Landschaftsbezeichnung macht. Ihm entspricht das Suffix griech. *-adai* in *Paropanisadai (Paropamisadai)*, das eigentlich das Ethnikon der Bewohner des Gebirges sein dürfte. Ebenso verwendet Ptolemaios ja auch das Ethnikon *Sogdianoi* 'Sogdier' als Bezeichnung der Landschaft Sogdiana.

Der Konsonantismus von babyl. *Pa-ar-ú-pa-ra-e-sa* ist ursprünglicher als derjenige der zwei konkurrierenden griechischen Formen. *Paropanisos* zeigt Dissimilation der Sequenz *r-r* zu *r-n*; in *Paropamisos* finden wir zusätzlich Assimilation von *p-p-n* zu *p-p-m*. Die Form mit *n* ist also „entwicklungsgeschichtlich" die ältere. Die Form mit *m* zeigt übrigens zusätzlich Einfluß des in Griechenland mehrfach bezeugten Flußnamens *Pamisos*.

[1] Elam. *Jsana* spricht gegen die Annahme, daß *Paruparaesanna* Fehler für **Paruparasaenna* sei.

[2] Josef Marquart, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Ērān, 2 (1905), 73 ff.

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Nach Marquart setzt sich das Element babyl. *Ú-pa-ra-e-sa-an-na* im avestischen Bergnamen *Upāiri.saēna* fort. Nach ihm wäre babyl. *Pa--ar-ú-pa-ra-e-sa-an-na* zu verstehen als 'das vor (d.i. südlich von) dem Upairisaēna-Gebirge gelegene Land'. Dabei ist erstens vergessen, daß griech. *Paropanisos* und *Paropanisadai* ja die gesamte babylonische Form als Landschaftsnamen erweisen, und zweitens ist av. *upāiri* allzu stillschweigend mit der Präposition *upairi* gleichgesetzt. *Upāiri.saēna* selbst wurde schon von Bartholomae erklärt als „Ableitung aus **upairi.saēna-* Adj. 'was über (die Flughöhe der) Adler hinausgeht', mit Vr̥ddhiḥ in der 2. Silbe."[3] Die Annahme einer derartigen Vr̥ddhi ist jedoch eine Ad-hoc-Konstruktion, und die Abtrennung des Elements *saēna-* 'Adler' dürfte überhaupt auf einer irrigen Etymologie zu beruhen. Dabei kann offen bleiben, ob es sich bereits um eine dem Autor der Passage geläufige Etymologie handelt oder um eine solche der Überlieferung. Jedenfalls war sie auch Hsüen Ts'ang (Xuan Zhuang) bekannt, der berichtet, daß unter den Vögeln nicht einmal Falken den Hindukusch (seiner großen Höhe wegen) überfliegen können, sondern den Paßweg zu Fuß überqueren müssen.[4]

Gegen Marquart und Bartholomae halte ich es für möglich, daß in *Pa--ar-ú-pa-ra-e-sa-an-na* ein Additionskompositum vorliegt, zusammengesetzt aus den beiden Bergnamen av. *Pouru(ta)* plus av. *Upāiri.saēna*. Vgl. dazu Ptol. 6,17,3, wo von dem an die Paropanisaden angrenzenden Volksstamm der *Parutai* die Rede ist. Für diese Lösung könnte sprechen, daß der Gebirgsname av. *Pouruta* in Yt 10,14 neben dem Gebirgsnamen *Iškata* bezeugt ist, der andererseits in Y 10,11 und Yt 19,3 in Verbindung mit *Upāiri.saēna* erscheint.[5] Wahrscheinlicher ist mir aber, daß babyl. *Pa-ar-ú-pa-ra-e-sa* (und ebenso natürlich griech. *Paropanisos*) ein iranisches Bahuvrihi-Kompositum *Paru-upār(a)isa* 'viele *upār(a)isa* besitzend' repräsentiert, also einen Namen mit einer geradezu epischen Struktur, die im Griechischen in verballhornter Weise bewahrt ist, während im Iranischen eine Umstrukturierung *Paru-upār(a)isa* > *Upār(a)isaēna* stattfand.

Meines Erachtens ist das von der Tradition als Kompositum mit av. *saēna-* 'Adler' mißverstandene av. *Upāiri.saēna* eine Ableitung von **Upārisa-* mit dem Suffix *-aēna-*, welches hier das eben vermutete Vorderglied *paru-* 'viel' des Possessivkompositums ersetzt. Beim Gebirgsnamen kann die Bedeutung dieses Suffixes entweder sein 'aus (einem bestimmten Mineral) bestehend, (ein bestimmtes Mineral) enthaltend' oder 'mit (einer bestimmten Pflanze) bedeckt'.

Die etymologische Isolierung von av. *Upāiri.saēna* und seines vor allem im Bundahišn bezeugten Fortsetzers mp. *Apārsēn/Abārsēn (ʾpʾlsyn')* erlaubt keine Entscheidung zwischen diesen beiden Bedeutungsmöglichkeiten. Die zweite derselben ist jedoch wenigstens bei der mit *Apārsēn/Abārsēn* wechselnden Form *Apursēn/Abursēn (ʾpwlsyn'*, auch *ʾplsyn')* in Betracht zu ziehen. *Apursēn/Abursēn* ist ja doch wohl eine Ableitung von av. *hapərəsī-*, np. *burs*,

[3] Christian Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Strassburg 1904. Sp. 398.

[4] Vgl. Th. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*. Repr. Delhi 1961. Vol. II, 266 f.

[5] Y 10,11 *auui iškata upāirisaēna*, Yt 19,3 *iškatāca upāiri.saēna*, Yt 10,14 *ā-iškatəmca pourutəmca mourum hārōiiūm gaomca suγδəm xᵛāirizəmca*.

einer Bezeichnung des Wacholders, der nach Yt 14,55 von den Daēvaverehrern als rituelle Räucherpflanze verwendet wird. Also: 'mit Wacholder bedeckt'.

Der in den Pahlavischreibungen erhaltene anlautende Vokal ist sprachwirklich beizeiten verlorengegangen. Bezeugt ist sein Verlust nicht nur in Hsüen Ts'angs chin. *P'o-lo-se-na (Po-luo-se-na)*, sondern wesentlich früher auch schon bei Ptolemaios. Der Gebirgsname av. *Upāiri.saēna* setzt sich nämlich zweifellos im Namen der Landschaft *Parisēnē* (Ptol. 8,21,4) fort.[6] Das ist ganz einfach deshalb noch nicht bemerkt worden, weil *Parisēnē* von Ptolemaios fälschlich in Gedrosien aufgeführt wird, eine Fehlplazierung, wie man sie bei ihm sehr häufig findet. Zu *Parisinē* kommen noch einige weitere ptolemäische Namen mit dem Element *Pars°* hinzu. In den Paropanisaden finden wir das Gebirge *Parsyēta Orē* oder *Parsyētōn Orē* (6,18,1), die Völkerschaften *Parsioi* und *Parsyētai* (6,18,3), die Städte *Parsiana* (6,18,4) und *Parsia* (6,18,5), in Gedrosien die Völkerschaft *Parsirai/Parsidai* (6,21,4) und dazu die Hauptstadt *Parsis Mētropolis* (6,21,5). Zwar muß man mit Mehrfachnennungen ein und desselben geographischen Objekts rechnen, trotzdem bleibt die Menge jedoch auffallend. In unserem Zusammenhang liegt es nahe, *Pars°* hier aus *Pāris°* zu erklären und an *Parisēnē* < *Upāiri.saēna* anzuschließen, wobei allerdings die teilweise gräzisierenden Suffixe im einzelnen zu erklären sind. Ganz anders dachte Georg Morgenstierne, der die Namen *Parsioi* und *Parsyētai* mit denen der Sprache *Paṣtō* und des Volksstamms *Paṣtūn* verband, die er aus **Parsawā* bzw. **Pars(u)wāna* herleitete.[7]

Vielleicht ist an jeder der beiden Erklärungen etwas Richtiges. Störend ist allerdings der Quantitätsunterschied zwischen *Pars°* und *Pārs°*, den man aus Gründen der Bedeutung nicht einfach durch Vr̥ddhi erklären kann. Indirekt wird übrigens das langvokalische *Pārs°* auch durch einige Passagen des Bundahišn bezeugt, wie z.B. 9,12 *Apursēn ... kōf-ī hamāg Pārs* 'Apursēn ist der Berg von ganz Pārs', wo ostiranisches *gar* 'Berg' durch das westiranische *kōf* ersetzt und *Pārs* fälschlich auf die Persis bezogen ist.

Die obigen Überlegungen bieten wohl auch den Schlüssel zur richtigen Erklärung der in gräko-baktrischer Schrift geschriebenen Randlegende *Parso* auf einer von Walker publizierten Münze des Salm Ibn Ziyād.[8] Beziehung auf die Persis ist hier gänzlich unwahrscheinlich. Ungeachtet der ungelösten Quantitätsproblematik scheint mir, daß wir hier das epichorische Zeugnis einer Form des Namens des Hindukusch und zugleich die Grundform des Namens der Pashtunen/Pathanen vor uns haben.

[6] Ronca schreibt mit Wilberg *Parisinē*, Nobbe hat *Parisiēnē*. Die Lesung *Parisēnē*, von Ronca für die Handschrift O und die Karte U vermerkt, wird gestützt durch *Paripēnē* der Handschrift X, der einzigen reinen Vertreterin des Handschriftenzweiges Ksi. Siehe die Ausgaben von F. A. Nobbe, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, 3 vol. (Lipsiae 1843–5), repr. cum introductione a Aubrey Diller (Hildesheim 1966); F. G. Wilberg, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae Libri Octo*, fasc. VI, librum sextum continens (Essendiae 1845); Italo Ronca, *Ptolemaios, Geographie* 6,9–21, Istituto Italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente. Roma 1971; (Dissertation Mainz 1967).

[7] Georg Morgenstierne, *Indo-Dardica*. Wiesbaden 1973, 88, 172.

[8] John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*. Oxford 1941, repr. 1967, p. 83, pl. XV, 12.

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THE KNOWLEDGE OF PERSIAN AND A SCHOLARLY APPROACH TO THE LANGUAGE: A PERSIAN GRAMMAR BY J. B. PODESTA, 1691, WIEN

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I

By the last decade of the 17th c., when as a part of his grandiose endeavor Podesta's grammar appeared in Vienna, Persian was no longer unknown in academic circles.*

In the series of Persian grammars written in Latin in Europe in the 17th c. Podesta's work was the fifth and as I would like to demonstrate here, the most significant one as far as its size and elaboration are concerned. In the following I shall discuss some terminological facets of this work and of its forerunners.

The first three, rather skeleton-like Persian grammars by de Dieu (1639), Greaves (1649) and Ignazio di Gesù (1661) followed each other in quick succession, each comprising less than a hundred pages. The grammatical part of the Gazophylacium was even shorter, it contained only 12 pages.

The authors represented typical scholars of the period interested in Oriental matters, although the motivation that led them to write Persian grammars were different: de Dieu was a theologian of the Reformed Church, an outstanding biblical exegete, J. Greaves was professor of Mathematics at Oxford. Ignazio di Gesù, a Carmelite friar, who compiled his grammar for the school *De fide propaganda*, and Joseph Labrosse, the author of the Gazophylacium spent many years in Iran acting as missionaries.

These grammarians agreed that the basic categories, rules and ideas they used mostly belonged to the classical European heritage, that is, to Donatus and Priscianus. But by the beginning of the 17th c. this classical heritage had already incorporated several new elements that signalled the seeds of a new linguistic thought.[1]

They disagreed, however, on the material they used as a source for their grammar. De Dieu used translated texts of a rather artificial character, that is, Tawusi's translation of the Pentateuch's and the Historia Christi, Greaves used classical texts, mostly Sa'di's Golestan, the obligatory text for studying Persian in the East. Ignazio di Gesù and J. Labrosse relied on their personal experience

* This work was supported by OTKA 13701.

[1] Jeremiás 1991.

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since they learned Persian in Iran. Some of them were even supposed to have been acquainted with native lexicographical sources.

Despite these differences, however, these first grammars showed a surprisingly uniform and clear analysis of the main linguistic facets of Persian, even if some points remained unmentioned or certain analyses were not correct.

By the beginning of the 17th c. a considerable knowledge of Semitic languages, especially that of Hebrew had accumulated, which made a great impact on the linguistic thinking of the age. The field from which this new, but as yet instinctive, linguistic thinking gained a new impetus was the *Philologia sacra*, that is, the studies in the texts, the languages and translations of the Holy Scriptures and the grammars of the vernaculars. By the beginning of the century with which I am dealing, some fundamental ideas of the Semitic grammatical tradition had become deeply rooted in European linguistic analysis through the work of Hebraists.[2] In strictly grammatical matters the authors of vernacular grammars often fell back on the *Hebrew model*[3] when Latin offered no parallel. The prestige of Hebrew was not only because it was supposed to be the mother of languages or the main *matrix* language or the language of God. As members of the Semitic group Hebrew, and some decades later also Arabic, presented a model with their structure and writing system differing sharply from those of the well-known Classical languages, Greek and Latin.

By the time the first Persian grammars appeared — rather late as compared with the grammars of other Oriental languages — the authors of these grammars were all acutely aware of the fact that Persian, although written in Arabic letters, was not a language of the same kind[4] and was also different from the well-known Hebrew and its cognates, Aramaic[5], Syrian and even from Turkish.[6] However, they implicitly used some basic ideas of the Hebrew and Arabic linguistic tradition, even if in varying degrees depending on their erudition and intellectual capacity.

The first question is how they arrived at a clear and successful analysis of the basic morphological pattern of Persian. Obviously, they relied mainly on the classical Latin tradition represented by Donatus or Priscianus. This tradition which prevailed through the Middle Ages considered the *word* as a minimal unit of analysis. In this system declension and conjugation meant only the *transfor-*

[2] Jeremiás 1994.

[3] Demonet 1992:421.

[4] By the first decades of the 17th century, it seems to be well-known that the Persian language differs widely from the Arabic language. The first passage in de Dieu's grammar (De elementis 1–6) clearly shows that the author must have used native lexicographic sources. These sources distinguished the Persian and Arabic elements of the *abjad*.

[5] Cf. Guillaume Postel, *De originibus, seu de Hebraicae linguae et gentis antiquitate, deque variarum linguarum affinitate liber* ... Paris: D. Lescuyer, 1538; Droixhe 1978:37; Auroux 1992, 2:229.

[6] This appeared to be a tacit agreement in the 17th century, but by no means in the previous centuries. The relationship between the Semitic languages called Oriental languages was a matter of fact for a long time, but Turkish and some Indo-European languages as Persian or Armenian were also included. Cf. Demonet 1992:64, 433.

mation of one word into another derivative. The actual phonetic changes in the letters and syllables of the word, *mutationes* as they called them, were described by means of operations such as addition, truncation or substitution. These were the terms used by Quintilianus (I, 6, 32[7]).

In this classical tradition some technical words were used such as *terminatio, syllaba principalis* and *thema* or *radix*. These words, however, were not strictly defined terms, for example *terminatio* meant only an indication of locality, that is, the letters at the end of the word. *Thema* or *radix*, the starting form, was a full word (*dictio*), mostly the nominative or the first person singular present indicative. Consequently, they did not realize any grammatical unit below the level of the word, even if in some cases the segment they arrived at through these operations practically coincided with the actual morphemic constituent of the word. But these segments were only chains of letters and syllables without any grammatical value[8].

On the other hand, the Hebrew and Arabic linguistic tradition applied the method of distinguishing radical and additional elements within the word, that is base (stem) and affix from the very beginning. In this grammatical tradition the central question was the derivation of all verbal and nominal forms from one basic word, the radix (*šoreš* or *aṣl*). The technique of derivation was to add so-called "meaningful letters" (حروف المعانى) to the basic form, the *šoreš* or *aṣl*. So, although this technique operated also with "letters" as in the classical Latin tradition, it differed from it in principle.

In the Semitic system the base form, either a verb or a noun, contained all the radical elements and only those. Therefore the basic terms were the *radix*, the naked "base word with full meaning"[9], the *literae radicales*, the consonant letters of the base and the *literae accidentales*, which denoted the letters of the additional segments attached to the base form. These additional elements could be either derivational or inflectional suffixes or pronominal clitics. This segmentation of the word helped Reuchlin, the author of the first Hebrew grammar written in Latin[10] to describe a new phenomenon, the *pronomen affixum*. This kind of extended form, with affixes (possessive or personal, e.g. the Persian *ketâb-aš, dâd-aš*) being attached to the word, were unknown in the Latin tradition where the pronoun appeared only as an independent word. For denoting this segment Reuchlin coined the term *pronomen affixum* which some decades later was used as a noun *affixum* or *affixa*.[11]

Consequently, with some oversimplification the main difference between the two traditions, Classical and Semitic can be conceived as follows: the classical "Flexionslehre" tried to establish the rules of the nominal and verbal inflection without recognizing the inner structure of the word by giving lists of in-

[7] Cf. Steinthal 1863:338.
[8] Robins 1967:56.
[9] كلمة تم المعنى cf. Jeremiás 1993.
[10] *De Rudimentis Hebraicis libri tres.* Pforzheim 1506.
[11] Telegdi 1990.

flected nouns and conjugated verbs, that is paradigms. The Semitic system used *radix* in the meaning "base word" from which all the derivated forms were to be deduced as well as additional elements, which also included the *affixum*. And although this Semitic tradition failed to explicitly formalize the abstract notion of stem[12], nevertheless the concept of "stem" or "root", which is a discontinuous pattern of three root consonants, was widely used in the arrangement of the lexicon and its formalization was within a couple of pales of the grammarians. But in the 17th century the *radix* and *affixum* were already well-known terms, even if their denotations were not the same as later, that is the stem and its correlate.

This was the spiritual background where de Dieu's first Persian grammar appeared. As a prominent representative of the Northern Humanism he had a good knowledge of Semitic languages like Hebrew, Syrian and Aramaic. In 1628, he published a grammar of these Semitic languages (*Grammatica linguarum Orientalium*). In this book he tried to outline the similarities and dissimilarities of the basic grammatical structures of these languages whose relationship was a matter of fact for him. This work was a good preliminary exercise to arrive at a better understanding of the inner structure of the word, which was indicated by the term *affixio* or *ratio affigendi*.

De Dieu laid special emphasis on the theory of derivation, therefore he treated *radix*, *thema* and *infinitivus* extensively. The essential point here is the *radix*, the base form. In the old debate between the Arabic grammatical schools, whether the noun (more exactly the *maṣdar*, the nominal form of the verb) or a verb form is to be selected as a base, he took up two different positions. In his Hebrew–Syrian–Aramaic grammar he selected the verb as a starting form, where he says "the naked and simple radical letters can be found, from which most of the nouns are derived by means of the ancillary (additional) letters" (1628:57).

In his Persian grammar (1639), he selected the infinitive as a base form. In Semitic terms, however, the Persian infinitive was not a base form, but a derivative, the Past stem plus *-an*. Therefore, he had to reduce this form by cutting off the additional ending in order to arrive at the forms of the regular Past and Present. Consequently, he used *literae radicales* for denoting only the letters of the past stem and not those of the past form. With this instinctive practice, the adaptation of the Semitic technique helped him recognize the correct morphological pattern of the Persian verb, even if only in the case of the regular forms. In this respect, de Dieu's grammar far surpassed the other three grammars, although he used textual sources of low quality.

Nominal morphology entailed new problems. The main question as compared to the Latin and Arabic was whether case existed in Persian or not. "There is no case in Persian that can be defined on the basis of ending" — says de Dieu (1639:46). But Genitive, Dative and Accusative are indicated by certain devices (*nota,* or *particula*[13] in Latin), or, as Greaves developed the idea, by certain characteristic devices and particles (*notae characteristicae* and *particulae*). Such

[12] Bohas quotes some rare cases, cf. 1982:35, 37; Rousseau 1984:287.

[13] De Dieu: "*Particula ا quae Dativum, eadem Accusativum format.*" (1639:49).

a characteristic particle is the object suffix *râ*. But the other cases remain unmarked.

Although the authors of the first Persian grammars realized that Persian has no case in the traditional sense like other vernaculars of the age, Greaves and Ignazio di Gesù accepted the traditional system of six cases by setting out paradigms, which are in reality constructions of a different kind: prepositional phrases, nouns supplied with suffix-like elements etc. The terminology, however, shows that they empirically recognized the basic property of the nominal morphology of Persian, that exponents that could be attached to nouns and the constructions thus produced are grammatically different. So, although there are differences in detail, they use the following terms: *terminatio*, *nota* or *particula*, *suffixum* or *nota* almost consistently.[14]

In the section on pronouns the grammarians are faced with the new problem of how to describe a syntactical construction, that of a noun or finite verb plus a clitic pronoun of whatever function, which has no counterpart in Latin, though its equivalent exists in Hebrew and Arabic. To denote this enclitic pronoun Reuchlin coined the new category *pronomen affixum* (1506:577). All three authors use this term, but only in connection with the *pronomina possessiva* dividing them into *separata* and *affixa*.

II

These were the most crucial points of the morphology of verbs, nouns and pronouns treated in the grammars published before Podesta. I quoted them at length, because Podesta knew all these sources and he also quoted them polemically.

But who was this Giovanni Battista Podesta? He was born in Fasano in 1625 near Lake Garda. In 1665 he was already in the service of the Hofkriegsrat as a clerk (Kanzlist) and a Hungarian interpreter (ungarischer Dolmetsch[15]). In 1671 he was nominated Secretery of Oriental Languages, and some years later was appointed lecturer of Turkish at Vienna University, the first person in this position.

His *Cursus grammaticalis*[16] consists of three main parts: after the preface (190 pp. and 8 beautiful engravings by Philip Puecher and Jacob Hoffmann) the grammar amounting 160 pages contains the usual section on the Elementa (that is orthography, letters etc. pp. 1–3), the morphology of the noun including the adjective and the numerals (pp. 4–41), the pronoun (pp. 41–81), and the verb (81–149), and then the grammar of the smaller parts of speech: the prepositions, the adverbs, the conjunctions and interjections (pp. 149–160). The second part is the Syntaxis, which contains more than three hundred pages (pp. 161–523). This

[14] Cf. in detail Jeremiás 1991.

[15] Petritsch 1987:28.

[16] *Cursus grammaticalis linguarum orientalium. Scilicet Arabicae, Persicae et Turcicae. ...* Pars secunda. *Persismus et Arabismo-Persismus.* Wien: Voigt. 1691. [190], 787, 4 pp.

chapter deals with truly syntactical problems, e.g. constructions (*constructio syntactica*), some comparisons between the rules of government in both languages, Latin and Persian with special reference to verbs and word-order. It follows mainly the items of a Latin syntax by Emmanuel Alvarez (1526–1583)[17], and tries to find Persian idiomatic equivalents of Latin phrases. A Lexicon is also attached containing only the infinitives and their equivalents in pres. sing. 3. (pp. 524–787).

Podesta's method was new and original as compared to previous ones. His work cannot be regarded as an extended version of the former grammars augmented with more detail. But the difference is essential. In performing his task Podesta went through the traditional problems of grammars, quoting his predecessors' opinions, then adding his own remarks. He made a series of interesting and valuable comments on theoretical questions as well as on Persian matters.

III

In what follows I would like to quote some of the problems he discussed. The main question he focussed on was how to find general rules (*regulas generales* or *universales* or *infallibiles*) in order to detect how the language is organized as it was done in Classical languages. This had been the principal problem of literary men since the Renaissance who tried to impose rules on the so-called barbaric languages, that is all languages except the Classical ones.

Grammatical rules can be general and specific. General rules are provided by the classical authors, Aristotle, Cicero or Quintilianus, which — as Podesta says in the Syntaxis — can be adapted conveniently to other languages. Then he goes on to say: there are, however rules, which differ from Soarez's[18] universal rules:

> "*Cum regulae illae, quas Cyprianus Soarius S. I. de arte Rhetorica ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quintiliano depromsit, non solum Latinitati verum et aliis linguis sint convenientes, modo suo, suaque cum proportione pariter, quidquid. cap. 41. de periodo asserit, ad Persismum transferri potest, quicunque enim in constructione syntactica clarus evadit, simul et potentiam compositionis periodorum sibi comparat, unde qui Persicae constructionis perfectionem obtinuerit, ex lectione Authorum Persicorum sibi facile periodorum perfectam compositionem comparabit. Hoc tamen non obstante, cum quaedam sint in Persismo, quae ab hac universali regula Soarii recedunt, ea sigillatim huc adnotanda duxi.*" (508–9)

In some cases, however, Persian resists such generalization.

[17] His Latin grammar was published in 1572. Cf. Sandys 1908, 2:163; Auroux 1992, 2:583.
[18] Soarez, Cipriano (1523–1593), cf. Auroux 1992, 2:474.

"... usus affixi[19] apud hanc nationem, non ita late patens est, ac apud Arabes et Turcas, frequentissime enim Europaeorum more, pronomine absoluto uti solent, dare autem *regulam*[20] usus et non usus, res est non exiguae difficultatis, nos tamen in quantum poterimus, *regulam* aliquam assignare conabimur, non rebrobaturi quod fertilitas ingenii alterius, hac in materia suggerere poterit."(67)

"Ut ex infinitivo Modsareum haberi possit Ludovicus de Dieu sequentes *regulas* exhibet, sed experientia teste, eas non esse *perpetuas et universales* constat ..." (99–100)

"Si nobis ita ut vult Gravius discurrendum esset, propter irregulatam deductionem Modsarei ab infinitivo, dici deberet, omnia verba Persarum absolute esse anomala, sed quia anomalum esse, est recedere a *regula generali,* et *regula generalis* formationis Modsarei ex infinitivo apud Persas non reperitur ...: unde ego dico; quod v.g. hoc vel illud verbum, magis, alterum minus ad infinitivi thema accedat, purum esse accidens, et res quam non *artis regula*, sed Lexici authoritas exhibere solet." (135–136)

"Nequit ergo haberi *regula universalis et infallibilis* de formatione Modsareorum, nec attamen hac de causa *regulae* a Ludovico de Dieu traditae, et ad hanc meam Grammaticam translatae, sunt rejiciendae;" (518)

It is not without reason that the quotations refer to the use of the clitic pronoun and the derivations of the present forms from the past. These items do not offer easy generalization. The main question here is, as usual, what is the base, the starting form of derivatives. The term the former grammars used was *radix*. Here *radix* is applied consistently to describe only the Arabic base words[21]. The term for the starting form is *thema*[22], both with verbs and nouns. The treatment of nominal morphology is especially remarkable, which is a good example of the author's method of analysis.

Podesta first describes the approach used by his predecessors:

"Matèries haec, quaestioni curiosae causam praebet, scilicet an apud Persas declinatio et casus dentur? res cui fere problematice responderi potest. Declinationem dari, affirmat Joannes Gravius, cujus doctrina haec est: *Declinationes item duae; Prima est eorum quae* اَن *formant in plurali, secunda eorum quae* ها, *In utrisque nota*

[19] This quotation refers to the use of the pronoun: *affixum* means *pronomen affixum* (pronominal clitics) versus *pronomen absolutum*.

[20] In this Latin quotation the *italics* are mine.

[21] Cf. "... desumunt ergo Persae passivum suum, vel ex participiis passivis Arabum, sive a simplicibus radicibus, sive ..." (128); "prima et tertia structura radicum arabicarum" (130).

[22] This term is not unusual in the contemporary literature, cf. Rousseau 1984:288–9.

characteristica Dativi et Accusativi est را, *casus reliqui manent invariabiles.* Negat Ludovicus de Dieu declinationem dari, cujus Doctrina sequens est: *Nomina apud Persas non declinantur, adeoque casus non habent, qui ex terminationum discrimine dignoscantur. Tamen Genitivus, Dativus et Acccusativus, notis quibusdam indicantur.*" (29)

"Ignatii a Jesu Carmelitae, opinionem videre licet, ait ille: *... Casus omnes sunt iidem, et non distinguuntur, nisi per quasdam particulas quae nomini conjunguntur. Id est Be, ez, ra, ja ...*" (31)

Then he adds his own conclusion: the base forms of nouns deprived of particles implicitly carry the potentials of all cases.

"Visa Authorum diversorum doctrina de declinatione e casu, nunc quid ego sentiam subjicio. Nullum sane dubium quin themata nominum sine particulis Genitivi, Dativi et Accusativi, in se qualitates omnium casuum implicite contineant, quod exemplis confirmo: (31)

Pro Genitivo.

طِفْلي كه دَرْ شِكْم اُو بُودْ idest: *Infans qui in ventre ejus erat.*

Rud. Pers. de Dieu l.3.cap.3.[23] اُو significat *ille* et tamen resolvitur per Genitivum ejus.

Pro Dativo.

وَ بَجِهَتْ اَفْزُونِي عِتقَادْ اِينْ چِيزْهَا idest: *et ut major fides hisce rebus adhiberetur.* Hist. CHR. Praef. P. Hier. Xavier.[24] اِينْ pronomen demonstrativum *hic* singularis numeri, چِيزْهَا nominativus pluralis a singulari چِيزْ *res*, vel juxta sonum verborum interpretando: *et pro abundantia fidei harum rerum.* Haec enim mera nominativi themata, quae vi interpretationis et translationis ad latinitatem, ad hic in interpretatione notatos casus referenda sunt.

[23] Cf. de Dieu 1639:47.

[24] Hieronymus Xavier: *Historia Christi.* Ed. L. de Dieu 1639. Cf. Lagarde 1884:4–5.

Pro Accusativo.

مِيخُواهِي كه سهْ خَانَه آمَادَه كُنَمْ idest *vis ut tria domicilia paremus.* سهْ خَانَا (!) per Accusativum Latinum explicatur, et insuper in numero plurali, cum tamen apud Persas خَانَه sit singularis numeri (quod quidem ratione numeri, qui numeratum in singulari sibi vult jungi, accidit) et est simplex thema. Ex exemplis sufficienter colligitur, quod apud Persas non detur declinatio, cum declinatio, si Etymologiam observare volumus, nihil aliud sit, quam declinatio a themate, quae fit per certa incrementa, cuivis casui in particulari propria. Ejusdem sententiae ut ego est Castellus: *Harmonia brevis et perpetua sex linguarum Orientalium ad principium Lexici Heptaglotti col. 40 versus finem,* ubi dicit: Apud Persas II. conjugatio (*declinatio scilicet*) eorum est quae هَا formant in plurali, ut آسُمَانْ coelum, آسُمَانْهَا per omnes casus (NB. per omnes casus) *Dativum tantum et Accusativum* رَا *saepe additur* (NB. saepe additur, ergo non semper) *et quam saepissime abest* (NB. quam saepissime abest). Hoc tamen non obstante dici potest, quod etiam certo modo declinatio reperiatur, qui tamen declinandi modus Persicus, tum a quarundam Orientalium, tum ab Occidentalium linguarum modo valde differt, non quoad incrementa, se quoad modum illa ponendi et statuendi, solent enim quaedam linguae Orientales, ordinaria suorum casuum pati incrementa, cuivis casui in particulari sumpto certa, vel natura linguae exigente duobus casibus eandem, vel uni casui ob certas circumstantias diversum modum incrementi, vel a parte ante, vel a parte post, dare, ut in diversarum linguarum fundamenta inquirenti patebit. Persis tamen, singularem esse modum, sequentibus exemplis demonstro." (32–33)

In this passage Podesta identified an interesting point. The declension in the traditional opinion is the declension of the base word (*declinatio a themate*) through certain exponents (*per certa incrementa*) specified according to the cases. In New Persian, however, the naked word (*simplex thema*) in itself may represent all the possible cases and fulfil different syntactical functions which must be picked out the sense of a passage. Consequently, the stem (in the modern sense) and the word might coincide. Furthermore, the same exponents (*incrementa*) might convey several meanings, or vice versa, the same case might be expressed through different exponents, or the exponents could also be missing.

Through this reasoning Podesta drawed the remarkable conclusion that Persian differs significantly from the other Oriental and Western languages in type of construction regarding the relation between *thema* and *incrementa* ("declinandi modus Persicus ... valde differt, non quoad incrementa, se quoad modum illa ponendi et statuendi").

In the next passage he continued to explain the problems of Genitive case in Persian wrestling with the exponent *râ* as for its meaning and usage:

> "Nec mihi videretur quod ex exemplo[25]: رِيشْهَايِ اوُرَا لِيسِيدَنْد inferri potest, quod genitivus per particulam رَا exprimi possit; nam interpretatio illa *ulcera ejus lingebant,* interpretari potest: *Ulcera illi lingebant*, nam ي illud quod adjectum est ad رِيشْهَا, est potius specificationis et articuli loco quam pro ي arguente nomen sequens esse genitivi casum, quasi Germanice diceretur: *Er hat ihm die Wunden geleckt*. Per istam particulam رَا, pariter Dativus et Acc. enuntiatur, ut per citationem insinuavi, رَا autem, subinde in jurandi modis, valet quasi *per* ita Cast. Dict. Pers. col.286. خُدَارَا *per Deum*. Jam ex his infero (concedendo etiam quod رَا sit modus incrementi) modus iste incrementi in casibus obliquis, per se, casus cujusdam particularitatem non determinat, ergo casus ex sensu colligendum est, neque modus iste permanens est, cum omnis casus, ut visum est, etiam per simplex thema in sensibus repraesentetur, dicta, exemplis confirmantur." (34)

As for the ezafe-construction, the most alien phenomenon to the Europeans, he identifies it more clearly than his predecessors,[26] although mistakes or inconsistencies can be found in the Latin transcriptions.

[25] This is de Dieu's example, cf. 1639:49.

[26] Cf. de Dieu: "Interdum (ي) suffixum substantivo priori, indicat posterius in Genitivo accipiendum est, ut (!) خُدَا خُدَايِ مُرْدَگَانْ نَيَسْت *Deus Deus mortuorum non est* ... Pro ي interdum est ء. ut مَيْوَهءِ شِكَمْ تو *fructus ventris tui.*" (1639:46–47); Greaves: "Cum duo substantiva concurrunt in regimine, substantivum quod regitur, fere semper postponitur. (سَرءِ غُولْ) vel (سَرْ غُولْ) *Caput larvae, sive* Medusae." (1649:86); Ignazio di Gesù: "Nota, quod quando Genitivus iungitur cum nomine praecedenti, v. g. Ciuitas Regis, Persice dicitur, *Sceer Patscia*, Civitas Rex. & non dicitur,

"Si quando casus a themate sejuncti sunt exhibendi, Genitivus a reliquis casibus distingui solet per constructionis qualitatem, cum tritissima illa Latinorum regula *quotiescunque duo nomina, etc.* incidit, tunc ad praecedens substantivum affigitur ي si terminatur in consonantem, ء si in ه quiescens terminetur, ut: (!) مُرْدَگَانْ نَيَسْت خُدَا خُدَايِ *Deus, Deus mortuorum non est*[27], item: چِيزْ طِيَرهءِ عَقْلَسْت دُو *duae res sunt perturbatio mentis.* Quod ي subinde omittitur, attamen pronuntiatur, ut: بَوَقْت گُفْتَنْ legetur بَوَقْتِ گُفْتَنْ, nam Kesra loco ي, subinde poni potest." (33)

Podesta deals with the problems of case in the part on morphology, although some of them pertain to syntax. In the latter, however, the construction of two nouns (genitivus partitivus) is treated. Here, he is again the first person to recognise, though the fact is subsequently forgotten, that adjectives can assume nominal functions without changing morphologically by figuring in nominal structures as "instar nominum". In these examples the vowel of the ezafe-construction is clearly indicated:

"Nihilominus si quis scrupulosius discurrere vellet, dicere posset, quod omnino superlativa etiam Genitivum regant Latinorum more, quia quod ante dixerim, quod gradus superlativi cum suo substantivo in paritate casus sumatur, dici forte posset, quod si superlativi gradus legeretur juxta regulam *quotiescunque duo nomina substantiva diversarum rerum etc.* Idem contingeret, quod apud Latinos contingit: v. g. primum exemplum بَايِنْ كَمْتَرِين دُعَا گُويَانْ legi posset: بَايِنْ كَمْتَرِينِ دُعَا گُويَانْ *Cum hoc infimo comprecationem dicentium,* ut apparet posita Kesra sub ن ultima litera in voce كَمْتَرِينْ sic et in

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Sceer ez Patscia, Ciuitas Regis. ... Nota insuper, quo quando nomen terminatum in e, litera i, ob meliorem sonum, v. g. *Chhone,* Domus; *Chhoneimen,* Domus mea." (1661:12–13); Labrosse: "Persae inter loquendum, Euphoniae gratia vocales aliquas adjiciunt quam (!) ferme semper in scribendo praetermittunt: v. g. *madere men* quod scribunt *mader men* مدر من mater mea" (1684:4).

[27] The example is the same as in de Dieu's grammar (cf. note 25), but the analysis is different.

hoc adducto ultimo exemplo كَمْتَرِينْ جانْوَرَانْ *infimum animal* legi posset كَمْتَرِينِ جانْوَرَانْ..." (488)

And in another place he writes about the same matter explaining the construction (! مَلَكِ نيک):

> "Haec constructio, ratione Genitivi, qui vocalizationis vi eruitur, ex voce (مَلَکْ) *Angelus,* quae notatur in ultima vocali Kesra, ad denotandum sequentes voces esse casus genitivi, Latinae phrasi, quoad genitivum totaliter correspondet." (479)

The significance of this statement cannot be questioned just because sometimes the examples quoted were based on erroneous analyses. The difficulty the author encountered in his work was aggravated by the heterogeneity of his sources, which led him to draw contradictory or even false conclusions. Now we must say that he could not have arrived at better solutions using these sources which were at his disposal. It appears from the quoted texts, and this is borne out by other loci as well where he attempted to describe the *râ* morpheme, that Podesta was looking for grammatical and possibly lexical explanations for the occurrence. He did so in spite of the fact that there was no grammatical explanation available — the answer was offered by the heterogeneity of his sources and the difference of styles, *fluxus* or *modus vulgaris* or *elegantior* — as Podesta says (80, 516).

The resources he referred to were partly original Classical Persian texts (Gentius' Golestan, imperfect translations of foreign apologetic works, e.g. *Historia Christi*), vocabularies (Castell, the Gazophylacium). Others might have been extracts randomly collected from practical compendiums or the author's own observations on everyday language. This is to say that they were illustrations of various language registers with distinct grammatical features. That was the reason why he was unable to formulate exact grammatical rules for the use of suffixes or clitics. ("Affixorum apud Arabes est certus relationis ordo, hic regula certa et universalis, non item apud Persas" 71).

There are several indications that he knew the native lexicographic literature better than his forerunners. Bibliographical sources revealed that some of these literary works had already been incorporated in the Palatina library in his age, but they were also available in other large European collections of manuscripts in Rome, Leiden and Oxford. Moreover, he referred to Mewlewi, the

author of a Persian grammar (قَوَاعِدِ فَرْسِي), written in verse in Turkish, by name (517–8).[28]

The knowledge of these sources is shown especially in the treatment of the verb. Here he quoted examples much more abundantly than his forerunners. The rich material he elaborated came possibly from works of lexicography. But the theoretical issues, he discussed concerning verb and verbal phrases were his own contribution.

The discussion of the verb contains a number of interesting details, but let me point out only two: the description of verbal phrases and passive forms.

To the best of my knowledge the way he treated verbal phrases was unique. He recognised that in Persian such lexical structures were the means of extending the verbal vocabulary. In these phrases the verbal parts functioned as auxiliaries, that is the verb *in se* does not convey lexical meaning, but it only indicates time (*temporum inflectionem et expressionem*), while the lexical meaning was carried mostly by the nominal part of mainly Arabic origin.

> "[Composita verba] ... quae fiunt, dum simplici verbo, substantivum aut adjectivum adjicitur, ex qua adjectione demum genuinum et verum significatum promanat, et haec suo modo verba auxiliaria appellanda viderentur, sed quia ejusmodi composita ad quandam specialem phrasem linguae pertinent, hujus loci esse non possunt; per verba auxiliaria igitur intelligimus ea verba, quae verbis genuinum et verum significatum non tribuunt, sed in auxilium inflexionis et ad exprimendam certam temporum qualitatem concurrunt: sic v. g. بَارْ كَرْدَنْ *onerare*, كَرْدَنْ non dat genuinum et verum significatum, quia tantum *facere* significat, et non *onerare,* sed si illi substantivum بَارْ adjiciatur quod *onus* significat promanat inde genuinum et verum significatum *onerare*, sic: دُوسْت دَاشْتَنْ *amare*, دَاشْتَنْ *habere* significat per se sumptum, sed si illi substantivum دُوسْت adjiciatur, quod *amicus* significat, sit genuinum et verum significatum *amare*. Sic ... haec, hoc modo auxiliaria, seu potius verbale significatum suggerentia, vocari possunt, quia ad constitutionem significati adjuvant. Auxiliaria autem de quibus hic agere intendimus, non ad vim proprii significati, sed ad certorum tem-

[28] Cf. Flügel 1865, 1:196, Nr. 216

porum inflexionem et expressionem auxiliantur, et haec sunt اَمْ, هَسْتَنْ et بُودَنْ et شُدَنْ ..." (86–87)

The treatment of the passive voice was also remarkable.

> "Docet praxis, passivum persicum ex ipso transitivo non esse formabile, v. g. iis modis, quibus formatur passivum Arabicum, aut Turcicum, quod respectu Arabismi est per vocalium mutationem, ut vidimus, et respectu Turcismi per interjectionem syllabae ut visuri sumus: desumunt ergo Persae passivum suum, vel ex participiis passivis Arabum, sive a simplicibus radicibus, sive structuris derivantibus, vel ex praeterito sui participii de cujus formatione, jam praecedenter locuti sumus, et in inflexionum schemate expressimus, verum cum quorundam verborum persicorum, sub auxiliari forma concurrentium adminiculo." (126–7)

Although he provided the passive forms in the paradigm like his predecessors, he dwelt upon the question that in Persian, passive forms had a different function than in the European languages he knew at the time and their grammatical structure was also different. What led him to the recognition of this fact was that he knew the cases, probably from native lexicography, where the voice of the verb (active and passive) is expressed by changes in the auxiliary rather than conjugation. He inferred, even if implicitly, that voice is a question of lexicography and not paradigm:

> "... ego autem dico, esse specialem linguae phrasem, quae juxta Persas passiva non est, verum quae passivorum more ad latinitatem transferri potest .... haec tria verba, scilicet: (كِرِفْتَنْ, يَافْتَنْ) et (آمَدَنْ)
>
> re ipsa non esse formativa passivorum, sed phrasem specialem Gentis, et merum esse accidens, quod ab Interpretibus passive sumpta et ut talia ad latinitatem translata fuerint." (129)

However, it appears that he failed to recognize Perfect forms among compound tenses, just like the other authors, including native ones. He considered them to be phrases, where the meaning of the past participle was supposed to be passive. This also shows he drew on native sources, because in Persian grammatical literature this was the way Perfect forms were treated until the last century.

IV

This brief summary has failed to exploit the richess offered by Podesta's work. But the significance of his work should become manifest. It lies mainly in the fact that he was able to give a much more detailed description of Persian than

his forerunners due to his very good knowledge of many languages, and moreover, his excellent ability to treat theoretical issues as well. Therefore he was able to draw remarkable typological conclusions identifying, for example, the different types of deriving passive forms, or those of inflection.

When discussing certin grammatical phenomena he also recognised registers. So, for instance, he mentioned *vulgaris flexus* and *splendiae et eleganter loquendi vanitas*, but he failed to see the significance of styles in the solution of grammatical issues. For example, he attempted to find grammatical explanations for apparent grammatical contradictions between the examples he quoted, where the differences were caused by changes in registers. (For instance in the usage of the particula *râ*.) But he undoubtedly observed the discrepancies.

The grammars that appeared after Podesta's tended to give more and more practical linguistic details with scarce allusions of the kind in the 18th c. and an increasing number in the 19th c. They treated certain questions more consistently than the grammars before, but they were almost devoid of theoretical approach. Scholarly and practical aspects came to be sharply separated, the former being applied by historical linguistics, where Modern Persian, especially the spoken language, was badly neglected. Thus, Podesta's work can be regarded the last of the kind which expressed a huge interest in exotic languages in the age of Renaissance, which upheld an organic unity of theory and practice.

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DEUX CONTES EN PERSAN LOCAL DE NÂYBAND

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(Paris)

Nâyband est une oasis située entre deux déserts, le Lout et le Kavir. Elle se trouve, à vol d'oiseau, à environ 220 km de Kerman, 150 km de Birdjand et 150 km de Tabas. Le village est au pied du Kuh-e Nâyband. Il n'était relié à ces villes, il y a vingt-cinq ans, que par des pistes (je ne sais ce qu'il en est aujourd'hui). On y cultivait le palmier, des céréales, quelques arbres fruitiers et on y élevait des chèvres : il y avait aussi, m'a-t-on dit, quelques mines à proximité.

Les habitants parlent une forme locale de persan, qui, comme en général les parlers du Khorassan, se distingue de la langue commune et du persan de Téhéran par diverses particularités. Les deux contes populaires présentés ci-dessous, que j'ai recueillis au cours d'une halte à Nâyband en novembre 1970, en sont un spécimen. Je les offre ici en modeste hommage à la mémoire du savant qui a publié quelques-unes des études les plus pénétrantes sur la grammaire de la langue persane.

Le vocalisme du parler de Nâyband comporte, outre les six voyelles du persan commun, *i*, *â*, *u*, *e*, *a*, *o*, une voyelle longue *ā*, de même timbre antérieur que *a*, mais plus longue, et deux phonèmes que je note *ê* et *ö*, qui sont parfois diphtongués, [e^{y}] [ø^{w}], et plus souvent sont réalisés comme de simples longues, [e:] [ø:]. L'articulation de la voyelle *o* est souvent un peu centralisée. La voyelle *ā* se trouve non seulement, comme en persan de Téhéran, dans des mots comme *mādan* < ar. *maᶜdan* « mine », mais aussi dans beaucoup de mots où elle correspond à *â* du persan commun, ex. : *bāreš* « pluie » (mais *bârun* même sens), *barādar* « frère », *bozqāla* « chevreau », *cāder* « tente », *dāna* « grain », *dobāra* « de nouveau, ensuite », *gösāla* « veau », *kāka* « frère », *qāsed* « messager », *tārik* « sombre », *xāhar* « soeur », *xābida* « couché », *xāla* « tante » (mais *xâlu* « oncle »), *xāli* « vide », *xāna* « maison », *xāya* « testicule », *zānu* « genou », *zardālu* « abricot », *miāra* « il apporte », *mibāfom* « je tisse » (mais *bâftom* « j'ai tissé »), *midānom* « je sais », *mikārom* « je sème », *mindāza* « il jette », *mipāša* « il répand », *mitānom* « je peux », *mixānom* « je lis », *dārom* « j'ai », *bāšom* « que je sois ». Les voyelles *ê* et *ö* sont fréquentes en fin de mot, où elles résultent de contractions : *a* + *e* > *ê*, *â* + *e* ou *i* > *ö*, exemples ci-dessous dans les textes.

Le consonantisme appelle peu de remarques. *q* est une spirante uvulaire sonore, [γ]. A la différence d'autres parlers persans orientaux, *h* est prononcé,

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même en fin de mot après *â*, p. ex. dans *râh*, *pâdešâh* (avec quelques flottements). Les nasales *m* et *n* sont faiblement articulées en finale et tendent à s'amuir. *r* implosif est faible. Le trait le plus curieux est que *z* est souvent prononcé interdental, [δ].

L'accent obéit aux mêmes règles qu'en persan commun. Je l'ai noté quelquefois, quand cela m'a paru utile : il est représenté par un signe sous la voyelle accentuée.

Les contes sont en style parlé assez maladroit, avec des répétitions et des constructions parfois cahotantes. Les thèmes sont connus dans le folklore iranien. Le premier semble fait de deux morceaux différents plus ou moins tronqués. Le second réunit des anecdotes mettant en présence un malin et des sots et se rattache au cycle de Mollâ Nasreddin.

I

1. cel tâ derviš bodan, goftan bi̯en tâ berem xazinê pâdešâh-re bekašem. u vax pâdešâh xo̯d-eš-am labâs-e derviši pušida bod-o omad hamrâh-e inâ. gofta: šomâ ce elm dâren? ya̯kke-š gofta: ma kas ke de hafsâlegi bebinom dega na̯binom de haftâdsâlegi bebinom mišnâsom-eš. ya̯kke degêš gofta̯: vaxte ke berem ma tâ haf manzel ke tu ham bāša derhâ de qolf bāša deâ mixânom tâ de̯r-e har haf tâ vâ-ša. ya̯kke degê-ham gofta: ma lafz-e sag-re mifahmom ke sag ci miga.

2. inâ be râh šodan-o raftan xazinê pâdešâh-re bekašan xāli konan. inâ ez hami bar ke miraftan did ke sag hö hö mikona, gofta: sag ci miga? gofta: sag gofta: hây doz omad hây doz omad. dobāra u-taraf-tar raftan, dobāra yakke degê vaqvaq var došt. gofta: i ci miga? gofta: oy sahab-am hamrâh-a oy sahab-am hamrâh-a. raftan residan der-e qasr-e pâdešâh.

3. benâ kerd be deâ xondan. deâ xond das a derhâ zadan didan der-e har haf tâ vâ-šod. raftan be tu-o tobrahö xo-r por kerdan-o omedan birun. dobāra deâ xond der-e har haf tâ da qolf šod. dega i dervišâ raftan berê xodšo, pâdešâh-am raft berê xod-eš.

4. soh ke šod pâdešâ i dervišâ talbid ke dervišâ-ham bian ke dušna xazinê pâdešâh-re xāli kerdan. u vax i yakke ke gofta hafsâlegi bebinom de haftâdsâlegi mišnâsom cešm-eš ke a pâdešâh oftid gofta: qablê âlam xod-et dišab hamrâh nabodi? u xo hamci gof. vaxte ke hamci gof gof ke pulâ-r var-dâren berê xo beren. pulâ-r-am es-šo nestond.

5. i dervišâ raftan, mesl-e i ru qabresto ya vêrâna kohnê-ya, raftan de hamu tu. yakke-ham omad-o yag qâ̯ze ez yakke talabgâr bod. migof qâ̯z-om-re be̯de. migof nedārom. i-am xo rafta-o gofta ke bede. xo var sâxta ke i morda zan-eš rafta onje gofta ke i morda. gofta: xêli xub aga morda i xo bede-š be ma mixam xod-om bebarom bešurom-šon-o begzarom-eš tu mahcet.

6. i raft-o i-r šušt, öhâ-r be juš oword rix a jon-eš. i berê ya qâze takk naxord, lur naxord ke ma mordam. u vax ke šušt-eš de kafa kerdan-šon-o bordaı gozeštan-eš.

7. ez tu xazinê pâdešâh ke xāli kerda bodan ya šamšire-ham oworda bodan. i pulâ-r qasmat kerdan i dervišâ, u vax hami šamšir monda bod. gofta: har ke bezana i mordê tu-ye tabud-re bezana, riza riza kona, šamšir-re homu bebara.

8. u vax yakke var-xest-o astinhö xo-r va-mālid, u xo hösala nakerd.dobāra yakke degê gofta: bede tâ xod-om bezanom, xord xordeš konom, šamšir-am xod-om bebarom berê xo. hamrâ ke šamšir-e bolan kerd ke u-ham xo baham dowid.

9. u yakke ke yak qâze talabgâr boda-ham tu ya qabresto kohna tu ya xâke qaham bod ke bebina i lur xâ-xord zenda-ya yâ morda, ez tu qabresto kohna be dar dowid, gof: mordahâ begiran zendahâ-re, ke i dervišâ-ham pulâ-r rixtan-o kandan. hâlâ homu yakke ke yak qâze talabgâr-a xod-e homu morda i pulâ-r do ju kerdan, pulhö k-ez tu xazinê pâdešâh owordan. dervišâ xo pulhâ-r rixtan-o kandan ke mordahâ zenda šodan.

10. u vax yakke-š var-gešta bod gofta: tâ borom ez i bâhu sar kašom bebinom co qedar morda zenda šodan ke o qedar pul-er bordan. u vax omad. hamci ke sar xo-r xam kerd bebina co qedar morda zenda šodan ke kolâh-š-e hafna kerdan. var-došt-o dâd bezu yakke gof: to begi, i-ham qâz-et, homu migi qâz-om-re bede, i-ham berê qâz-et.

11. u vax vâ pê dowid-o raf gofta: beren tâ berem ke o qedar morda zenda šodan ke i cel tobrê pul har tö ya qâze residêšo, yakke-š-e vâ-naresida bod kolâh ma bezu dâdan. kandan-o raftan i dervišâ berê xodešo. i xo dega bud šod.

Traduction

1. Il y avait quarante derviches. Ils dirent : Allons (litt. allez que nous allions) piller le trésor du roi. Or le roi avait lui-même revêtu des habits de derviche ; il vint avec eux. Il dit : Quel(s) talent(s) avez-vous ? L'un d'eux dit : Moi, quelqu'un que je vois à sept ans, puis que je ne vois plus et que je [re]vois à soixante-dix ans, je le reconnais. Un autre dit : Quand nous irons, moi, s'il y a sept chambres les unes dans les autres et que les portes soient verrouillées, je récite une incantation de sorte que s'ouvrent les portes de toutes les sept. Un autre dit : Moi, je comprends le langage des chiens, [je comprends] ce qu'ils disent.

2. Ils se mirent en route et s'en allèrent pour piller le trésor du roi, le vider. Comme ils arrivaient par là (litt. de ce côté), ils virent (litt. il vit) qu'[un] chien aboyait. Ils dirent (litt. il dit) : Que dit le chien ? [L'homme qui comprenait le langage des chiens] dit : Le chien dit : Holà, voilà des voleurs, holà, voilà des voleurs. Ils avancèrent encore. Un autre [chien] se mit à aboyer. Ils dirent : Que dit celui-ci ? L'homme dit : [Il dit :] Hé, mon maître est avec, hé, mon maître est avec. Ils allèrent et arrivèrent à la porte du palais du roi.

3. [L'homme qui savait ouvrir les portes] commença à réciter une incantation. Il récita, ils poussèrent les (litt. mirent les mains aux) portes et virent que les portes des sept [chambres] étaient ouvertes. Ils entrèrent, remplirent leurs sacs et sortirent. [L'homme] de nouveau récita l'incantation et les portes des sept

chambres se verrouillèrent. Ensuite les derviches allèrent leur chemin et le roi alla son chemin.

4. Au matin, le roi convoqua les derviches, les fit venir, [et leur dit] que la veille au soir ils avaient vidé le trésor du roi. Alors celui qui avait dit « si je vois à sept ans je reconnais à soixante-dix ans », dès que ses yeux tombèrent sur le roi, dit : Point de mire du monde, n'étais-tu pas toi-même avec nous hier soir ? Le roi dit [que c'était] ainsi. Quand il eut dit cela, il dit : Prenez l'argent et allez votre chemin. Il ne leur [re]prit pas l'argent.

5. Les derviches s'en allèrent. Il y avait comme aujourd'hui (?) une vieille tombe, une ruine : ils y entrèrent. Quelqu'un vint qui était créancier d'un autre pour un sou. Il disait [toujours] : Donne-moi mon sou. L'autre disait : Je ne l'ai pas. Le créancier est venu et a dit : Donne. Lui a fait semblant d'être mort. Sa femme est allée dire : Il est mort. Le créancier dit : Très bien, s'il est mort, donne-le moi, je veux l'emporter moi-même, je le laverai et je le mettrai dans la mosquée.

6. Il alla le laver. Il fit bouillir de l'eau et la versa sur son corps. L'autre, pour un sou, ne bougea pas, ne broncha pas, puisqu'il était censé mort (litt. que je suis mort). Quand il l'eut lavé, on l'enveloppa dans un linceul, on l'emporta et on le mit [dans la tombe].

7. Du trésor du roi qu'ils avaient pillé les derviches avaient emporté un sabre. Ils partagèrent l'argent et il restait le sabre. Ils dirent : Celui qui frappera ce mort dans le cercueil, le frappera, le mettra en pièces, que celui-là emporte le sabre !

8. Alors l'un se leva et retroussa ses manches, mais il n'eut pas le courage. Un autre dit : Donne que je le frappe moi, que je le mette en morceaux et que j'emporte le sabre. [Mais] dès qu'il leva le sabre, il perdit courage.

9. Celui qui était créancier d'un sou était caché dans une vieille tombe, dans une fosse, pour voir si [son débiteur] allait remuer, s'il était mort ou vivant. Il surgit de la vieille tombe et il dit : Que les morts saisissent les vivants ! Les derviches laissèrent tomber l'argent et s'enfuirent. Alors le créancier et le [prétendu] mort se partagèrent l'argent, l'argent qu'ils avaient apporté du trésor du roi. Quant aux derviches, ils laissèrent tomber l'argent et s'enfuirent, [croyant] que les morts avaient ressuscité.

10. Or l'un d'eux était revenu. Il [se] dit : Allons faire un tour par là, voir combien de morts ont ressuscité et ont emporté tant d'argent. Il arriva. Dès qu'il inclina la tête pour voir combien de morts avaient ressuscité, on lui fit sauter son bonnet. [Le débiteur] l'enleva et le donna à l'autre en disant : Prends, voilà ton sou. Tu dis toujours : donne-moi mon sou. Le voilà, ton sou (litt. voici pour ton sou).

11. L'autre s'enfuit précitamment (litt. courut en arrière). Il dit aux autres : Allons-nous-en (litt. allez que nous allions), car tant de morts ont ressuscité que [de] ces quarante sacs d'argent il est revenu à chacun un sou. L'un d'eux n'avait pas eu sa part ; on lui a donné mon bonnet. Les derviches s'enfuirent et allèrent leur chemin. Voilà, c'est fini.

Remarques

1. *bien :* 2pl. Exemple de conjugaison (présent de « faire ») : *mikonom, mikoni, mikona, mikonem, mikonen, mikonan.* — *pâdešâh-re :* la postposition *-râ* a les formes *-re*, *-r* (après voyelle), *-er* et quelquefois *-e* (après consonne). — *u vax* = pn. (persan commun) *ân vaqt.* — Démonstratifs *i, inâ* = pn. *in, inhâ*; *u, unâ* = pn. *ân, ânhâ.* — *de* = pn. *dar* « dans ». — *degê* < *dega* (= pn. *digar*) + *-e*, article indéfini, cf., p. ex., *šamšir-e* « un sabre », § 7.

2. *xazinê* < *xazina* + *-e*, ezâfé. — *did* « il vit » pour « ils virent » : il y a dans ce récit des flottements entre le singulier et le pluriel ; je ne sais si c'est un fait de la grammaire du dialecte ou une négligence du narrateur.

3. *a, ar,* quelquefois *er* = pn. *bar* « sur ». — *tobrahö xo-r* = pn. *tobrehâ-ye xod-râ.* — *berê xod-šo* = pn. *barâ-ye xod-ešân.*

4. *soh* = pn. *sobh.* — *pulâ-r-am* = pn. *pulhâ-râ-ham.*— *es-šo* = pn. *az-ešân.*

5. La première phrase est confuse (*ru* = *ruz ?*) : j'ai traduit *ad sensum.* — *bešurom-šon* litt. « je les lave » ; ici encore flottement entre singulier et pluriel.

6. *jon* « corps ». — *lur xordan* « remuer ».

9. *qaham* = pn. *qâyem.* — *xâ-xord :* futur. Exemple de conjugaison (futur de « faire ») : *xâkerdom, xâkerdi, xâkerd, xâkerdem, xâkerden, xâkerdan.* — *xod-e* « avec ».

10. *bâhu* « coin ». — *kolâh-š-e* = pn. *kolâh-aš-râ.* — *hafna kerdan* « enlever, choper ».

11. *har tö* = pn. *har tâ-i ?* — *rasidêšo* < *rasida* + *-ešo.* — *bezu* = pn. *be ân, bedân.* De même, *bezunâ, bezi, bezinâ.* = *be ânhâ, be in, be inhâ.*— *bud šod* = pn. *tamâm šod.*

II

1. i Nesredin xarguš-e došt-o i-re de-basta doš. i Širokihâ omadan goftan: i-r bede be mâ. gofta: i qāsed-e râh-a, ṇemidom-eš. gofta: cera nemidi-š? gofta: qāsed-e râh-om-na. i-re rahi kerd, do tâ xarguš doš, yakke-r qaham doš yakke degê-re piš Širokihâ doš. i-r sar dâd gof: borö be zan bacê mâ begen ke šom tayâr konan ke ma mahmo dārom i jur-o i jur tayor konan. i-r sar dâd.

2. i xarguš-ham ya dö i taraf miduid ya dö i taraf miduid. gofta: i xo midua ke bera, miša ke nara. gofta: i pê gom mekona ke kas nagirêš. šom ke omadan did hami tarz qazâhö ke gofta doros kerda-o guš gofta bepaza poxta, pālö berenj gofta dam kona dam kerda. omadan inâ šom xordan.

3. vaxte ke omedan goftan ke i xarguš-e bede, Nesredin, tâ bexarem. gofta: ma i xarguš-e nemitānom befrušom-o i qāsed-e râh-om-na. hey piceš kerdan-o i-r xarid, bešo dâd be ponsad toma. u vax var-doštan u xarguš-e.

4. raftan-o bên-e râh ke raftan i xarguš-er sar dâdan goftan ke borö be bacehö mâ bogu — inâ cel nafar bodan i Širokihâ — borö bogu ke i jur-o i jur šom tayâr konan ke mâ rasidem mahmo-ham dārem. šom ke raftan didan ke inâ

xo hịce tayâr nakerdan. u vax var-gaštan omedan goftan: tâ berem begirem i Nasredin-re biārem bezanem bokošem-eš ke i mâ-r roxšan kerda.

5. i-ham vaxte ke omad dobāra raft-o i-r gereftan-o de bâl-e namad kerdan-o xub tanâb kašeš kerdan ke bebaran bendâzan-eš tu deryâ. i-r-ham raftan lab-e deryâ gozoštan-o raftan taqriban yag žiqvâr râ u-taraf-tar nešestan ke câhị boxoran-o qazâ boxoran.

6. ya cupọne-ham gallê xo-r oword be ö. i galla-ham az xod-e cupo bod. i Nasredin-ham de homu bâl namad ke bod hê migof: nịkam nịkam. i cupo-ham gof: cịzi-a ke to hê migi nikam nikam? gofta: ma-r mibaran doxtar-e pâdešâh-re be ma dan, har ce migom nemixâm ma-r be zur de bâl picidan ke bebaran.

7. i cuponạ-ham miga: be dar yâ. — to ma-r vâ-kon-o â to borö de bâl namad. — ma mirom de bâl namad, ma-r cof bepic, â to rama-ham ez xod-omna, kaš de berê xo borö, dega ma bāšom de hami bâl namad tâ doxtar-e pâdešâh-re bebaran be ma dan.

8. u Nasredin galla-r kaš dâd-o raf. cupo-ham xo de bâl-e namad picidanšon-o â i cupo xub cof de-basta-šon-o i-r bordan. lab-e deryâ ke bordan-eš endâxtan-eš tu deryâ. var-gaštan omedan. dam ke omedan bên-e râh ke omedan hö hö i nasredin xo ana gallê gosfạnde de sinêš-a. — mâ tu deryâ endâxtem ez kojâ miê?

9. gofta: ma tu deryâ ke endâxten ma-r râh-e xoškọne dâdan, gallê gosfạnde-ham dâdan ke var-dâ borö. u vax omedan gofta ke aga mâ-ham berem mâ-r-ham midan? gofta: bale ke midan. šomâ-ham aga beren midan. u vax goftan: tâ berem.

10. lab-e deryâ ke raftan i cel nafar yakke-š gofta: ma mirom be tu, aga didom ma râh-e xoškọne midan mijom tu deryâ-vo galla gosfande midan ašâra xâkerdom dastö xo-r, šomâ-ham bien be ta. i-ham xo-r mindāza be tu. ö ba halqeš mira, nafas tang miša, jo mikkana, dastö xo-r hamci hamci mikona. inâ-ham goftan: u-r gallê gosfande dâda-o râh-e xoškone. inâ-ham har cel tâ marizan de tu, hamma xaffa mišan-o de homu mimiran.

11. unâ xo-r dega rixtan tu deryâ koštan. i yakkö degêšo omedan-o goftan: tâ berem i Nasredin-re bokošem ke dega i xo rišê mâ-r kašid. i-ham omad gof ke ya jum šafö doš. vaxte ke omedan ke goftan mexem bọkošem-eš i raf ya šekambê gosfạnde por xu kerd-o ez zir-e pahren-e zan-eš dâd. i zan-eš-ham xo xābida bod zir-e cāder ke i mariz-a.

12. vaxte ke omedan onje gofta ke vạ-xi berê inâ câhi doros ko. gofta: ma mariz-om nemitānom. ya dö u-ham šamšịre mikaša mizana hami ru-ye eškam zaneka mizana. eškamba-ham šelapas mikona xunhâ a do bar miriza. goftan: bâbâ Nasredin to cera hamci kerdi, mâ xo câhi nemixâstem, to zaneka-r ez bên bordi.

13. gofta: tọ̈re nịa. omad-o vâz ya jụme ovord-o ö rix ar ru-ye eškam-e zaneka-o i xunhâ šušta. did zaneka va-xest-o banâ kerd be câhi de dam kerdan. gofta ke i jum šafö-ya. gofta ke i jum šafâ be mâ de tâ bexarem. gofta: ma i xuâsö ma, i jum šafâ-re nemitānom be dom, aga i-r dâdom, ana hâlâ zaneka-r koštom, aga i nabod ez koje mixâstom zendêš konom?

14. u vax gofta: na, i-re be har jụre has bede be mâ. dobāra omad-o i jum šafâ-re dâd bešo be so hezâr toma. so hezâr toma i jum šafâ-r dâd bezu-vo pụl-er estond-o inâ var-doštan-o raftan.

15. be xānêšo ke raftan be zanöšo goftan: biâ berê mâ câhi doros ko qazâ doros ko. inâ-ham yak kodo nakkenok ke kerdan inâ-ham kašidan šamšir-o za-dan zanö xo-r koštan. hâlâ har ce ke ö mirizan ar jon-šo ez hemi jum šafâ inâ xo zenda nemišan, zenda nemišan.

Traduction

1. Nasreddin (litt. ce Nasreddin) avait un lièvre, il le tenait attaché. Les Chirokis vinrent lui dire : Donne-le nous. Il dit : C'est [mon] messager, je ne le donne pas. Ils dirent (litt. il dit) : Pourquoi ne le donnes-tu pas ? Il dit : C'est mon messager. Il le fit partir. Il avait deux lièvres, il en tenait un caché et il tenait l'autre devant les Chirokis. Il le lâcha en disant : Va, que l'on dise à ma famille (litt. femme et enfant) qu'ils préparent le dîner, car j'ai des hôtes, qu'ils le préparent de telle et telle manière. Il le lâcha [donc].

2. Le lièvre allait tantôt d'un côté tantôt d'un [autre] côté. Ils dirent : Il court pour [y] aller, [mais] peut-être qu'il n'ira pas. Il dit : Il brouille ses traces pour que personne ne l'attrape. Quand ils arrivèrent pour le dîner, ils virent qu'on avait préparé le repas comme il avait dit, cuit la viande comme il avait dit de la cuire, fait gonfler le pilaf, le riz, comme il avait dit de le faire gonfler. Ils dînèrent.

3. Quand ils vinrent dire : Donne-nous ce lièvre, Nasreddin, que nous l'achetions, il dit : Je ne peux pas le vendre, c'est mon messager. Ils ne cessèrent d'insister et [finalement] ils l'achetèrent, il le leur donna pour cinq cents tomans. Ils prirent le lièvre.

4. Ils s'en allèrent et, en cours de route, ils lâchèrent le lièvre en disant : Va dire à nos enfants — ils étaient quarante, ces Chirokis, — va dire qu'ils préparent le repas de telle et telle manière, car nous arrivons et nous avons des hôtes. Quand ils arrivèrent pour dîner, ils virent que eux n'avaient rien préparé. Alors ils retournèrent et dirent : Allons attraper ce Nasreddin, amenons-le, bat-tons-le, tuons-le, car il s'est moqué de nous.

5. Quand il revint ensuite, ils le prirent et le mirent dans un rouleau de feutre et ils tendirent bien la corde pour l'emporter et le jeter dans la mer. Arrivés au bord de la mer, ils le posèrent et allèrent à quelque distance, de l'autre côté, s'asseoir pour prendre le thé et manger.

6. Un berger amena son troupeau à l'eau. Ce troupeau appartenait au ber-ger lui-même. Nasreddin dans son rouleau de feutre répétait : Je ne veux pas, je ne veux pas. Le berger dit : Qu'est-ce qu'il y a que tu dis toujours : je ne veux pas, je ne veux pas ? Il dit : On m'emmène pour me donner la fille du roi, et j'ai beau dire que je ne veux pas, on m'a entortillé dans ce rouleau pour m'[y] amener.

7. Le berger dit : Sors. [Nasreddin dit :] Délivre-moi et va toi-même dans le rouleau. [Le berger dit :] Je vais [me mettre] dans le rouleau de feutre, enroule-moi serré. Le troupeau est à moi, emmène-le et va-t-en, et moi je resterai dans ce rouleau de feutre afin qu'on m'emporte et qu'on me donne la fille du roi.

8. Nasreddin emmena le troupeau et s'en alla. Quant au berger, [les Chirokis] l'entortillèrent dans le rouleau de feutre, le ficelèrent serré et l'emportèrent. Quand ils l'eurent porté au bord de la mer, ils le jetèrent dans la mer. Ils s'en retournèrent. Tandis qu'ils revenaient, en cours de route, tout à coup voilà Nasreddin, un troupeau devant lui. [Ils dirent :] Nous t'avons jeté dans la mer, d'où viens-tu ?

9. Il dit : Quand vous m'avez jeté dans la mer, on m'a remis à pied sec (litt. donné un accès au sec) et on m'a donné aussi un troupeau de moutons en disant : prends et va. Ils dirent (litt. vinrent et dirent) : Si nous y allons, est-ce qu'on nous donnera aussi [tout cela] ? Il dit : Bien sûr qu'on vous le donnera, si vous y allez on vous le donnera. Alors ils dirent : Allons-y.

10. Quand ces quarante personnes arrivèrent au bord de la mer, l'un d'eux dit : Je vais plonger (litt. aller dedans) ; si je vois qu'on me met à pied sec, je me dresserai dans la mer, et si on me donne un troupeau de moutons, je ferai un signe avec les mains ; alors plongez (litt. venez au fond) vous aussi. Il se jette à l'eau (litt. dedans). L'eau lui entre dans la gorge, il étouffe, il se dresse, il agite les mains (litt. il fait les mains ainsi ainsi). Les autres disent : On lui a donné un troupeau de moutons et on l'a remis à pied sec. Eux aussi, tous les quarante, ils se jettent à l'eau, ils étouffent et ils meurent là-dedans.

11. Ils se sont donc jetés dans l'eau et ils se sont tués. Les autres dirent : Allons tuer ce Nasreddin qui nous a démolis (litt. déracinés). Or lui, il vint dire qu'il avait un Vase de guérison. Quand ils dirent : nous voulons le tuer, il emplit de sang une panse de mouton et la mit sous la robe de sa femme. Cette femme était couchée sous la tente comme si elle était malade (litt. [disant] qu'elle est malade).

12. Quand ils arrivèrent, il dit : Lève-toi, prépare du thé pour ces personnes. Elle dit : Je suis malade, je ne peux pas. Tout à coup il tire le sabre et il frappe le ventre de la femme. La panse fait flop et le sang coule des deux côtés. Ils dirent : Dis donc, Nasreddin, pourquoi as-tu fait ça ? Nous ne voulions pas de thé, et tu as fait périr ta femme !

13. Il dit : Ça ne fait rien. Il alla chercher un vase et il en versa [l'eau] sur le ventre de la femme et lava le sang. Il[s] vi[ren]t la femme se lever et se mettre à faire infuser le thé. Il dit : C'est un Vase de guérison. Ils dirent : Donne-nous ce Vase de guérison que nous l'achetions. Il dit : C'est mon privilège. Je ne peux pas donner ce Vase de guérison. Si je l'avais donné, voilà que j'ai tué ma femme, si je ne l'avais pas (le Vase), comment aurais-je fait pour la ressusciter (litt. voulais-je la ressusciter) ?

14. Alors ils dirent : Non, il faut absolument que tu nous le donnes (litt. de toute manière, donne-le nous). Alors il leur donna le Vase de guérison pour trois

mille tomans. Trois mille tomans il le leur (litt. lui) vendit. Il reçut l'argent et eux prirent le Vase et s'en allèrent.

15. En arrivant à leur maison, ils dirent à leurs femmes : Viens, prépare du thé et prépare le repas pour nous. Comme elles se mirent à chicaner, ils tirèrent le sabre et frappèrent leurs femmes et les tuèrent. Ensuite ils ont beau verser sur elles de l'eau du Vase de guérison, elles ne ressuscitent pas, elles ne ressuscitent pas.

Remarques

1. *Nesredin* ou *Nasred(d)in*, cette dernière forme peut-être sous l'influence du persan commun. — *Široki :* habitant d'une localité nommée *Cirok*. — *râh-om-na : -na* est apparemment une variante de *-a* (= pn. *-ast*) après *-om*.

2. *ya dö* « une fois ». — *negirêš* < *negira-eš*. — *qazâhö ke* = pn. *qazâhâ-i ke*.

4. *roxšan* = pn. *rišxand*

5. *yak žiqvâr râ(h)* « un bout de chemin ». — *câhi* = pn. *cây, câi*.

6. *nikam :* cette forme n'appartient pas au parler de Nâyband ; c'est peut-être une formule empruntée à une variante dialectale de ce conte. — *cizi* « quoi ? ».

7. La valeur de *â*, qui se trouve deux fois dans ce paragraphe et une fois dans le paragraphe 8, reste obscure (= *âqâ* en apostrophe ?).

8. *hö hö* « tout à coup ». — *de sinêš* (= pn. *dar sine-eš*) « devant lui ».

11. *yakkö degêšo* = pn. *nafarhâ-ye digar-ešân* — *ya jum šafö* = pn. *yek jâm(-e) šafâ-e*. — *pahren* = pn. *pirâhan*.

13. *xuâsö ma* = pn. *xavâshâ-ye man*.

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CH BR°ZNDHY

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Ch br°zndhy 'How lovely art thou!' No sentence is more evocative of the Song of Songs, or in its Jewish–Persian form more characteristic of the text to be discussed. Only recently — too late for our lamented Hungarian colleague — has J. P. Asmussen published in facsimile, and with a minimum of commentary, nine pages of a Hebrew–Jewish-Persian vocabulary of the Song of Songs, *Mykllwt šyr hšyrym wtrgwm.*[1] From a previous publication of other versions of the same text,[2] it emerges that this 'Teil eines noch nicht katalogisierten undatierten Manuskriptes in der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Kopenhagen' comprises folios 94a–98a. In what follows, however, it will be cited by page (3–11) and line (1–33 or 34) of the printed text. It presents many interesting features, which invite comment.

The first and most obvious feature of the vocabulary is that it presents a freer translation of the Hebrew text than the scholastic version previously published, best represented for comparison by the 15th-century Paris mss. hébr. 116 and 117.[3] To take an extreme case — where the Paris mss. regularly give a mechanical and 'un-Persian' translation of the Hebrew active participle, using a Persian verbal adjective in *-ā,* e.g. **6:10** *nišqāpāh*[4] '(she) looking out' > *ngrš(n) krdh šww°,* lit. 'being having-looked', the vocabulary has more normal forms, as here *nm°yy°n myšwwd* /numāyān mīšavad/ 9.9 '(who) appears'. For **2:8** *mədalēg, məqapēṣ* 'leaping, skipping', where the Paris mss. have *wr j(y)h°* and *rqṣ kwn°,* we find 4.27 *jyst xyz°n* and 28 *jyst myznd.* In general the language of the vocabulary approximates to modern colloquial Persian, though it still has a number of archaic features. Thus as a translation of **6:12**=9.16 *nādīb* 'generous, noble' (the

[1] Jes P. Asmussen, "Ein jüdisch-persisches Vokabularium zum Hohen Lied", in: *Iranian and Indo-European Studies. Memorial Volume of Otakar Klíma.* Ed. Petr Vavroušek. Prague 1994, pp. 1–11.

[2] Jes P. Asmussen and Herbert H. Paper, *The Song of Songs in Judeo-Persian,* Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 9,2. Copenhagen 1956, p. 112, s.v. *dh.* Many of the publications of J.-P. Bible texts by Asmussen and Paper listed there, pp. 8–9, are unfortunately not accessible to me.

[3] *V.* Asmussen & Paper, *op. cit.,* pp. 10–109.

[4] Hebrew examples are transliterated from the facsimile, with the often incomplete pointing found there. Thus no geminates are marked and no distinction made between *ō* and *ū. Šəwā* (ignored in transcription when it is *quiescens*) is often miswritten as *ṣērē.*

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Paris mss. here *šryf*) we find *sxywmnd,* an adjective apparently with the old suffix /-ōmand/, albeit formed from the Arabic word /saxī/ 'generous'! The word used frequently and consistently to translate Heb. *nʾwh* and *nʿym* 'beautiful', namely *brʾzndh* 3.16, 33, 4.8, 5.15, 6.21, 8.34, 9.31, also has an old-fashioned air, being reminiscent of Middle Persian *brʾzʾg* 'radiant', but it is quoted from both Saʿdī and Ḥāfiẓ.[5] What is striking is that it differs completely from the older translations, which generally have simple *xwb* or *xwwš,* occasionally *zybʾ* in these contexts. The latter word appears only once in our text: *ʾy zybʾy mn* **2:10**=5.2 for Heb. *yāpātī* 'my fair one'.

There are a few items of traditional J.-P. lexicon, such as **4:2**=2.19 *sklbydgy* 'being robbed of offspring',[6] **8:2**=10.24 *mytnjʾnydm* 'I would cause to drink',[7] but more noticeable is the high proportion of words of Arabic origin, beside a few Turkish. The older translations already had their quota of some two dozen Arabic words, and even a few from Turkish (e.g. P. 117, **3:3** *yzk znʾʾn* /yazak-zanān/ 'patrollers'), but the vocabulary boasts some fifty more, used where the older translations have mostly Persian words: *ʾdwyyh jʾt mwʿṭr* /adwiyajāt-i muʿaṭṭar/ 6.1 'fragrant spices'; *ʾḥʾth* 9.26 'fence'; *ʾtpʾq* /ittifāq/ 6.30 'company'; *ʿṭryyʾt* 7.11, 8.21 'perfumes'; *brʾq* '8.11 bright'; *dmʾq* (Ar. *dimāγ*) 9.28 in the derived sense 'nose'; *dqlwbʾb* /daγlubāb/ < Ar. *daqqu 'l-bāb* 7.24 'knocking on the door'; *drjh* 5.13 'stairs' (for Heb. *ha-madrēgāh* 'steep'); *γyyrt*[8] 10.33 'jealousy'; *ḥnʾ* 4.7 'henna'; *jbh kʾnh* 6.24 'armoury'; *lbʾs* 7.6 'clothing'; *mʿlwm* 3.21, 8.9 'known'; *mptwl* /maftūl/ 8.24 'twisted'; *mḥz (ʾynkh)* 10.4 'solely for (this, that)'; *mjrwḥ* 8.6 'wounded'; *mnbʿ* 7.7 'source'; *msʾl* 6.19, 8.22, 9.23 'like'; *mslsl* 8.16 'concatenated, curled'; *msmwʿ* 11.15 'heard' (so, for Heb. *maqšībīm* 'heeding'); *mwḥbt* 7.3, 10.14, 10.33 'love'; *mwḥkm* 11.7 'firmly'; *mwḥtʾj* 9.24 'needy'; *mwltft* ! (Ar. *multafit*) 4.32 'attentive, looking'; *mwrṣʿ (-nšʾn)* 8.15 'covered with gold'; *mwstqymʾn* 3.15 'the upright'; *mwstqymy* 10.7 'uprightness' (both for Heb. *mēšārīm*); *nṣb (šwdh)* 8.24 'fixed'; *qlʿh (jʾ)* 6.23 'tower'; *qsm* 8.12 'oath'; *qṣr* 6.5, 11.7 'palace' (for Heb. *ʾapirywm* 'palanquin'; *ṭīrat* 'parapet'); *qwy* 10.32 'strong'; *qzʾl* /γazāl/ 4.29 'gazelle'; *ṣḥrʾ* 7.9 'desert' (wrongly for Heb. *šəlāḥīk* 'thy *cheeks'); *syqh* (Ar. *ṣīγa*) 9.5 for 'concubine'; *syyql* 8.25 'polish'; *šdt* 10.34 'violence'; *šms (ʾftʾb)* /šams-i āftāb/ 9.11 'sun'; *šqyqh* 6.22 'temple (of head)'; *tʿǰyl* 11.16 'haste'; *tʿryp* /taʿrīf/ 9.9 'praise'; *tkbwry* 9.3 'pride'; *tklwm* 6.21 'speech'; *tmʾm* 5.3 'finished'; *tmyz* 6.16 'clean'; *twḥfh* 7.10, 19 'rarity'; *wʾldh* 5.30, 9.7, 10.30 'mother'; *wst* (Ar. *wasaṭ*) 6.8 'means'; *xyymh(-nšyn)* 3.16 'tent(-dweller)'; *zwḥr* 3.24 'noon'; *zwlʾl* 7.32, 8.23 'pure'; *zxyrh* 10.17 'store'. Another half-dozen are exceptional in that they seem

[5] ʿA. A. Dehxodā, *Loγat-nāme,* s.v.

[6] *V.* Asmussen & Paper, *op. cit.,* p. 116 f., s.v. *škrv-*. The semantic development suggested there, 'stumbling > having an abortion > becoming (being) childless' seems unlikely. Rather was the Persian /škarw-/ 'stumble', translating *KŠL,* also adopted at an early stage, helped by the phonetic similarity in the two languages, to translate *ŠKL* 'be bereaved' and retained this meaning, by tradition, also in its later phonetic forms.

[7] *V.* Asmussen & Paper, *op. cit.,* p. 118, s.v. *tnǰ-*.

[8] In general both Ar. /q/ and /γ/ are written with *qōf,* but in this word alone a *gīmel* dotted above is used for /γ/. *Gīmel* dotted below stands for /ǰ/.

to be 'etymological translations', intentionally reproducing the roots of the Hebrew words in Arabic form — early examples of comparative philology: *'štyy'q* 10.8 'longing' (*tēšwqātw* !); *brkh* /birka/ 9.27 'pool' *(bərēkwt); bṭn* 9.24 'belly' *(biṭnēk); mftwḥ* 7.31 'open' *(li-ptḥa); q'mt* 9.32 'stature' *(qwmāt-); mlkh* 9.8 'queen' *(məlākwt); mmzwj* 9.24 'mixed' *(ha-māzeg); mstwry* 5.12 'hiding-place' *(bə-sēter).* A similar attempt is probably the translation *rẓ' bwdh* (for Ar. /riḍā/) 'one having assented' **6:4**=8.34 for the place-name Heb. *tirṣāh.* New Turkish words are *tph* 6.29 'hill(-top)' and *byyr'q* in *byyr'q d'r* /bayrāq-dār/ 8.13 'standard-bearer'. To the Persian lexicon we shall return.

An obvious phonetic feature is the rounding, not only of /ā/ before a nasal (/m, n/), as in modern colloquial, but also of short /a/ in several words. Examples of the former process are written with *wāw,* e.g. *'wnkh* /ūn-ki/ 7.18, 11.14 'that which', medially *cwnh* /čūna/ **5:13**=8.19 'chin', and finally *'yswn* /išūn/ **4:2**=6.18 'they, them'; *rwwn* /rawūn/ **4:15, 16**=7.16, 18 'flowing' (but *rww'n* **7:10**=10.6), *nšwn* /-nīšūn/ **5:12**=8.26 '(jewel)-overlaid', *gwm* /gūm/ **7:12**=9.19 'step' (Paris mss. also *g'm,* for Heb. *pə'āmay-* 'feet'); *rwn* /rūn/ **7:2**=9.21 'thigh'. The universality of the process is also confirmed by two over-compensatory spellings with <'>: *byr'n* 10.21, against *byrwn* 8.1, 10.9 for /bīrūn/ 'out(side)', and *cg'nh* 7.27 for /čigūna/ 'how'. Once /-ār/ becomes /-ūr/, in *bwxwr* /buxūr/ **3:6**=5.32 'vapour'. For the development of /u/: *'wrw'rh* /*urvāra/ **1:10**=3.33 'cheek';[9] *cwqz* **2:8**=4.28, probably miswritten for *cwq'z* /čuγāz/ **4:6**=6.29 'hill' < /čaγād/;[10] *swq'l* /šuγāl/ **2:15**=5.16 'jackal' < /šaγāl/; *'wjwm* /uǰum/ **5:4**=7.31 'moved' (of bowels) < Ar. /aǰam/ 'nausea'; *mymwkydy* /mīmukīdī/ **8:1**=10.20 'you used to suck' < /makīdan/. One displaced <w> is so unexpected that it may be a scribal error for <y>: *bgrwznd* **2:17**=5.19 '(the shadows) are fleeing' < /gurīz-/, but it could show a genuine dialect development. The 3rd person plural verb forms are also occasionally written with final /-n/, besides the more common /-nd/, e.g. *styzh nmwdn* **1:6** / 3.9 'they quarreled'; *gwl h' nmwd'r šwdn* **2:12**=5.5 f. 'the flowers appeared'; *tkbwry d'dn mr'* **6:5**=9.3 'they gave me pride' (for Heb. *hirhībunī*); *sr'zyr šwdn* **6:5**=9.4 'they went downwards'; *xwš 'md gwftn 'wr'* **6:9**=9.8 'they flattered her'.

Among the Persian words many are colloquial, perhaps attested here for the first time in writing, e.g. *wyl nmwdm 'wr'* /vel numūdam ūrā/ **3:4**=5.29 'I let him go'; *dw qwlw z'yydh* /duγulū zāīda/ **4:2**=6.18, **4:5**=6.27 'born twins'; *jwb h'* /ǰūb-hā/ **5:12**=8.17 'streams' (P. 116, 117 *jwyh'*); *qwlp bwdh* /qulp (or, qulf ?) būda/ **4:12**=7.7 'locked', against literary *qwfl* /qufl/ **5:5**=7.33 'lock'; *sq* /saγ/ **2:3**=4.17, also 8.29, 10.6 'palate' (for Heb. *ḥik*), against standard *sqf* /saqf/ **1:17**=4.10 'roof, rafter'; *hmw'l* (Ar. *'mw'l* 11.3 'property'. *bql mygyrd ~ mygrft mr'* /baγal mīgīrad ~ mīgirift marā/ **2:6**=4.22, **8:3**=10.26 'he embraces ~-ed me' also appears less literary than the *('n)dr 'γwš gyrd mr'* of the Paris mss. Other forms are dialectal, such as *pwrwz* **6:2**=8.31, *frwz* **6:11**=9.12 /furūz/ 'down', found also in R. Šim'on's Jerusalem edition of 1904 as *pūrūz.*[11]

9 *V.* Asmussen & Paper, *op. cit.,* p. 111, s.v. *'v'rh.*
10 *V.* Asmussen & Paper, *op. cit.,* p. 112, s.v. *čγ'd.*
11 *V.* Asmussen & Paper, *op. cit.,* p. 113, s.v. *frvd.*

In identifying flora the translator sometimes followed tradition, e.g. rendering *mwr* 4.6, 7.20, etc. 'myrrh' by *mšk* 'musk', as do the Paris mss., but more often he went his own way. Thus, although he too took *nird* 'spikenard' 4.4, 7.11, 12, as *gwl,* he alone qualified it as *swrk/x* /gul-i surx/ 'red rose'. The *bērwtīm* (!) 'cypresses' of **1:17**=4.10 become *ʾbnws hʾ* /ābnūs-hā/ 'ebonies' (followed by Šimᶜon, *abnūṣ hā*). *Ḥabaṣelet hašārwn* 'the rose (or rather, meadow-saffron) of Sharon' of **2:1**=4.11 he translated as *pyyʾz nrgys mrqwzʾr* 'the bulb of the narcissus of the meadow', wherein the 'bulb' surely owed its appearence to the internal consonant sequence *-bṣl-*, cf. Ar. *baṣal* 'onion, bulb'. The *hagpānīm* 'vines' of **2:13**=5.10 become *mww hʾ* /maw-hā/, a word which escaped most classical dictionaires. The *səmādar* 'blossoms', or perhaps 'shoots', they brought forth cause a problem at 5.10 *nww trkh ʾwwrdnd,* in contrast to **7:13**=10.12 *nww rsydh hʾ. Trkh,* if /*tarxa/, would seem to corroborate the /tarxǰa/ listed by Vullers as 'palmes, sarmentum vitis', from Šuᶜūrī's *üzüm çubuğu ki tekâk dahi dirler* 'a vine shoot, which they also call [in Turkish] *tekâk*'.[12] At **4:14**=7.12, for *qāneh wə qināmwn* 'reed, calamus, and cinnamon', there appears *dʾrcyn qlmpwr* /dārčīn qalamfur/ 'cinnamon (and) clove' (the latter a metathesis of Ar. *qaranful*). Lastly, the *ʾahālwt* 'aloes' of the same verse, 7.14, are translated *ʾmbr,* a phonetic spelling of Ar. *ᶜnbr* 'ambergris'! Among the animals we have already met the *šwqʾl* and the *qzʾl.* For *gədētaīk* (!) 'thy kids', where the Paris mss. had *khrgʾn, khrhʾ* /kahre-/,[13] we find *bwzqʾlh* /buzγāla/, and for *ᶜwrēb* 'crow' **5:11**=8.17 *klʾq* /kulāγ/. Another bird, the *twr* 'turtle-dove' **2:12**=5.7, traditionally rendered by *tdrw* 'pheasant', here appears as *cpny,* an otherwise unknown form. If it is to be read /*čafnī/, it may lend more credence to the variant /čafnak/, also written <cftk>, appearing in various dictionaries as the name of a long-necked water-fowl also called /čikarna/ and /kāravānak/, i.e. probably a 'crane'.

There remain a few more singular words, met here for the first time, which may eventually help to locate the text. One such is *krdw* **5:13**=8.20 for *ᶜrwgat* '(garden) bed', where the Paris mss. have *kwrd.*[14] This can hardly be the /kardū/ 'a branch lopped from a tree' listed by Steingass. At **8:5**=10.28 *hm jzm* for *mitrapeqet* 'leaning on' may perhaps be coined from /*ham-ǰism/, lit. 'having the same body'. And finally, at **8:6**=10.34, for Heb. *rəšāpāhā* 'its flames', there is *fršnh*. This passage has provided a variety of J.-P. translations: P. 116 *xwrghʾ* 'coals, embers',[15] P. 117 *frxhʾ* '?', Šimᶜon *laxča hā* 'flames, coals' — and now /*farašna/, unclear in form, meaning and etymology. It is indeed a pity that this Copenhagen manuscript cannot be dated or located. Perhaps its remaining folios, when published, will yield more clues.

[12] J. A. Vullers, *Lexicon Persico–Latinum,* Bonn 1855, s.v. On the basis of this, F. Steingass, *A comprehensive Persian–English dictionary,* London 1892, p. 293, has, inexplicably: '*tarakhja, tarakhcha,* a vine-prop; a vine-shoot newly planted'. Dehxodā, *op.cit.,* s.v., also mistranslates Šuᶜūrī as *hasta-yi angūr* 'grape-stone'!

[13] *V.* Asmussen & Paper, *op. cit.,* p. 114, s.v. *khrhʾ.*

[14] *V.* Asmussen & Paper, *op. cit.,* p. 114, s.v. *kvrd.*

[15] *V.* W. B. Henning, *BSOAS* 11, 1946, p. 728 with n. 2.

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THE ROLE OF *QIYĀS* IN ARABIC GRAMMAR

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It is a well-known fact that *analogy* represents the basic method of Moslem theology, consequently, the Moslem sciences, as opposed to Greek sciences, are characterized by a predilection for an analogical way of thinking. Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 767) was the first outstanding scholar of the Moslem jurisprudence who admitted to holding subjective opinion based on individual judgment in cases which had no precedent either in the Koran or *sunna*. In his legal system a subjective opinion of unprecedented problems must be based on similar cases. Judges (cadis) belonging to his school were free to reflect on their decision referring to analogical instructions of the Koran or decisions of the Prophet contained in the Sunna. The most important terms of this procedure were *ra'y* and *istiḥsān*.

Ibn Malik (d. 795), the next important scholar of law was more rigorous. He was not ready to depart from the tradition legalized by the *sunna*, but following the activity of al-Šāfi'ī (d. 820) *analogy* became the fourth canonized legal source after the Koran, sunna and consensus.

Both the analogical reasoning of al-Šāfi'ī and Abū Ḥanīfa's legal opinion (*ra'y* or *istiḥsān*) were based on similarity, but al-Šāfi'ī's *qiyās* differred from Abū Ḥanīfa's *ra'y* in having strict rules of inference derived from a well-defined theory of similarity which was described with a specific terminology.

In this terminology the exact name of *al-qiyās* is *qiyās al-ġā'ib 'alā al-šāhid* (inference from evidence to the absent). One of two things connected by (simple) similarity is called *'aṣl* (root), while the other is called *far'* (branch). If the two things are connected by simple similarity, the inference is known as *qiyās al-šabah* or *'amārat*. The conclusion of a *qiyās al-šabah* has the force of opinion. If the similarity between the two different things was motivated (motive: *'illat*) by something else, the inference is called *qiyās al-'illat*, and it is said to yield real knowledge. The presence of the motive in a protasis and apodosis means that the *ḥukm* of the first clause is valid in the second one as well. The absence of the motive was said to result in the absence of *ḥukm*.

Speaking of analogical reasoning we refer to this theory of inference, which is accepted in Moslem law as well as in Moslem rational theology.

The question how and through which channels the theory of analogical reasoning came to Moslem religious sciences has been answered in different

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ways. The traditional Moslem answer is that the theory of *qiyās* has been derived from the Koran. Moslem scholars try to point out that the *ḥadīth* literature relies mainly on analogies. Other scholars (for example, J. Schacht) come to the conclusion that the scientific methodology based on similarity goes back to Jewish tradition.

Neither the first, nor the second view can be supported by the existence of the above theory or terminology of analogical reasoning in the early Islamic or Jewish tradition.

G. E. R. Lloyd has pointed out in his book[1] that a primitive means of epistemology is the observation of similarity and dissimilarity. The observation of similarity is one of the basic methods both in the Jewish and early Islamic tradition. In spite of this fact, referring to Lloyd's book, I can judiciously say that inferences based on similarity which are devoid of the theoretical background just described briefly have nothing to do with the above theory of analogical reasoning (*qiyās*) which is to be found in al-Šāfi'ī's work and in the tradition of his school.

In one of my works[2] I tried to point out that the theory of *qiyās* referred to must have been derived from Greek sources. The analogical inference which is based on similarity was well known in the Epicurean canonics as well as in the Greek empirical methodology. This theory of analogical reasoning must have come to Moslem scholars through several channels, e.g. via church fathers and Christian Arab theologians after the fourth century Christological debates and medical literature.[3]

My view seems to be contradictory to the thesis of some researchers who say that analogy was the main method of the early Arab grammarians as well. The conclusion this thesis arrives at is that the immediate source of the theory of *qiyās* is the Arabic linguistic science, which is one of the main fields of Arabic/Islamic sciences (as opposed to the foreign/Greek sciences). If we want to have more insight into the question of origin and function of *qiyās*, we have to shed more light on the meaning of analogy in grammar.

This can be the task of a long book, so here we have to confine ourselves to some details which seem to have been neglected up to now.

We have to begin our investigation with Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (717–778), who was the first grammarian to rely on analogy. He was a contemporary of Abū Ḥanīfa. He was one of the earliest grammarians in Baṣra.[4] It is the *communis opinio* of all researchers both in the East and West that the main difference between the school of the grammarians in Baṣra and that of the grammarians in

[1] G. E. R. Lloyd, *Polarity and Analogy,* Cambridge 1966.

[2] Unpublished as yet, meant to be integrated in a forthcoming book.

[3] One of the Greek examples is *Galeni Subfiguratio emperica.* In: K. Deichgräber, *Die griechische Empirikerschule,* Berlin–Zürich 1965, 42–90; In English translation: Galen, *Three Treatises on the Nature of Science.* Ed. M. Frede, Indianapolis, Indiana 1985, 23–45.

[4] Mahdi al-Makhzūmī, *Madrasat al-Kūfa wa manhaǧuhā fi dirāsat li-luġat wa 'l-nahw,* Cairo 1958, 46–47; W. Reuschel, *Al-Ḫalīl ibn-Aḥmad, der Lehrer Sībawaihs, als Grammatiker,* Berlin 1959.

Kūfa consists in their methodology: the Baṣran school preferred the use of analogy and the Kūfan school relied heavily upon tradition.[5]

The traditional attitude of mind in the Baṣran school is characterized by W. Reuschel when he claims that they acted as judges of language and style both in prose and poetry. Seeing the linguistic variety they classified some solutions as *ḥasan* (good), other solutions as *ǧā'iz̲* (permitted) and still others as *qabīḥ* (bad). This classification of linguistic expressions played an important role in syntactic and stylistic analysis.[6]

The generally accepted doctrine of the Baṣran school regarded the forms without exception as "roots" (*'aṣl*). Every departure from the regular form had to be deduced by *analogy* either from external formal or internal rational factors.[7] The analogy enabled the grammarians to explain irregular forms as regulars.

The dependence of Arab grammarians on one another is exposed by Mahdī al-Makhzūmī. He accepts the above characterization of the Baṣran and Kūfan schools and explaining the methodological differences between them he calls the attention to the different cultural backgrounds of the two cities. The grammarians in Kūfa were exposed mainly to the influence of the Koran readers (*qurrā'*) who relied basically on tradition aiming at the right pronunciation.[8]

The Baṣran grammarians were in close contact with the theological schools in the city. Consequently, they adopted the methods developed by theologians and jurisconsults. Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā' (d. 748), the founder of rational theology and father of the mu'tazilite school, was living in Basra. He was the most famous student of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.[9]

The influence of *fiqh* and *fuqahā'* on the development of other sciences, hence on grammar as well, was mentioned by G. Anawati.[10] Anawati does not prove his words, because he regards the opinion just quoted as evident. This view is also supported by the fact that G. Endress refers to the relations between

[5] al-Makhzūmī, op. cit. 47–50; Reuschel, op. cit. 16.

[6] Reuschel, op. cit. 16: "... sie wurden wohl hauptsächlich für stilistische Unterscheidungen verwendet ..."

[7] G. Weil, *Die grammatischen Schulen von Kufa and Basra,* Leiden 1913, 9: "Nachweise für die Richtigkeit dieser scheinbar unregelmässigen Formen sind die Häufigkeit ihres Vorkommens und die äusserlich schematische oder innerlich rationelle Folgerichtigkeit der Ableitung der abgeleiteten Formen aus den Grundformen. Je nachdem, in welchem Masse diese beiden Kriterien, der Usus (isti'mal) und die Analogie (qijās) in jedem Falle nachzuweisen sind, ist es erlaubt, weitere Formen nach ihrem Muster zu bilden."

[8] Mahdi al-Makhzūmī, op. cit. 22–43.

[9] Mahdi al-Makhzūmī, op. cit. 368–369.

[10] G. Anawati, Philosophy, Theology and Mysticism. In: *The Legacy of Islam.* Ed. J. Schacht–C.E. Bosworth, Oxford 1974, 354: "First of all, the formation of the schools of grammarians, one at Kufa and one at Basra. Discussions between philologists led to the elaboration of a certain number of categories with an exact vocabulary, of which philosophy did not fail to make use. Still more influential was the activity of the schools of religious law ... It is interesting to note the place taken by logic in these discussions, an 'ancient logic' centred entirely on reasoning by analogy (*qijās*)."

grammar and jurisprudence in the field of methodology as a generally known problem in literature.[11] On *'illat, aṣl* and *far'* he says:

"Auf die Zusammenhänge zwischen den methodischen Prinzipien der arabischen Grammatik und der Prinzipienlehre der islamischen Jurisprudenz ... ist schon verschiedentlich hingewiesen worden. Beide Disziplinen gehen aus von einem Fundus garantierter Sätze, den *uṣūl* ..., auch *adilla* (Beweise ...): im Recht die durch den Koran, den Propheten oder eine andere unumstrittene Autorität gefällten Entscheidungen, in der Grammatik die ausnahmslos verwendbaren Grundformen der Sprache. Beide auch gewinnen aus diesen Wurzeln ein kohärentes System abgeleiteter Sätze, *furū'* ..., indem sie im *aṣl* eine Norm (*'illa*, ratio legis) ermitteln, welche per analogiam auf das fragliche Einzelproblem — den zu entscheidenden Rechtsfall, das Rektionsverhältnis des vorliegenden Ausdrucks — appliziert werden kann. Dieses Verfahren (*qiyās*, das Massnehmen an einem 'Richtmass') ist also mehr als eine lose Entsprechung, welche Wahrscheinlichkeit begründet; es enthält bei den islamischen Gelehrten den strengen Charakter einer logischen Figur: die *'illa* ist der terminus medius (cf. An post. 90a6) eines (hypothetischen) Syllogismus."[12]

The passage quoted shows very well what confusion scholars are put to by some misunderstood teachings of logic of the Islamic philosophers and theologians. In this context I have to refer to the misleading explanation of the term *'illat* as a *terminus medius* in an Aristotelian syllogism as well as to the impossible connection of an Aristotelian *terminus medius* with hypothetical syllogisms. In one of my works I elaborated the system of hypothetical syllogisms. In that system *cause* is known as *sabab*, while the term *'illat* and the concept of *motive* are unknown.[13]

Here I only want to refer to the fact that the above quotation treats religious law and grammar parallel without any reference to chronological differences. It is well known that Moslem jurisprudence saw a considerable development in the second half of the eighth and the first half of the ninth centuries (from Abū Ḥanīfa, d. 767 until ibn Ḥanbal, d. 855).[14] Analogical reasoning (*qiyās*) was introduced by al-Šāfi'ī, who died in 820.

The Arab grammatical literature developed very dynamically some decades earlier (Khalīl ibn Aḥmad, d. 778, Sībawaihi, d. 770). The chronological difference warns us not to speak of *qiyās* in both sciences without distinction, if we assume the influence of juridical concepts on grammar disregarding chronological considerations, or if we assume a parallel development in religious law and grammar, as suggested by G. Endress in his above passage.

[11] G. Endress, Grammatik und Logik; Arabische Philosophie im Widerstreit. In: *Sprachphilosophie in Antike und Mittelalter.* Hrsg. B. Mojsisch, Br. Grüner. Amsterdam 1986, 163–233.

[12] Op. cit. 176–177.

[13] The necessary details in: Maróth M., *Ibn Sina und die peripatetische „Aussagenlogik"*, Budapest–Leyden 1989.

[14] L. Milliot, *Introduction a l'étude du droit musulman*, Paris 1953, 11–12.

The same uncertainty is to be found in other books as well. In his major work on Arabic grammar H. Fleisch does not shed more light on the question than G. Endress does. In his book we find the view that the efforts of Arab grammarians aimed at fixing the standard which was known as *qiyās*. Henri Fleisch, *Traité de Philologie Arabe.* Vol. 1. Beyrouth 1961, VIII: "Le grand effort des grammairiens arabes a été précisément d'établir la norm: le *qiyās*."[15]

Reviewing the different fields of grammar later he says that it was more difficult in syntax to subordinate linguistic facts to *analogy*, than it was in the field of phonetics. Solving the problems they had two principles to follow: 1. They distinguished strong and weak forms; 2. They considered similarity and diversity when they established roots and derived forms.[16]

And he goes on to say that in the Baṣran tradition *qiyās* precedes texts ("A Baṣra le *qiyās*, «l'analogie», passe avant les textes") and that Baṣran scholars often compared judges with grammarians ("Chez les Basrites, comparer le grammairien au juge est chose fréquente").

Fleisch refers to the parallelism between grammar and law without mentioning any possible difference in the use of the term *analogy*. He does not pay any attention to a possible change in the meaning of *qiyās* in different times either.

Reading Sībawaihi's Book (*Al-kitāb*) we become more cautious. He belongs to the earliest and most outstanding Arab grammarians who followed the rational methodology of the Baṣran theological schools. If we compare his book with al-Šāfi'ī's *Risālat*, we notice that the term *qiyās* does not occur in the former one as often as in the latter. Sībawaihi does not know the theory and terminology of analogical reasoning which is described in the above introductory section on the basis of al-Šāfi'ī's legal reasoning.

Sībawaihi, who preceded al-Šāfi'ī, did not make an exclusive use of the term *qiyās*, which he often replaced by other expressions. This could not have occurred in al-Šāfi'ī's work where *qiyās* is a technical term with a clearly defined meaning, which cannot be replaced by any other word.

In Sībawaihi's book we read as follows: *Mā aḥsana 'Abdallāh. Za'ama al-Khalīlu annahu bi-manzilati qawlika: šay'un 'aḥsana Abdallāhi.*[17]

In this sentence the expression *bi-manzilati* suggests that the two different phrases are *analogical*. The continuation *(fa ǧa'alū lahu mithālan wāḥidan yaǧrī 'alaihi, fa šubbiha hādha bi-mā laisa min al-fi'l ...)* shows that it is *similarity* which plays an important role here. *Mithālan wāḥidan* and *šubbiha* are the words which hint at the similarity between the two sentences.

[15] Henri Fleisch, *Traité de Philolgie Arabe.* Vol. 1. Beyrouth 1961, VIII: "Le grand effort des grammairiens arabes a été précisément d'établir la norm: le *qiyās*."

[16] Op. cit. 6: "Le concept de ressemblance (*šibh*) et diversité (*farq*), autrement dit de la *ressemblance partielle* (1) permet d'établir des rapports entre des mots différents et donc de donstituer *'aṣl* et *far'*."

[17] Sībawaihi, *Al-kitāb.* Vol. 1. Ed. 'Abdassalām Moḥammad Hārūn, Cairo 1988, 72–73.

It is not only the idea of similarity which emerges in the section quoted. Some manuscripts contain sections which say with reference to al-Akhfaš that one of the different forms is *aqyas* (more analogical). The two concepts, similarity and qiyas are not yet tightly connected.

Later Sībawaihi examines the sentences *ḍarabanī wa ḍarabtu qawmuka* and *ḍarabūnī wa ḍarabtu qawmaka* where the word *qawm* refers to a group of human beings, but the connected verb is in the singular. In Sībawaihi's opinion this sentence is correct, nevertheless, not very beautiful. It is similar to *huwa aḥsani al-fityāni wa aǧmaluhu*, where the singular personal suffix *hu* refers to the plural *al-fityāni.*[18] The latter sentence cannot be regarded as correct.

A comparison of these examples is not approved of by al-Akhfaš. He says that this comparison is *radī' fi 'l-qiyās* (a bad analogy), because if accepted, the above construction would permit sentences like *aṣḥābuka ǧalasa*. The latter ungrammatical sentence is not analogical (*lā yuqāsu 'alaihi*) to *huwa aẓrafu 'l-fityāni wa aǧmaluhu.*

All these expressions (*bi-manzilat, šubbiha, aqyas, yuqāsu 'alā* etc.) show in a well-defined context that terminology is not yet fixed in the early grammatical literature. The central idea is to find similarity between two things and to compare them, but this method is referred to with different expressions, the choice of which is mainly stylistically motivated. The expression *radī' fi 'l-qiyās* is not meant to say that there is a mistake in the use of analogical reasoning. It is only meant to suggest that there is no real similarity between the two grammatical constructions.

The examples show that both Sībawaihi and al-Šāfi'ī knew the word *qiyās,* but they used it in a different way. If we want to understand how Sībawaihi uses the word, we have to turn to classical grammatical texts. It is well known that analogy and anomaly were the epistemological principles in the classical Greek and Latin grammatical tradition.[19]

If we want to quote instances how analogy was observed in the classical tradition, let us turn to an anonymous commentary on Donatus. In this text we read: *principis* is the genitive of *princeps*. The genitival form is one syllable longer than the nominative. In this respect it is different from the words *anceps, biceps, triceps*, the genitive of which is two syllables longer: *ancipitis, bicipitis, tricipitis.* The author gives as an explanation that "Hoc ita soluendum est, quod princeps ex praepositione illa, quae est prae, et a uerbo capio, capis conponitur, praeceps uero et anceps et biceps et triceps, quae duabus syllabis contra analogiam crescunt, a nomine, quod est caput, quod est trisyllabum in genetiuo; ..."[20]

The term *analogia* usually occurs in grammatical texts in connections like *secundum analogiam et regulam, analogia et regula, non subiacent regulis et*

[18] Op. cit. 79–80.

[19] H. Steinthal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Logik.* Berlin 1863, 435–524.

[20] Ars anonyma Bernensis. In: H. Keil, Grammatici Latini. Vol. 8. *Anecdota Helvetica quae ad Grammaticam Latinam Spectant.* Ed. H. Hagen. Olms 1961, 122.

analogiam non servant.[21] The meaning of the term as well as the purpose of its use remind us of the words quoted above in Reuschel's book, where we read that Sībawaihi explained the irregular forms as regulars by means of *qiyās* (analogy).[22]

G. Weil pointed out that the term *analogy* had three different meanings in al-Anbarī's grammar which was written in the tenth century. 1. It means the relation between two things, which is based on similarity. 2. The regular form which is inferred to by means of analogy. 3. The analogical relation and inference as it is described in the theory of *kalām.*[23]

If we take al-Anbarī's book in hand, we see that it contains a lot of new things as compared to earlier grammars. Al-Anbarī himself definitely said that he tried to establish a special grammatical methodology.[24] His new concepts in grammar are familiar to everybody who knows the traditional methodology of rational theology and jurisprudence.

Dividing *al-qiyās* into species our text talks about *qiyās al-'illat, qiyās al-šabah, qiyās al-ṭard.*[25] Our earlier sources speak of *al-qiyās* in a general way, while al-Anbarī describes its function and subdivision (in the well-known way of Moslem theologians) using their exact and well-known terminology.[26]

Al-Anbarī defends his linguistic–juridic *qiyās* against its critics. His chapter *Answers to those who reject analogy (Fi al-radd 'alā man ankara al-qiyās)*[27] proves that his *qiyās* was considered to be an innovation which had many opponents. He admits that his aim was to compose a book which is the first of its kind.[28] Attia Amer quotes from al-Suyūṭi's (1445–1505) *al-Muẓhir* the passages of later grammarians and philosophers who reject or defend the use of *qiyās* in linguistics[29] which shows clearly that al-Anbarī's methodological innovation was not generally accepted.

Reviewing all these opinions we see that some scholars rejected all kinds of *al-qiyās*, because they accepted tradition as the only possible method of *al-naḥw*. Other scholars were ready to accept the first two forms of *al-qiyās*,

[21] Op. cit. 124, line 8; 126, line 34; 147, line 11.

[22] Reuschel, op. cit. 16: "Mit dieser ‚Methode' grammatischer Beweisführung konnte der arabische Grammatiker fast jede ausserhalb seiner Regeln stehende sprachliche Erscheinung doch noch als ‚regulär' erklären. Auch Sībawaih macht davon regen Gebrauch."

[23] G. Weil, *Die grammatischen Schulen von Kūfa und Baṣra,* Leiden 1913, 27: "1. bedeutet es das Prinzip der Analogie, das der einzelnen grammatischen Proportion zu Grunde liegt, und diese Proportion selbst; 2. den aus der Analogie gefolgerten Schluss d.h. die Regel oder die regelmässige Form ... und 3. die analogistisch-rationelle Beweisführung im Sinne von *kalam* im Gegensatz zu anderen Beweismöglichkeiten ..."

[24] al-Anbarī, *Luma' al-adillat fi uṣūl al-naḥw.* Ed. Attia Amer. Göteborg–Uppsala 1963, XIII: "Al-'Anbarī déclara donc etre le premier qui eut écrit un ouvrage sur la méthodologie grammaticale, et qui eut ajauté deux ‹sciences des lettres›." The same on page XX.

[25] Attia Amer, 53–60.

[26] Op. cit. 42–44.

[27] Op. cit. 44–48.

[28] Op. cit. 23.

[29] Op. cit. 44–45.

because it was the traditional method used in the Baṣran school of grammar. Analogy in this sense does not exceed the classical meaning of the word as understood by the classical Greek and Latin grammarians. The use of analogy in these senses was not subject to debate within the Baṣran tradition.

The third meaning is a special one which has been derived from the Moslem theological literature by al-Anbarī in the tenth century. *Qiyās* in this sense is different from the above two senses, nevertheless scholars who examine Arabic grammar are sometimes prone to confuse them. If we distinguish the first two meanings from the third one, we will clearly see what the influence of the Moslem theology on the development of Arabic grammar was.

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RENDERING HISTORY TOPICAL: ONE ASPECT OF A 16TH CENTURY PERSIAN HISTORICAL EPIC IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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(Budapest)

The following paper contains a small piece of my Ph. D. dissertation in preparation. About the thesis I was talking several times with Professor Zsigmond Telegdi, and he would have liked to participate in its preliminary discussion. On our last appointment in a chilly day of January, 1994 he took leave of me with the following words: "If I am alive I will go to". Unfortunately he could not do so. Therefore, I dedicate this brief contribution to Professor Telegdi, to the memory of our meeting which was to fail to come about.

In the Chester Beatty Library (Dublin, Ireland) an unedited manuscript survives under the title *"Appendix to the Events of Sultan Süleyman I"*.[1] It contains a Persian epic in the style of Firdausi's Book of the Kings i.e. written in mutaqārib. The volume of the work is 122 folios and the number of its verses totals up to 12 000. According to the chronogramm the epic was completed in 1578. The only existing complete exemplar of the work was copied in 1579.[2]

Not too much is known of the author of the work, Seyyid Lokman.[3] As his *laqab* (Urmavi) shows, he came from Persia's Ottoman borderland to the Otto-

[1] Seyyid Lokman, *Appendix to the Events of Sulṭān Suleymān* (original Persian title *Tatimme-i aḥvāl-i Sulṭān Sulaymān*) Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS 413, see V. Minorsky–J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures*. Dublin 1958. Hereafter referred to as *Appendix*. As to the transliteration of Oriental names, in the case of Seyyid Lokman, in spite of the fact that he was of Iranian stock, I used the Turkish orthography, as it is the generally accepted custom in the scholarly literature which has been mainly written by Turkologists. It is logical, too, because the poet wrote in the Ottoman empire, both Persian and Turkish. As for the transliteration generally, Ottoman Turkish personal names and terms I rendered according to system of the modern Turkish orthography which has been based on modified Latin characters and which is, in spite of its inaccuracies from an Arabic point of view, generally accepted in the literature (for example Âli instead of the more "accurate" ʿAlî). Persian words have been transliterated by the classical Persian standard. Words and terms generally used in English can be found in their Anglicized form, such as "sultan", "Grand Vizier".

[2] On the details see Minorsky–Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 19–21.

[3] On the particulars of Seyyid Lokman see C. Woodhead, An Experiment in Official Historiography: The Post of Şehnâmeci in the Ottoman Empire c. 1555–1605, *WZKM* LXXV 75 (1983) 157–182.

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man empire. In 1562 he was a cadi in Harîr.[4] From 1569[5] to 1596[6] he was a *şehnâmeci,* that is an official panegyrist in the Ottoman court. Temporarily, from the middle of December, 1574 to the middle of January, 1575[7] he was appointed as the private secretary of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa. Meanwhile, from 1583, he was one of the scribes of the Divan of the Sultan[8]. The last known date relating to him is 1598, when he was in Egypt.[9] Lokman died at the very outset of the 1600s, but the exact date is unknown.[10]

One of his Persian works is the "*Appendix*", recorded by the author himself as his second work.[11] The epic seems to be a continuation of Loqman's previous work "on the battle of Konya",[12] and it is a more or less continuation of the first *şehnâmeci*, Ârif's *Sulaymānnāme.*[13] The *"Appendix"* deserves the attention of scholars from different fields such as literary history, European and Ottoman history, Iranian Studies. As a literary monument it is a product of the early Ottoman court historiography, that of the *şehnâmeci* office whose works with some exceptions have not been edited yet.[14] As an epic it represents the Ottoman branch of the Persian historical epical poetry whose name (*şâhnâme*) became soon so familiar with the Turks that it turned into a synonym of chronicle.[15] As a historical work the "*Appendix*" contains the history of Sultan Süley-

[4] *Appendix*, 13b/8.

[5] Only the year is sure because Lokman himself writes two different data, one time 5 *şevval* 976/ 24 March 1569 (see C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum.* Vol. III, London 1888, 53a) and other time is the end of muharrem 977/ 6–15 July 1569 (cit. by B. Kütükoğlu, Şehnâmeci Lokman. In: *Prof. Bekir Kütükoğluna Armağan.* Istanbul 1991, 42. The data of this article are not always reliable.)

[6] On his discharge see *Tarih-i Selâniki.* Ed. by Dr. Mehmed İpşirli. Vol. II. Istanbul 1989, 515; Kütükoğlu, *op. cit.* 47.

[7] Kütükoğlu, *op. cit.* 43.

[8] Loc. cit.

[9] *Op. cit.* 47.

[10] B. M. Tahir, *Osmanlı müellifleri.* Vol. III. Istanbul 1342/1924, 136 and probably on the basis of this F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Katalogu.* Istanbul 1961, 226, writes 1010/1601, but according to F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke.* Leipzig 1927, 164–167 the poet was still alive then.

[11] See *Šāhanšāhnāme* Vol. II. 161v. The Persian original is cited by F. Tauer, Les manuscrits persans historiques des bibliothéques de Stamboul. Quatrieme partie D. Histoire des États Turcs en Asie Mineure et de l'empire Ottoman, *Archiv Orientální* IV (1932) 106.

[12] Loqman mentions at the same place, see loc. cit. The work cannot be recognised surely.

[13] This work itself is the fifth volume of the author's *Šāhnāme-i ʿāl-i ʿOṣmān*, a world history. On the contents and whereabouts of the individual volumes see T. Yazıcı, Ârifî Fethullah Çelebi. In: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi Islâm Ansiklopedisi.* Vol. III. Istanbul 1991, 372.

[14] Ârif's work see as *Süleyman-nama. The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent.* Ed. by E. Atil, New York 1986; Seyyid Lokmân, *Kiyâfetü'l-insâniyye fı şemâili'l-ʿOsmâniyye.* Tıpkı basım, Istanbul 1987; C. Woodhead, *Taʾlîkî-zâde's Şehnâme-i Hümâyun. A history of the Ottoman campaign into Hungary 1593–1594.* Berlin 1983. Only the first of them is Persian verse. It is worth mentioning that parts from a less known Turkish work of Lokman were translated into Latin, see *Seid Locmani ex libro Turcico qui Oghuzname inscribitur excerpta.* Primus edidit, Latin versit, explicavit Jac. Joh. Wilh. Lagus. Helsingforsiae 1854.

[15] Celalzade Mustafa called so his *Tabakat ül-memalik ve derecat ül-mesalik*, see P. Kappert, *Geschichte Sultan Süleymân Kânunîs von 1520 bis 1557.* Wiesbaden 1981, 14.

man the Lawgiver and Magnificent between 1559 and 1566, going into details about Süleyman's orders for the sake of the Islamic religion. It was he who banned wine-drinking, and made arrangements towards ameliorating public morality. His regulations strongly contributed to the adjustment of the acts (*kânun*) of his empire to the demands of Islamic law. He had Sülaymaniyye mosque[16] constructed. As a pious Muslim he pilgrimed to the grave of a saint to Eyyüp before setting out to the Szigetvár campaign. It was he who ordered to repair Istanbul's water-conduit system (1564–1565), contributing to the well-being of his subjects. Measures were taken to defend the empire as it is shown by building new castles along the Iranian border and by the Maltese and Chian expeditions (1565 and 1566, respectively). Two-thirds of the work deals with Süleyman's last campaign against Szigetvár (Hungary) in 1566. The way as Lokman depicts the characters displays clearly that the author attached pivotal importance to the acts of the sultan and the Grand Vizier. Their elaborate features contrast sharply with the large body of uncharacteristic subjects.

I

The sultan is pure and of noble blood because he is a member of the Ottoman dynasty who are superior to others:

"... Their value is higher than that of [other] rulers
because each of their deeds is according to [the instructions]
of the sharia."[17]
"Now the community of the right faith, the pick of humanity
has their glory in the Ottomans,
Because the right faith was solidified by their acts,
Islam is founded on them."[18]

The sultan is the heart of the social organism:

"The body has its power in the soul,
the army has its might in [its] commander."[19]
"The army does not work without commander,
There is no world without ruler."[20]

[16] According to Lokman the construction of Süleymaniye mosque started on 24 March, 1548 (see Compendium 17b/6) and finished on 22 April, 1558 (18a/15–16). There are not two contemporary authors who write the same dates. The commonly accepted date of the beginning of the construction is 1550, and that of the finish is 1567 (cf. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Süleymaniye cami v Imareti Insaati, 1550–1557.* Vol.I. Ankara 1972, 47–64)

[17] *Appendix*, 51b/8. ... قدرشان از شهان برتر است / که هر کار ایشان بشرع اندر است

[18] *Op. cit.* 60a/14–15. کنون امت دین خیر البشر / بعثمانیان فخر دارد دگر
کز ایشان شد این دین خق پایدار / هم اسلام دارد بایشان قرار

[19] *Appendix*, 76a/1. بدن را بجان زور و قوت بود / سپه را بسردار شوکت بود

[20] *Op. cit.* 76a/5. سپه بی سپهبد نیاید بکار / جهان بی جهانبان نگیرد قرار

The legitimacy of its rule is derived from God, in order to serve the subjects.[21] The most important features of the sultan are his righteousness, generosity, austerity and courage.

"... with his righteousness and generosity that sultan
was a banner in the world from Orient to Occident,
The sultan of the religion, lord of the world
was a dome in the world with his good fame."[22]

He gave magnanimous gifts the entourage of Sigismund Johannes (János Zsigmond, at Lokman as in Ottoman sources frequently, *qirāl Istefān*,) on the plain of Zimony,[23] and also to each of the — Turkish — heroes of Szigetvár. He is a righteous ruler spreading the religion of Islam, builder of the country, the beloved counterpart of the hated Tamerlan.[24] For him there was no model, the example was himself, unrivalled and unmatched:

"Another proclamation said from the heaven ...:
⟨Since Adam there had not been such a padishah like a seal,
and would not come as a refuge of the provinces.⟩"[25]

The claims for domination over the world ascribed to Süleyman are expressed by most of the sultan's attributes. He is the padishah of the age and of the Earth,[26] the sultan of the sea and of the continent,[27] the ruler of the age.[28]

"The universe cried for being defended,
I hold it on my shoulder."[29]

The idealized figure of the sultan arises into superhuman and mythical heights through the extreme perfection of his features. He enjoys the assistance of celestial powers. Heavenly voice consoled the army when Süleyman fell sick,[30] and "... a host of angels prayed for the sultan in the heaven".[31] "The sul-

[21] *Op. cit.* 46a/34, 60a/3–4.

[22] *Op. cit.* 86a/11–12. که بود آن شهنشه بعدل و کرم / ز مشرق بمغرب بعالم علم
خداوند دین شاه آفاق بود / بنام نکو بر جهان طاق بود

[23] According to a contemporary Hungarian historian, Ferenc Forgách, hundred janissaries brought silk and golden cloths, golden and silver vessels (Forgách Ferenc, *Emlékirat Magyarország állapotáról Ferdinánd, János, Miksa királysága és II. János erdélyi fejedelemsége alatt. [Memories on the state of Hungary under the reign of Ferdinand, Johannes and the principality of Johannes II in Transsylvania]* Budapest 1982, 265–266, i.e. the Lokman's description is not a commonplace at all.

[24] *Appendix*, 87a/9–13.

[25] *Op. cit.* 44b/2–3. دگر هاتفی گفت از آسمان ...
ز آدم بخاتم چنین پادشاه / نبود و نیاید ولایت پناه

[26] E.g. *op. cit.* 10a/5.

[27] *Op. cit.* 12b/11.

[28] *Op. cit.* 12b/29, 14b/12.

[29] *Op. cit.* 46b/1. زمین و زمان از امانت خروش / نمودند و من دارم آنرا بدوش

[30] *Op. cit.* 46a/9.

[31] *Op. cit.* 55a/2. از فلک دعاخوان شه بود خیل فلک

tan of the faith headed for holy war, his companions were angels, his defender was God."[32] He crossed the river Drava together with archangel Gabriel.[33] During the sultan's last campaign the victory over Szigetvár was prophesied when the Turkish army encamped around the castle.[34] The invadors were helped by God and angels during the fight.[35] He is the shadow of God,[36] from the arrival of whom the soul of the humanity and of the world lives an eternal life.[37]

Lokman asserts not less than "You are the life, Sultan, and we live in You".[38]

> "The sultan is similar to the heaven [wearing] red and blue golden clothing,
> .....
> The Earth sunk in from the horse-nails and horseshoes of the rider['s horse]
> as the Indian Ocean did it from pearls and shells.
> The Earth was narrowed by the horseshoes of his horse,
> The heaven was more and more astonished by the neighing of his horse."[39]

All that depicts the portrait of a messianistic sovereign after a little more than a decade following Süleyman's death, which he in fact was during the first period of his rule. The first phase of the sultan's rule, that is the stage from the 1520s to the 1540s was dominated by the sultan's characteristic endeavour to dominate the world. As a second Alexander the Great, Süleyman, at the inspiration of his Grand Vizier, Ibrahim Paşa who enjoyed the blind support of the sultan's mother, dreamed about a universal empire over the world, and his person ascended into mythical heights. A special kind of fourfold crown, unprecedented in the Muslim East, was ordered from Venetian goldsmiths, which apparently amalgamated the tiara of the Pope and the crown of the Habsburg Emperor, Charles V, giving a hint at the claims of the sultan. About the year 1 000 of the Hegira (i.e. 1591/1592 AD) the Muslims were expecting doomsday, and the people's excited fantasy imagined the sultan as the ruler of the last period of human history, during whose reign the final and universal triumph of Islam would come, and the history of mankind would finish with a glorious end.

These imaginations of a fair-minded, messianistic ruler did sharply contrast with the everyday reality of the rule of Murad III (1574–1595). According

[32] *Op. cit.* 50b/7. روان گشت سلطان دین بر غزا / رفیقش صلاتک معینش خدا
[33] *Op. cit.* 62a/6.
[34] *Op. cit.* 66a/30–66b/2.
[35] *Op. cit.* 93a/2.
[36] E.g. *op. cit.* 24b/1, 46b/5.
[37] *Op. cit.* 46a/21.
[38] *Op. cit.* 46a/24. تو جانی شها ما بتو زنده ایم
[39] *Op. cit.* 50a/27–29. فلک قدر شه دیبه سرخ و بنفش...
ز میخ و ز نعل سوار ارض ژرف / چو دریای عمان بدر و صدف
زمین تنگ شد از سم بارگی / فلک خیره از شیهه یکبارگی

to a contemporary, Mustafa Âli, Şemsi Paşa, an old campaigner who was rendered courtier, deliberately corrupted the emperor, seeking vengeance for the dispossession by Ottomans of the house of Isfendiyâr.[40] It was he who persuaded the sultan to receive bribe consciously. In Âli's opinion one of the main causes of the decline of the empire during the reign of Murad III was the sultan's cupidity. Moreover he turned away from worldly matters relating to the tasks of a ruler, and he increasingly indulged in mysticism. He fell totally under the influence of his spiritual guide, Şeyh Şücaüddin, an illiterate ecstatic dervish. Murad III was everything but the righteous ruler of Islam dreamt of in Ottoman mirrors of princes. For a while in 1577–1578, nevertheless, it might seem that the sultan was inclined to follow the footsteps of Süleyman the Magnificent. In spite of the fact that the period following the conclusion of peace with the Habsburg Empire in 1575 passed with no serious clashes, but not without skirmishes. Turkish raids were frequently on the agenda. In 1578 they attacked Croatia and the success made them so enthusiastic that a new *sancak* was founded. Almost at the same time, on 27 April 1578 Lala Mustafa Paşa set off for the East to his Şirvan campaign. This coincidence of events might account for the reason why Lokman saw the time ripe to encourage the Sultan by describing the events of Süleyman, the great predecessor's reign, setting an example of a messianistic, heroic ruler.

II

Much more realistic is the portrait of the Grand Vizier, Sokollu Mehmed Paşa. In contrast with the idealized, almost celestial figure of the sultan he is the single flesh and blood figure in the whole work.

It is a striking fact that Lokman who depicted the features of Süleyman I along the platitudinous lines of Ottoman or generally, Islamic mirrors of princes, fails to mention the sultan's intellect. Reason is almost the single distinguishing trait of his omnipotent Grand Vizier, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha.

"If the Grand Vizier is clever,
he is able to do great deeds.
He contemplates over plans on worldly matters,
he forms the matters of the world."[41]

The capture of the third (outer) castle of Szigetvár is entirely his merit. Giving a good example to the Turkish army, he personally went to fight, being

[40] See Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)*. Princeton 1986, 71–72, 259, 296.

[41] *Appendix*, 90b/27–28. وزیر معظم چو دانا بود / بهر کار معظم توانا بود
بتدبیر کوشد بکار جهان / دهد صورت کار و بار جهان

dogged in his determination.[42] He advised the use of hoses filled with wool in order to fill in the moat around the castle.[43]

"He hurled himself into the fray and fought like Khosrou,
nobody endeavoured and strove like he did.
.....
The earth split from the stroke of his sword,
the surface of the whole earth became red from blood."[44]

His merit is keeping secret the sultan's death for fourty days, and he came up with the idea to have forged letters written by two spies captured in the Turkish camp, the outcome of which is, at least according to Lokman, the withdrawal of the Austrian troops to Győr.[45] Our poet praises the heroic deeds of his Bosnian soldiers repeatedly[46] (not surprisingly Sokollu himself was of Bosnian origin, too). It is owing to him that the Turkish army was able to capture the second castle (i.e. the older part of the town) — the touching passages are illustrated with a miniature occupying a double page. One time he glorifies the whole of Bosnia including their inhabitants.

As regards the whole of the epics, it is obvious that the work itself is at least to such an extent the praise of the Grand Vizier as the eulogy of Sultan Süleyman. It is a well-known fact that the Grand Vizier is the key figure of the *Nasihatname*s. Nevertheless, in this case, I think, the point is more than that. Lokman, describing Sokollu Mustafa's heroic deeds for the sake of Süleyman, tries to strenghten the position of the elderly incumbent Grand Vizier, his old protector, amidst the manoeuvring for positions in the Ottoman court during the second half of the 1570s. As we are informed by a contemporary, the above-mentioned Mustafa Âli,[47] during the first years of Murad III (1574–1595), after Murad's accession to the throne, the Ottoman court was divided between two fiercely contending rivalrious factions — that is between the followers of the incumbent Grand Vizier, Sokollu Mehmed, and the members of an anti-Sokollu coalition, headed by Şemsi Ahmed Paşa, a confidant of Murad III the latter including among others the sultan himself. The aim of the party was to discredit the Grand Vizier, stripe him of his powers and, if possible, to kill him. During the mutual intrigues, charges and countercharges more than thirty adherents of the Sokollu party were discharged from office and lost their personal property confiscated by the sultan. One of the loosers was Feridun Ahmed Beg, *reîs ül-küttâb,* one of Sokollu's most intimate confidents, at whose nomination Seyyid

[42] *Op. cit.* 75a–76b.

[43] *Op. cit.* 73b/22.

[44] *Op. cit.* 92b/28, 31. چو خسرو روان شد بجنگ و نبرد / کی مثل او سعی و کوشش نکرد
زمین گشت از ضرب شمشیر چاک / ز خون سرخ شد سر بسر روی خاک

[45] *Op. cit.* 106a ff.

[46] *Op. cit.* 70a, 72b.

[47] See his *Künh ül-ahbar*, MS Nurosmaniye 3409 ff. 298b–299b, cited by Fleischer, *op. cit.* 297.

Lokman was appointed to the post of *şehnâmeci* by Sokollu Mehmed in 1569.[48] The fight ended with the final victory of Şemsi Ahmed Paşa's faction. Sokollu Mustafa himself was stabbed to death on 11 October 1579.

Lokman's goal was, I think, to turn Murad's attention to his neglected, eclipsed Grand Vizier's capacities. Until he was pushed into the background, he was the real ruler of the empire, and the going of the internal and external affairs of the empire was good. The government was efficacious and prospering. Lokman wished to draw the picture of an "ideal" era, when the sultan and his talented Grand Vizier, namely Sokollu Mehmed, cooperated brilliantly for the sake of the whole empire. In fact Murad's reign showed the signs of internal weakening. The sultan, devoting himself mainly to the pleasures of his harem, was susceptible to negative influences, the authority of the Grand Vizier and the respect for government was destroyed, corruption reached the highest level of the government. The author tried to set the good example of Süleyman's era to the incumbent sultan, to suggest a possible way out of the straits, and last but not least to strenghten his own personal position in the court, securing the help of the sultan and Sokollu Mehmed. In the affairs of the empire he did not meet success. The sultan could hardly read his work, because he, supposedly, did not know Persian.[49] Nevertheless he managed to insinuate himself into the good graces of Murad III because he was allowed to hold his appointment as *şehnâmeci* during his reign. He fell out of favour only after Murad's death, at the outset of the reign of Mehmed III (1595).

[48] Mustafa Âli, *Künh ül-ahbar*, Preface, Leiden MS f. 7a, see Jan Schmidt, *Muṣṭafâ ʿAlî's Künh ül-aḫbâr and its preface according to the Leyden manuscript*. Istanbul 1987, 39.

[49] In 1577 the above-mentioned ʿAli, at Murad's behest, translated Muḥammad Pārsā's *Faṣl al-xiṭāb [The Final Word]* a Persian hagiographic work into Turkish, under the title of *Hilyet ül-rical [The Adornment of Men]*. Compare C. H. Fleischer, *op. cit.* p. 75.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE PAHLAVI NAME BURZ "APĄM NAPĀṮ" A SEMASIOLOGICAL STUDY

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It is well known that the name of the Avestan Ahura, "Lord", Apąm Napāṯ "the Grandson of the Waters" (Vedic Apā́m Nápāt) is sometimes attested in the Pahlavi literature simply as Burz[1] [bwlc] (Gray, 1900: 27; 1929: 134; Boyce, 1975: 42–43): I can quote two clear examples:

1) Ir.Bd. 6, B, 3: the god Burz (bwlc yzdt') helps Tištar with Wahman, Hōm and the Frawahrs [ms. **TD2** = Anklesaria, 1908: 62, l. 5; cf. Anklesaria, 1956: 72–73 (transl.)]. Cf. Ind.Bd. 7, 3 [ms. **K20** = Justi, 1868: 15, l. 20; (transl.) 9, l. 1; West, 1880: 26 (transl.)]

2) Ir.Bd. 24, F, 24: Burz (bwlc yzdt') comes up from the lake (see below) Arang [ms. **TD2** = Anklesaria, 1908: 154, l. 2; cf. Anklesaria, 1956: 196–197 (transl.); Boyce, 1975: 43 (transl).] Cf. Ind.Bd. 19, 15, where Burz is mentioned in connection with Tištar and the three-legged Ass[2]; [ms. **K20** = Justi, 1868: 45, l. 16 (blc)[3]; 46, l. 8 (bwlc); (transl.) 25, l. 16; 26, l. 9; West, 1880: 70 (transl.)]

That Burz is Apąm Napāṯ is evident from other passages, where, besides the simple name Burz, there are more detailed epithets of the god:

1) Ir.Bd. 26, 91–92: Burz yazd distributes the water of the ocean among the seven Kišwars and watches over the *xwarrah*; he is also named, according to the gloss of 26, 92, "Burz, the Lord of women, of the family of the waters, whose steeds are swift", *burz ī xwadāy ī mādagān ī ābān-nāf ī arwand-asp* (ms. **TD2** = Anklesaria, 1908: 174, l. 15 / 175, l. 5; cf. Anklesaria, 1956: 226–227 (transl.); Boyce, 1975: 43 (transl.))

2) Dēnkard, III, 112: Burz (ms. **B**; Dresden, 1966: 753 [80], l 2 [bwlc]) distributes the rains among the seven Kišwars with the stars Tištar and Sadwēs, the gods Wahman, Hōm, Dēn and the Frawahrs. Here Burz [cf. ms. **B** = Dresden, 1966: 753 [80], l. 10] is also called "the Lord of women, of the family of the waters" *burz ī xwadāy <ī> mādagān <ī> ābān-nāf* [cf. de Menasce, 1973: 115 (transl.)]

3) Dēnkard, IX, 9, 9: Burz simply helps the waters; the god is called the lofty lord of women, the descendant of waters" *burz ī xwadāy mādagān ābān-nāf*

[1] But, for instance, Justi (1868: 91) did not recognise that Burz was Apąm Napāṯ.
[2] On the three-legged Ass cf. Panaino, 1990a: 3–25.
[3] West (1880: 69) reads the passage differently. See Justi, 1868: 87b, 91a.

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[ms. **B** = Madan, 1911: II, 793, l. 18; Dresden, 1966: 71 [149], ll. 5–6 has: *ābān-āb*; see West, 1892: 184 (transl.)[4]]

4) Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram, 3, 8: the god Burz helps Tištar with the Wind, Wahman and Hōm; here he is referred to as "Burz of the family of the waters", *burz ī ābān-nāf*, (bwlc Y 'p'n-n'f) (cf. Anklesaria, 1964: LXXIII (transl.), 19 (text); Gignoux–Tafazzoli, 1993: 40–41 (transcription and transl.), 196 (text.)]

Clearly the name Burz derives from one of the most common Avestan epithets of Apąm Napāṯ, i.e., *bərəzaṇt-*, "high, lofty". But we must consider, however, that the present epithet is not specifically attributed to Apąm Napāṯ; in fact the Avestan Ahura shares it with many other Iranian gods (see later.) Anyway it became κατ' ἐξοχήν the Pahlavi name of "the Grandson of the Waters". We shall try to analyse the reasons of this interesting evolution.

In the Avestan literature, *bərəzaṇt-*, when attributed to Apąm Napāṯ, is the first epithet:

Yt. 5, 72: ... [5]*upa bərəzaṇtəm ahurəm xšaθrīm xšaētəm*
apąm napātəm auruuaṯaspəm ...
"by the lofty, powerful Lord, the bright
Apąm Napāṯ, whose steeds are swift"

Yt. 19, 52: *bərəzaṇtəm ahurəm xšaθrīm*
xšaētəm apąm napātəm
auruuaṯaspəm yazamaide
aršānəm zauuanō.sum
yō ˣnərāš daδa
yō ˣnərāš tataša
yō upāpō yazatō
sruṯgaošōtəmō asti yezimnō.
"We worship the lofty, powerful Lord,
the bright Apąm Napāṯ,
whose steeds are swift,
the virile one who helps at summon,
who created the men,
who fashioned the men,
the *yazata* living in the waters,
who is the best listener when worshipped"
(cf. Hintze, 1994: 271.)

[4] West (1892: 184, n. 4) noted the dependence of this sentence from the Av. sentence *bərəzatō ahurahe nafəδrō apąm*, and referred to the Pahlavi translation of Y. 1, 5.

[5] This reference is problematic, because it seems to be referred to a particular place, possibly a lake or a river, according to Windischmann (1863: 181), Geldner (1881a: 390), Darmesteter (1892: 384, n. 85) and Bartholomae (1904: 1039, n. 4.) Hillebrandt (1927: 355) rejected this interpretation and supposed (following in this case Geldner, *ibidem*) that in this passage all the epithets of *apąm napāṯ* fit neither in the context nor in the metre. Against Hillebrandt see Hertel (1931: 126–127), who interpreted the present reference as a symbolic representation of the fire, identified with the Grandson of the waters".

Sīh rōzag, I, 7: *bərəzatō ahurahe nafəδrō apąm*
"of the lofty Lord, Apąm Napāṯ"
Pahl. transl.: *burz xwadāy ud ābān-nāf*
"to Burz ("the Lofty One"), the Lord, and (of) the family of the waters"
[cf. Hartman, 1955: 40 (Av. text); see ms. **MU 35**[6], p. 4, l. 9 (Pahl. text); cf. Dhabhar, 1927: 165 (text); 1963: 316 (transl.[7]);

Sīh rōzag; II, 7: *bərəzaṇtəm ahurəm xšaθrīm xšaētəm apąm napātəm auruuaṯaspəm yazamaide*
"we worship the lofty, powerful Lord, the bright Apąm Napāṯ, whose steeds are swift"
Pahl. transl.: *burz xwadāy mādagān rōšn ābān-nāf ī arwand-asp*
"Burz ("the Lofty One"), the bright Lord of the women, of the family of the waters"
[Hartman, 1955: 40 (Av. text); see ms. **MU 35**, p. 26, ll. 6–7 (Pahl. text); cf. Dhabhar, 1927: 176 (text); 1963: 336 (transl.)]

Y. 1, 5: ... *bərəzatō ahurahe nafəδrō apąm* ...
"of the lofty Lord, Apąm Napāṯ"
Pahl. transl.: ... *burz ī xwadāy mādagān ī rōšn ī ābān-nāf*
"Burz ("the Lofty One"), the bright Lord of the women, of the family of the waters" (Dhabhar, 1949: 7)
Skt. transl.: ... *burjasvāminaṃ nābhiṃ apāṃ [burjasvāmī strīnaṃ iajdo jalamayaḥ kila mūlasthānaṃ nirmalāngaṃ etasmāt nābhiḥ svayaṃ apāṃ evaṃ yatas tasmāt bījaṃ jalasya aruandasya nāmno yena aśvāḥ sundatarā jāyante.]*

"Lord Burja; navel of the Waters [the Lord Burja is the angel of women; his nature is water, that is, he is the unadulterated source; from him is the very navel of the waters, even as whence — from him — is the seed of the water named Arvand, by which are produced the most beautiful horses.]"
[Spiegel, 1861: 20–21 (1, 15); Gray, 1900: 23.]

Y. 2, 5: ... *bərezaṇtəm ahurəm xšaθrīm xšaētəm apąm napātəm auruuaṯaspəm* ...
"the lofty, powerful Lord, the bright Apąm Napāṯ, whose steeds are swift"
Pahl. transl.: ... *burz ī xwadāy mādagān ī rōšn ī ābān-nāf ī arwand-asp*

[6] *Manuscript MU 35*. The Avesta and Pahlavi texts of the minor and major Siroza and Visperad, etc. Edited by Kh. M. Jamasp Asa–M. Nawabī, Shiraz 1976.
[7] Dhabhar translates *abān-nāf* "the navel of the waters".

"Burz ("the Lofty One"), the bright Lord of women, of the family of the waters, whose steeds are swift" (Dhabhar, 1949: 15)

Skt. transl.: *... burjasvāminaṃ nārīnāṃ tejasvinaṃ apāṃ nābhim pradhānāśvaṃ ...*
"Burja, Lord of women, glorious, navel of the waters, whose steeds are most goodly"
[Spiegel, 1861: 31 (2, 21); Gray, 1900: 24]

Y. 3, 7: *... bərəzatō ahurahe nafəδrō apąm ...*
"of the lofty Lord, Apąm Napāṯ"

Pahl. transl.: *... burz ī xwadāy mādagān ī rōšn ī ābān-nāf ...*
"Burz ("the Lofty One"), the bright Lord of women, of the family of the waters" (Dhabhar, 1949: 22)

The Skt. translation is wanting (cf. Spiegel, 1861: 37.)

Y. 4, 10: *... bərəzatō ahurahe nafəδrō apąm ...*
"of the lofty Lord, Apąm Napāṯ"

Pahl. transl.: *... burz ī xwadāy mādagān rōšn ī ābān-nāf ...*
"Burz ("the Lofty One"), the bright Lord of women, of the family of the waters" (Dhabhar, 1949: 31)

The Skt. translation is wanting (cf. Spiegel, 1861: 40.)

Y. 6, 4: *... bərəzaṇtəm ahurəm xšaθrīm xšaētəm apąm napātəm auruuaṯaspəm ...*
"the lofty, powerful Lord, the bright Apąm Napāṯ, whose steeds are swift"

Pahl. transl.: *... burz ī xwadāy mādagān ī rōšn ī ābān-nāf ī arwand-asp ...*
"Burz ("the Lofty One"), the bright Lord of women, of the family of the waters, whose steeds are swift" (Dhabhar, 1949: 39)

Skt. transl.: *... burjasvāminaṃ nārīnāṃ tejasvinaṃ apāṃ nābhiṃ pradhānāśvaṃca ...*
"Burja, Lord of women, glorious, navel of the waters, whose steeds are most goodly."
[Spiegel, 1861: 43 (6, 13).]

Y. 7, 7: *... bərəzatō ahurahe nafəδrō apąm ...*
"of the lofty Lord, Apąm Napāṯ"

Pahl. transl.: *... burz ī xwadāy mādagān ī rōšn ī ābān nāf ...*
"Burz ("the Lofty One"), the bright Lord of women, of the family of the waters" (Dhabhar, 1949: 45)

The Skt. translation is wanting (cf. Spiegel, 1861: 47.)

Y. 65, 12: *... bərəza ahura xšaθriia apąm napō ...*
"O, lofty, powerful Lord, Apąm Napāṯ"

Pahl. transl.: *... ēn az Burz ī xwadāy mādagān ī rōšn ud ābān-nāf ī arwand-asp ...*
"this from Burz ("the Lofty One"), the bright Lord and (of) the family of the waters, whose steeds are swift" (Dhabhar, 1949: 272.)

Y. 70, 6: *... bərəzaṇtəm ahurəm xšaθrīm xšaētəm apąm napātəm auruuaṯaspəm ...*
"the lofty, powerful Lord, the bright Apąm Napāṯ,whose steeds are swift"

Pahl. transl.: *... burz ī xwadāy ī mādagān rōšn ī ābān nāf arwand-asp ...*
"Burz ("the Lofty One"), the bright Lord of the family of the waters, whose steeds are swift" (Dhabhar, 1949: 284.)

G. 3, 2: *... bərəzatō ahurahe nafəδrō apąm ...*
"the lofty Lord, Apąm Napāṯ"

Pahl. transl.: *... burz ī xwadāy mādagān rōšn ud ābān-nāf ...*
"of Burz ("the Lofty One"), the bright Lord of the family of the waters"
[cf. Dhabhar, 1927: 50 (text); 1963: 91 (transl.)]

G. 3, 8: *... bərəzaṇtəm ahurəm xšaθrīm xšaētəm apąm napātəm ...*
"the lofty, powerful Lord, the bright Apąm Napāṯ"

Pahl. transl.: *burz ī xwadāy mādagān rōšn ābān-nāf arwand-asp ...*
[cf. Dhabhar, 1927: 51 (text); 1963: 93 (transl.)]

In Yt. 8, 4 *bərəzāṯ* is a thematic form from the stem ^{2}*barəz- / bərəz-* "high", "height" (Bartholomae, 1904: 949–950) and probably must be considered as separated from Apąm Napāṯ (but see below):

$^{+}$*yahmāṯ haca bərəzāṯ haosrauuaŋhəm*
apąm nafəδraṯ haca ciθrəm
"from whose height [arises] (his) glory [i.e. Tištrya's glory]" from Apąm Napāṯ (his) [= Tištrya's] visible form" (Panaino, 1990: 30, 93–94.)

In other texts Apąm Napāṯ has no epithet:

Yt. 8, 34: *apąm napåsə.tå* ... (cf. Panaino, 1990: 34)
Yt. 13, 95: *... iδa apąm napå sūrō ...*[8]

Otherwise it is simply *bərəzaṇt-* to be not attested:

[8] This attestation is not sure; in fact, in the first verse-line of this stanza we have *iδa apąm miθrō*; Bartholomae (1904: 1039, n. 3), following Spiegel, suggested that also in this line we should read *iδa apąm napå*. On the contrary, Geldner (1881b: 548, 560, n. 108) and Lommel (1927: 124, n. 1) delete *napå*, and read in both lines *iδa apąm* "nunc deinde" (cf. Bartholomae, 1904: 82, s.v. apąm.)

Yt. 19, 51: *... apąm napå auruuaṯaspō.*
taṯca iziieiti
apąm napå auruuaṯaspō ...
"... Apąm Napāṯ, whose steeds are swift.
Apąm Napāṯ whose steeds are swift
desires it (the *xᵛarənah*)"
(cf. Hintze, 1994: 269.)

The Pahlavi translations of the Avestan texts show an uniform documentation: the longer Av. sequence

bərezaṇtəm ahurəm xšaθrīm xšaētəm apąm napātəm auruuaṯaspəm (acc.)

and its variants, only partly misunderstood, were translated as follows

burz [ī] xwadāy [ī] mādagān [ī] rōšn [ī] ābān-nāf [ī] arwand-asp.

The misinterpretation of *xšaθriia-*, "imperiosus, powerful, lordly" (Bartholomae, 1904: 548), translated *mādagān* "(Lord) of women" (Skt. transl.: *svāmī strīnāṃ* or *svāmināṃ nārīnāṃ*), was due to a contamination with *xšaθrī-*, f., "woman, female"[9]. Probably this sentence became standard in the Pahlavi translations. It is in fact preferred also where the shorter Avestan sequences were attested (cf. Y. 1, 5; Y. 3, 7; Y. 4, 10; Y. 7, 7; Y. 65, 12; G. 3, 2; G. 3, 8). In the Pahlavi literature the longer sentence is concurrent with the shorter one, *burz ī ābān-nāf*, notwithstanding an Avestan sequence like *bərəzō apąm napå*, or *bərəzaṇtəm apąm napātəm*, do not exist[10]. This signifies that, in the Pahlavi literature, Burz was so strongly connected with the original name of the god, and that the last one became subsidiary, as in the cases where it is simply *burz* to be preferred, practically becoming the automatic designation of Apąm Napāṯ. In its turn, Pahl. *ābān-nāf* is not a simple translation of *apąm napāt-*, but an interpretation; in fact we should expect *ābān-nab* "grandson of the waters", not *ābān-nāf* "of the family of the waters", or alternatively "navel of the waters". It was Bartholomae (1904: 1039, n. 5) who noted this oddity, while Gray (1900: 31) explained it, by noting that the principal reasons of the Pahlavi translations were «the existence of the forms *nafəδrō*, *nafəδraṯ*, whose *f* was supposed to correspond with that of *nāfah*[11]; and, second, the similarity of meaning in the words *nāfah* and *napāt*». The interpretation "navel of the waters" was followed by Neriosengh in his Sanskrit translation of the (Pahlavi) Yasna, where, in fact, *ābān-nāf* corresponds to *apāṃ nābhi* "navel of the waters" (see Gray, 1900: 30–32). On the contrary it is unnecessary to suppose that *apąm napāṯ* «was not the Ahura's proper name, but simply another descriptive appellation, "Burj" being given preference to it in invoking him», as Mary Boyce suggested (1975: 42), because in Avestan it is only Apąm Napāṯ that is attested alone (see Yt. 8, 34;

9 The same misunderstanding in Gray, 1900: 38–39, corrected in Gray, 1929: 134.

10 Only *bərəzatō ahurahe nafəδrō apąm* is attested.

11 Cf. Bartholomae, 1904: 1062, sub *nāfah-*, n. "Verwandtschaft, Familie", but see also *nāfa-*, m. "Nabel, Verwandtschaft, Familie".

Yt. 13, 95), while no other epithet can be used for antonomasia[12] in its place. When, probably in the Sasanian period, the Avestan text was translated, *napāt-*, and particularly *nafəδrō*, *nafəδraṯ*, were analysed as *nāf*, not as *nab*[13]. This datum can be explained only if we admit that the translators did not recognise the original value of Av. *napāt-*. The use of Burz[14], tout court, deserves in its turn more attention. In fact, *bərəzaṇt-* is a very common adjective, attested, e.g., with Ahura Mazdā, Miθra, Rašnu, Sraoša, Ardvī Sūrā Anāhitā, Tištrya, Haoma, etc (Bartholomae, 1904: 859–860; Gray, 1900: 37), while, for instance, Skt. *bṛhant-* is not attested at all with Apā́m Nápāt. On the contrary, we should expect an attribution very peculiar for this god and his mythological cycle, like *upāpa-*, and not a generic adjective[15]. But *upāpa-* "living in the waters" was also used with Gandarəδa (cf. Bartholomae, 1904: 398), a minor demon[16], while this epithet was referred to Apąm Napāṯ only once (Yt. 19, 52).

The function of Burz was strongly connected with the rains, and the waters of the sky and of the earth, as one of the best helpers of Tištar (Panaino, 1995: 87.) In this way both aspects of the Avestan cycle of "the Grandson of the Waters" were developed. In fact his important role in the fight for the salvation of the *xᵛarənah*, lost by Yima and flown in the bottom of the Sea Vouru.kaṣa, as described in Yt. 19, was echoed in Ir.Bd. 24, F, 24 (cf. Ind.Bd. 19, 15). Here Burz rises from the deep lake Arang[17] *(zofr war ī arang)*, arouses the bird

[12] For the same reason I would like to put some remarks about the famous Av. passage (Yt. 10, 113, 145; Ny. 1, 7) *miθra ahura bərəzaṇta* "O exalted Miθra and Ahura!". M. Boyce (1975: 49), following Spiegel (1887: 187–188), translates this sentence "Miθra and the high Lord", supposing that the "high Lord" was Apąm Napāṯ, or, more precisely, *Vouruna Apąm Napāṯ. I think, like other scholars (see, e.g., Narten, 1982: 60, n. 44), that the present interpretation cannot be accepted, basically, for grammatical reasons: in fact *bərəzaṇta* is dual and agrees with *miθra* and *ahura*. Hypothetically we could imagine that in later periods the sentence was interpreted as Spiegel and Boyce suppose. But against this possibility we must consider the Pahl. translation of Ny. 1. 7, where *miθra ahura bərəzaṇta* was translated ... *mihr xwadāy ī buland* ... "Mihr, the high lord" (cf. Taraf, 1981: 28.) If *ahura bərəzaṇta* were grammatically incorrect, and the Zoroastrians saw in this sentence a reference to Miθra and Apąm Napāṯ, we should expect to see in the Pahlavi version a clear reference to Mihr and Burz. Notwithstanding the Av. passage was grammatically misunderstood, unfortunately this is not what happens in the Pahlavi text.

[13] Curiously Mary Boyce (1975: 43; 1986: 148b) quotes *Burz ī ābānnāf*, translating "the High One, who is the Son of the Waters".

[14] In addition, if we assume, following MacKenzie (1971: 19, 20), that the reading of the name of the god, spelled bwlc, was /burz/, while bwlc, "high", was read /borz/, two words etymologically identical were distinguished, because of a semantical need. This necessity may be taken into account only if we suppose that Burz was considered the very name.

[15] The interpretation of Bactrian ΛΡΟΟΑΣΠΟ (< *auruuaṯaspa-*) as a name of Apąm Napāṯ, was assumed by Gray (1929: 134) and Markwart (1938: 128, 185), but it is impossible. The Bactrian name derives from O.Ir. **druwāspa-* (cf. Davary, 1982: 220.)

[16] See my contribution, s.v. *Gandarəβa-*, for the *Encyclopædia Iranica*, in press.

[17] No lake Arang is otherwise known. About a possible confusion between "lake" and "river" see West, 1880: 70, n. 5; West assumed that here Burz was not Apąm Napāṯ, but the Av. deity Bərəjya (cf. Gray, 1929: 140.) Bartholomae (s.v. *bərəjiia-*, m.; 1904: 958, n.) quotes *Burz yazd* of Ind.Bd. 7, 3. But in the Pahlavi version of Y. 1, 7, Y. 2, 7, Y. 3, 9, Y. 4, 12, Y. 6, 6, Y. 7, 9, *bərəjiia-* is translated *burzīy*; in G. 5, 6 it is translated *burz yazd*. I think that the passage of the

Čamrūš on the high mountain, where it lives (Boyce, 1975: 43). The river Arang[18] (Ir.Bd. 11) stems from mount Alburz and flows to the Sea Frāxwkard, i.e. the Vouru.kaṣa, whereupon Apąm Napāt̰ seized the *xwarrah*, according to the Zamyād Yašt. But in turn the myth of Tištar, in which Apąm Napāt̰ was involved, takes place in the Vouru.kaṣa. The connection of "the Grandson of the Waters" with *xᵛarənah* appears also in Ir.Bd. 26, 91, where Burz watches over the *xwarrah*.

The epithet *burz*, time by time, became not only and simply the surname of Apąm Napāt, but its very name, while *ābān-nāf*, as I have suggested, was considered as an attribution of him. In the present development should be carefully considered the role of Burz "the Lofty One" in the cycle of Tištar and in the process of production of rains and waters, that immediately puts this god among the atmospheric *hamkarān* of the star Sirius, like the Wind, Sadwēs, Hōm, etc. Necessarily Burz was imagined as a god of the first astral sphere, in the later Zoroastrian uranography the sphere of the clouds (see Ir.Bd. 2, 15; Henning, 1942: 233, 239). This does not signify that he was a sky god, but that the mythological cycles of the Vouru.kaṣa and of the production of pure waters maintained their astral background. As Tištrya was *bərəzaṇt-*, Apąm Napāt̰ became the Lofty One "of the family of the waters" *par excellence*. This happened *not only* because *bərəzaṇt-* and *burz* usually were the first epithets to be used when he was worshipped, but because they referred to his position and function. For instance, according to Ir.Bd. 26, 91, Burz seems to be located in the Vouru.kaṣa, where he "saves creatures from high surges in crossing the sea" (Boyce, 1975: 43), but he distributes the waters to the seven Kišwars as the star Satavaēsa did in Yt. 8, 9, 32–33[19]. We cannot forget, however, that, according to Yt. 8, 4, from Apąm Napāt̰ derives the *ciθra-* of Tištrya. The semantic hue of *ciθra* in this stanza is not clear, and it oscillates between "progeny, seed" and "appearance, visible form, manifestation". I do not think that Tištar was the son of Apąm Napāt̰ (see Panaino, 1990: 93–94), for which we have not positive elements, while I prefer the second possibility, suggesting that the visible form of the liberator of the waters, the star Sirius, was strongly connected with the Grandson of the Waters. Yt. 8, 4 presents us with another ambiguity; in fact the sentence *yahmāt̰ haca bərəzāt̰ haosrauuaŋhəm* "from whose height (arises his) glory", could be interpreted[20] as "from whom, high ..." or better "from whom, (who is) high ...", i.e. Apąm Napāt̰, and directly connected with the last verse-line: *apąm nafəðraṯ haca ciθrəm*. I do not know if this was the exact meaning, meant by the composer of the text, but it is possible that in the Sasanian period, the present interpretation was the correct one. It is interesting that the verse-line containing

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Ind.Bd. refers to Apąm Napāt̰, as confirmed by the references attested in Yt. 8 and by the other passages of Pahlavi literature, where *Burz ī ābān-nāf* is connected with Tištar.

[18] The connection of Burz with the water Arang is attested also in the Skt. translation of Y. 1, 5.

[19] See Panaino, 1990: 35, 56–57, 100–101, 120; Panaino, 1995: 93, n. 14.

[20] For the grammatical problems involved by this line see Panaino, 1990: 93.

haca bərəzāṯ occurs after another one, where Tištrya is called *bərəzaṇt-* (twice in Yt. 8, 4; lines 3 and 5) and *uparō.kairiia-* "who operates on high". We cannot assume that Yt. 8, 4 offers the first and unique attestation of the stem *bərəz-* (Pahl. *burz / borz*; Np. *burz*) instead of Apąm Napāṯ (that this interpretation would be far-fetched appears from the following line, where the original name is attested), but it is in my opinion very important for the later development of the Zoroastrian designation of this god.

In conclusion we can assume that the usage of Burz, simply as a name of Apąm Napāṯ, was progressively developed in the Sasanian period, and became standard in Zoroastrian literature. Neriosangh, in fact, after a long tradition, did not translated it (Skt. *burja*), because this was in his ken the name of the god, while translated *ābān-nāf* (*nābhim apāṃ*), like any other epithet.

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LEXICAL DOUBLETS AS A DERIVATIONAL DEVICE IN PERSIAN: THE ARABIC FEMININE ENDING

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0 Introduction

0.1 Twenty-four years ago, Zsigmond Telegdi summed up the basic problems posed by the massive incorporation of Arabic loanwords into Persian: 'Quels facteurs ont déterminé leur sélection? Et comment se sont-ils intégrés au vocabulaire? Il est à peine douteux qu'avec la rénovation de sa substance, le vocabulaire a été réstructurée. Comment ce procès s'est-il accompli...?'[1] Telegdi argued on the basis of earlier studies by Lazard that the majority of Arabic borrowings into Persian are in origin *mots savants*, incorporated in the writings of bilingual Iranian scholars over the course of several centuries after the end of direct Arab rule in Iran — i.e., taken not from a living Arabic vernacular, but from an already 'classical' literary Arabic that continued to serve as a source for neologisms (much as Latin, after the demise of the Roman empire, continued to enrich French and the other languages of medieval and modern Europe). Much of this initially specialized, learned vocabulary then 'trickled down' into everyday usage.

The semantic processes by which this lexical assimilation was effected — which in the Latin-script documents of European vernaculars are typically signaled by orthographic changes, generally indicative in turn of phonological evolution — are for the most part unacknowledged in the case of Arabic loanwords in written Persian. Whatever their stylistic register (nonce *Fremdwort*, assimilated *Lehnwort*, colloquialism, etc.), they appear in the Perso-Arabic script in precisely the same form as their Arabic etyma. This convention gives the erroneous impression of a timeless, monophonic, monomorphic and monosemantic lexical superstratum, and restricts our recognition of the ways in which Arabic *mots savants* were incorporated, sorted and redefined in their semantic and sociolinguistic ranges as they rubbed shoulders with the native vocabulary.

[1] Remarques sur les emprunts arabes en persan. *Acta Linguistica* (Budapest) 23, fasc. 1–2 (1973) 54 (a paper presented at the International Iranian Studies Conference in Shiraz, 1971; reprinted in *Acta Iranica* Série 1, vol. 2 (1974) 337–45).

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0.2 In only one morphological class of Arabic loanwords is there a systematic, orthographically-signaled, phonetic change triggered by the fact of incorporation into Persian and sensitive to semantic shift or other diachronic processes. Those Arabic etyma with the feminine ending, as written in Arabic with the hybrid graph known as the *tâ' marbûṭa* and alternating in articulation between /-at/ and /-a/ in accordance with syntactic criteria, must be lexicalized definitively in Persian as either /-at/ or /-a/. They are then written with full final *t* (*tâ' mabsûṭa, tâ-ye tammat*) as in *qimat* 'price', or with mute *h* (*hâ-ye maxfi*), as in *loqme* 'morsel'. (Transcription of this syllable as *e* reproduces the raised vowel quality of Tehran, or standard, Persian; this feature is not germane to the discussion — in fact, it is anachronistic when applied to Classical Persian vocabulary — but it has the advantage of further distinguishing the two forms in question[2]). In some cases, what appears to be the same etymon occurs regularly in both *-at* and *-e* forms, with systematically differentiated meanings or usages (as *vaṣlat* 'marriage', *vaṣle* 'patch'); these comprise the main class of 'doublets' to be discussed below.

This dichotomous form class has a membership of ca. 1500 in modern Persian, inclusive of more than 800 items in *-a* and almost 700 in *-at*, and about forty pairs of doublets. This accounts for almost one quarter of the Arabic vocabulary in Persian, and about seven percent of the total Persian vocabulary in general use. More than 200, or 25 percent, of the words now ending in *-e* were originally incorporated in *-at*, and have 'shifted' (i.e., lost final /t/) in the course of the past thousand years. In principle, lexical affiliation in *-at* or *-e* has nothing to do with the way in which Arabic words with a feminine ending are represented in Arabic collocations occurring in Persian, as *taẕkerat ol-awleyâ', yamin ol-dawle*, etc. In these, orthography follows the syntactically-governed conventions of Arabic, and may randomly coincide with or contradict the lexicalized form of Arabic loans (as in these examples, where the corresponding loanwords are *taẕkere* and *dawlat*). Elsewhere I have shown at length that the dichotomy corresponds systematically to fundamental semantic, syntactic and sociolinguistic categories of Persian, and that the 'migrants' from *-at* to *-e* were for the most part responding to an extension of lexical scope or a shift in usage which carried them across these same categories.[3] The categories may be summarily characterized and exemplified as follows.

First, let me briefly define the less common terms for nominals (intended to be valid for English, Persian and Arabic) which will be used here. An instance noun refers to the intangible exercise of an action on one occasion: *a nap* or *a sleep* are instance nouns, *sleep* or *sleeping* are action nouns; or it refers to a

[2] Similarly, I have transcribed the third vowel of loanwords such as *morâqebat* as *e*, reflecting the usual Persian pronunciation, rather than *a*, the canonical Arabic voweling; this mixed system of strict transliteration for consonants and broad transcription for covert vowels, a common and useful device for Persian, does not misrepresent the Arabic-script form of the words discussed.

[3] John R. Perry, *Form and Meaning in Persian Vocabulary: The Arabic Feminine Ending*. Mazda, Costa Mesa 1991, esp. 214 ff.

particular manifestation of a quality: *a kindness* is an instance noun, *kindness* is a quality noun. A product noun denotes the outcome of an action, whether tangible (*a script*) or intangible (*an analysis*); it differs from an instance noun in that its referent continues in existence after the action that produced it has ceased. As the English examples illustrate, distinct categories may be formally differentiated (*sleep/nap*) or they may be isomorphic and their usage distinguished only syntactically ([*a*] *kindness*); this is no less true in Persian. Arabic grammatical terminology recognizes some of these as morpholexical classes (e.g., the *maṣdar*, or action noun; the *ism al-marra* or instance noun), but this designation cannot automatically be applied to loanwords: Persian *'emârat* 'a building, edifice' is not an action noun, even if its Arabic etymon technically (and historically) was.[4]

To summarize the *-at/-e* dichotomy as a system: abstract or intangible concepts of relatively low imageability, realized frequently as action nouns and quality nouns, tend to be affiliated in *-at*: thus *esteqâmat* 'persistence', *šaxṣiyat* 'personality'. Concrete or tangible entities, and concepts of relatively high imageability, tend to be affiliated in *-e*: thus *kâse* 'bowl', *ešâre* 'sign, reference', and personal and place names (*xadije, solṭâniye*). In the case of more abstract or less imageable referents, the overriding criterion is generally that of mass noun vs. count noun, i.e. non-pluralizing loans tend to end in *-at* (*roṭubat* 'dampness', *moqâvemat* 'resistance'), while pluralizing loans tend to end in *-e* (*ešâre-hâ* 'indications, signs', *tajrobe-hâ* 'experiences, experiments', *estefâde-hâ* (*az naft*) 'the uses (of oil)', *moṭâle'e*; *moṭâle'ât* 'study; studies').

Action nouns frequently used independently, i.e. as nominalizations of a verb phrase (and thus as mass nouns), tend to end in *-at*, whereas those used as a verb (in conjunction with an auxiliary such as *kardan*) tend to end in *-e*: thus *ehânat* 'scorn', *estejâbat* (*-e do'â*) 'granting (of a prayer)', but *estefâde kardan* 'to use', *ešâre kardan* 'to refer, show', *moṭâle'e kardan* 'to study'. It will be noticed that the latter forms often coincide with count-noun derivatives of instance or product as mentioned above (*ešâre* 'sign, indication, gesture', etc).

Mots savants that have remained in the higher literary registers tend to end in *-at* (e.g. *ḥekâyat* 'anecdote'), whereas loans that have assimilated into the everyday vernacular tend to end in *-e* (e.g. *qeṣṣe* 'story'). The migrants that have shifted from *-at* to *-e* have *ipso facto* demonstrated a degree of assimilation, and may often be shown to have changed or expanded their semantic or syntactic scope in accordance with the criteria outlined above. Thus *tajrobat*, as the word was written before the thirteenth century, was used only in the singular, 'experience, testing'; *maqâlat* extended its meaning from 'speaking, discoursing' to 'discourse, treatise' during the twelfth century before definitively shifting to *maqâle* (2.2).

It will be obvious that there are many apparent exceptions to the individual tendencies enunciated here, but also that the criteria are to a great extent interdependent. A greater degree of assimilation into the vernacular often im-

[4] Cf. Ibid., 8–10.

plies some semantic extension or specialization, such as the acquisition of instance or product noun status, which automatically entails count noun status and a higher imageability; from a functional standpoint, several distinct explanations may often be adduced for one and the same instance of shift. The comparative chronology of incorporation or assimilation has also exercised an influence. Some 150 common count nouns in *-at*, both tangible and intangible (e.g. *mamlekat* 'kingdom, country', *'emârat* 'building, edifice', *moṣibat* 'disaster', *'âqebat* 'consequence, sequel') were borrowed in the earliest period of literary Persian, and their count-noun metonymy either already existed in Arabic or was acquired soon after their incorporation into Persian (by the early eleventh century); these have evidently resisted the shift to *-e* undergone by such loans as *maqâlat* and *tajrobat*.[5]

0.3 The one hundred or so doublets among these feminine-ending loans are a valuable set of guinea pigs with which to exemplify and test the various criteria and processes of *-at/-e* affiliation and shift. The wonder is that it took so long for this intriguing lexical class to excite the curiosity of Persian scholars. During the 1950s, Mojtabâ Minovi in a study of the subset of loans in *-iyat/-iye*[6] and Aḥmad Bahmanyâr in the 'Orthography' section of the introduction to Dehxodâ's lexicon were the first to point to a systematic dichotomy at work: the latter perceptively commented that Persian speakers had put this orthographic happenstance to creative use, and identified six pairs of the doublets treated below.[7] While my *Form and Meaning...* was still in press, two Iranian scholars published discussions of the feminine-ending doublets (one as a critique of the other, and neither as yet having read my work).[8] The present article is an attempt to further the discussion in a theoretical direction by incorporating or critiquing observations of A'lam and Ṣâdeqi, revising some of my earlier analyses, and comparing other types of doublets in Persian and other languages.

The majority of Persian *-at/-e* doublets result from the diachronic shift alluded to; instead of completing the shift to *-e*, processes such as *qovvat* > *qovve* (2.1) have left a lexical trace in *-at* which preserves a distinct part of the meaning or usage. Other pairs, such as *šarârat* 'wickedness' vs. *šarâre* 'spark' (1.1), were borrowed independently of one another; though their affiliation reflects the appropriate semantic criteria, it distinguishes not an acquired semantic change but an original homonymy in Arabic resulting from one of three processes: (i) a coincidence of roots ('radical homonymy'), or (ii) a coincidental surface realization of two distinct derivations from the same root ('derivational

[5] Ibid., 114–5, 198–9.

[6] *"-iyyat"-e maṣdari.* Majles Press, Tehran 1329/1951.

[7] *Loḡatnâme-ye Dehxodâ*, Moqaddeme 172; mentioned by Ṣâdeqi, 42–3 (see following note). For others who recognized (or failed to recognize) this phenomenon, see also Perry, *Form and Meaning* 5–6 and A'lam, 22–24 (see following note).

[8] Hušang A'lam, Tafâvot-e ma'nâ'i-ye do-gune-ye tekvâž-e *-at/-e* dar fârsi. *Majalle-ye zabânšenâsi* 7/2 (1369/1990) 21–31; 'Ali Ašraf Ṣâdeqi, Dar bâre-ye kalemât-e 'arabi ol-aṣl-e maxtum be- *-e* va *-at*, ibid. 32–43.

homonymy'), or (iii) a subsequent homonymy between a legitimate Arabic borrowing and an Arabicate pseudo-loan ('pseudo-homonymy'). There are even a few covert 'triplets', involving both homonymy and shift.

Of the pairs resulting from a shift, it is worth distinguishing those that reflect relatively straightforward lexical changes (*âyat/âye*, etc., section 2) from pairs where the *-at/-e* split marks distinctions of usage in collocation, derivation, or other idiomatic contexts (section 3). Finally, the shift appears still to be in progress; there are a number of pairs (section 4) where selection of the *-at* or *-e* reflex in contemporary Persian is a matter of elegant variaton, based upon no clear-cut distinction other than stylistic register; judgment of the degree to which such alternatives are acceptable, archaic, etc., may vary even among native speakers (as is illustrated in differences of opinion between A'lam and Ṣâdeqi, and among Persian dictionaries).

In the case of each of these categories except the last, it also seems necessary to distinguish between pairs that present a clear synchronic distinction and pairs that apparently, or arguably, were so distinguished at some earlier point, but where at least one of the reflexes, e.g. *maqâlat* (2.2), or *amniye* (1.2), is no longer in current usage, or where the contrast is no longer so clear. Several of these 'asymmetric' pairs have been ignored or discounted by A'lam or Ṣâdeqi, but they are especially illuminating on the evolution and rationale of feminine-ending doublets.

1 Disambiguation of Homonyms

1.1	*šarârat* 'wickedness, evil'	*šarâre* 'spark'
	vaṣlat 'marriage, relationship'	*vaṣle* 'patch'
	resâlat 'mission, prophethood'	*resâle* 'message, treatise'
	eqâmat 'stay(ing), residence'	*eqâme* 'initiating, adducing; call to prayer'
	ṣeḥḥat 'health, validity'	*ṣeḥḥe* 'endorsement, signature'

1.1.1 The pair *šarârat/šarâre* (A'lam, 27; Ṣâdeqi, 33; Perry, 57, 59) is a case of radical homonymy arising from a coincidence of surface forms in derivatives from the homonymic roots *ŠRR* 'evil' and *ŠRR* 'spark(s)'. They concur with the semantic characteristics of their respective endings, *šarârat* being a mass noun of quality (in terms of Arabic grammar, a *maṣdar,* or infinitive, of a stative or qualitative verb) and *šarâre* a count noun of product, intangible but highly imageable (from an Arabic grammatical viewpoint, a unitary noun from the collective noun *šarâr* 'sparks'): this kind of split I shall refer to as 'schematic'.

The Arabic etyma of *vaṣlat/vaṣle* (A'lam, 29; Ṣâdeqi, 34; Perry, 83–4) are *wuṣla* (1) 'act of joining, connection; marriage (union)' and (2) — also *waṣla* — 'joint, joist, mortise'. The Persian endings reflect their respective usage as an abstract noun of instance and a concrete noun of product or instrument. The change of vowel in modern Persian *vaṣlat* (*voṣlat* is also recorded in earlier

usage) is perhaps due to contamination by the cognate loan *vaṣl* 'joining, connection' (Arabic *waṣla*, which is the unitary noun derived from *vaṣl*, is an Arabic grammatical term, 'post-juncture quiescent *alif*', irrelevant to and not found in Persian). Essentially this doublet pair represents a disambiguation of separate though homonymic derivatives of one and the same root in Arabic, though in view of the transparent metaphorical relations between these cognates, and the likely influence of *vaṣl*, it seems possible that some blending has also taken place.

A more straightforward case is *resâlat/resâle* (A'lam, 26; Ṣâdeqi, 33; Perry, 57–8, 129–30), at least synchronically speaking: the endings neatly distinguish between the quality noun 'apostleship, prophethood' and the homonymic product noun from the same root 'missive, (written) dissertation'. Diachronically, however, these common and culturally freighted loans have been nicely entangled. Both words were originally inducted in the one form *resâlat* (10th–13th centuries), and each had a broader range of meaning, reflecting the metonymic continuum of their Arabic etyma: 'prophetic status/mission; (secular) diplomatic mission; diplomatic correspondence' (as in *divân-e resâlat* 'the chancellery, court secretariat'); 'a formal letter, essay' (*divân-e rasâ'el*, the Samanid and Ghaznavid chancellery, using the Arabic 'broken' plural of *resâlat* 'letter'; cf. *še'r o resâlat-hâ* 'poetry and essays' in Nâṣer-e Xosraw). Not until Sa'di does the form *resâle* 'letter, treatise' assert itself consistently to distinguish the tangible count noun from the abstract or collective mass noun. In present-day usage *resâlat* 'apostleship' is a specialized religious term, *resâle* 'dissertation' is a staple of academic and student jargon.

Similarly, *eqâmat/eqâme* (A'lam, 25; Ṣâdeqi, 34; Perry, 71, 73, 106, 107) are recorded earlier (13th century) in the single form *eqâmat*, and were not spelled contrastively before the seventeenth century. The derivational homonymy here is particularly subtle, involving 'merely' a difference of verbal aspect in the Arabic base verb; however, as illustrated in the derivational tree (figure 1),[9] idioms evolving from Theme IV (which adds a causative or declarative dimension to each aspectual sense) are sufficiently disparate to justify a separate lexical entry. This is not an option in traditional, morphology-bound Arabic lexicography, since the *maṣdar* of Theme IV (unlike that of Theme I) can have only one form. In Persian, however, the shift to *-e* by the inceptive-causative/declarative sense ('initiation, performance of a formal or ritual act; declaration "*qad **qâmat** al-ṣalâ*" as a bidding to prayer') and the resulting exclusivity of the stative sense to the *-at* reflex ('residence, sojourn') has accomplished this useful taxonomic task. The result is two action nouns, each of which readily reverbalizes with the addition of a Persian auxiliary (*eqâmat dâštan* 'to reside, dwell'; *eqâme kardan* 'to initiate, perform; announce the bidding to prayer'). This may

[9] See Perry, *Form and Meaning* 71; for the suppression of the conventional object ('flocks') in Theme IV, see A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe–français* (2 vols.) Paris 1860.

thus be termed a 'pragmatic' split, i.e., not consonant with the 'schematic' semantic characteristics of *-at* and *-e* affiliates (unlike the four other examples in this section).

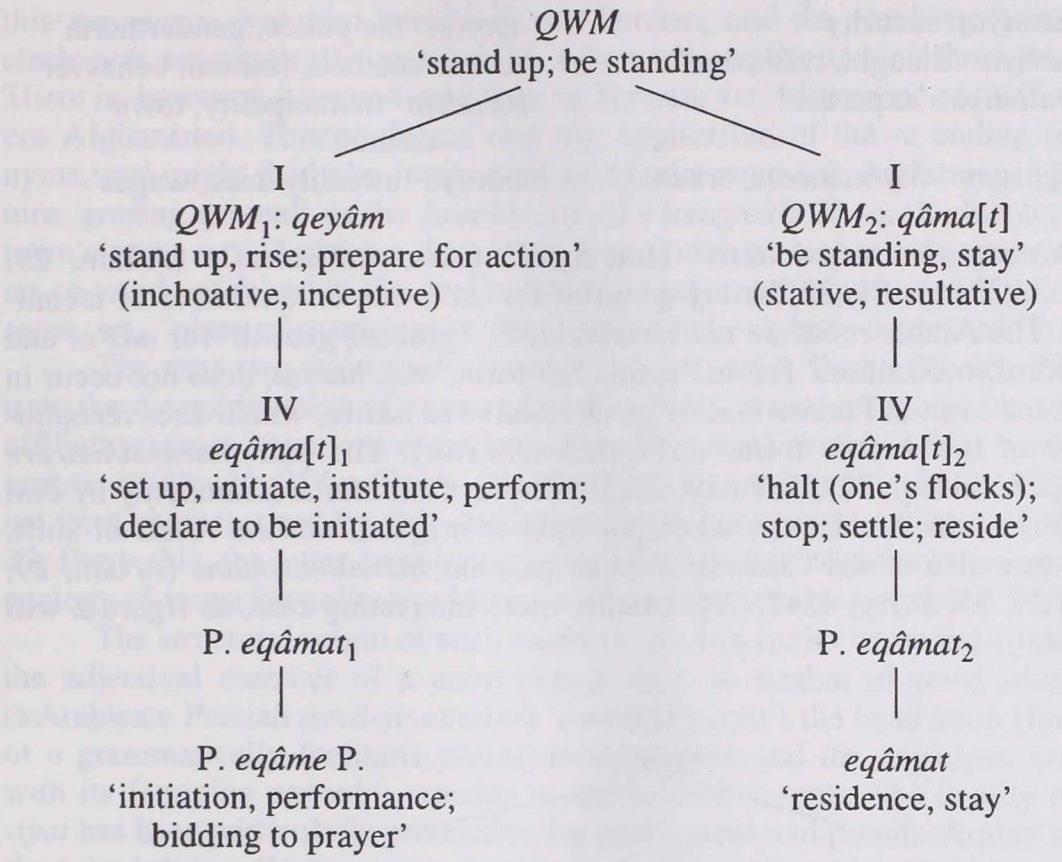

Fig. 1. Derivation of *eqâmat/eqâme*

The pair *ṣeḥḥat/ṣeḥḥe* (A'lam, 24; Ṣâdeqi, 34; Perry, 83) constitutes a neat schematic split between a mass noun of state or quality and a tangible count noun of instance or product. The origin and status of *ṣeḥḥe*, however, are questionable. The meaning 'signature, endorsement, validation' is not found for Arabic *ṣiḥḥa[t]*, being more appropriate to the 'declarative' Theme II infinitive, *taṣḥiḥ*. Persian *ṣeḥḥe* is probably a fabrication, using the well-known concretizing function of Persian *-e* added to the conventional Arabic notation *ṣaḥḥ* 'it is valid' (with sympathetic vowel change) to produce a hybrid *ṣeḥḥa* 'signature, instance of notation of endorsement'.

1.2

naš'at 'genesis, growth'	*naš'e* 'drunkenness, a "high"; drunk, high'
marârat 'bitterness'	*marâre* 'gall bladder'
maymanat 'fortune, prosperity'	*maymane* (a) 'right wing' (of army) (b) name of a town

yahudiyat 'Judaism, Jewishness'	*yahudiye* 'Judaea; name of Jewish quarter'
mânaviyat 'Manichaeism'	*mânaviye* 'the Manichaeans'
zojâjiyat 'vitreosity'	*zojâjiye* 'vitreous humor'
amniyat 'security'	*amniye* 'the police, gendarmerie'
raviyat 'thought, reflection'	*raviye* 'method, fashion, behavior'
baladiyat 'expertise'	*baladiye* 'municipality, town council'
šahriyat 'city manners, urbanity'	*šahriye* 'monthly dues, wages'

1.2.1 Among the 'asymmetric' homonymic pairs, *naš'at/naš'e* (A'lam, 29; Ṣâdeqi, 34; Perry, 81, 88) barely qualifies for inclusion on a number of technicalities. The Arabic roots are not identical (*NŠ'* 'genesis, growth' for *naš'at* and *NŠW* 'drunken dizziness' for *naš'e*; this last form, with *hamza*, does not occur in Arabic, and even in Persian is only an alternative to *našwe,* which does recapitulate one of the Arabic forms *našwa/nišwa/nušwa*). The pair *marârat/marâre* (A'lam, 28; Ṣâdeqi, 32, 35; Perry, 57, 59) displays a minimal homonymy by dint of metonymy in Arabic; the schematic split is original, not the result of shift. This is true also of the Classical Persian pair *maymanat/maymane* (A'lam, 29; Ṣâdeqi, 34, 35; Perry, 45–7, 59), a rather more interesting case, as figure 2 will illustrate.

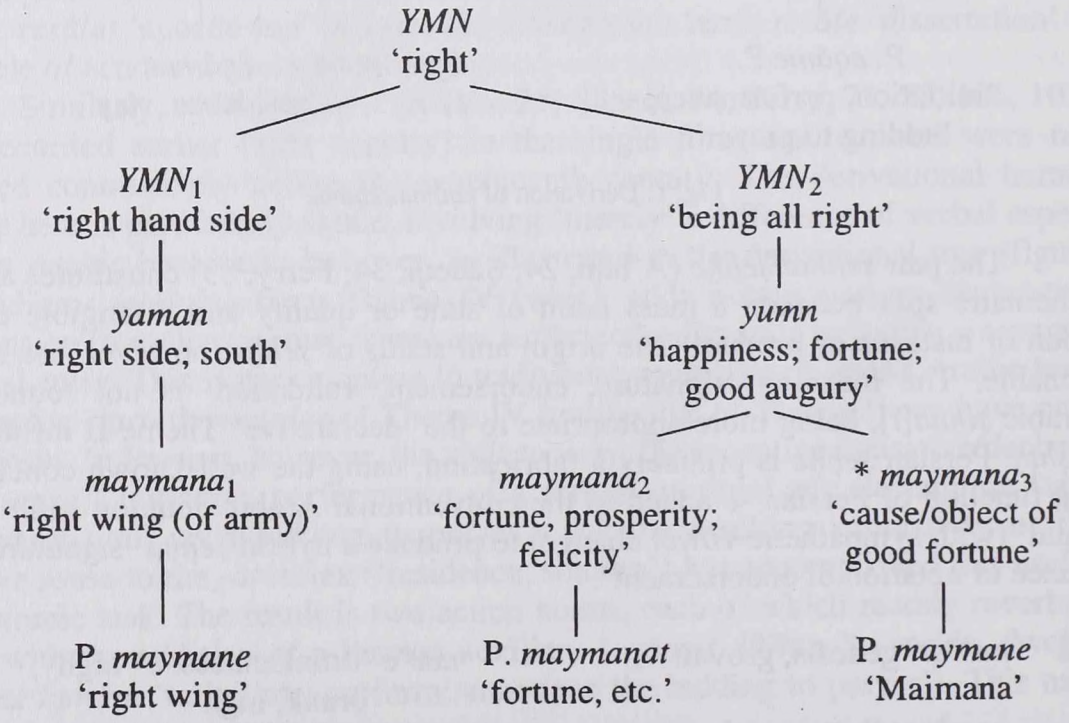

Fig. 2. Derivation of Persian *maymanat/maymane*

The root *YMN* encodes a locational/directional concept (YMN_1), with a metaphorical extension (YMN_2). The physical, locational sense surfaces in a

locus noun (Arabic *ism makân, ism ẓarf*) 'right wing', a specialized military term (*maymana*$_1$, cf. its counterpart, *maysara* 'left wing') which was borrowed into early literary Persian. The metaphorical sense surfaces in a quality or state noun (Arabic *maṣdar mîmî*), which is of the same form *(maf'ala)* as the locus noun; this *maymana*$_2$ was also borrowed into Persian, and the resulting homonymic clash was automatically avoided by schematic application of the *-at/-e* split. There is, however, a second *maymane* in Persian, viz. Maimana, a town in northern Afghanistan. This conforms with the application of the *-e* ending to toponyms, and might fairly be interpreted as a locus noun (cf. Arabic *marâg̃a* 'pasture, grazing ground' as the Iranian city of Maragheh). If so, the history of the town's name would claim a derivation through the metaphorical sense (*maymana*$_3$, a word not found in the Arabic dictionaries), not the (pre-empted) locational sense: i.e., 'place of good augury', not 'place on the right/to the south'.[10]

The next two pairs (*yahudiyat/-e, mânaviyat/-e*; Perry, 24, 28, 39) illustrate the disambiguation of nouns of quality (here, social category, i.e. religious affiliation) from toponyms or collectivities. The same principle is at work in the archaic *zojâjiyat/zojâjiye* (Perry, 34), distinguishing the quality from an anatomical item characterized by that quality, and *amniyat/amniye* (A'lam, 25; Ṣâdeqi, 33; Perry, 31), the latter term being a modern (but now obsolete) coinage on the analogy of terms for collective bodies such as *mânaviye* or *ṣufiye* 'the Sufis'.

The structural origin of such terms in *-iye* lies in the 'stranded epithet,' i.e. the adjectival member of a noun phrase such as Arabic *al-quwâ al-amniyya* (>Arabicate Persian *qovâ-ye amniye*) 'security forces'; the head noun (feminine, or a grammatically feminine plural) is suppressed and the adjective, complete with its feminine concord, remains as the collective term. The quality noun in *-iyat* has been particularly productive for neologisms and pseudo-Arabic loans of the type *irâniyat* 'Iranian-ness, Iranian (national) character' (now *irânigari*) and *xariyat* 'asininity'. The last three pairs listed here all illustrate the interplay of these propensities in different ways.

The Classical and literary *raviyat* 'reflection, consideration, thought' is a genuine Arabic loanword (root *RW'*), logically affiliated in *-at* as a mass noun of action. However, it is attested as early as 'Awfi (ca. 1220) in the senses 'manner, way, method, rule, course (of action), policy'; these uses are semantically close, but are not justified by the Arabic etymon and are in no case an obvious extension of the basic meaning. Most likely this 'metaphorical extension' is actually an Arabicate coinage from the Persian stem *raw* 'go' (cf. a modern near-synonym, the Persian action/instance noun *raveš*). As a count noun of instance, *raviyat* in this sense shifted to *raviye*, creating the 'doublet' which is found in several Persian dictionaries produced in Iran a few decades ago, not only in the sense 'way, method, etc.', but also in the meaning 'reflection, etc.' which is proper to *raviyat*: this popular confusion is reflected in the entry *raviye* in, e.g., Miller's *Persidsko–russkii slovar'* (Moscow 1960) and in the entry *raviye*

[10] See Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate.* London 1966, 425; Perry, *Form and Meaning*, 46–7.

(=*raviyat*) in Haim's *New Persian–English Dictionary* (2 vols., Tehran 1962). Several Indo-Persian lexicographers, on the other hand, were careful to preserve (or intuit) the distinction of form and meaning and even to identify *raviye* as a Persian blend (as seen in the independent entries for *raviyat* and *raviye* in Steingass' *Persian–English Dictionary* of 1892).[11]

In *baladiyat/baladiye* (A'lam, 25–6; Perry, 28–9, 32, 39), the latter is a legitimate (though obsolete) Arabic loan, a stranded epithet from *al-hay'a al-baladiyya* 'municipal council'; *baladiyat*, used either pompously, as *baladiyat ba-oslub-e loğat* 'proficiency in the structure of the language', or waggishly, as *ye otâq jâru kardan ke baladiyat nemixâd* 'it doesn't take know-how to sweep a floor', is a pure Persian creation, a nominalization of the everyday idiom *(X) balad budan* 'to be familiar with, able to handle (X)'. Though perhaps derived from Arabic *balad* 'village, town, region', it no longer has any transparent relationship with it or its *nisba* derivative, but is an independently-derived quality noun coined, perhaps, on the analogy of *ahliyat* 'aptness, (legal) capacity', from an idiomatic use of *ahl* 'fit, capable'. Similar are *šahriyat/šahriye* (A'lam, 27; Perry, 32, 39, 111, 181): from Arabic *šahr* 'month' is regularly formed the *nisba* substantive *šahriyya* 'salary', appropriately affiliated in *-e* as a tangible count noun when borrowed into Persian; native Persian *šahr* 'town, city' generates a modern pseudo-loan in *šahriyat*, a subjectively expressive or humorous quality noun like *xariyat* or *baladiyat*.

2 Semantic change

2.1	*âyat* '(divine) sign, portent'	*âye* '(scriptural) verse'
	qovvat 'strength, might'	*qovve* 'power, force, faculty'
	morâqebat 'observation, supervision'	*morâqebe* '(devout) contemplation'
	ṭariqat 'Sufi brotherhood'	*ṭariqe* 'way, method, manner'
	moṣâḥebat 'companionship, society'	*moṣâḥebe* 'interview'
	mosâ'edat 'assistance, aid'	*mosâ'ede* '(pecuniary) aid, advance'
	ḥavâlat 'transfer, handing over'	*ḥavâle* 'bank draft'; +V 'to transfer; chuck'
	ḥamâsat 'gallantry, knight-errantry'	*ḥamâse* 'epic (poem)'
	ketâbat '(art, style of) writing'	*ketâbe* '(piece of) writing, motto, inscription'
	mas'alat 'asking, begging'	*mas'ale* 'problem, matter'
	ta'zeyat 'condolence, mourning'	*ta'zeye* 'Moharram passion play'
	nawbat 'turn, watch'	*nawbe* 'intermittent fever, malaria'
	žarbat 'a beating, blow'	*žarbe* 'a blow, stroke, lash'
	martabat 'status, rank, position'	*martabe* '(repeated) time, occasion'

11 Perry, *Form and Meaning*, 54, 59; for citations, see under both forms in *Loğatnâme-ye Dehxodâ*. Cf. also Minovi, 8 note 2, who describes *raviyat* as a literary variant of *raviye* which is preferred in the sense 'reflection, etc.'

erâdat 'goodwill, devotion'	*erâde* 'will(power), resolve, intent'
morâje'at 'return(ing)'	*morâje'e* 'reference'

2.1.1 Whereas the majority of doublets in the preceding section were borrowed (or coined) separately, only three involving a partial shift (*resâlat/-e, eqâmat/-e* and *raviyat/-e*), most of the examples in section 2 are the result of this historical shift and its residual trace in *-at*. The exceptions are *moṣâḥebe* and *morâje'e*, which are nineteenth-century neologisms coined independently of their analogues in *-at*. In every case there is a transparent (or historically traceable) semantic relation between the pairs. The first eleven listed here may be classed as cases of straightforward lexical specialization, where the term in *-e* represents a more specialized or concretized (tangible or highly imageable) instance of the quality, activity, etc. expressed by the historically earlier term in *-at*. Thus *âye* (A'lam, 25; Ṣâdeqi, 34, 36; Perry, 82, 83, 106, 107, 131) is a specific kind of sign or wonder from God (*âyat*), *mosâ'ede* (A'lam, 27; Ṣâdeqi, 38; Perry, 66, 209) is a specific and tangible kind of assistance. Often this development is accompanied, schematically, by the attainment of count-noun status in the *-e* reflex: *ḥavâle-hâ, ḥavâlejât* 'bank drafts, etc.'; *ketâbe-hâ* 'mottoes, inscriptions, etc.' — fourteen of the *-e* reflexes in this section are countable, as against five of the *-at* reflexes. There is one evident exception to the semantic polarity, in that *ṭariqat* 'Sufi brotherhood, dervish order' would appear to be more specialized (and concrete, and imageable) than *ṭariqe* 'way, manner' (A'lam, 27; Perry, 54, 59, 199).

A clear illustration of the historical process at work, well documented in texts, is the pair *qovvat/qovve* (A'lam, 27; Ṣâdeqi, 34; Perry, 84, 85, 106, 107, 108–9, 150–1). The original form was *qovvat*, used not only in its general sense of '(physical) strength, might' but by Avicenna and al-Ghazali in the eleventh century as a specialized philosophical term, '(physiological or mental) faculty, power', as *qovvat-e dânande* 'facultas intelligens', *qovvat-e tamyiz* 'faculty of discernment'. By the middle of the twelfth century, however, the shifted form was being widely used for these scientific senses (*qovve-ye dâfe'e* 'repellant force', in Neẓâmi 'Aruẓi), and exclusively so by the end of the sixteenth century; the base form in *-at*, meanwhile, became exclusively associated with the mass noun of quality 'strength, might'. In modern Persian the count-noun of instance *qovve* refers additionally to military and industrial power: *qovve-hâ/qovâ-ye neẓâmi,* 'military forces', *qovve-ye barq* 'electrical power'. The distinction is maintained in derived verbs, as *qovvat dâdan* 'to revive, invigorate' vs. *qovve dâdan* 'to motorize, electrify'.

The pair *ta'zeyat/ta'zeye* (A'lam, 26; Ṣâdeqi, 32, 35; Perry, 63, 106, 107, 145, 148, 182–3) introduces a further dimension. The synchronic contrast is schematic, between an action noun in *-at* (+V, i.e., belonging primarily to the verbal system, as in combination with *goftan* to express 'to offer condolences') and a fully nominal substantive in *-e* (+N): either a specialized instance of the action (the dramatic representation of the Kerbela tragedy among the Shi'a of

Iran) or a concrete symbol of the mourning for this tragedy (the cenotaph of Husayn as carried in procession among the Shi'a of South Asia). The shift *-at* > *-e* marking this specialization presumably took place before or during the establishment of the Shi'i cult in Safavid Iran (early sixteenth century) and was subsequently introduced into India by Shi'i immigrants from Iran. The unshifted trace *ta'zeyat* is relegated to the literary register of Persian, replaced in general use by *tasleyat* +V (as in Turkish by *teselli* +V) 'to condole, etc.'; *ta'zeye* as 'Moharram passion play' has a Persian synonym *šabih-xwâni*. Diachronically, however, *ta'zeye* was not acquired through a straightforward doublet split internal to Persian, but seems to have followed a route outlined in figure 3.

The original *ta'zeyat* 'mourning, condolence' was borrowed from Arabic through Persian into Turkish, where in most or all dialects (notably Ottoman, Azerbaijani, Uzbek and Tatar) it soon shifted to *ta'zeye*, with the same meaning. In some cases (as in modern Azerbaijani) it evolved the instance noun sense 'funeral (obsequies)'; among the Shi'i Turkmen of the proto-Safavid period this was further specialized as referring *par excellence* to the ritual commemoration of Kerbela, and with the establishment of the Shi'a in Iran the word entered Persian usage alongside *šabih-xwâni*. In terms of immediate provenance, Persian *ta'zeye* is thus a shifted *Rückwanderer* from Turkish.

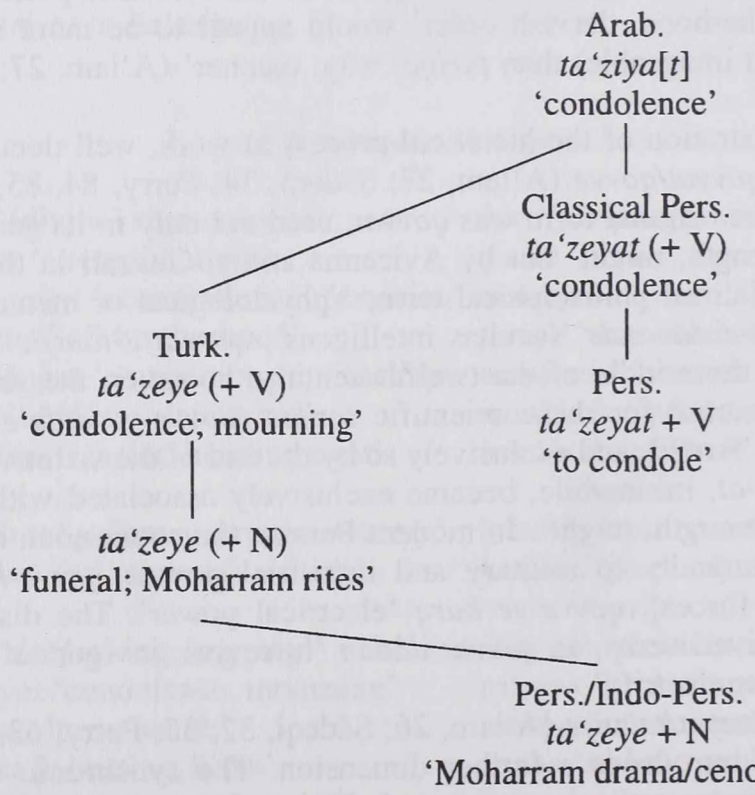

Fig. 3. Derivation of Persian *ta'zeyat/ta'zeye*

The last five pairs listed in this section involve either lexical specialization in both reflexes, or a selective metaphorical usage exhibiting a pragmatic, rather

than a schematic, distinction. Thus *nawbat* and *nawbe* (A'lam, 29; Perry, 83, 129) earlier shared both current meanings, as well as a variety of quite concrete specialized uses, such as 'sentry; ceremonial drumroll; drum', before each reflex stabilized. The subtle distinction between *žarbat* and *žarbe* (Ṣâdeqi, 42; Perry, 86) originates in a metaphorical extension of the basic meaning, as in *qovvat/qovve* and *ṭariqat/ṭariqe*, but is not adequately distinguished in Persian dictionaries: both forms, from an Arabic instance noun (and their plural *žarabât,* and the basic action noun *žarb*) may be used for a physical blow or shock, but *žarbat* (as the more literary, high-style reflex?) is preferred in figurative use, as *žarbat-e qâṭe'* 'decisive blow', while *žarbe* (as the more vernacular reflex?) is preferred for specialized or technical versions of the physical sense: *žarbe-ye fanni* 'a knockout' (in boxing), *bist žarbe(-ye) šallâq* 'twenty lashes' (a flogging, as a statutory punishment). It is tempting also to see an example of the latter in phrases such as *motur-e do-žarbe/čahâr-žarbe* 'two-stroke/four-stroke engine', but here the ending *-e* is probably the adjectivalizing suffix as in, e.g., *otâq-e do-nafare* 'double room'.

Martabe has transferred the spatial reference of *martabat* to a temporal one (A'lam, 28; Perry, 45, 120); though both are count nouns, the usual plural *marâteb* refers only to the spatial *martabat,* as in *ba-marâteb behtar* 'considerably (i.e., by degrees) better'; *martabe* is generally seen only as a singular after a numeral (*do martabe* 'twice', etc.). In *erâdat/erâde* (A'lam, 25; Ṣâdeqi, 33; Perry, 70–1, 131–2), Persian distinguishes two modes of volition that had been differentiated idiomatically in Arabic (cf. *eqâmat/eqâme*). Arabic *arâda bihi xayran* 'he wished/intended well for him' generates an action noun *irâda*[*t*] expressive of a conventional benediction, which becomes Persian *erâdat* as in *erâdatmand* '(your) wellwisher; yours sincerely,' in closing a letter; Arabic *arâda minhu X* 'he wanted/demanded X from him' generates the same form *irâda*[t] in the sense of imposing the speaker's intention for himself, which becomes Persian *erâde*. Similarly, the mass action noun *morâje'at* and the count noun *morâje'e* (A'lam, 28; Perry, 66, 104, 125) originate one in an intransitive, and the other in a transitive, use of the same Theme III verb in Arabic. Both may combine with an auxiliary, but whereas *morâje'at kardan* 'to return, go/come back' is the primary context for the *-at* reflex, putting it squarely in the verbal system, *morâje'e kardan* 'to refer, have recourse (to)' is a denominal derivative from the specialized count noun reflex in *-e* (pl. *morâje'ât* 'references').

2.2	*xeṭâbat* 'office of preacher; address'	*xeṭâbe* 'address, speech'
	maqâlat 'discourse'; + V 'to speak'	*maqâle* 'treatise, article'
	molâṭefat 'kindness, favor'	*molâṭefe* 'letter, note'
	e'ânat 'aid, assistance'	*e'âne* 'alms, charitable gift'
	xebrat 'expertise'	*xebre* 'an expert'
	'eddat 'period of probation'	*'edde* 'number'

2.2.1 The first three pairs all belong to the same experiential field, and exhibit the same process, as *resâle, ḥamâse, ketâbe* and *mas'ale*: a quality noun or action noun in *-at* generates an instance or product noun in *-e* expressive of the communicative instrument or document, or exemplar of the oral or literary genre, that is characteristic of the base activity or status. In both *maqâlat/-e* and *xeṭâbat/-e* (Perry, 43–4, 106, 107, 121, 122, 123, 128, 132–3) the process of shift was prolonged: Classical Persian has many instances of *maqâlat* 'a discourse, treatise' and *xeṭâbat* 'a speech, oration' before the *-e* form was generally accepted and the lexical dichotomy stabilized. In both cases the *-at* form has subsequently dropped out of everyday use and there is no longer a synchronic doublet pair. Conversely *molâṭefe* (Perry, 128), used by the literati of Ghaznavid and Seljuk times for an informal memo or personal note, has since disappeared from the lexicon. With *e'ânat/-e* (A'lam, 25; Ṣâdeqi, 35; Perry, 70, 73, 125) we may compare *mosâ'edat/-e* (2.1).

The archaic state noun *xobrat/xebrat* 'knowlege, expertise' has generated the modern adjectival *xobre/xebre* 'expert' (A'lam, 26; Perry, 35, 84–5) by a stranded-epithet process, from the collective idiom *ahl-e xebrat* 'people of knowledge' > [*ahl-e*] *xebre*; the former feminine ending has assimilated completely to the homophonous Persian ending *-e* to derive a new quality noun *xebregi* 'expertise' and a literary plural *xebregân* 'experts'. The more specialized sense of the instance noun *'eddat/-e* (Perry, 144, 147) 'period of probation before a divorcee may remarry (to ascertain whether she is pregnant)' is now common in *-e*, removing the distinction between this and the base meaning 'number' — which is now syntactically specialized, occurring normally only in the collocation *'edde(-i) az* 'a number of'. This type of shift is studied in the next section.

3 Selection for Word Class, Collocation or Citation

3.1	*šohrat* 'fame, notoriety'	*šohre* 'famous, notorious'
	ẕellat 'abjectness, hardship'	*ẕelle* 'harrassed, fed up'
	zeyâdat 'excess, increase'	*zeyâde* 'more, extra'
	kolliyat 'totality, universality'	*kolliye (-ye)* 'the whole (of)'
	manzelat 'rank, degree, status'	*ba-manzele-ye* 'as, tantamount to'
	moṭâbeqat 'congruence, concord'	*moṭâbeqe* +V 'to compare, collate'
	'âreyat 'loan; borrowed'	*'âreye* 'loan; artificial', +V 'to lend'
	moḥâfeẓat (+V) 'preservation'	*moḥâfeẓe-kâr(i)* 'conservative(ness)'

3.1.1 This category overlaps with several others. We have already seen in the case of, e.g., *ḥavâlat/-e* (2.1) how one reflex may specialize as an action noun and the other as a count noun and/or in a reconstituted verb or, in the case of *xebrat/-e* (2.2), how the shifted form may become a type noun and adjective. Here I wish to designate those cases where one reflex (generally the shifted *-e* form) is exclusively reserved for a syntactically or morphologically marked role,

as, e.g., an attributive or predicative adjective, in a fixed collocation, or in a lexical composite.

The first three pairs illustrate the designation of the *-e* reflex as a predicative adjective. *Šohre* (A'lam, 27; Perry, 84, 85) occurs both in the absolute and in *eżâfe* phrases such as *šohre-ye xâṣṣ o 'âmm* 'the talk of all classes', and is evidently calqued on the analogous idiom in Arabic (*ṣâra šuhratan* 'he became a notoriety', i.e., notorious). We shall see other examples in these sections of an Arabic *iḍâfa* phrase as the apparent model for an Arabic loanword in Persian, either alone or in a Persian *eżâfe* phrase, with a contrastively used *-e* ending. A similar derivation could be argued for *ẕelle* (A'lam, 26; Ṣâdeqi, 33) and *zeyâde* (Ṣâdeqi, 44; Perry, 121). In the latter case, it can be shown that the unshifted *-at* form first evolved an adjectival usage, both from literary instances (in Sa'di) and by the existence of the derived, morphologically Persian, quality noun *zeyâdati* 'excess, superabundance' (cf. *râḥati* and *salâmati*, replacing quality nouns in *-at* which have evolved into adjectives). The general-purpose predicative adjective and adverb *zeyâd* is a truncated form of *zeyâdat*, and *zeyâde* is restricted to predicative phrases such as *zeyâde az ḥadd* 'exceeding the bounds'.

In *kolliyat/-e* (A'lam, 27; Ṣâdeqi, 33; Perry, 28, 31–2, 39, 111) and *manzelat/-e* (A'lam, 29; Ṣâdeqi, 34; Perry, 45), the archaic abstract nouns in *-at* are adapted as *-e* in everday *eżâfe* or prepositional phrases following Arabic models. In *moṭâbeqat/-e* (Ṣâdeqi, 42; Perry, 66–7) the *-at* reflex is used for the quality/state noun only, while the *-e* reflex is exclusively verbal; in fact *moṭâbeqe kardan* is additionally transitive and involves a subtle shift in meaning, not unlike the more obvious change in *morâje'at/-e* (2.1). The distinction expressed between *'âreyat* and *'âreye* (A'lam, 27; Ṣâdeqi, 34; Perry, 112) is similar, with the extra complication that both reflexes may be used adjectivally, though with subtly different senses or at least in different stylistic registers: *'âreyat* (seen as a predicative adjective, 'borrowed', in Classical and literary Persian) has evolved a modern all-round adjective *'âreyati* 'artificial', of which *'âreye* 'borrowed; artificial' is a vernacular variant. *Moḥâfeẓat* (A'lam, 28; Perry, 66, 82) is both nominal and verbal in usage, while the shifted form occurs only in a specialized nominal compound *moḥâfeẓe-kâr* '(political) conservative' and its derivatives; *ḥamâse* (2.1) is similar in occurring most often (though not exclusively) in the compounds *ḥamâse-sarâ* 'epic poet', *ḥamâse-sarâ'i* 'epic poetry'.

3.2

efâdat 'communication, explanation (of a message)'	*efâde* 'explanation; benefit; arrogance', +V 'to put on airs'
neẓârat 'watching, supervision'	*neẓâre* (*nazẓâre*) +V 'to watch'
sirat 'conduct, character; honor'	*sire* 'the *Sira* (Biography) of the Prophet'
reḥlat 'departure; decease'	*reḥle* 'the *Rihla* (Travels) of, e.g., Ibn Batuta'
ma'refat 'knowledge, wisdom'	(*esm-e*) *ma'refe* 'defined noun'
kaṣrat '(large) quantity'	*jam'-e kaṣre* 'plural of quantity'

qellat 'paucity' — *jam'-e qelle* 'plural of paucity'
'ellat 'cause; defect; illness' — *ḥoruf-e 'elle* 'matres lectionis'; *ṣâḥeb-'elle* 'influential person'

3.2.1 The first two pairs offer contrasts basically between nominal and verbal uses. *Efâde* (A'lam, 25; Ṣâdeqi, 34, 35; Perry, 70) has acquired a vernacular sense 'arrogance, boastful behavior' (also in the plural, *efâde-hâ*) and reverbalized it. *Nezâre/nazâre/nazzâre* (A'lam, 29; Perry, 13, 56) are variants attested even in Classical texts, apparently owing to confusion between *nezârat* 'observation' and *nazzâre* 'observer(s), spectator(s)'.

The remaining pairs are the more common examples of a potentially larger class, which may however be considered marginal to the question of the feminine-ending dichotomy and its doublets, and indeed to Persian lexical morphology. In each case, the *-e* reflex of the abstract loanwords in *-at* obviously represents a Persianization of an original Arabic collocation where the feminine ending would be pronounced as in pausal form, i.e., without /t/ (0.2). The book titles are similarly treated in English and most other languages ('the *Sira*', etc.) as a citation form. The Arabic grammatical terms and the idiomatic collocation, whether involving a definite article in the original (*jam'u'l-qilla*[*ti*]) or not (*ṣâḥibu 'illa*[*tin*]), are neutralized in a Persian *eżâfe* phrase which is merely a simplified Arabic *iḍâfa* phrase, lexically Persian but morphologically hybrid.[12]

4 Elegant Variation

4.1 *'aqidat/-e* 'belief, opinion'
ešârat/-e 'indication, sign'
kafârat/-e 'atonement, expiation'
mošârekat/-e 'partnership'
maxâfat/-e 'fear; danger'
moxâleṭat/-e 'intercourse'
rotbat/-e 'rank, status, degree'

4.1.1 In these pairs, both forms are in use without any apparent difference in meaning or fixed distinction of usage other than personal preference based upon perceptions of stylistic register or other felicity conditions. The *-e* reflex results from a process of historical shift; where speakers judge the *-at* reflex to be literary or archaic, though acceptable in some contexts, we may consider the shift to be not yet completed (e.g., *'aqidat/-e, ešârat/-e, rotbat/-e*). The distinction may be reinforced by selection for word class or usage: *ešâre* +V, i.e. *ešâre kardan* 'to point, indicate' would be preferred to *ešârat* +V (and cf. *maxâfat/-e*,

[12] These examples and others may be found in A'lam, 27, 29, and Ṣâdeqi, 34, 35, 36, 40; they are not treated in Perry, *Form and Meaning*.

6.1). Only time and usage will determine in each individual case whether the shift *-at* > *-e* will be aborted, completed, or resolved as a doublet pair.

5 Towards an Analysis of Persian Doublets

The total of sixty pairs discussed above may be broken down, in partly overlapping categories, into the following three types:

Current synchronic pairs (1.1, 2.1, 3.1, 4.1)	36
Semantically/syntactically distinctive synchronic pairs (1.1, 2.1, 3.1)	29
Asymmetric (putative diachronically distinctive pairs:1.2, 2.2, 3.2)	24

Despite the clear contrasts presented by a core of these doublets (minimally, the twenty-nine pairs of the second type above), acceptability judgments of the remaining pairs recorded or postulated are likely to remain subjective. A'lam counts thirty-seven pairs, without aspiring to be definitive; Ṣâdeqi adds eleven, to make forty-eight; in *Form and Meaning,* I originally included forty pairs as showing current synchronic contrast, examined thirty of these as being similarly (or differently) contrasted in Turkish, Urdu, etc. (cf. 6.1), and mentioned a further half-dozen possible diachronic contrasts.

5.1 A'lam (p. 29) generalizes that in many cases the *-at* reflex is Classical or literary in register, while the *-e* reflex is more colloquial; and that the *-at* form is often closer to the original Arabic meaning, whereas the *-e* form bears a metaphorical or specialized sense. This is true, and bears out the general observation that affiliation in *-at* or *-e* and selective shift of *-at* to *-e* illustrate the process of incorporation of these borrowings as *mots savants* and their subsequent assimilation into the vernacular. Ṣâdeqi, in an attempt to categorize pairs, adopts an analysis exploited by Minovi and (in an expanded form) the present author in the works cited, namely that of Arabic morpholexical categories. Most of the *-at* reflexes, he states, have the meaning or function of a *maṣdar* or *esm-e maṣdar* (an infinitive or nomen actionis), while the *-e* reflexes (apart from *maṣdars* of certain derived themes of the Arabic verb) are mostly substantives (*esm*) or, occasionally, adjectives.[13] Statistically this is true, but it does not contribute to a semantic profile of the *-at* and *-e* moieties.

The term *maṣdar* is peculiar to Arabic lexicology, in which the verb is the preferred derivational basis: it therefore includes abstracts which, since they are *maṣdars* of stative or qualitative verbs such as *šarra* 'is ill-natured, wicked' or *qawiya* 'is strong', would better be termed quality nouns. In terms of Arabic grammar, *šarâra* 'wickedness' and *quwwa* 'strength, power' are deverbal nouns of action or instance, but from a general semantic viewpoint the feature 'wicked' or 'strong' is the basic sense, and these derivatives are de-adjectival nouns of quality or instance. Once assimilated into the Persian lexicon, furthermore, they

[13] Ṣâdeqi, 34, 35–6.

may no longer legitimately be 'derived' from a verb (*šarra, qawiya*, etc.) which does not exist in Persian. They must, on the other hand, be categorized under the semantic or syntactic roles they have assumed in Persian, which may or may not approximate to those of their etymon in Arabic: *šarârat* 'wickedness' and *qovvat* 'strength, might' as mass nouns of quality, *qovve* 'faculty, (source of) energy, (military) force' as a count noun of instance or instrument (0.2).

5.2 Though ostensibly confining his analysis within the technicalities of Arabic lexicology, Ṣâdeqi uses *esm* 'noun, substantive' in its general Persian sense, as well as in its technical Arabic meaning in contradistinction to *maṣdar*, which exposes his generalizations to impreciseness and apparent contradiction. Thus, having stated that *qovve* is a noun (*esm*) that has also retained its rôle as a *maṣdar* — true, if he means that it is an instance noun that may be reverbalized as *qovve dâdan* (2.1.1) — he describes *qovvat* as a noun (*esm*) that is counter-intuitively affiliated in *-at*,[14] though as a mass noun of quality this is schematically affiliated as one would expect (as is the contrasting *qovve*).

Ṣâdeqi notes that some loanwords currently assimilated as *-at* (he lists eleven) appear in some Classical Persian texts as *-e*; in *Form and Meaning,* I also noted ten such occurrences, only one of which (*mojâhede*) is common to both lists.[15] Do these counterexamples invalidate the characterization of the well-attested historical shift *-at* > *-e* as a one-way loss of final /t/? I think not. There is good reason to regard them as either ghost words or fossils of evolutionary dead ends.

First, in earlier manuscripts, Arabic feminine-ending loanwords in Persian are sometimes written with the *tâ' marbûṭa* instead of final *tâ'*; this hybrid graph in turn is sometimes written without its superscript dots, appearing as a final *hâ'*, in which case it is impossible to know for sure whether it represents a true *-e* or an original *-at*. In texts where the same word is found elsewhere with orthographic *-at*, we may assume this is the norm. Unfortunately, subsequent copyists (or editors) may have normalized an anomalous *-e* or *tâ' marbûṭa* as *-at* or *-e* on their own initiative. I suspect that this cycle of orthographic laxity and hypercorrection is responsible for a good many ghost words in *-e*.

However, there are certainly cases where an anomalous *-e* is obviously intended, as, e.g., in a line of verse where *-at* would not rhyme or scan (*roxṣe* for *roxṣat* 'leave, furlough' in Hafez).[16] A number of such words (e.g., *ḥekâye, torbe, masâfe, mawhebe*) did in fact shift to *-e* in the lexicons of adjacent dialects or languages — Persian of Central Asia, Afghanistan and India, Turkish, Urdu, etc. (6.1). Their occurrence in earlier literary Persian might be termed a case of 'arrested shift', in that they evolved in some idiolect or dialect of Persian in addition to, or instead of, the *-at* reflex, but were not accepted into the literary standard.

[14] Ibid., respectively 34 and 36.

[15] Ibid., 41; Perry, *Form and Meaning*, 126–8.

[16] Ibid., 126, citing M. Šukurov et al., *Farhangi zaboni tojikî* (2 vols.) Moscow 1969.

5.3 Discarded doublets: More germane to the present study are early occurrences of both *-at* and *-e* variants of a later standard in *-at*, apparently each with a distinct meaning or usage. Such 'discarded doublets' are not unusual where the surviving form is the shifted *-e* (see below), but quite rare when the survivor is the 'primitive' *-at*. A plausible candidate is *mojâhedat/-e* 'struggle, endeavor': this pair appears to have had two distinct connotations, the military-political *mojâhedat* + V 'fighting for one's liberty, religion, etc.; crusading, crusade', and the ascetic-mystical *mojâhede* + N 'strenuous religious devotion, self-mortification'. Such a split would neatly differentiate the two senses (communal warfare on the infidel, vs. individual struggle against one's lusts) which the Sufis attribute to A. *jihâd*/P. *jehâd*; this word, of course, as the alternative Theme III *maṣdar* of the root *JHD*, is theoretically a synonym of *mujâhada*[*t*], but is incapable of a similar differentiation. The split would also parallel the distinction seen in *morâqebat* + V 'observation, supervision' vs. *morâqebe* + N 'devout contemplation' (2.1): in each case, a *Grundbedeutung* in *-at* would have evolved a specialized connotation in *-e* for an ascetic, devotional or Sufi context. However, the evidence presently to hand does not support a consistent distinction in usage: though 'Attâr uses *mojâhede* in the ascetic sense, Rumi has it in its military connotation, and Sa'di in its basic or neutral sense. Subsequent examples show the *-at* reflex in all senses.

More numerous are the 'discarded doublets' where the *-at* reflex is now obsolete or archaic, but may for a limited period have constituted a synchronic contrast with the surviving reflex in *-e*. The well-known *edâre* (+ V, + N) 'management, administration; office' began its career as *edârat*, but only in the literal Arabic sense of 'passing round (wine cups, etc.)', as attested up to ca. 1280; the shifted form in *-e* as the figurative action and instance noun 'administration, etc.' appears some time thereafter, but was not extended to the locus noun 'office' until the late nineteenth century. Similarly, Arabic *ḥâšiya* 'fringe, border (of a garment); followers, retinue; margin (of a text), marginal note' was incorporated into Persian with the two figurative senses, pragmatically differentiated for several centuries as *ḥâšeyat* 'retinue, courtiers' (Bayhaqi and Nâṣer-e Xosraw, late 11th century) and *ḥâšeye* (pl *ḥavâši*) 'marginal note' (widespread, from the outset). By the thirteenth century, both meanings were represented by the *-e* reflex.[17]

5.4 Other non-doublets: Ṣâdeqi includes among his doublets two pairs which, like the discarded doublets above, may once have exhibited the contrasts he claims, but no longer do so. The archaic *morâfe'at* 'litigation', according to the dictionaries, had already shifted to *-e* before acquiring its additional vernacular sense 'dispute, quarrel', and both senses are now encoded in the surviving *morâfe'e* (but cf. *da'vâ/da'vi*, 6.2). In *eżâfat* 'increase; relation' (general or philosophical usage) vs. *eżâfe* 'annexation, noun phrase construct' (grammatical), a past synchronic contrast is unlikely, since *eżâfat* is also attested earlier as

[17] Ibid., 128.

the grammatical term (and survives in this form and sense in Turkish and Urdu), while *eżâfe* in modern Persian has taken over not only the grammatical sense but the base meaning 'addition, increase'.[18]

A phenomenon which seems superficially similar to the 'discarded doublet' syndrome, yet is interestingly different, is what we might call the 'post-shift neologism': in this case an original *-at* form shifts (with the same or similar meaning) to *-e*; subsequently an unconnected neologism homonymous with the *-e* form enters the lexicon through some other process. Three distinct words are involved; the fact that the *-at* form and the neologism in *-e* contrast semantically is purely coincidental, and synchronically irrelevant — as is the fact that the earlier shift-reflex in *-e* clashes with the homonymous neologism. Thus *możârebat* 'fencing, duel(ing)' is also found in a shifted form *możârebe*, even before the invention of a homonymous *możârebe* 'commandite, limited company' in the nineteenth century. The latter was a backformation from the participle *możâreb* 'fellow-duelist, sparring partner; business partner', probably coined in the Ottoman empire and later imported into Iran together with the kind of commercial organization it referred to.[19] Likewise, Classical Persian *jabhat* (later > *jabhe*) 'brow, forehead', a poetical loan from Arabic, is not the source of modern *jabhe* 'front' (military or political). The fact that the military term employs the same anthropomorphic trope in modern Arabic and Turkish — but is *not* recorded as a metaphor of *jabha*[*t*]/*jabhe* in pre-modern Arabic, Turkish or Persian — reveals it as a calque on French *front* 'brow, forehead; (battle)front' which was introduced (again, probably through Ottoman Turkish) in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.[20]

6 Comparison with Other Categories of Doublets

6.1 Feminine-Ending Doublets in Tajik, Turkish, etc.: Even before attempts were made to analyse the *-at/-e* dichotomy in Persian or Turkish, it was recognised that the affiliation of individual loanwords did not always correspond in the two languages. Ṣâdeqi likewise lists fourteen examples of differently-affiliated loans in Persian of Central Asia (Tajik) and of Afghanistan (Dari or Kaboli).[21] Does this difference reflect a continuation (even a refinement, or extension) of the functional scheme evident in Persian, is it an accident, or is it the product of a different system?

In chapter seven of *Form and Meaning*, I examined differences in affiliation not only in the languages mentioned but also in several Turkic languages, Urdu and Hindi, and Malay and Indonesian. I concluded, first, that the superficially similar *-at/-a* distinctions in the Arabic loan inventories of Malay-Indone-

18 Ṣâdeqi, 142; Perry, *Form and Meaning*, 68, 70, 144.
19 Perry, *Form and Meaning*, 68.
20 Ibid., 119, 122, 123.
21 Ṣâdeqi, 41–2.

sian (and of several African languages) have no direct connection with the *-at/-e* split in Persian. Since these languages did not acquire the bulk of their Arabic loan vocabulary through Persian, this was to be expected. Some borrowings in *-at* have evidently been passed on ready-processed from Persian (more specifically, Indo-Persian) sources; others have been taken directly from Arabic in a pre-juncture context where final /t/ is articulated; while the *-a* loans have mostly been taken directly from an Arabic pre-pausal form in /a/, though some may have come through Indo-Persian assimilated forms in *-e*. The moieties, however, reflect either accidents of etymology or phonotactic requirements of the host language, not the semantic or syntactic functional split seen in Persian. The only doublet split noted for Malay-Indonesian that does indeed have a lexically disambiguative value is *sunnah* 'Islamic tradition, orthodoxy' vs. *sunnat* 'orthodox rite; circumcision': the first is directly from Arabic (either in isolation or abstracted from the construct *ahlu'l-sunna* 'the orthodox community'), and the second either from the construct *sunnatu'l-nabi* 'the normative practice of the Prophet' or, more likely, through (Indo-)Persian *sonnat*, where the specialized sense 'circumcision' was already established.[22]

On the other hand, the Iranian, Turkic and Indic languages in the eastern continental Islamic ecumene did acquire virtually the whole of their Arabic vocabulary from the *mots savants* already assimilated into Persian; the identity of the respective *-at/-e* moieties is more than ninety percent preserved. Allowing for some imprecision in allocating pairs to the synchronic or diachronic/asymmetrical categories, Tajik and Dari each have about ten fully distinctive synchronic doublet pairs, or one-third the number in Persian; unknown to Persian are three of these in Tajik, and at least one in Dari. Five pairs (50%) in each language are not identical. Urdu likewise has ten such pairs, three of them unknown to Persian: these are *kefâyat* (+ V) 'sufficiency; suitability, competence' vs. *kefâye* 'enough' (as a predicative adjective and adverb; the same as Tajik), *âle* 'instrument, tool' vs. *âlat* 'penis' (the same as Dari, though with a tendency to reverse the *-at/-e* affiliation) and *eẓâfe/eẓâfat* (the same as Turkish, cf. below).[23]

Turkish has about fifteen, or half the number of doublets in Persian, though at least six of them are unknown to Persian. Examples of the latter are *azimet* (+ V) 'resolution, undertaking, setting out' vs. *azime* (+ N) 'incantation, spell; amulet, mascot' (schematically disambiguating a radical homonym which appears only as *-at* in Persian); *muadelet* (+ V) 'equivalence, equalization' vs. *muadele* 'an equation' (a schematic split; both are *-e* in Persian); *hareket* (+ V) 'movement, start' vs. *hareke* 'vowel diacritic', and the similar *izafe* (+ V) 'annexation; extra' vs. *izafet* 'noun phrase construction' (pragmatic splits; note that in the last two examples the *-at/-e* affiliations are reversed in respect of the

[22] Perry, *Form and Meaning*, 143–5, 157.
[23] Ibid., 144–5.

basic meaning and the grammatical term, and cf. 5.4).[24] Glancing at several other Turkic languages (Azerbaijani, Chuvash, Kazakh, Kirgiz, and Volga Tatar) we find eight widely-shared feminine-ending loan doublets unknown in Persian, three of which are different from the non-Persian pairs in Turkish; seven of those occurring in Uzbek are shared with Tajik.[25]

Two other widely-shared splits not occurring in Persian (or Urdu) are worth mentioning as clear semantic distinctions, functionally well-motivated in accordance with the 'Persian' system: *'ebârat/-e* (Tajik, Dari, Turkish, Azerbaijani, Tatar, Uzbek) and *ğâyat/-e* (Tajik, Dari, Turkish, Uzbek). Calqued on the Arabic idiom *'ibârat[an] 'ân* 'an expression of', i.e. 'which is to say, comprising', *'ebârat* + ablative pre- or postposition (*'ebârat az, -dan 'ebârat, -se 'ebârat*) are used adverbially and predicatively to mean 'consisting of, consists of'. In Persian and Urdu, *'ebârat* is also used as the count noun of instance 'phrase, expression, idiom'; in Dari, Tajik and the Turkic languages, however, this slot is occupied by the shifted doublet *'ebâre*. Similarly, *ğâyat* 'limit, extremity; utmost, extreme(ly)' is virtually universal, and in Persian and Urdu also represents the figurative sense 'end (in view), purpose, aim, ideal'; in Tajik, to an extent in Dari, and in the Turkic languages where this sense is represented, it takes the shifted form *ğâye*.[26]

It seems evident that literary Persian, though the originator and disseminator of the *-at/-e* system, has not adopted or preserved all the splits that were realised at various times, in different regions of the Persian-writing (but Iranic-, Turkic-, Indic-speaking) world. In the case of Turkic, at least, it is possible to go beyond this conservative observation and argue that the system was actively extended. Evidence is furnished not only by the relatively large number of such doublets foreign to both Persian and Urdu, but also by the general propensity for doublet-formation in the Turkic languages, from both native stock and loanwords, which exceeds that of Persian and Urdu in quantity and ingenuity: examples are Turkish (and Azerbaijani) *kišlak* (*gišlag*) 'winter pasture' vs. *kišla* (*gišla*) 'barracks'; Azerbaijani *nägl* 'transportation' vs. *nagil* '(fairy)tale' (both < Ar. *naql*); widespread *pâdišâh* 'emperor' vs. *pâšâ* 'chief, governor' (Turkish), *poššo* 'part of name' (Uzbek), etc. (< Persian *pâdšâh*; though *pâšâ* or other vernacular variants do not surface in literary Persian).[27]

A singularly elegant indication that the system was intuitively understood and exploited at least as well by Ottoman lexicographers as by their Persian counterparts is furnished by *maxâfat/-e* (4.1). None of the Persian dictionaries I have consulted admits a semantic distinction between the reflexes. However, in

[24] Ibid.; John R. Perry, *-at* and *-a*: Arabic Loanwords with the Feminine Ending in Turkish. *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 8:2 (Sep. 1983) 18, 20–21. (Turkish examples are reproduced in the modern orthography.)

[25] John R. Perry, Lexical Doublets and Triplets in the Turkic Languages of the USSR. In: *The Non-Slavic Languages of the USSR: Linguistic Studies*. Ed. by Howard I. Aronson. The Chicago Linguistic Society, Chicago 1989, 178.

[26] Perry, *Form and Meaning*, 145, 149–50; Lexical Doublets and Triplets, 178, 182

[27] Perry, *Form and Meaning*, 169–70; Lexical Doublets and Triplets, 177–9, 185.

Redhouse's *Turkish Lexicon* (1890; essentially compiled from traditional native dictionaries), there is a systematic identification of *maxâfat* with the subjective meaning 'fear' (from the Arabic *maṣdar mîmî*, or augmented action noun) and *maxâfe* with the objective meaning 'danger' (i.e., 'source of fear', from the Arabic locus noun); the plurals *maxâfât* and *maxâvef* are attributed, logically, only to the count-noun sense *maxâfe*. It may be doubted whether such schematic clarity can be applied to actual usage in modern Persian (or even in Ottoman Turkish), but the entry, even if pedantic, demonstrates recognition of a case of derivational homonymy which could, ideally, be resolved by the *-at/-e* dichotomy.

6.2 Other forms of doublets in Persian: Apart from the *-at/-e* pairs, there are hardly any doublets of either native words or borrowings in Persian. Only one synchronic semantic contrast of the type illustrated under 2.1 comes to mind: *da'vâ* 'litigation, lawsuit; quarrel' vs. *da'vi* 'claim, pretension' (both < Ar. *da'vâ,* written with *alif maqṣûra*, 'claim, lawsuit'). *Da'vi* (written with *yâ'* and so pronounced in modern Persian: a spelling-pronunciation) is apparently the older form and meaning ('claim' as both pretension and demand), appearing abundantly in texts (especially poetry) from Daqiqi onward. Unless the final syllable is somewhere attested in rhyme position, there is no proof that it was pronounced as today, and on the contrary every reason to suppose that it was originally pronounced as *da'vâ*, in emulation of its etymon. *Da'vâ* (written in Persian with *alef*, a pronunciation-spelling) does not appear much before Safavid times; it would seem to have evolved as a bureaucratic-legal specialization ('claim for a debt or other right, lawsuit'), extending into the Persian and Turkish vernaculars of the time (along the same semantic lines as English *argument*) to mean 'quarrel, row', with verbal idioms 'to quarrel' and 'to scold'. With this last development we may compare literary *morâfe'at* 'litigation, lawsuit, complaint' > vernacular *morâfe'e* 'ditto; quarrel' (5.4), which seems not to have become a synchronic doublet pair.

Three other pairs represent a registerial contrast between a literary, Arabicate standard and a vernacular, assimilated reflex. These are *abu-/bu-* (< *abû-*, the Arabic *kunya*) as used in personal names; *amir/mir* 'emir' (< Ar. *amîr*), used as substantive, appellative, and anthroponymic element; and *mawlâ-/mollâ(-)* 'mullah', also used in names. The members of this last pair are not distributed evenly: *mawlâ-* only occurs in combination, as *mawlânâ* (a title, with vernacular doublet *mollânâ*) or with a name, whereas *mollâ* (in both written and spoken Persian) is also an independent appellative and substantive. The three vernacular doublets are rare examples of early Arabic loans where the phonotactic assimilation into Persian has been maintained orthographically. Examples of usage are: *Abu 'Ali ebn-e Sinâ* is Avicenna, the philosopher and physician of high Perso-Islamic culture; *Bu 'Ali* is his vernacular alter ego as a popular magician in a cycle of Persian folktales. 'Mulla Aly Shaw', an eighteenth-century official who is known only from European documents (i.e., in transcription

from the spoken form of his name) would undoubtedly have appeared in a Persian document as *Mawlâ 'Ali Šâh*; conversely we may assume that his contemporary *Mawlâ Mottaleb,* who appears only in Persian chronicles, would be called *Mollâ Mottaleb* in popular speech.[28] *Mir* was regularly used to refer to the ruler in Samanid and Ghaznavid literature (and *amir* could be used as a sobriquet for less exalted personages such as the poet Mu'ezzi), but thereafter the more 'cultivated' form *amir* was preferred for rulers, and *mir* was applied more often to popular saints, as *Šâh Mir Ḥamze*. Literary *ostâd* 'master, professor' contrasts in some contexts with vernacular *ostâ* 'master (craftsman)', but not so systematically as in Tajik or Turkish.[29]

An interesting 'discarded doublet' of Classical Persian, the distinction in which is maintained in Turkish, is *tamyiz* 'discernment, discrimination' vs. *tamiz* 'clean, decent': modern Persian has, unusually, established the vernacular variant *tamiz* as the single form for both senses.

On the fringe of doublethood are variants such as *pârs(i)/fârs(i)*, *pil/fil*; the early Classical form with *p* was generally superseded by an Arabicized form with *f*, which in turn is now liable to be replaced by *p* in nativist or archaizing contexts.

6.3 Analogies in other languages: Arabic, which has generously provided all the material for Persian doublets of every kind, and most of that for Turkish and Urdu, is itself devoid of true doublets by reason of the rigidity of its lexical morphology — in particular, the demands of *ta'rîb* or assimilation of foreign vocabulary to Arabic morpholexical formulas. Languages with more elastic terms for borrowing, such as Persian, French, or English, acquire dozens of doublets — overwhelmingly of foreign origin, for 'doubling' vocabulary is a means of supplementing native morphological devices, and (as we have seen here) is intimately tied to the several historical processes of 'borrowing' words. But are these doubling processes comparable in different languages?

Hušang A'lam lists a selection of French doublet pairs of the type *meuble/mobile, chose/cause*, noting that the first variant is the earlier vernacular descendant of Vulgar Latin vocabulary, the second is a *mot savant* introduced from literary Latin by scholars from the fourteenth century on; he wonders if this process has analogies in the formation of Persian doublets.[30] English, too, has a similar range of doublets (and triplets) contrasting Norman French loans assimilated into Middle English with Latinate *mots savants* (and some Italian and French loans) of the Renaissance and later: *frail/fragile*, *parson/person/persona*, *influence/influenza*, etc. This historical process of supplementing early

[28] Cf. John R. Perry, *Mîrzâ, Mashtî* and *Jûja Kabâb*: Some Cases of Anomalous Noun Phrase Word Order in Persian. In: *Pembroke Papers* 1. Ed. by Charles Melville. Cambridge 1990, 223–4.

[29] Ibid., 220.

[30] A'lam, 30–31.

vernacular forms with later *mots savants*, vernacularized in their turn, accounts for the bulk of lexical doublets in both French and English.

A close analogy can certainly be seen in several of the Persian feminine-ending doublets, at least in modern neologisms coined (or, more precisely, imported from the Ottoman realms) without direct reference to their Classical antecedents: such are *jabhe* 'front', *možârebe* 'limited company' (5.4), and perhaps *moṣâḥebe* 'interview' (2.1). Even the vernacular *da'vâ*, to the extent that it began as a phonetically hypercorrected, and lexically more specialized, variant of the earlier *da'vi*, might be regarded as a learned suppletion. There remains the fact that in each case the earlier loan was also a *mot savant* in origin, and could hardly be considered more vernacular in usage than the later one. A stronger case can be made at the other end of the historical continuum. The early loans *bu, mollâ* and *mir* were almost certainly incorporated orally, rather than as literary *mots savants*, as is evidenced by their assimilated form and social usage (as names and appellatives); thus their literary, Arabicate doublets *abu, mawlâ* and *amir* (if their first appearance was indeed in written texts, perhaps several generations after the incorporation of their doublets in spoken New Persian) are to an extent learned suppletions from a foreign source.

The vast majority of (feminine-ending) doublets in Persian, however, result from the very reverse of the process seen in French or English: the earlier form is the learned term, and the later 'shifted' form is derived directly from it by a phonological and orthographic change which signals a more specialized or concrete sense, or a more idiomatic and vernacular usage. Even where the *-e* reflex is not derived from the *-at* form, but represents an independently inducted Arabic homonym (1.1, 1.2), the semantic relation often holds good: for an illiterate soldier in the Ghaznavid army, *maymane* 'right wing' was a more concrete, meaningful and everyday term than the pious abstraction *maymanat* 'felicity, good augury.'

There is, however, a strong candidate for comparison on a historical, methodological and functional basis in the English stress patterns of certain disyllabic verb-noun (or adjective) pairs: *convért/cónvert, convíct/cónvict, recéss/récess, perféct/pérfect, affíx/áffix, contráct/cóntract, refúse/réfuse*, and some 150 more.[31] In each case the word with final stress is a verb, the word with initial stress is a substantive or adjective. Most are cognate and monosemous, but the last two examples illustrate homographs in which the meaning, as well as the lexical category, is distinguished by the accent (*contract* 'to shrink' vs. *contract* 'business agreement' and *refuse* 'to reject' vs. *refuse* 'garbage' — cognate, but polysemous; the last additionally distinguished by a voiceless sibillant). These two pairs may be compared with the disambiguation of derivational homonyms in *maymanat/-e* or *eqâmat/-e*. How else is this system similar to the Persian one?

[31] Perry, *Form and Meaning*, 210; Jean Aitchison, *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* 2nd edition, Cambridge 1991, 82–3.

It targets borrowed (Latinate) vocabulary. It has been in action from the early period of Modern English, and is still productive; the Persian shift (of which doublet formation is a part) has been in action from the earliest period of New Persian, and is apparently still productive (4.1). The English system works by a process of lexical diffusion, schematically splitting an original homograph by means of a sound shift, the shifted stress marking the noun or adjective (the more concrete or imageable class), and the trace marking the verb (the more abstract, less imageable class). Persian shifted (i.e., nominal) forms such as *ešâre, eqâme, žarbe, morâje'e, ḥavâle, 'âreye* may then be reverbalized by combining with an auxiliary; English shifted forms, too, may be verbed under the same stress pattern and meaning, as *to prócess* (distinct from the original *to procéss*) and *to ímpact* (transitive; similar to the earlier *impáct on*, different in meaning from *impácted* 'crammed together'). In each case, three new lexical entries are created from a single original.

The process in English would appear to be a specialized subroutine of the general tendency to 'verb' nouns without morphological change. In Persian, distinguishing nominal from verbal usage in original homonyms is only one of several possible functions of the *-at/-e* split, and on the other hand its inventory is only one third the size of the English stress-class doublets. Elegant as it is, this contrastive marking is not strictly *necessary* to disambiguate usage either in English or Persian; the contextual morphology and syntax is generally sufficient (indeed, the English pairs remain undifferentiated in writing without great risk of confusion, and the shift-induced split in Persian may often be judged redundant, though less so in the case of homonyms where it is not attributable to a historical shift — at least two thirds of the fifteen items in section 1). In both systems, however, the taxonomic value of the dichotomy is intuitively satisfying.

7 Conclusions

The formation of lexical doublets is evidently a sub-system of another process or processes typically at work in a particular language or culturally bound group of languages. As we see from the analogies touched on above, a historical explanation plausible for one group may need to be stood on its head to apply to another. Rate of change, size of inventory and type of target words may differ not only between groups but within a group.

In what seems a plausible scenario for the Persian system here discussed, the superordinate process has been the assimilation of Arabic words in the feminine ending: this vocabulary (maximally, almost 2,000 items) included a disproportionately high number of desirable abstracta and culturally freighted words, and in its Arabic form was encumbered by a syntactically-determined alternation in pronunciation and orthography irrelevant to (and, indeed, inexpressible in) Persian. The alternants were /-at/ ~ /-a/, writable as *-at* ~ *-a*. The form *-at* was chosen for the majority of borrowings, which began as *mots*

savants in the literature of bilingual Persian intellectuals. It so happens that, since Middle Persian postvocalic /t/ had become voiced by the time of the Arab invasion, terminal /-at/ was no longer in the phonotactic repertory of Persian; this aberrant ending was thus marked from the outset as proper to a class of *Fremdwörter*.

The reflex /-a/ represented the pre-juncture pronunciation which in Arabic characterizes feminine-ending words in isolation or at the end, rather than in the middle, of a noun phrase — and was thus more frequently heard in names, glosses accompanying ostensive definition, and other paratactic utterances. It had already been chosen for a critical mass of more tangible and imageable referents borrowed into spoken New Persian, and was assimilated into the written language as *-a*. It so happens that in pronunciation and orthography, this substantival ending coincided exactly with the ending of a large class of native Persian substantives with similar semantic characteristics (modern *nâme, bande, šomâre*, etc.) which on the eve of the Arab conquest was about to lose a final velar, /-ag/ > /-a/; this phonotactically familiar ending was thus marked from the outset as proper to vernacular words. As the more tangible or imageable *-at* affiliates became progressively assimilated from *Fremdwort* to *Lehnwort* status (or as they acquired more tangible or imageable figurative senses, often accompanied by count-noun status), they tended to shift to *-a* as a mark of their assimilation. With this, they frequently adopted the derivational morphology of the Persian *-a* class, notably the fossilized velar of Middle Persian before vowel-initial suffixes (*nazẓâregân* 'spectators', *xebregi* 'expertise', etc.).[32]

In this way an unwieldy chunk of useful Arabic vocabulary was sorted in accordance with Persian semantic and phonotactic principles. The formation of doublets, a special case of the same process of sorting and shift, further expanded the existing loan vocabulary. The bulk of this growing inventory, and the rules of the system, were passed on to speakers and writers of culturally adjacent languages, who further exploited them. Since little or no Arabic vocabulary is nowadays inducted into these languages, the whole process is barely productive, even in Persian; the number of shifted forms and doublets has probably stabilized, or is about to, closing a distinctive phase of Persian lexical innovation.

[32] Perry, *Form and Meaning*, 12–14, 189–95. Ṣâdeqi (43) also suggests that this class of Persian words had some influence on the shift *-at* > *-e*.

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LA LINGUA ARABA COMPARATA DA BELTRAMO MIGNANELLI (SIENA 1443)

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1. Excerpta

I. Memoria di Beltramo Mignanelli (Siena 1370–26. I. 1455): «Beltramo di Leonardo Mignanelli de' Grandi di Siena, fù huomo di grande ingegno, e nella sua gioventù stette lungo tempo in Barbaria, doue imparò così bene l'idioma degli Arabi, che pareua fusse nato, ed alleuato trà di loro, e sempre il ritenne non meno, che la lingua materna, però che fù in Damasco, nel Cairo, in Gierusalemme, nel Monte Sinay, ed in Betleem per lungo tempo; poi se n'andò in Egitto, e passato il Deserto se n'andò nell'Indie. Vidde la desolazione di Damasco fatta dal Tammerlano, e scrisse un libro delle concordie de' Salmi tra l'idioma Arabico, Hebraico e Latino, il quale fù posto nella libraria del Duomo di Siena. Fù al Concilio di Costanza, e nel Conclaue, nel quale fù assunto al Ponteficato Martino V. egli fù Conclauista di Fr. Gio: Domenico Fiorentino Cardinale detto di Ragusia dell'ordine de' Predicatori, con il quale andò per la Boemia, Ungaria e altroue, doue il Cardinale fù dal Pontefice destinato Apostolico Legato. Fù dottissimo nell'Aritmetica, Geometria ed Astrologia, & ordinò molti giudizij verissimi. Nel Concilio di Fiorenza fù chiamato da Eugenio IV. Pontefice Romano per Interprete degli Ambasciatori del Prete Gianni, che erano venuti per unirsi alla Chiesa. Fù Historico di somma eloquenza, e somma memoria, mà la sua principal professione fù l'Astrologia, e la Cognizione di quasi tutte le lingue, per le quali rari virtù fù amatissimo da Prencipi dentro, e fuori d'Italia. Morì finalmente in Siena d'età anni 85. li 26. di Gennaio dell'anno 1455. e fù sepolto nell'Auello antico de' suoi Antenati con solennissima pompa, come si raccoglie nel libro de' morti di S. Domenico di Siena, dal quale habbiamo cauato di peso quanto sopra si è detto.»[1]

II. B. Mignanelli, *Libellus*, antologia dello *Psalterium* in traduzione comparata, Siena 1443; introduzione, in S. B. C. I., Ms. *X. VI. 2*. ff. 1v–2r:

[1] Isidoro UGURGIERI AZZOLINI, *Le Pompe Sanesi, ò vero Relazione delli huomini, e donne illustri di Siena, e suo stato. Parte Prima.* In Pistoia Nella Stamperia di Pier'Antonio Fortunati, 1649, "Titolo XXI Sanesi professori delle matematiche, IIII", p. 660. Fonte d' archivio citata: Fb mor(tuorum) Conu(enti) S. Dom(inici) Sen. f. 91.

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«Pro consolatione mea, & futurorum introductione uolentium psalterium bene intelligere, & varietates sententiarum et vocabulorum diligenter attendere libellum hunc in senectute mea composui & ut clarius potuj secundum meam imbecillitatem adhesi sententiis uerificatis vocabulorum quod quidem difficillimum est propter uarietates ydiomatum ut in Psalterio ecclesiae reperi. et similiter in translatione sancti Jeronimi. inter quas difficultates multe sunt. quae uerum non omnes tanquam multe sunt. sive de utroque pure seposui ut repraesento demum subtus notaui sicut in Psalterio arabico scriptum est. et quam proprius potui reduxi ad latinum. Et ne indebite mordear a legentibus et maxime a individuis detrahentibus sine causa et corrigi possit a peritis et emendari quorum correctioni me ultro subicio. In Arabico etiam scribere decreuj proprie ut in Psalterio arabico continetur nihil addito uel diminuto, notificans tamen quod huiusmodi interpretatio difficillima est propter deformitatem modi loquele a nobis et mutationem vocabulorum & maxime quia ipsi interdum carent uocalibus et sepe sepius habundant et melius uulgare nostro, salua nostra gramatica, ipsa uocabula appropriant et distinguunt, nec est sub celo ydioma majus illo, nec nostra gramatica, et sic probatur.

Clarum quippe est machinam terrae derectae ab aqua in tres partes fore diuisam, videlicet Asiam quae est major, Affricam quae est minor et Europam quae tertiae parti ut mediocris est magis conformis. Nam tota Affrica ydioma arabicum tenet, deinde Asiam tenet totam Egyptum Siriam Mesopotamiam Assyriam, Caldeam Arabiam in sua divisione in quibus Arabica omnes lingua loquuntur usque ad Littora Rubri, et per Sicci Maris & similiter in Europa, proh dolorem, est regnum Granatae situm intra tria regna catholicorum, quod regnum etiam arabicum est. in quo nonnulli fuere viri fama lucentes, inter quos Auicenna Auerois Rais [*scil.* Rasis] Almonsor et quidam alij, qui notabilia ediderunt, denotantur. Et in divisionibus Asiae et Europae adeo sunt uaria et tot ydiomata quod pro auferendo tedium legenti desino nominare.

Et in tantum ydioma istud commendatur a sapientibus graecorum quod reputant praeter graecam linguam arabicam super alias praeualere. quod penitus negavi et nego istud credentibus tenens firmiter nostram gramaticam magis quam graecam ut quamcumque aliam linguam omni respectu ualere, et pareant in graecum opinantes non tamen contra gramaticam graecam quam ignoro sic audeo dicere. Verum adherens opinioni doctorium allegantium, quod licet primi inuentores et compositores sint praecommendandi, non tamen proinde sequitur quod inuentio praeualeat scientiae succedenti quae a prima ut a fonte capit originem quod etiam dicere possent hebrei quia priores, sed totum oppositum est tenendum, cum uerum sit posteros priora uidisse et melius non deterius componere uoluisse, et eo fortius attenta gloria monarchiae romanorum et auiditate fame qui non tollerassent ab alijs superari laude, verum potius uoluisse cunctos superare.

Laudatur denique in tantum ydioma istud a peritis iudeis quod multi ex eis quam plures libros Philosophiae, & Medicinae in arabico ediderunt, ipsorum ydiomate penitus floccipendo, inter quos famosus et singularis Rabi Moyses

Hispanus quem in nostris gramatica, lo[g]ica, philosophia, astrologia, theologia, scientijs multa carpsit et egregie compilauit.

Et licet careant arabes declinationibus in casibus aliquando et temporibus quae pauca apud eos sunt. per circomlocutiones dant supplementum, carent et hoc verbo sum, es, est, in praesenti quod nullatenus habent.

Fuit utique soldanus quidam Egipti et Siriae nomine appellatiuo Melchel dahar[2] quoniam et ipsi Soldano mutant nomina quando ad illum appicem assumuntur ut Papa noster, credo tamen quod non assero proprio nomine propter famam et uirtutem fuisse Saladinum qui quidem Soldanus, inter alia .IIII. idiomata eleganter sciebat, videlicet graecum, turcum, persicum et Arabicum, quibus utebatur; loca persona et tempore magno ordine distinguebat qui in camera cum suis mulieribus et ancillis loquebatur graeco uel persico, et in exercitu et noctis tempore turco. in audentia uero et in iuditio utebatur arabico, qui interroganti et admiranti quia sic, respondit sic conuenit, quia graecum et persicum sunt dulcia mitia et muliebra, turcum uero rude tonans et acerbum, arabicum autem magis diffusum uocabulis abundans et compendiose bene distinctum; et uelle super huiusmodi disputare multa occurrerent quae censeo potius reliquenda.

Et licet dulce sit istas differentias sentire non minus erit dulce et ualebit iste libellus uolentibus et aliqualiter introductis transire a gramatica ad arabicum, et a contrario ab arabico ad gramaticam. Et etiam hebrej stolidi non tamen omnes extollunt linguam ipsorum propter primam cuius argumentum est falsissimum et sic esse probaui multis ex eorum doctoribus qui proh dolorem Senis prope me habitant et maxime arabicum scientibus qui negare non possunt nec negant quoniam artantur dicere ueritatem. non hoc pro detrahendo hebraico quod ignoro uerum quia comprehendo propter conformitatem linguae arabicae cum hebraica quod ipsi non negant istam esse propriam ueritatem. Et sciant me dimisse illud spatium quod inter uersum, & uersum & differentiam & differentiam est cupiens in eo ponere in Hebraico sicut in arabico scriptum est.»

2. Itinerarium

Il testo sopra riportato, anche se edito nel 1764, in pratica è rimasto ignorato. Questa breve ma precisa descrizione comparata della lingua araba è la più antica del genere documentata in Italia e ha importanza per la linguistica storica e la storia degli studi orientali in Europa.

L'erudito viaggiatore e studioso senese Beltramo Mignanelli si può anche considerare il primo arabista italiano. Nell'età dell'umanesimo, particolarmente durante la seconda metà del XV secolo, sorsero in Italia vivi interessi per la raccolta di codici arabi e lo studio dei testi originali orientali.[3] Nel XV secolo anche Siena fu un centro rilevante di studi orientali.

[2] *Malik al-dahr*, epiteto di Barqūq sultano mamelucco; cf. JORGA p. 532.

[3] A. M. PIEMONTESE, Islamic Manuscripts in the West, in John COOPER (ed.), *The Significance of Islamic Manuscripts*, London, Al-Furqān Islamic Foundation, 1992, pp. 45–54;

Mignanelli apprese la lingua e scrittura araba durante il periodo giovanile (ca. 1390–1405) di viaggi e traffici mercantili in Tunisia, Siria, Palestina, Egitto, dove svolse anche negozi diplomatici per conto del Ducato di Milano, alleato (1396) e signore (dicembre 1399) di Siena. La lega di Siena con Milano cessò con la morte (3. IX. 1402) del duca Gian Galeazzo Visconti.[4] Forse Mignanelli si applicò allo studio dell'arabo in Damasco e ne perfezionò la conoscenza in Cairo. Egli fu anche in Persia e nell'area del Golfo Persico, viaggiando per motivo di traffico mercantile delle «aromata» (spezie) sull'itinerario Damasco–Tabriz–Hormuz, e forse fu anche in India, nel Malabar.

«Multaque dimisi, ne tedium afferam, et maxime in facto aromatum per viam Trebusunde, quae ab insula Hormisii, site in mari oceano ultra Persiam versus Indyam: ad quam viri ydolatre, quos ego uidi et practicaui, ipsa aromata ad Hormisium conducunt. Et abinde portantur per terram ad Ciuitatem Thaurisii, que famosa fuit et est; et inde ad Trebusundam ducebantur. Accidit quod propter guerras dominorum adiacentium derobata sint Taurisiis, et ad saccum posita propter quod mercatores nostri dimiserunt viam illam et per viam Damasci aromata sua duxerunt [...] Latini nostri ad Damascum proh dolor quia melius dimiserunt, sunt directi, et ab Hormusio nunc conducuntur per mare ad Ciuitates Bassare et Catiff, in quibus ego fui, in littore maris oceani circundantes terram versus nos. Et abinde ad Damascum per deserta vehuntur, cum infinita expensa, et periculo derobationis. Et ego probavi, quia cum infinita caterua dum redirem ab hormisio derobatus fui. Nec seruat Soldanus, que promittit quod per viam Thaurisij nullatenus accidebat. Et meo tempore mortui sunt merchatores qui Taurisii illo tempore habitabant. Indiget que hec *Informacio* additione et levigatione, que iuxta posse offero me supplere, si fuero requisitus.»[5]

Informacio contra infideles, scritta da Mignanelli poco tempo prima della battaglia di Varna (1444), è una relazione di politica economica e militare, dove si considera essenziale la coesione del Regno di Ungheria «pro muro contra Turcos». Nella battaglia di Varna però il cardinale Giuliano Cesarini, che aveva curato la raccolta dei decreti sinodali, tra cui il "Decretum Unionis Jacobinorum cum Sancta Romana Ecclesia", in latino e in arabo, al Concilio di Firenze (1439–1442), dove fu stipulata l'unione tra la Chiesa di Roma e quelle Cristiane Orientali, mentre aumentava la minaccia dell'espansione turco-ottomana. L'*Informacio* fu scritta in tali circostanze. «Hucusque est in subscripta copia informationis a me postulate per sanctissimum dominum nostrum Eugenium papam IIII, dum essem Florentie ab eo vocatus interpres pro unione Christianorum Jacobinorum de ultra mare, quam ego ab hinc Florentie humiliter destinaui anno M.^{mo} CCCC.°XLII.°» (f. 198v). Mignanelli «In Concilio Florentino fuit adhitus

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ID., Leggere e scrivere «orientalia» in Italia, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, cl. lettere e filosofia, s. III, XXIII (1993), pp. 427–453.

[4] Sarah FAVALE, Siena nel quadro della politica viscontea nell'Italia centrale, *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, n. s., a. VII (XLIII della Collezione, 1936), pp. 315–382.

[5] *Informacio contra infideles*, B. A. V., Ms. *Vat. Lat. 10688*, f. 198r–v; cf. ed. HOFMANN pp. 85–86.

interpres in lingua arabica, quando legati Ioannis XI patriarchae Coptorum et Niccodemi abbatis aethiopici Hierosolymitani Florentiam venerunt (1441–1442).»[6]

Fra il termine delle sessioni toscane del Concilio di Firenze e il principio di quelle romane (1443–1445), Eugenius IV e la curia cardinalizia dimorarono in Siena, 8. III–14. IX. 1443. Qui fu redatto ill *Libellus*, sorta di excursus che rispetto al dibattito teologico conciliare di Firenze inseriva la discussione con la colta comunità ebraica senese. Certo il *Libellus* si rivolge alla curia e a Eugenius IV (1431–1447), che dovrebbe essere il committente dello scritto. Eugenius IV, al secolo Gabriele Condulmero, giovane di 25 anni, era stato vescovo di Siena nell 1407–1408. Egli partecipò poi al Concilio di Siena (21. VII. 1423–19. II. 1424), dove fu trasferito il Concilio di Pavia, che a sua volta era stato deciso al Concilio di Costanza.[7] Condulmero dovrebbe avere conosciuto allora Mignanelli, che forse incontrò durante il biennio del proprio vescovado senese, se Beltramo era allora tornato in patria dai suoi viaggi in Africa e Asia.

L'esito del Concilio di Firenze, l'unione delle Chiese cristiane, fu in parte preparato con i lavori del Concilio di Siena. Vi ebbe incidenza un libro scritto da Michele di Paolo Pelagalli O. P. (Siena, ca. 1388) che aveva trattato il progetto di un concilio universale «pro unione Latinorum et Grecorum et forsan Indorum, Armeniorum, Georgianorum et similium scismaticorum» e inoltre «pro destruenda secta machometica». Pelagalli dice anche «Hec enim communis ecclesia, ut tactum est, apud Hebreos vocatur specialiter synagoga, apud Arabes mescripta, sed apud grecos et latinos ecclesia nuncupatur».[8]

3. Comparatio

Indole di persona concreta, Beltramo aveva sensibilità filologica e un solido spirito critico. Egli distingue la materia linguistica dalle questioni politiche e ideologiche, che tiene fuori dal *Libellus*. La questione della lotta europea contro il Turco, trattata in *Informacio*, è tutta altra faccenda, politico-militare, e lì resta. Nel *Libellus* Mignanelli conduce il suo discorso da un punto di vista geolinguistico. Egli considera la posizione dell'arabo nel quadro delle varie lingue e scritture o letterature, «tot ydiomata», diffuse nelle tre parti dell'ecumene: Asia, Nord-Africa, Europa. L'autore delinea quindi alcuni tratti che qualificano l'arabo come lingua consistente, autorevole, importante.

[6] *Concilium Florentinum Documenta et Scriptores*, Series A, vol. III, fasc. III. Georgius HOFMANN S. I. (ed.), *Orientalium Documenta minora*, Roma, Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1953, p. XLI.

[7] Gio. Antonio PECCI, *Storia del Vescovado della città di Siena*, Lucca, S. e G.-D. Marescandoli, 1748, pp. 302–304, 310–314.

[8] Enzo PETRUCCI, Gli Ebrei in un inedito opuscolo anonimo sulla costituzione e riforma della Chiesa della fine del secolo XIV, in *Aspetti e problemi della presenza ebraica nell'Italia centro-settentrionale (secoli XIV e XV)*, Roma 1983 ("Quaderni dell'Istituto di Scienze Storiche dell'Università di Roma", 2), pp. 307–342. Cf. pp. 317, 326, 340.

Egli pone un rapporto di comparazione, inerente la natura morfologica e l'importanza storica, fra le grandi lingue dell'ecumene, provviste di testi illustri. Mignanelli considera le lingue e scritture il cui grado di egemonia universale o primazia era disputato dai dotti. Esse sono nel contempo le lingue ricche di letterature scientifiche: l'araba, la greca, l'ebraica, la latina, chiamata «nostra gramatica». Esse non sono trattate sotto l'aspetto confessionale, in qualità delle quattro grandi lingue dottrinali delle religioni testamentarie, recanti sacre scritture. La trattazione di Mignanelli concerne invece la filologia di un libro altamente rappresentativo, *Psalterium*, riconosciuto dalle comunità religiose ebraica, cristiana e musulmana. L'antigrafo dello *Psalterium* arabo posseduto da Mignanelli era di fattura cristiano-egiziana, se così è da intendersi la sua espressione «in Arabico repertum est Psalterium christianos ultramarinos» (*Libellus*, f. 1). La scrittura araba *naskh* di Beltramo non è di tipo maghrebino, ma orientale.

La polemica dell'autore con gli ebrei abitanti in Siena, riguardante la primogenitura delle lingue, è svolta con un approccio scientifico della questione. Questa è trattata con un criterio di genere storico-evolutivo. All'opinione dei dottori ebrei, che si consideravano «priores» in quanto «primi inventores et compositores», l'autore ribatte con l'argomento «inventio praevaleat scientiae succedentis». Egli ne trae la conclusione opposta: «verum sit posteros priora vidisse et melius et non deterius componere voluisse». Per apprezzare la modernità di tale nozione, che corrisponde a un approccio o criterio filologico, si può ricordare l'esito di un dibattito recente nel campo della filologia testuale. Alla metodologia di P. Maas, un insigne filologo italiano oppose il criterio *recentiores, non deteriores*: «Un [*codex*] *recentior* non è per ciò solo un *deterior*. L'autorità di un testimonio è indipendente dalla sua antichità».[9]

Mignanelli assume su un piano di pari dignità le quattro lingue che hanno un àmbito universale. Egli ne discute la validità di *gramatica* e la primazia, sia storica, sia attuale, in base a un criterio di autorità. Nel formulare il giudizio circa le qualità dell'arabo, l'autore tiene conto della propria conoscenza di tale lingua. Egli inoltre si richiama all'opinione dei sapienti e periti, in particolare greci ed ebrei. Il giudizio complessivo di Beltramo è una constatazione di fatto che si presenta come un grande elogio dell'arabo. Anche rispetto alla latina, la lingua araba è la maggiore sull'orbe terrestre: «nec est sub celo ydioma majus illo». L'autore sostiene tale considerazione, «sic probatur», con tre argomenti che dimostrano la forza dell'arabo in età coeva: a) l'estensione territoriale, b) l'autorità scientifica, c) il prestigio internazionale.

Circa a), la dislocazione geografica, l'autore precisa che «Arabica omnes lingua loquuntur» in queste regioni: «tota Affrica», l'intero Maghreb e l'Egitto; Siria, Mesopotamia, Assiria, Caldea, Arabia, zone del Mar Rosso, «Littora Rubri», e del Mar Morto, «Sicci Maris», in Asia; il Regno di Granata, fra gli altri stati cristiani di Spagna, in Europa. Circa b), gli scrittori che rendono illustre la letteratura araba, l'autore cita tre sommi scienzati, filosofi e medici, «viri fama

[9] Giorgio PASQUALI, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1952, p. XVI e 41–108. Cf. Paul MAAS, *Textkritik*, Leipzig und Berlin, Teubner, 1927.

lucentes»: Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā, 980–1037), Averroes (Ibn Rushd, 1126–1198), Rases (Abū Bakr M. b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, ca. 850–923) con il suo *Liber Almansorius*. Circa c), per un motivo di patriottismo l'autore preferisce la superiorità assoluta della *gramatica* latina, ma egli adduce la concessione degli eruditi greco-bizantini per cui, a parte la lingua greca, l'araba prevale su ogni altra: «commendatur ydioma istud a sapientibus graecorum quod reputant praeter graecam linguam arabicam super alias praevalere». La lingua araba è inoltre commendata «a peritis iudeis».

A tale proposito spicca bene la cognizione di Mignanelli riguardo alla particolare rilevanza che è propria della letteratura giudaico-araba. L'autore del *Libellus* specifica che molti autori ebrei «plures libros Philosophiae & Medicinae in arabico ediderunt». E' parimenti significativo l'elogio di Rabi Moyses Hispanus (Mosheh ben Maimon, 1135–1204), quale autore «famosus et singularis» di libri di grammatica, logica, filosofia, astrologia e teologia. In una certa misura Mignanelli conosce, attraverso la sua affinità con l'arabo, l'ebraico: «quia comprehendo propter conformitatem linguae arabicae cum hebraica». Egli discute con numerosi dottori ebrei abitanti in Siena. Essi conoscevano parimenti l'arabo, e probabilmente possedevano anche codici arabi o arabo-ebraici.

Pietro de' Rossi (1403–1459), professore di filosofia nell'università di Siena, forse anche ebraista, fu commentatore della Bibbia. Tuttavia egli non trattò il libro di cui era esperto Beltramo, lo *Psalterium*. Rossi aveva *disputationes* con gli ebrei senesi eruditi, in particolare Guglielmo da Montalcino. Titolare di un banco di pegni le cui filiali erano estese nell'area della Toscana, Guglielmo si riconosce come il rabbino Binjamin bin Joab. Rossi conosceva Mignanelli, del cui scritto su "Tomor" egli cita un passo, cf. § 4. Inoltre Rossi frequentava il convento senese di S. Agostino ed era amico del frate agostiniano A. Biglia.[10] La comunità ebraica di Siena comprendeva vari banchieri.[11] Diversi codici arabi raccolti in Italia durante l'età umanistica rinascimentale (XV secolo) sono arabo-ebraici, cioè testi arabi scritti in caratteri ebraici.[12]

Mignanelli distingue, in un modo contrastivo, vari tratti tipici della morfologia araba. Egli ne enuncia differenze e limiti (cf. clausola «carent»), in particolare rispetto al latino e anche alla lingua toscana, «uulgare nostro». La ricchezza lessicale dell'arabo, «vocabulis abundans», contrasta con la varietà o differenza fonetica, «mutationem vocabulorum». Oltre la diversità della fonetica, è sottinteso che per l'europeo una difficoltà di comprensione è recata dalla complessità di rappresentazione propria della scrittura araba, che segue una tipi-

[10] Gianfranco FIORAVANTI, *Università e città. Cultura umanistica e cultura scolastica a Siena nel '400*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1980–81 ("Quaderni di Rinascimento, 3"), pp. 6, 78–81; prima pubblicato in *Rinascimento*, Firenze, s. II, XIX (1979), pp. 117–167 e XX (1980), pp. 87–159.

[11] Umberto CASSUTO, *Gli ebrei a Firenze nell'età del Rinascimento*, Firenze 1918, pp. 34, 153–154, e su Guglielmo da Montalcino 246–268; Sofia BOESCH GAJANO, Il Comune di Siena e il prestito ebraico nei secoli XIV e XV, in *Aspetti e problemi della presenza ebraica nell'Italia centro-settentrionale (secoli XIV e XV)*, op. cit., pp. 175–225.

[12] Umberto CASSUTO, *I manoscritti palatini ebraici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana e la loro provenienza*, Città del Vaticano, 1935 ("Studi e Testi" 66), pp. 70–74.

ca *scriptio defectiva*. Ne deriva anzitutto la difficoltà di lettura per gli arabofoni: «ipsi interdum carent vocalibus». Ma, quando usano la *scriptio plena,* gli scribi arabografi e i dotti arabofoni sovente «habundant et melius uolgare nostro, salua nostra gramatica, appropriant et distinguunt» i testi.

Inoltre «careant arabes declinationibus in casibus aliquando et temporibus quae pauca apud eos sunt». Circa l'uso dei verbi l'autore aggiunge con chiarezza il fatto tipico che l'arabo tace il «verbo sum, es, est, in praesenti». L'indicazione riguardante la scarna declinazione triptota (casi indicativo, obliquo, accusativo) propria dell'arabo si può apprezzare anche meglio, ove si consideri che essa si trova al contrario ampliata da trattatisti europei successivi. Ciò avviene quando il modo arabo delle declinazioni è omologato al sistema dei sei casi vigente in latino (nominativus, genitivus, dativus, accusativus, vocativus, ablativus). Un tale regresso di percezione, rispetto alla descrizione di Beltramo, si riscontra per esempio presso gli inediti *Arabica Rudimenta* (S. Fiorenzo, Corsica, 1524) di Agostino Giustiniani O. P. Questa è la prima grammatica araba scritta da uno studioso italiano, che fu anche ebraista. Giustiniani (Genova 1470–1536) tenne presente, anche se non seguì come modello, la precedente grammatica della lingua araba, propriamente del dialetto granadino, impressa in Granada (1505), la nota opera di Pedro de Alcalá.[13]

Mignanelli tratta l'arabo, quale idioma «magis diffusum» e ufficiale, vigente nell'amministrazione pubblica, anche in rapporto a una situazione concreta di plurilinguismo. Qui traspare la sensibilità da linguista di cui egli era dotato. L'autore dichiara «licet dulce sit istas differentias sentire». Il sultano d'Egitto era tetraglotto e adattava l'uso delle lingue secondo luoghi, persone e tempi. In sede privata, nel gineceo, egli parlava il greco o il persiano con le mogli e le ancelle; con le milizie e di notte, parlava il turco; in udienzia pubblica e in sede giudiziaria, parlava l'arabo. Il sultano poliglotto sapeva distinguere le proprietà rispettive di tali altre tre lingue: tanto dolci, miti e muliebri il greco e il persiano, quanto rude, tonante e acerbo il turco. Si ha questa sorta di contrasto: idioma di indole debole (greco e persiano) versus idioma forte (turco), e terzo, idioma mediano o giudiziario, l'arabo «compendiose bene distinctum».

Beltramo doveva avere alcune nozioni di turco e forse conosceva meglio il persiano. Egli spiega con esattezza filologica il nome di Tamerlano, turco-persiano *Timur-e lang*. Al nome di Thomor «id est ferrum», egli precisa, «Persi addebant Lench id est claudus, & sic Thomor Lench, quod Tomor Claudus repraesentant in lingua illorum».[14]

Mignanelli diede anche un saggio di trascrizione di frasi arabe in scrittura latina, dove è evidente il riflesso di una pronuncia viva di tipo egiziano. Il brano

[13] Josef AUMER, *Die arabischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staats-bibliothek in Muenchen*, München 1866, p. 419. n. 920, Cod. *Or. 100;* Felix PERLES, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebräischen und aramäischen Studien in Deutschland*, München 1884, p. 179; Hartmut BOBZIN, Agostino Giustiniani (1470–1536) und seine Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Arabistik, in W. Diem u. A. Falaturi (eds), *XXIV. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 26. bis 30. September 1988 in Köln Ausgewählte Vorträge*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner, 1990, pp. 131–139.

[14] *Gesta thomorlengh*, S. B. C. I., Ms. *X.VI.2*, f. 37v; cf. JORGA p. 539.

occorre in *Ascensus Barcoch*, altra sua opera, a proposito di un polemico scambio di lettere fra Barqūq sultano mamelucco d'Egitto (1382–1399) e Tamerlano. «The Latin transliteration of the Arabic words by the author is so blurred and illegible that a correct and exact rendering can hardly be reconstructed. We omit, therefore, these few lines».[15] Invece, nonostante la forma dell'edizione a stampa sia da ricontrollare sul testo manoscritto, la trascrizione è in sostanza ben riconoscibile. Inseriamo, dopo quella dell'autore, la nostra trascrizione fra parentesi quadre.

«Videns tunc Thomorlengh se nichil proficere, quamdam parvam epistolam hostilem Soldano deliberat sub hiis verbis jactantie destinare, — in arabico videlicet: "Carrabne el biled chesefene olbenet estriterne elleibed doa alme me testegeb .u. ascorne me lu aded elle metel negum el seme" [*kharabnā al-bilād khasafnā al-banāt ista'sarnā al-ʿibād duʿāt ʿalaynā mā tastawjabu wa ʿaskarunā mā lahu ʿadad illā mithla nujūm al-samā''*]; quorum quidem verborum summa sic in latino representat, videlice: "destruximus civitates, puellas defloravimus, homines captivavimus, et deprecatio contra nos non exauditur, et genti nostre non est numerus, nisi ad instar stellarum celi". Cui Soldanus sub his verbis respondit, quod videlicet: "el lidi iocol dadu el male adul me isalah l salutim elle lasciatin. v. el nassar me hi bel chetete elle bearadat elleh" *[ā lā'idhī yaḥūl ʿaduww al-malik ʿudūl mā is'ala al-ṣalaṭīn illā al-shayaṭīn wa al-naṣr mā hiya bi'l-kathrat illā bi-irādat Allāh]*. Que hoc important, quod dicit: "Vilis inimicus, non convenit regibus, quin procius demonibus, et in multitudine non consistit victoria, sed in voluntate Dei."»

4. Relationes Senenses

Il Concilio di Firenze ebbe ampie conseguenze per gli orientamenti culturali dell'umanesimo italiano. La funzione svolta durante tale Concilio da Mignanelli come consigliere e interprete per l'arabo della delegazione copto-egiziana, forse anche di quella etiopica, ebbe particolare importanza. Il fondo più antico di codici orientali conservato nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana è costituito da circa 60 manoscritti copti, copto-arabi, e arabo-islamici. Tale fondo fu ritenuto da Levi Della Vida come proveniente da un apporto della delegazione copta che partecipò al Concilio di Firenze. L'identità dell'interprete per l'arabo intervenuto a tale Concilio, cioè la persona di Beltramo Mignanelli, restò tuttavia ignota a Levi Della Vida e a Enrico Cerulli.[16]

[15] FISCHEL, A Latin biography, p. 168 n. 3.

[16] Giorgio LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano 1939 ("Studi e Testi" 92), pp. 82–88; Jeanne BIGNAMI ODIER, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI. Recherches sur l'histoire des collections des manuscrits* avec la collaboration de José Ruysschaert, Città del Vaticano 1973 ("Studi e Testi" 272), pp. 4–5; Stephan ROMAN, *The Development of Islamic Library Collections in Western Europe and North America*, London–New York, Mansell, 1990, pp. 145–146.

Beltramo non fu in relazione soltanto con diversi papi, cardinali, principi e umanisti. Egli conobbe di persona il sultano mamelucco Barqūq. Secondo W. J. Fischel, il viaggiatore senese avrebbe potuto conoscere Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406). Il grande storico tunisino viveva in Egitto (dal 1384) quando vi viaggiò Mignanelli, che mostra di avere avuto accesso a fonti documentali cancelleresche arabe. Nel 1400 Ibn Khaldūn si trovava in Damasco durante la sua conquista e il sacco operati da Tamerlano.[17] Non è esclusa l'ipotesi che Mignanelli abbia potuto conoscere Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, il biografo persiano di Tamerlano. Dopo un periodo di prigionia presso i mamelucchi ad Aleppo, Shāmī fu presente alla coeva presa di tale città siriana, e quindi (1402) ricevette da Tamerlano la committenza di scrivere le sue gesta.[18] Mignanelli era in Damasco quando Barqūq s'incontrò con Tamerlano sotto le mura di Aleppo (1394) e vi tornò quando la capitale siriana, distrutta, fu abbandonata dal conquistatore turco (1402).

In Costanza (Konstanz, 1416) Mignanelli redasse due scritti riguardanti le imprese di Barqūq e Tamerlano. La prima di queste due biografie è stata giudicata da N. Jorga «très étendue et circonstanciée et on peut dire que sur la vie d'aucun des Soudans on ne possède une source européenne de cette valeur et de cette exactitude». La seconda biografia è stata giudicata da W. J. Fischel «accurate and most reliable in most of his basic facts». Tale relazione «constitutes a unique contribution to our knowledge of Tamerlane's personality and his activity in Damascus», e parimenti «the earliest and most detailed Latin European source which has been preserved».

L'erudito e storico Sigismondo Tizio (Sigismundus Ticianus, 1458–1528), nativo di Castiglione Fiorentino, studente nell'università di Siena, fu anche allievo di Cristoforo Caliciani, maestro di astrologia (m. 1521, a 103 anni), certo conosciuto da Mignanelli. Appassionato di astrologia e studioso di storia, Tizio compì ricerche nelle biblioteche senesi del Capitolo del Duomo e del convento dell'Osservanza, e nell'Archivio del Governo, costituito in Siena il 1485. Egli fu autore di varie opere. Sono inedite le *Historiae Senenses*, i cui manoscritti autografi si conservano nella collezione Chigi, l'illustre famiglia senese. Mignanelli è citato più volte nelle *Historiae Senenses*, dove si trova anche incorporato il suo scritto su Tamberlano. Si considerano perdute altre due opere di Tizio: storia del Concilio di Costanza e la *Historia Barbarica*, forse dedicata a Emanuele re di Portogallo, concernente la storia dei conquistatori musulmani, da Maometto fino alle guerre fra Ottomani e Safavidi e alla conquista turca dell'Egitto, le crociate, le esplorazioni geografiche e le navigazioni dei Portoghesi.[19] E' probabile che in questi due libri Tizio abbia avuto come fonte altri scritti di Mignanelli.

[17] IBN KHALDÛN, *Le Voyage d'Occident et d'Orient. Autobiographie,* trad. par Abdesselam Cheddadie, Paris, Sindbad, 1980.

[18] Niẓāmuddīn Šāmī, *Histoire des conquêtes de Tamerlan intitulée Ẓafarnāma*, éd. par Felix TAUER, Praha, Oriental Institute, 1937–1956, II, p. 13.

[19] Paolo PICCOLOMINI, *La vita e l'opera di Sigismondo Tizio (1458–1528)*, Siena Tipografia di S. Lazzeri, 1903, pp. 36, 133–134, 143–144, 149, 163–164.

xm a Dñe qs hitabit i tabernaclo tuo
b dñe qs pegnabit intentorio tuo
c o dñe qs hitabit i hitaclo tuo

يا رب من يسكن في مسكنك

a Qr nō egit dolum in lingua sua
b qui nō facilis ē i lingua sua
c loquēs uerū i corde suo

المتكلم بالحق في قلبه

a Nō accepit munā adusus pssimos suos
b Obprbrium nō substinuit super vicino suo
c Qr nō acceptat munā sup uicinos suos

الذي لم يقبل رشوه على جيرانه

xb Confua me
a Qm bonoꝝ meoꝝ nō eges
b Qm nō ē bonū m̄ sine te
c Et bona mā ate sūt

وخيراتي منك هي

xb a Multiplicate sūt infirmitates eoꝝ postea acceruauerūt
b Multiplicabūt ydola eoꝝ post tergum sequetium
c Multiplicate sūt infirmitates eoꝝ et post pdcā ɔsternoti s.

كثرت امراضهم وبعد ذلك اسرعوا

a Nō ɔgregabo ɔuēticla eoꝝ d' sanguinibus
b nō licabo libamiā eoꝝ de sanguinibus
c nō agregabo ɔgregationes eoꝝ de sāg

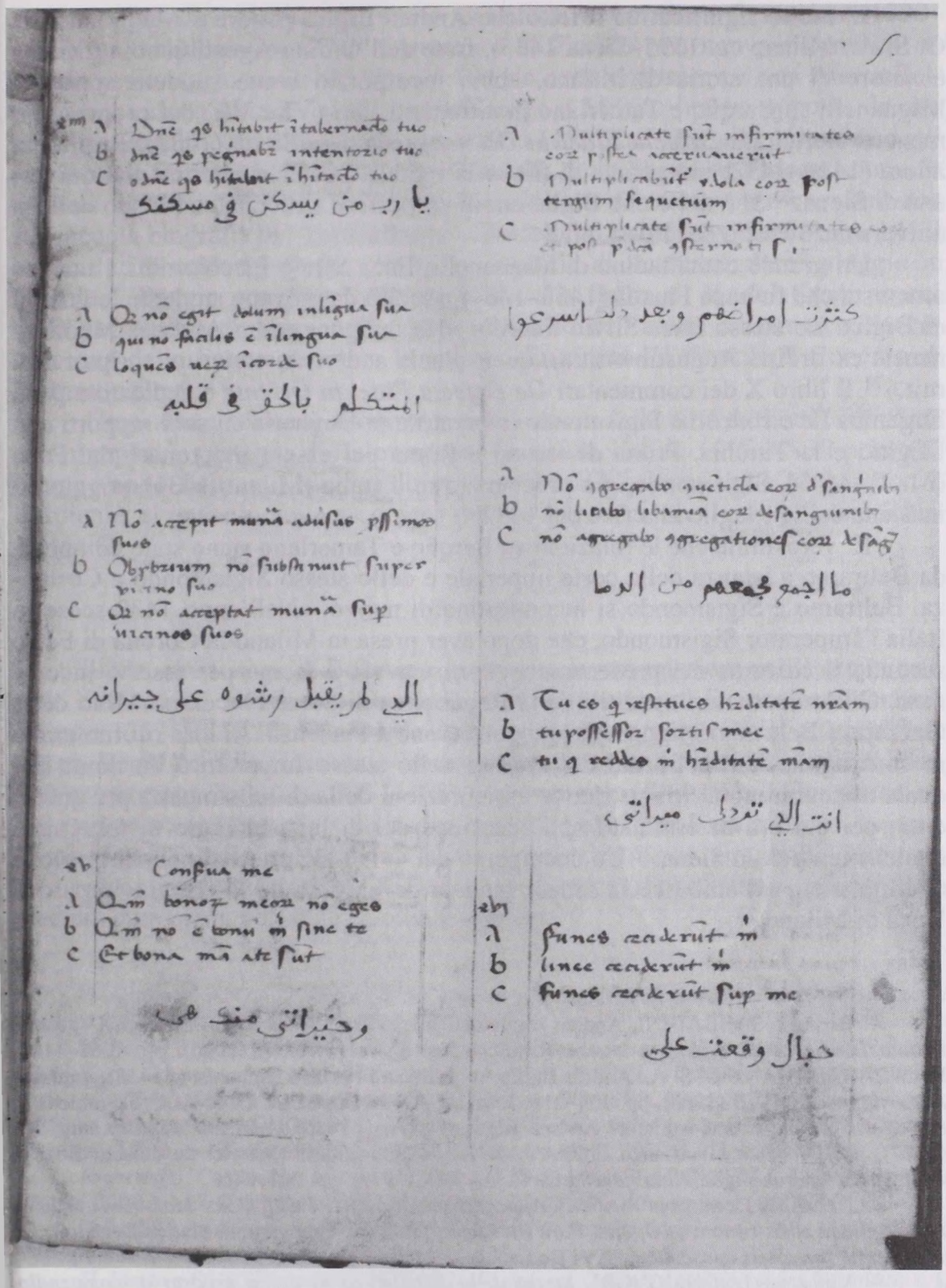
ما اجمع مجمعهم من الدما

a Tu es q restitues hrditatē nrām
b tu possessor sortis mee
c tu q reddes m̄ hrditatē mām

انت الذي تردلي ميراثي

xbi a Funes ceciderūt m̄
b linee ceciderūt m̄
c funes ceciderūt sup me

حبال وقعت علي



E' molto significativo il fatto che Andrea Biglia (Andreas Mediolanensis O. S. A., Milano ca. 1395–Siena 1435), frate dell'Ordine Agostiniano, umanista e autore di una storia di Milano, abbia incorporato i due suddetti scritti di Mignanelli su Barqūq e Tamerlano in altrettanti libri (VI e VII) dei propri commentari storici *De Defectu Fidei in Oriente*, redatti in Siena (1432). Biglia era allora (1429–1432) insegnante di filosofia morale, poesia e retorica nell'università di Siena.[20] Si è detto che Biglia era in rapporti di amicizia con il suo collega universitario Pietro de' Rossi, cf. § 2.

Un grande concittadino di Mignanelli, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, l'insigne umanista che fu papa Pius II (1458–1464), ascoltò da giovane studente le lezioni di Biglia. Lo stesso Enea Silvio ricordò: «Ho tempore etiam Andreas Mediolanensis ex ordine Augustinensium, quem Senis audivi, historiarum scriptor floruit.»[21] Il libro X dei commentari *De Defectu Fidei in Oriente* è dedicato a papa Eugenius IV e concerne Sigismondo imperatore di Ungheria e i suoi rapporti con l'Egitto e la Turchia. Prima di recarsi a Roma per essere incoronato dal Papa (31. V. 1433), Sigismondo, già proclamato re d'Italia (Milano 1431), soggiornò in Siena dall'11 luglio alla fine del 1432.

E' verosimile che le relazioni su Barqūq e Tamerlano siano state composte da Beltramo a istanza della corte imperiale e dello stesso Sigismondo a Costanza. Beltramo e Sigismondo si incontrarono di nuovo. «Nell'anno 1432 scese in Italia l'Imperator Sigismondo, che dopo aver presa in Milano la Corona di Ferro secondo il costume dei predecessori suoi, si avviò a Roma per esservi incoronato. Gl'Ambasciatori speditili dalla Repubblica di Siena che erano Mino della Gazzaja, e Beltramo Mignanelli lo incontrarono a Piacenza. Al loro ritorno erano in compagnia di due Baroni del seguito dello stesso Imperatore, in nome del quale assicurarono al Magistrato le assicurazioni della di lui simpatia per questa città, per cui era determinato nell'occasione del di lui passaggio di trattenersi qualche tempo» in Siena.[22] Un documento del 4. I. 1432 attesta la partecipazione di Mignanelli all'ambasceria senese guidata da «Memo de la Gazaia» presso il Duca di Milano.[23]

[20] Remigio SABBADINI, Andrea Biglia (Milanese) Frate Agostiniano del sec. XV, *Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e lettere. Rendiconti*, s. II, vol. XXXIX (1906), pp. 1087–1102; Rudolf ARBESMANN O. S. A., Andrea Biglia Augustinian Friar and Humanist († 1435), *Analecta Augustiniana*, XXVIII (1965), pp. 154–218; Joseph C. SCHNAUBELT O. S. A., Prolegomena to the edition of the extant works of Andrea Biglia, O.S.A. († 1435), *Analecta Augustiniana*, XL (1977), pp. 141–184; Gianfranco FIORAVANTI, I «Commentarii Historici de defectu fidei et orientis» di Andrea Biglia, *Rinascimento*, s. II, vol. XIX (1979), pp. 241–246.

[21] [Johannes Dominicus MANSI], *Appendix ad Orationes Pii II. Pont. Max. Aeneae Silvii nunc primum edita continens Operis, Pars III*, Lucae 1769, Ex Typographia Mariae Benedini, *De viris aetate sua claris opusculum*, "XVI De Leonardo Aretino", p. 171.

[22] Vincenzo BUONSIGNORI, *Storia della Repubblica di Siena esposta in compendio*, Siena, Tipografia di G. Landi, 1856, II, p. 16.

[23] *Gli atti cancellereschi viscontei. Parte seconda. Carteggio extra dominium*, Milano, Palazzo del Senato, 1929 ("Inventari e regesti del R. Archivio di Stato di Milano", vol. II, parte II), doc. num. 457, p. 69.

Poggio Bracciolini, segretario pontificio e umanista fiorentino (1380–1459), partecipò ai Concili di Costanza e di Firenze, ma non parla mai di un grande personaggio quale Mignanelli. Poggio certo conosceva e non amava Beltramo, in quanto senese. In età coeva Firenze e Milano furono opposte da due conflitti. Poggio contribuì con un suo scritto (15. IX. 1438) alla polemica degli intellettuali fiorentini che esaltavano lo spirito della libertà di Firenze contro la tirannia di Milano.[24] Nella sua opera *De varietate fortunae*, oltre che dare una sua piccola biografia di "Tambellanus", Bracciolini pubblicò (liber IV, ca. 1447) a nome di Nicolò dei Conti veneto le memorie di un "esemplare" viaggio in Oriente.[25] Poggio potrebbe avere attribuito alla figura di N. de' Conti aspetti della personalità di Mignanelli, quali lo studio dell'arabo a Damasco, la conoscenza della lingua persiana, la visita a Eugenius IV durante il Concilio di Firenze, e altro.

Negli *Annali Sanesi*, anonima cronaca coeva della città di Siena, si ricorda con orgoglio la partenza di Beltramo per Costanza, l'anno 1415: «A dì primo di Maggio andò Beltramo Mignanelli al Concilio di Costanza nella Magna con il Cardinale, el quale lo volle seco per i diversi linguaggi, che haveva, come Interprete.»[26]

5. Buda

Il cardinale, al cui sèguito Beltramo fu durante le sue missioni nell'Europa centrale e orientale, era Ioannes Dominici O. P. (Giovanni di Domenico Banchini, Firenze 1357–Buda 10. VI. 1419). Egli, che fu anche maestro del celebre frate pittore Beato Angelico, era stato creato Archiepiscopus Ragusinus e quindi card. S. Sixti da papa Gregorius XII (1408). «Indicta enim Sigismundi Hungariae regis tum etiam imperatoris solicitudine synodo Constantiae ad mensem novembrem MCCCCXIIII celebranda, legatos suos destinavit Gregorius Joannem nostri Dominici cardinalem & Joannem Constantinopolitanum patriarcham electum cum plena potestate ea omnia agendi».[27]

[24] Antonio LANZA, *Firenze contro Milano. Gli intellettuali fiorentini nelle guerre con i Visconti (1390–1440)*, Roma, De Rubeis, 1991, pp. 153–154.

[25] *Poggii Bracciolini Florentini Historiae de Varietate fortunae libri quatuor ex Ms. codice bibliothecae Ottobonianae*, nunc primum editi, & notis illustrati a Dominico Georgio. Lutetiae Parisiorum, Typis Antonii Urbani Coustelier, 1723; Ernst WALSER, *Poggius Florentinus*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1914; Mario LONGHENA (ed.), *Viaggi in Persia, India e Giava di Nicolò de' Conti, Girolamo Adorno e Girolamo di Santo Stefano*, Milano, Alpes, 1929; L. D. HAMMOND, *Travelers by Bracciolini*, Cambridge, Mass., 1963; Renata CUSMAI BELARDINELLI, Discorso sopra il viaggio di Nicolò Di Conti Veneziano, *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia*, LIII (1985), pp. 155–170.

[26] Ludovicus Antonius MURATORIUS, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, t. XII, Medionali, ex Typographia Societatis Palatinae, 1731, colonna 425.

[27] Jacobus QUETIF–Jacobus ECHARD, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Recensiti*, t. I, Lutetiae Parisiorum, I. B. C. Ballard–N. Simart, 1719, pp. 768–770. Cf. Lorenzo CARDELLA, *Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa*, Roma, Stamperia Pagliarini, t. II, 1793, pp. 336–339; Raymond CREYTENS, L'obligation des constitutions dominicaines d'après le Bx. Jean Dominici O.P., *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXIII (1953), pp. 195–235; Thomas

Quindi Ioannes Dominici fu da papa Martinus V (1417) «ad instantiam Sigismundis Caesaris, Legatus à latere destinatus in Hungariam, & Bohemiam». In Buda il cardinale *Ioannes Dominici* concluse la sua missione ed esistenza, morendo il 10. VI. 1419. Lì egli fu anche sepolto, come dice il suo primo biografo: «Ecce autem hic uester Antistes apud Budam in Sancti Pauli primi heremitae iacet summa gloria et honore sepultus, et quem sui uisi sunt non magni fecisse dum uiueret, Hungariae regnum ingenti et singulari honore prosequitur. Sed diuina sapientia omnia certe probe suauiterque disponit.»[28]

Il sepolcro di Ioannes Dominici nella chiesa budense di S. Paolo fu disperso l'anno 1541.

6. Bibliografia

Segue la lista delle opere di Beltramo Mignanelli.

Abbreviazioni: B. A. V. = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; S. B. C. I. = Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati.

I. *Lettera* da Costanza (15. I. 1416) alla Repubblica di Siena: S. B. C. I., Ms. *A. VIII. 56*, ff. 42v–43. Cf. Gino GAROSI, *Inventario dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale di Siena*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, Giunta Regionale Toscana, vol. II, p. 308, n° 335.

II. *Gesta Thomorlengh* (Costanza 1416).

A. *Gesta Impiissimi Viri nomine thomorlengh in partibus sirie et turchie:* S. B. C. I., Ms. *X. VI. 2*, ff. 31–38v. Codice datato Siena 1446, cf. *infra*, VI. Edizione con il titolo *Vita Tamerlani* in Stephani Baluzii [Etienne BALUZE] Tutelensis, *Miscellanea novo ordine digesta* [...] *aucta opera ac studio* J. D. MANSI Archiepiscopi Luchensis, *Tomus IV & Ultimus*, Lucae, Apud Vincentium Junctinium sumptibus Joannis Riccomini, 1764, pp.134–141.

B. *Gesta impiissimi viri nomine Thomerlengh*: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. *Lat. 557a*, ff. 46–65.

Cf. Petri LAMBECII [Peter LAMBECK] Hamburgensis, *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi. Liber Secundus*. Editio altera Adami Francisci Kollarii, Vindobonae, Typis et Sumptibus Joan. Thomae Nob., de Trattnern, 1769, pp. 914–915: n°CCCXCI, Hist. Prof. 686.3; inoltre 686.4 "Comparatio Sectarum Machometanae & Judaicae". 5. "Libellus de sex aetatibus Mundi", cf. anche S. B. C. I., Ms. *X. V. 12*, ff. 37v–38v.

Traduzione inglese e commento: Walter J. FISCHEL, A new Latin Source on Tamerlan's Conquest of Damascus (1400–1401) (B. de Mignanelli's 'Vita Tamerlani' 1416) Translated into English with an Introduction and a Commentary, *Oriens*, Leiden, 9 (1956), pp. 201–232.

KAEPPELI O. P., *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. II G–I, Romae ad S. Sabinae 1975, pp. 406–413; G. CRACCO, Banchini, Giovanni Domenico, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 5, Roma 1963, pp. 657–664.

[28] *Ioannes Dominici Cardinalis Ro. Ecclesiae Vita per Ioan. CAROLI Florentinum Ordinis Praedicatorum virum clarissimum edita*, in Leandro ALBERTI, *De Viris Illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum libri sex in unum congesti*, Bononiae, in aedibus Hieronymi Platonis icuis Bononiensis expensis Io. Baptistae Lapi, 4. III. 1517, Liber Tertius, ff. 70–82 (Mii–Oii): f. 82. Cf. Ludovicus DONI d'ATTICHY, *Flores Historiae Sacri Collegii S. R. E. Cardinalium*, t. II, Lutetiae Parisiorum, Sumptibus Sebastiani Cramoisy, 1660, pp. 18–38: 38. *Buda Sacra sub priscis regibus Autore P. XYSTO SCHIER eremita augustiniano Opus posthumum.* Viennae, Typis Josephi Kurzböck, 1774, p. 53.

C. *Gesta impiissimi uiri nomine Tomorlench*: Koebenhavn, Kongelige Bibliothek, Ms. *Gl. kgl. S. 472 fol.*, ff. 103–108, *additamentum* a Jo. Boccacius, *De casibus virorum illustrium*, XV secolo.

Cf. P. HÖGBERG, Les manuscrits italiens de Copenhague, *Etudes Italiennes*, Paris, E. Leroux, 2e année, pp. 167–169; Ellen JOERGENSEN, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Medii Aevii Bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis*, Hafniae 1926, in aedibus Gyldendalianis, p. 377; Paul Oskar KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum*, vol. III, London, The Warburg Institute — Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1983, p. 175 colonna a.

D. *De Tumberlano*: B. A. V. Ms. *Vat. Lat. 9374*, vol. II, ff. 362–382v. Il Ms. è un'importante miscellanea di materia coranica e islamica in lingua latina. Codice autografo di Sigismondo Tizio: f. 272 «Copiatus per me Sigismondum Ticianum», Siena, 26. III. 1515. Cf. *infra*, F.

E. [*De Thomor*], rielaborazione di Andrea BIGLIA, Siena 15. VI. 1432: *Commentariorum Historicorum Andreae Billii Mediolanensis Fr. Eremitae Augustiniani De Defectu Fidei in Oriente. Liber Septimus* «Ad generosum uirum Antonium Pisarum» dicatum: B. A. V. Ms. *Vat. Lat. 5298*, ff. 101–108. «Quae mihi ante paucos dies Beltramus Senensis homo honesti ordinis próque ea Urbe nobilis, probè memor recensuit, quippe eo ferè tempore pro eodem Mediolanensium duce Galeatii in Asiam negotium restituendi sepulchri egerat» (f. 101v, linee 4–6). Altro esemplare in Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. *1136, Fr. Andreas Mediol. Comentarii Historici*, ff. 45–58.

F. [*De Thomorlents*], rielaborazione di Sigismondo TIZIO, *Historiae Senenses*, Siena ca. 1485–1515: B. A. V. Ms. *Chigi G. I. 33*, vol. III, ff. 454–471. Mignanelli è definito «mercator» e «latina graeca hebraica arabica lingua ornato» f. 454.

In vol. IV, Ms. *Chigi G. I. 34*: f. 97 Mignanelli «vir plurium linguarum atque sermonum peritissime» parte per il Concilio di Costanza, maggio 1415; f. 136 Sigismundus imperatore di Ungheria in visita a Siena, luglio 1432; ff. 207v–208 «Johannes Antonius Mercator Venetus Beltramo mignanellio ciui senensi», lettera sulla situazione di Costantinopoli e l'attacco turco, aprile 1453. In vol. X, Addenda, Ms. *Chigi G. II. 40* f. 120r–v «Tamberlanus».

III. *De Barcocho* (Costanza 1416).

A. *Ascensus Barcoch*: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. *Lat. 557a*, ff. 10–45v.

Cf. LAMBECK n° CCCXCI, Hist. Prof. 686.2.

Edizione e commento: N. JORGA, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'Histoire des Croisades au XVe siècle. Seconde série*, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1899, pp. 529–542. Cf. Girolamo GOLUBOVICH, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano*, vol. V, Firenze, Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1927, pp. 269, 301–304.

Traduzione inglese e commento: Walter J. FISCHEL, Ascensus Barcoch. A Latin biography of the Mamlūk Sultan Barqūq of Egypt (d. 1399) written by De Mignanelli in 1416, *Arabica. Revue d'Etudes Arabes*, VII (1959), pp. 57–74, 152–172.

B. *De Barcoco Soldano Aegypti*, rielaborazione di Andrea BIGLIA (Siena 15. VI. 1432): *Commentariorum Historicorum Andreae Billii Mediolanensis Fr. Eremitae Augustiniani De Defectu Fidei in Oriente. Liber Sextus* «Ad exc. virum Gasparem Sklig, consiliarum ac cancellarium» (probabilmente Gaspar Schlik 'scriba Imperii') dicatum: B. A. V., Ms. *Vat. Lat. 5298*, ff. 95–101. «Ubi fermè haud parum adiutus sum, relatione hominis Senensis, Beltrami certè honesti uiri, et qui fuit in orbe illo pro vicecomite Joanne[29], huius Philippi patre,

[29] Gian Galeazzo Visconti duca di Milano (1395–1402). Mignanelli tradusse in arabo una sua lettera, recata dall'ambasciatore milanese Giacomo della Croce al Sultano di Egitto, e richiedente il permesso di restaurare la Basilica di Betlemme e la protezione dei frati di Monte Sion in Gerusalemme (1394). Cf. *Ascensus Barcoch* ed. JORGA p. 530. Filippo Maria Visconti, figlio di Gian Galeazzo, fu duca di Milano dal 1412 al 1447.

ac Mediolanensium duce, gerens negotia hisce rebus pene interfuit» f. 95v, linee 29–31. Altro esemplare in Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. 1136, ff. 31v–44v.

IV. *Informacio Beltrami de Mignanellis de Senis contra infideles* (Siena 1442–24. V. 1443): B. A. V., Ms. *Vat. Lat. 10688*, ff. 195–199.

Edizione (con alcune mende di stampa) e commento: *Conciclium Florentinum Documenta et Scriptores*, series A, vol. III, fasc. II, *Fragmenta protocolli, diaria privata, Sermones*, edidit Georgius HOFMANN S. I., Romae, Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1951, "Sermones III. 6", pp. XL–XLII, 81–87.

V. *Libellus* (Siena 1443): S. B. C. I. Ms. *X. VI. 2*, ff. 1–30v.

Codice pergamenaceo, cm 22x16, ff. (II) 38 (II); scrittura latina di tipo gotico e araba di tipo *naskh*; due parole in scrittura ebraica a f. 38v. *Incipit* f. 1 «In nomine patris et filij et spiritus sancti. Amen. [rubrica:] Nota quod ubi est A. est ut habetur in psalterio ecclesie. Et ubi est B. est psalterium sancti Jeronimi. Et ubi est C ut habetur in Arabico repertum est Psalterium christianos ultramarinos quod tamen credo esse secundum Graecus»; f. 30v «Explicit libellus iste. Anno Domini MCCCCXLIII. Editus per me beltramum quondam leonardj mignanellis Senensem Alumpnum. Senis tempore quo Eugenius. IIII. In ipsa ciuitate cum sua curia residebat deo laudes. Amen.». *Colophon* f. 38v: «Haec omnia exemplavj et scripsi Ego antonii dominici presbiter tempore Domini Johannis de burgensis operarij ecclesiae maioris anno MCCCCXLVI.» Cf. *supra*, II. A.

Edizione dell'introduzione (ff. 1–2) con il titolo *Libellus de variantibus Psalterii Davidici Hebraei et Arabici cum Vulgata collati Specimen* in BALUZE e MANSI, pp. 131–134.

VI. *De Macometto*: B. A. V., Ms. *Vat. Lat. 9374*, vol. II, ff. 167–169. Cf. *supra*, II D.

VII. Firma autografa di lettura in B. A. V., Ms. *Ottob. Lat. 1826*, f. 86r colonna b: *Radices ad annos domini nostri Jhesu Christi 1420 completos ad meridianum Ciuitatis Senarum. per me Beltramum examinate*. Cf. Lynn THORNDIKE, More dates for the late Medieval astronomy from some Vatican Manuscripts, in *Homenaje a Millàs Vallicrosa*, Barcelona, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1956, II, pp. 467–470: 469 «Beltram...», non identificato. Il codice membranaceo *Ottob. Lat. 1826* è un'importante miscellanea di materia astronomica, cf. Francis J. CARMODY, *Arabic astronomical and astrological sciences in Latin translation. A critical bibliography*, Berkeley–Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1956, pp. 157–158. Tale codice deve essere stato in possesso di Mignanelli. Pare di sua mano anche il nome d'autore «Zarchelis» al-Zarqālī aggiunto sopra il termine *Canones* nel titolo del primo testo manoscritto *Canones per tabulas astronomie translati a Gerardo Cremonensi*, f. 1.

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A PERSIAN HOUSE OF STUDY, A KING'S SECRETARY: IRANO-ARAMAIC NOTES

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The late Zsigmond Telegdi made his academic debut by a very important contribution to the field of Iranian loanwords in Aramaic.[1] Beside the notes that Bernhard Geiger composed for the Hebrew-language *Additamenta ad Aruch Completum*, edited by Samuel Krauss, this is the most substantial treatment of the range of Iranian material in Middle Aramaic.[2] It is sad to note that since the 1930's not very much has been done by way of a comprehensive treatment of the field, although much material has accumulated on the interpretation of individual words and their provenance. I hope that the following notes will be a tribute worthy of Professor Telegdi's memory. They deal with a group of words, arranged alphabetically, and are meant to be followed by another set of notes.[3]

בי אבידן, אבידן (Bavli Šabbat 116a) is an old crux. It has been defined as follows: "a meeting place, a gathering for idolatrous purposes and performances connected with idolatrous feasts which the Jews, under Hadrian, were forced to attend; transf. meeting place of early Christians where religious controversies used to be held". This is Jastrow's[4] definition, and it is based on the assumption that the word is of Palestinian provenience, and is derived from the Aramaic root **ABD**. Jastrow follows Rashi, who explained the word as denoting "a place where idolaters conduct disputes".[5] It occurs in connection with another mysterious term, בי נצרופי. Ginzberg (1917:330) believes **'bydn** to be a proper name, and the whole expression to designate a particular house, later generalized.[6] Krauss (1922:31) believes that this reflects *bē mōbadān*, disfigured for

[1] This paper was written during the year 1994/5, which I spent at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences at Wassenaar. I thank the NIAS staff for their help. Some bibliographical shortcomings are due to the fact that I did not have access to my own library when I was working on this paper.

[2] Telegdi 1933; 1935. Krauss 1937.

[3] Some of these notes were inspired by a list of Iranian loan-words in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic prepared by Professor Michael Sokoloff for the purpose of his forthcoming dictionary which he kindly put at my disposal.

[4] Jastrow 1903:5, s.v. **'bydn**

[5] Cf. a short discussion and references in Beer 1986:535 n. 54.

[6] See also Ginzberg 1902.

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abuse into *abidan*, a very unlikely hypothesis. Geiger (in Krauss 1937:84) assumes this word to be of Aramaic extraction.

The word occurs in the context of a discussion concerning the mode of treating holy books on the Sabbath. The question to be decided was whether one should save them from fire or not, and the ruling was that one should. The discussion that follows in the Talmud is important for understanding the meaning of the word, and I shall try to present it in a somewhat detailed summary:[7]

> Should one save blank sheets of a Torah scroll from fire? This is one question discussed, and the prevalent opinion seems to be against saving them. Books of *minim*[8] are condemned not to be saved from the fire. At this stage the following question is raised: "Should one save the books of **by 'bydn**?" The reply is [significantly] indecisive: "Yes and no; there is a wavering in his attitude".[9]
>
> Rav [Babylonian Amora, 3rd century] was not in the habit of going (even) to **by 'bydn**, and he avoided **by nṣrwpy** so much more.
>
> Samuel [Babylonian Amora, 3rd century] would not go to **by nṣrwpy**, but would go to **by 'bydn**.
>
> They[10] said to Rava [Babylonian Amora, d. 352]: "Why did you not come to **by 'bydn**?" He said to them: "There is that palm-tree on the way, which makes it difficult for me". [They said:] "We shall tear it out". "The place where it stands is difficult for me", [he replied].[11] Mar bar Joseph said: "I am one of them, and have no fear of them".[12] (And yet, when he) once went there, they were about to cause him harm.[13]
>
> R. Meir [Palestinian, 2nd century] called it[14] *awen gilyon*.[15] R. Yoḥanan [Palestinian, c. 180–279] called it *'awon gilyon*.[16]

In a variant on the story in which Rava uses a series of evasive replies to the question why he was not going to the **by 'bydn**, we have (in Bavli Šabbat 152a) an unnamed king (designated **qysr**) say to R. Joshua son of Ḥananiah [Palestinian, 1st–2nd century]: "Why did you not come to **by 'bydn**?", and the latter replied by a poetic allusion: "[I am] a snowy mountain, surrounded by ice.

7 The text is in Bavli Šabbat 116a.

8 Heretics; sometimes — but by no means always — specifically Christians.

9 In the original: אין ולא ורפיא בידיה.

10 This expression is left unspecified.

11 This is explained by Rashi, the foremost medieval commentator, as follows: "The hole left by the tree would be difficult for me [to go through]".

12 This is understood by the commentators to mean that he was on friendly terms with the people who regularly attended **by 'bydn**.

13 It is not specified what kind of harm, physical or, what seems more likely, moral.

14 The New Testament is evidently meant here, although the transition is rather abrupt.

15 i.e., a sheet of iniquity, an obvious pun on εὐαγγέλιον.

16 i.e., a sheet of sin, another pun. The whole of the last passage was regularly omitted from printed editions of the Talmud at the demand of the Christian censorship.

Its dogs do not bark, its mills do not grind".[17] The sage here claims frailty due to old age; he is therefore incapable of attending **by 'bydn**.

It is clear from this rather detailed rendition of the passages that in the context where it occurs the term **by 'bydn** was regarded as referring to an establishment where rabbinical Jews could meet with other Jews who may have held suspect views in doctrinal matters. Some prominent rabbinical figures studiously avoided attending that place, although they did not (or could not) declare their aversion to this openly. That the views expressed in **by 'bydn** were sometimes those of Jewish sympathizers of Christianity is a possibility, but this is not an entirely safe conclusion. The explicit reference to the Christian Gospel at the end of the first passage quoted is surely the work of a later redactor, who understood the preceeding discussion in this sense. The appendix on the New Testament should be taken for what it is: an early implicit commentary on the text, which need not reflect the original sense of the passage.

The figures quoted in the main body of the tradition in Bavli Šabbat 116a seem to be all Babylonian sages of the Sasanian period. The parallel story in Bavli Šabbat 152a is set in Palestine, but may be explained as a later, legendary elaboration on the original Babylonian theme. The strong Babylonian connection of the term is enough to alert us to the possibility of an establishment that existed in Sasanian Babylonia, and that came into being perhaps under Persian influence.

The two obscure terms occurring in the passage, **by 'bydn** and **by nṣrwpy**, are arranged hierarchically: the first was more acceptable, though not to all rabbis, and the second was totally rejected at least by the Talmudic sages involved in the discussion. If there were rabbis who condoned the attendance of **by nṣrwpy**, they are not represented in the passage under question. The wavering over whether one should or should not save books preserved in **by 'bydn** suggests that this was a house where legitimate Jewish holy scriptures were kept, perhaps with others that were less so. The evasive replies of Rava and Joshua son of Ḥananiah for not attending **by 'bydn** clearly show that the cleavage between Jews of the Talmudic circle and those that attended **by 'bydn** was not decisive. Although they felt unable to compromise themselves by attending, they could not afford to condemn the place in outspoken terms. The place was not regarded as simply out of bounds for observant Jews, as Christian houses of worship were, at least at a later period, and some of the books preserved in them, being regular Jewish scriptures, were regarded as sacred enough to merit that the Sabbath rules be broken in order to save them.

The second and more reprehensible term, **by nṣrwpy**, has been thought to be derived from an old designation of Judaeo-Christians as Nazarenes.[18] As such

[17] In the original: טור תלג סחרוני גלידין כלבוהי לא נבחין טחנהי לא טוחנין. The metaphors allude to white hair, feeble voice and lack of teeth.

[18] Cf. e.g. Levy 1876, s.v.; Ginzberg 1934:22f. first made an attempt at explaining **by nṣrwpy** from Assyrian *naṣarpatu*, then he opted for Persian. His Persian explanation, the sense of which should be "Zuflucht der Hilflosigkeit", is not easy to make out due to a printer's error.

people may have been called in the early Sasanian inscriptions **n'cl'y** (although there is no unanimity among scholars as to the exact meaning of the term),[19] one may try to reconstruct a Parthian abstract form from it. This could take a form such as **nāṣrāyīft*, a form that, if it existed, would approximate in appearance the spelling that we have in **by nṣrwpy**. One should not dismiss the idea that a Parthian term might have survived into the Sasanian period to designate a house of study and worship of a Judaeo-Christian community. By the second century such communities might have been well established within the Arsacid kingdom. Parthian was of course a living language long after the fall of the Arsacid dynasty, and Parthian terms could be coined and gain currency well into Sasanian times, but such a Parthian term is probably a reflection of usage adopted in the Arsacid period.

by 'bydn is not likely to have been a Zoroastrian establishment. At the most it can be argued to have been a Jewish (or sectarian Jewish) house that was influenced by a non-Jewish model and may have borrowed its name from that model. What are the possibilities for connecting **by 'bydn** to an Iranian word? **'bydn** looks outwardly like a transcription of the Parthian *abyād* "memory" in the plural. This, howeer, does not yield an acceptable semantic association. A meaning such as "house of recollection", or "house of memoranda", i.e. an archive, can be dismissed as unconvincing.

I would rather like to propose, as long as a better solution cannot be found, the following reconstruction. **(by) 'bydn** initially represented an Iranian establishment where study of religious texts was conducted. The term may have been borrowed at one point by Jews, perhaps also by members of other groups, to denote a similar house for the study of religious texts of the group in question. The apparent fact that this place, when used by Jews, tended to be frequented not only by people who adhered wholeheartedly to rabbinical doctrines and practices, but also by some who held views unacceptable to the religious leaders, made the place suspect in the eyes of some of the sages, and the books kept there for study came to be regarded as questionable, for example as regards the question whether they should be saved from fire on the Sabbath: they were not unanimously considered as deserving to have the Sabbath desecrated on their account. Even the mere attendance of that house of study was viewed by some sages as undesirable. The state authorities were probably sympathetic to the exchange of ideas in these assemblies, or they may have been inclined to support the sectarians who attended the house in order to encourage a split within the Jewish community, for they seem to have exercised mild pressure on the leaders of the community to attend those meetings. The leaders, or some of them, re-

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Basing himself on a manuscript reading **nṣrpn**, he assumes that the Persian explanation contained the element *panāh* "shelter". For the first part he proposes *nā gari*, which I imagine is a mistake for New Persian *nizārī* "weakness, helplessness". This is unacceptable from the phonetic as well as from the semantic point of view.

[19] A short discussion, with references, in Shaked 1994:11f. n. 15.

sponded, as we have seen, not by outright refusal, but by inventing excuses, some of them quite transparent, in order to wriggle out of the dilemma.

The best possibility for reconstructing such an Iranian term seems to me to assume that **'bydn** is a reflection of **(a)beydān*, a development of the well-known word *baγdān* "temple; name of a deity". For the added *a-* at the beginning of the word we could compare Mandaic **abugdana**, which also carries an unetymological initial vowel.[20] The Iranian word *baγdān* originally denoted "temple". It developed to mean a specific divine being, the deity Baġdān, perhaps because that was the deity most closely associated with that temple. The name of the deity has not been preserved in the extant fragmentary Iranian literature of the Sasanian period, and is only attested in the Aramaic and Mandaic magical literature, where it is quite a prominent figure.[21]

The Aramaic term attested in the Talmud may conceivably preserve an echo of the Iranian use of this term to denote a temple. However, since this word was not used, as far as we can tell, in official Zoroastrian circles, it is not certain what kind of worship this house may have contained. In the Talmudic context at least, *bē abēdān* does not denote a centre of worship: a pagan place of worship would hardly fall within the grey area where one could waver over the question whether books or assemblies held there are legitimate or not, and such a term would be an unlikely candidate for borrowing by Jews. It is used in the Talmud for a place of (Jewish) religious discussion or instruction. In Zoroastrian terms this would be the equivalent of the *ērbadestān*, the house for priestly instruction.[22]

The form of the word *(a)beydān*, with its loss of the internal -g-, is Persian, as opposed to the Parthian form *baγdān*. It would however be rash to conclude from this anything about the possible period of the borrowing.

If this reconstruction is correct, we may gain an Iranian term that we should try to locate either in the extant sources of the period, or in sources that are yet to be uncovered.

אוארא means "a wall of bricks loosely arranged". Kohut (1926, I:1 s.v. **''r'**), suggested an impossible derivation from Persian. Geiger (in Krauss 1937:1) makes no positive suggestion. Kaufman (1972:28) proposed to derive this word from Akkadian *amāru* "a pile of bricks". Here we have a conflict of two equally possible etymologies. To my mind, the word can hardly be separated from New Persian *bāra* "wall".[23] The etymology of that word was given by Hübschmann (1895:22). He connected it to the element *vāra* in certain Avestan words, such as *pairivāra-*, *fravāra-*. The Aramaic word seems to provide a plausible Middle Persian antecedent to the New Persian word: **awwār*, probably from a form with an original preverb *awi* (Old Iranian *aβi*), or **āwār*, although if

[20] Compare also the remark on this subject on **'rzbd** below.

[21] See Shaked 1985 for a discussion of this word.

[22] It would seem clearly fanciful to propose that **'byd** could be a corruption of ***'rbyd**, ***'yrbd**, which would constitute possible transcriptions of *ērbed*.

[23] Cf. Browne 1894:445.

the form contained an initial long *ā-* it is unlikely that it would be omitted in New Persian.

אסתורא, איסתורא. The word is attested in the Targum and in the Babylonian Talmud in the sense of "ankle, footstep" (Jastrow). Geiger (in Krauss 1937:52) rejects various suggestions, without offering one of his own. The word should surely be connected to Middle and New Persian *astuxwān* "bone"; New Persian *ustuvī* "backbone". It is quite likely that a word meaning "ankle" should have been designated by a compound that literally meant "the bones' carrier", **ast-bara-*.

אפרייא means a cry of congratulation or praise. This is how the word looks like in Bavli Bava Meṣi'a 119a הבו ליה אפרייא לריש לקיש פי' חזק בלשון פרסי "give praise to Reš Laqiš, that is to say, bravo! in Persian" (thus Kohut 1926, I:238b). There are several variant readings of the word, among them אפרין, אפריון, which in themselves could reflect respectively the Middle Persian word *āfrīn* and the Parthian form of the same word *āfriwan*. Geiger (in Krauss 1937:59b f.) suggests as etymological connection for **'pry'** New Persian *afrāy* "praise" (which is only attested in dictionaries). We can certainly think of both forms: *āfrīn*, attested in Middle and New Persian in the sense of "praise; bravo!"; as well as **āfriy*, a variant of the present stem, without the final nasal. From the latter form, *āfriyā* would contain a final vocative enclitic *ā*.

ארזבד is a title of office in Syriac. An early discussion of the word, on the basis of its occurrence in Assemanus 1719/28, I:24 and the Armenian translation in Patkanian 1866:116, is in Nöldeke (1879:451 n. 3). Nöldeke translates the word "Würdenträger", although it would be better for his translation if the ending was *-bar*. Kmosko[24] and Brockelmann (1928:47b) regard the title **'rzbd** as denoting "praefectus arcis, castellanus, dominus arcis". This rendering is based on the — frankly impossible — assumption that the word is derived from *argbad*.[25] Rundgren (1973:68) explained the title as a corruption from *azārbed, hazārpat*.

One Christian martyr to whom this title is applied is a man whose name is given in Syriac as **gwhšt'zd**, a name that is interpreted in the text[26] as meaning **br ḥ'r' dmlkwt'**, which literally means "a freeman (i.e. a nobleman) of the kingdom". The name can indeed be explained, as Kmosko suggests, as reflecting Persian Wahišt-āzād. Its meaning should however be sought elsewhere than in a translation such as "the best nobleman". If this is the Middle Persian reading, the name should be rather explained as "a nobleman of Paradise". The Middle Persian word for Paradise, which gave rise to the New Persian *bihišt*, is *wahišt-axw*, Manichaean Middle Persian **whyšt'w**, literally "the best existence; the best world". A variant for this could conceivably be **wahišt-šahr* "the best king-

[24] In his edition of the martyrdom of Simon bar Ṣabbā'ē, Kmosko 1907:749, 781 n. 2.

[25] Concerning *argbed*, cf. Lagarde 1878:43; Nöldeke 1879a:5 n. 3; Margoliouth 1927:35a; Rundgren 1973:67–68; Szemerényi 1975:366-374. Gignoux 1980:191 joins the ranks of those who assume that *arzbed* is to be emended into *argbed*.

[26] Kmosko 1907:749f.

dom", a form which may indirectly be attested in the Manichaean tradition.[27] Wahišt-āzād can therefore be a shorthand form of "nobleman of the best existence/world/kingdom". The Syriac interpretation can be understood as referring to "nobleman of the <best> kingdom", the omission having occurred either as a result of a scribal error, an abbreviated translation, or the writer's deliberate effort to dissociate himself from Zoroastrian terminology.

This man was a very close servant to the king (Šāpūr II) — he is called **rb mhymn'**,[28] which may mean "chief eunuch", but which could possibly also denote chief of the servants in the court.[29] In another place he is referred to as a preceptor of the king.[30] Although he became Christian, he agreed at a given moment under pressure to profess reverence to the sun, and thus avoid martyrdom. Simon Bar-Ṣabbā'ē treated him with contempt for this behaviour, and he regretted it bitterly. Ultimately he declared his adherence to the Christian faith to the king and refused to make another compromise, and was duly martyred. When he was about to be killed, he sent a word to the king through one of the eunuchs, saying: "As you said, strong and upright was I in all your hidden secrets, and there was rectitude on my part to you and to your father. Now, fulfil this one request that I am asking of you: May a crier come forth and say aloud that Gwahištāzād who is being killed, this is not because he divulged the secrets of the kingdom, and that no other crime was found in him, but that he dies because he is a Christian and did not want to repudiate God".[31]

The incidental remarks about his position in the court and his function do not support the contention that he could be a governor, but rather that he was one of the king's courtiers, perhaps a king's confidant, or a king's secretary.

Another person to whom this title is applied is Mar Aba (540–552).[32] He was brought up on the knowledge of Persian literature,[33] and was appointed, partly because of that, to the dignity of **'rzbd**.[34] He served in this dignity in the service of a dignitary by the name of Khwadāybūd,[35] who was the scribe of the

[27] The designation of the Father of Greatness in Middle Persian Manichaeism is **whyšt'w šhry'r**, which could possibly be a reflection of Paradise as **whyšt'w šhr**, although this is very speculative.

[28] Kmosko 1907:834 line 1.

[29] The word for "eunuch" seems to have become a general word for servant; a similar phenomenon is attested with Arabic *ḵādim*. A similar observation seems to be true with regard to Middle Persian *šābestān*, e.g. in the *Ayādgār ī Wuzurgmihr*, which will be discussed by me separately elsewhere.

[30] Syriac **mrbyn' dmlk'**; Kmosko 1907:749, line 16. In the parallel version, Kmosko 1907:867, lines 3–5, he is called **br mrbynwhy ... dšbwr mlk'** "the son of the preceptor of King Shabur".

[31] Kmosko 1907:755. A similar request is in the parallel version of the story on pp. 878f.

[32] The text is in Bedjan 1895:206–274; the title occurs on pp. 210, 216.

[33] Cf. Pigulevskaja 1948:73–84.

[34] Pigulevskaja 1948:73 interprets this term by "the official who presents petitions", following Margoliouth 1927:35. A criticism of this interpretation is by Mancini 1986:170 and note 25.

[35] This name does not mean "Gott im Sinne habend" (Braun 1915:191) but "a lordly person", with the same suffix as in Mardbūd, etc.

official in charge of the royal accounts.[36] Having converted to Christianity under the initial impact of an encounter with a young man who declared himself, when questioned, to be both a Jew, a Christian and a worshipper of the Messiah — which probably set him as a member of a Judaeo-Christian group — he eventually left the service of the master for whom he worked. He then joined the Christian school of Nisibis, and became within a short period well versed in the scriptures. The overall impression of this man when he filled his function as a state official is certainly not of a person who wielded power as a governor, *argbed*; nor of one who might be designated by the vague title of "dignitary", if this is the meaning one would like to attribute to *arzbed*, but of one who held a position of trust that was based on knowledge of books, of reading and writing, in short: of one who belonged to the class of scribes.

The previous derivations of the word were rightly criticized by Mancini (1986). He notes that the people in question could hardly have been anything like a governor of a fortress or a prime-minister, and emphasizes that Gwahišt-āzād is described as a preceptor, and Mar Aba could also be conceived in a similar role. He suggests therefore that we have to do here with a reflection of the Middle Persian word for "education" or "good manners", *(h)andarz*. For the form he assumes that a compound containing this word was wrongly divided in Syriac. **'rzbd**, according to him, would be a corruption from another well-attested Sasanian title, *dar-andarzbad*, which denotes something like "the court preceptor". According to Mancini, the first element was considered to be **darān*. Although much of Mancini's discussion strikes me as sound, this ingenious explanation is unconvincing. All the more so as the title which Mancini would like to emend occurs in the same form in three different texts, if we regard the two versions of the story of Simeon bar Ṣabbā'ē as independent of each other, as they probably are.

In view of the evidence, and the strong emphasis on both title-holders as fulfilling secretarial functions, and Gwahišt-āzād's demand that it be publicly announced that he had not divulged any of the king's secrets, it is necessary, I believe, to read the Syriac word, without changing anything in its graphic composition, *rāzbed* "master of secret(s)". This is "secretary" in the etymological sense of the term (compare Late Latin *secretarius*). Syriac *rāzā* is regularly spelled **'rz'**, with an unetymological initial *alef*.[37] As the word *rāzā* is Iranian in origin, the grapheme **'rzbd** for **(e)rāzbed* strikes me as perfectly acceptable. The Armenian has retained a reminiscence of a similar initial vowel in this word, cf. Armenian *eraz* "dream".[38] It is intriguing to try and find an explanation for

[36] He was the *sāfrā* (= *dibēr*) of the *hamārgerd*. Gignoux (1980b:191) is probably right in assuming the latter title to be a corruption from *hamārgar*. A detailed investigation of this term is in Mancini 1986:171ff., where a wealth of literature is quoted.

[37] Rich documentation for **'rz'** "secret, mystery" is in Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995:105, although this word is not differentiated there with sufficient clarity from the other Iranian loanword from Aramaic, which denotes "building", hence also "temple", and is spelled in the same way; cf. Greenfield 1988:138.

[38] Discussion by Benveniste 1951:116; 1964:2.

the presence of an initial a- in both this word and the word discussed above, *(a)beydān*.

בר "permission". The word occurs in a Talmudic discussion of the question, what is the number of the truly righteous in the world. Various numbers are given, and an attempt is made to harmonize between the different figures. There is a hint that there may be no more than two altogether in the world. This is implied in a statement by Shim'on bar Yoḥai. Against this a tradition is quoted on the authority of Abbaye, according to which there are at least 36 righteous people who witness the Divine Presence, the *šeḳina*, every day. The solution to this seeming discrepancy is provided by the suggestion that the larger number refers to those who can enter the Divine Presence only upon being granted **br**, whereas the smaller number of righteous can enter even without that, or, as formulated succinctly in Aramaic, הא דעיילי בבר הא דעיילי בלא בר "This one is that they enter with **br**, that one is that they enter without **br**" (Bavli Sukka 45b, with a parallel passage in Bavli Sanhedrin 97b).

It has long been noticed that **br** is a reflection of a word attested in New Persian, *bār*.[39] This word has among its numerous senses also that of "permission, permission to come into the presence of a king or a highly placed dignitary". More particularly, the term *bār dādan* means "to give audience", when a king or the like allows individuals or the public at large to come to his presence and present petitions. *sālār i bār* is the man in charge of the audience in the royal palace.[40] *darbār* is the royal palace itself, the place of the audience.[41]

In trying to put some order into the profusion of senses covered by *bār*, it may be possible to suggest that the sense of "permission" (or perhaps rather "authority to come to the august presence") is an enlargement of the sense of *bār* as denoting the august presence itself, hence "audience" and "audience hall", the place where the august presence is found. This sense could well be a development of the basic meaning "weight, load", that is associated with the august presence of kings and of God. Thus, one expression for "angels" is *naqībān-i bār*.[42]

The word is also associated with the presence of God already in Iranian. A late Pahlavi inscription from Istanbul, claimed by de Blois (1990) to be post-Sasanian,[43] has as reference to God *bār-xwadāy*, a term that is well attested in

[39] Fleischer in Levy 1876 s.v.

[40] Cf. Shaked 1982:298.

[41] Cf. a wealth of material and quotations in *Loġat-nāme* of Dehxodā (1336), Letter B:272ff.

[42] E.g. Qiṣṣa-i Ḥamza I, 21.

[43] The main discussions of this inscription are: Menasce 1967; Nyberg 1968; Gignoux 1969; Harmatta 1969; Bogoljubov 1971; Shaked 1977:27–29; Gignoux and Feissal 1986; de Blois 1990.

early New Persian texts,[44] together with a variety of other combinations: *īzad-bār*, *xāliq-bār*, *ḏu-l-jalāl-bār*.[45]

גוניגן "of all kinds, varied". This is a new word occurring in a yet unpublished incantation bowl in Judaeo-Aramaic, belonging to the Shlomo Moussaieff collection in London (Bowl 12:10).[46] The phrase where this word occurs is the following: רוחא בישתה אי רוחא בישתה כד איתבריאו כל מיני רוחין ומזיקין גונ(י)גן וכל חד וחד איתיהיב ליה חולמנא ובולמנא ו)ז(א)נא "Evil spirit, O evil spirit! when there were created all kinds of varied spirits and harmful (spirits), and each one of them was given healing (?),[47] restraining and damage (?)". The last three words in the phrase are problematic, for none of them is so far attested in this form in a suitable sense. The first two could be from the verbs **ḥlm**, **blm** respectively. The last noun could be a reflection of the Iranian *ziyān*, which is already attested in the form **zyyna**.[48] The problem is that the three terms do not seem to form a coherent series, unless the sense of the phrase is that both good and evil spirits are included in the same category. The word **gwnygwn**, however, presents no difficulty. The compound *gūnāgūn* is widely attested in Persian up to the modern period.[49] Manichaean Middle Persian has **gwnggwn** (cf. Boyce 1977:43).

גיתא "this world, the material world", from Middle Persian *gētīg*, *gētī*, occurs in a Jewish-Armaic magic bowl text,[50] as well as in the Gaonic literature, where **bgyty** may be the semantic equivalent of the Aramaic expression **b'lm'**.[51] Reference should perhaps be added to the discussion by Ginzberg 1917:341, who suggests a derivation from Akkadian that seems quite far-fetched.

דראושא "flag, banner" is most probably a ghost-word. This is the reading of J. N. Epstein 1921:33 in the Aramaic magic bowl, published by Montgomery 1913, Bowl 4:5. The full relevant text (Montgomery 4:3–6) is as follows: תוב אסרנא לכון באיסורא בישא ומרירא תוב אסרנא [לכון באי]סורא דאתסרו ביה שבעה כוכבין ותרין עשר מלויא]שין מלויאשין עד יומא רבא דדינא ועד שעתא רבתי דפרקנא דראישיכון לא תי[רימן ומיחטא] לא תיחטון בהון באבונא בר גריבתא ואסכלי לא נסכלון בהון בכל אינשי ביתיה דפאבק בר כופיתאי לא בליליא ולא ביממא "Again, I bind you by an evil and harsh binding. Again, I bind [you by the b]inding by which the seven planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac were bound, until the great day of judgement and the great hour of release, that you shall not lift your

[44] It is also attested as a term of respect to a king or a dignitary. Addressed to a king, in a poem quoted Lazard 1964, II:64. Qiṣṣa-i Ḥamza, I, 25. The British Library Judaeo-Persian Version of the Pentateuch (in Paper 1972:15), Genesis 19:2 כודאאן אי באר.

[45] Cf. *Loġat-nāme*, B, p. 277c.

[46] The number reflects my numbering sequence of the Moussaieff bowls.

[47] **ḥwlmn'** is attested in the sense of "health, healing" in Syriac; cf. in a Syriac magic bowl, Naveh and Shaked 1993:139, B26:12. This sense seems inappropriate here for the action of evil spirits.

[48] Cf. Jastrow 1903:393; Telegdi 1935:67; Geiger apud Krauss 1937:80, 171.

[49] Compare the entry in Lazard 1990.

[50] Cf. Naveh and Shaked 1993:132, B23:4.

[51] See discussion in Shaked 1993b:170 n. 33.

heads and that you should not harm Abuna son of Geribta and not cause damage to the people of the household of Pabaq son of Kopitai, neither by night nor by day".[52] Epstein's suggestion was to read **dr'wšykwn** rather than **dr'yšykwn**. This is palaeographically perfectly possible. **drapša**, **drabša**, a loan-word from Persian, is indeed well attested in Mandaic. Since the present bowl has some other Mandaean associations (in particular the expression **mluašia** for the signs of the Zodiac), it was a brilliant idea on the part of Epstein to read the Mandaic word **drabša** here as well. On closer inspection, this is not very likely. The passage seems to make better sense with the regular reading of the Aramaic word, and there is no need to introduce a new word into the lexicon of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic if it is not better attested than this single and rather doubtful occurrence.

דרוספן This Syriac word is an evident rendering of a Persian title. It occurs in the story of Mar Aba, where an official who is indicated by the title **psnyq' drwspn** is sent by the king to Mar Aba to summon him to a hearing in which, besides this official, also the chief *mōbed* and other *mōbed*s will be present.[53] We know that the first word indicates Middle Persian *pasānīg* "courtier",[54] but what is the meaning of the second word? Labourt (1904:181) explains it as meaning "head of prison", probably by deduction from the context.

The Syriac title **psnyq' drwspn** is probably to be understood as *pasānīg darwāz-pān* "the courtier (who is) door keeper". One could compare the New Persian *darwāz(a)-bān* "door-keeper, gate-keeper". The change of /z/ to /s/ in an Iranian loanword borrowed into Aramaic should occasion no surprise.[55]

דרפתק, דרופתק "a vessel, a container". It does not seem right to separate this word that occurs in the Talmud (e.g. Bavli Sanhedrin 99b) from the Old Aramaic word that occurs in the Aramaic version of the Book of Tobit, chapter 4 (cf. Neubauer 1878:7), where we read: ואם תעביד צדקתא דרופתק טב תקנה ביום ריתחא ארום היא משיזבא מן מותא "and if you give in charity, you will acquire a good **drwptq** for a day of wrath, for it [= charity] delivers from death". The word in this context should probably mean "treasure" or the like. Neubauer, in a note to this passage, explains **drwptq** as from Greek ὑποθήκη, surely a misguided idea. Perles 1917:298f. rightly remarked that the origin of the word should be sought in Persian, although he offered no etymology. Kohut 1926,

[52] I have adopted Epstein's suggestions for the restoration of missing letters.

[53] Bedjan 1895:230; Braun 1915:198. Bedjan 1895:266, lines 2,9 (again a messenger who tells the king what Mar Aba said). In the latter passage the official is only called *pasānīqā*.

[54] Peeters 1946 (=1951):140; Maricq 1955:276, n. 1 (= Maricq 1965:4). The Manichaean Middle Persian word **ps'nyg** occurs in the story of Mani's last audience with King Bahram; cf. Henning 1942:949, M3:7.

[55] Cf. the examples given in Shaked 1993:153f. There are examples in the opposite direction as well. Cf. the proper name **gwšnzdwk**, clearly the Iranian Gušnas(p)-duk̲, in an Aramaic spell bowl, Geller 1980:54 (Bowl C:3).

III:161, seeks Greek or Latin origin to the word. Geiger (in Krauss 1937:152[56]) makes no positive suggestion.

The word is indeed best taken to be a loan-word from Persian. The explanation that seems to be called for is that it reflects Old Persian **draw-pātaka-* which could mean something like "the preserved harvest", hence perhaps something like "granary". The discussion of this term is somewhat complicated by the existence of the similar-looking word **hrwptg** in Manichaean Middle Persian,[57] which could mean something like "gathered, assembled", but the Aramaic word seems to be consistently attested in both sets of Aramaic sources with an initial **d-**.

פא This Persian preposition, the functional equivalent of Aramaic and Hebrew **b-**, is attested at least twice in the Aramaic incantation bowls of Nippur. One text where it occurs is Montgomery, Bowl 8:12, משבענא לכון פאביר אברהם (יעקב) בצור יצחק בשדי "I adjure you by the mighty one of Abraham, by the rock of Isaac, by the fields of Jacob". Montgomery transcribes the third word here באביר, but the drawing in his book is clear and undeniable. Another attested case is in Montgomery 1913, Bowl 30:4, where the text reads, I suggest, as follows:[58] עינא חאסדניתא עינא דחזיא פבית ליבא רזא דאו(ל)ידו (רו)חין בישין "an envious eye, an eye that observes within the heart the mystery that is brought forth[59] by evil spirits".[60] Epstein (1921:36f.) correctly identified the preposition **p-** in both places. He notes examples of Mandaic **pt** for **bt** "daughter", and refers to the same phenomenon in Neo-Aramaic dialects.

The use of this preposition, I would argue, is not necessarily the result of the tendency to confuse initial **b-** and **p-**. It is most likely to have been caused by the interference of the Persian preposition *pa* with the Aramaic preposition *be-*. A similar phenomenon caused the Persian preposition *pa* to become in New Persian *ba*, coalescing with the Arabic preposition *bi*. This was facilitated by the fact that initial /p/ tended quite often to become voiced.

[56] In Krauss 1937 a Geniza fragment is quoted which explains **drwptq'** in terms of a money-belt tied to the body.

[57] Cf. Boyce 1977, s.v.

[58] My reading is based on an examination of the original. I have also benefited from the suggested readings incorporated in Epstein 1922:40.

[59] Epstein's suggested reading ליבא דזאדאיד ורוחין is quite untenable. The word **dz'd'yd**, with the connection to Persian *duzdīdah*, is one of the very few suggestions of Epstein that are to be definitely discarded.

[60] In the same bowl inscription, it seems better to read the beginning: אסר וחתים ומחאתם ביתי(הון) דנא(מ)ושפיזא בר (אמת)א וינדינגושנס בר איסיפנדרמיד ו(תרסוך) [ב]ת סומכוי. The names are far from certain, but we seem to be on firm ground when we suggest the matronym Ameta, the name of the second client Windēn-Gušnas(p) son of Ispandarmad, and the name of the third client as .... daughter of Sumakoi.

ADDENDA

אבידן Another reflection of this word may be in a personal name that is said in Bavli Giṭṭin 11a to be one of the typical names of Gentile judges. Another name like this is Hormiz, but most of the other names given in that passage are either badly corrupt or unfamiliar to us. The term ***byt 'bwgd'n'*** is attested more than once in unpublished Mandaic incantation texts. One attestation, kindly supplied by Dr. Christa Kessler, is in a lead roll (BM 132954, verso, line 16); another is found in a Mandaic bowl from the Moussaieff Collection in London, No. 23:4f., ***'siria alaikun babia ḏ šumaia uarqa ḏ bit abugdana***. In the Moussaieff bowl 23:2f. we also have ***'sir bita bit n'dra ḏ bit abadana(a)***, which may be related. Certain indications make the Babylonian connection of the **by 'bydn** story somewhat less certain. For Rava in Šabbat 116a some manuscripts have Rav, who had strong Palestinian connections. Another **by 'bydn** passage is in 'Avoda Zara 17b, where there is an anachronistic association with the Mishnaic sage El'azar ben Perata, a Palestinian figure. I thank my friend Y. Sussman for illuminating comments.

ארזבד Peeters 1946 (= 1951):121 translates ***'rzbd*** "premier par ordre de mérite".

גוניגון Cf. the occurrences of *gōnag gōnag* in Pahlavi. PhlT 27, §7, azešān bahrag +rāy pad sūr ī pid {ī} pārag ī stabr ud xwarišn ī gōnag gōnag ud brahm ī xūb cābug nēwag dāšt hēm [For *sūr* Unvala reads *stūr*, but this seems unwarranted]. Zs 2:19, uzwārdān yaskān ī xwad hēnd wēmārih ī gōnag gōnag.

דראושא An unequivocal parallel passage can be adduced, which supports my interpretation of Montgomery 4:5. This occurs in Gordon 11:15f. (Gordon 1941:273ff.), which reads: אסרנא עליכון באיסורא דאיתסרו שבעה כוכבי[ן ותרין עשר מלויאשין עד יומא רבא דדינא ועד שעתא רב]תא דפורקנא דראשכון לא תידלון ומחיטא לא תחיטון בהון. The spelling here is perfectly clear. The verb in Montgomery 4 should also be restored ***ty[dlwn]***.

דרוספן Peeters 1951:141 regards the initial *dalet* as Syriac, and translates ***rwspn*** "la garde קג jour" (obviously analyzing the word: *rōz-pān*). It would be the same composition as ***rwzbn*** (cf. Hoffmann 1880:89 n. 827), a term that ultimately means "executioner". It should be noted that in Bedjan 1895:230 the word is vocalized *pasānīqā darwāspān*, just as it should be according to our interpretation.

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IRANIAN EPIC AND THE MANICHEAN *BOOK OF GIANTS*. IRANO-MANICHAICA III

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Resumé

In this paper I shall discuss the relationship between the Old Iranian epic tradition and the Manichean *Book of Giants*: The epic narrative of the Iranian mythological and legendary past was partly incorporated by Mani and the Manichean missionaries into his story of the origins of the world and mankind and merged with the Biblical and apocryphal traditions about the giants and the Flood. The Iranian stories were changed by Mani to fit into his own story of the creation and the world. All Manichean fragments containing references to the Iranian epic tradition have been gathered here for easy reference.

Introduction

The mythical and legendary narratives of the Old Iranian oral literary traditions, which were to constitute the core elements of the "national" history of Iran,[1] surface in the manner of icebergs in the *Avesta*, where key elements were incorporated into hymns to deities. The remaining details of the narratives must be supplied from the later versions of the same stories in the Pahlavi books — written down only toward the 9th century C.E., the histories of the Muslim period, and the Persian *Book of Kings* composed by Ferdousi about 1000 C.E.[2] At least a thousand years separate the Avestan texts from these late sources, so, naturally, the narratives have changed — compare the Medieval German *Niebelungenlied* and its Old Norse predecessors — and any attempt to sort out the older layers becomes a laborious task. There are, however, two independent sources of evidence for the Iranian traditions between these two extremes. One is the reports by classical authors on Iranian beliefs, which range from the Achae-

[1] On this subject see the exhaustive survey by Yarshater, 1983.
[2] On the nature of Ferdousi's epic see Davidson, 1994.

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menid to the Sasanian periods,[3] the other the Manichean writings, the earliest of which date from the second half of the 3rd century C.E.[4]

Myths of the origins

Many peoples have included myths about the origins and early periods of human history in their literature. In Iran these myths are partly preserved in the Avestan hymns and the Pahlavi books, but the corpus was not collected and integrated into a coherent epic poem till around 1000 C.E., when Ferdousi composed his *Book of Kings*. Among the Indo-European neighbours of the Iranians, the Indians, myths of the origins were incorporated into the *Mahābhārata*, the first chapter of which is devoted to the origins of the protagonists of the drama to be played out in the rest of the book.

We find similar tales in the Ancient Near East, for instance, the Gilgameš epic originally from Sumeria, the Babylonian creation story — the *Enûma eliš*, and the Babylonian flood story — the *Atra-Ḫasīs*. The authors and compilers of the first books of the Old Testament used local versions of these stories but also did not include all the material, some of which therefore survives only in the later traditions, for instance, in the so-called *Apocrypha*.

Iranian epic: The succession of generations

The *Avesta* presents us with a succession of generations of heroes.[5] It is divided into three main periods: creation; pre-Kayanid mythical-heroic age; and the era of the *kauuis*, the Kayanid period down to Kauui Vištāspa, during whose reign Zarathustra brought the new religion. In the later tradition this period is linked with historical times by the identification of the Avestan Vištāspa with Vištāspa great-grandfather of Darius, the Achaemenid king (Skjærvø, "Irano-Manichaica IV").

[3] See, for instance, Skjærvø, "Irano-Manichaica IV," on the importance of these sources for the reconstruction of the Zarathustra legends.

[4] Mani was killed at the instigation of the Sasanian clergy ca. 270 C.E. Before that he had preached his teaching in Iran for about thirty years. See, for instance, Skjærvø, "Irano-Manichaica II."

[5] Reeves pp. 24, 46 n. 106, suggests that these may have been depicted as giants, citing — after Baur, *Religionssystem* — Augustine, *De natura boni* 46, *Contra Faustum* 20.14, about the gigantic size of Ahrimen. Baur, however, only mentions the "two-footed demon" with reference to *Contra Faustum* 20.14, which contains no mention of size. Similarly Baur quotes from *De natura boni* only the phrase *magnus ille* with reference to Mosheim, *De rebus Christianorum ante Constantium M. Commentarii*, Helmstadt, 1753) 792.

To enable the reader to follow the discussion below more easily I give here the Avestan, Middle, and Modern Persian names of the main actors in this epic tradition together with some of their principal roles:[6]

Creation period

Avestan	Middle Persian	Modern Persian	
Gaiia Marətan[7]	Gayōmard	Gayūmarṣ	primeval giant
	Mašī[8] + Mašiyānī		first human couple
	Syāmag[9]	Siyāmak	their son

Heroic, pre-Kayanid period

Haošiiaŋha	Hōšang	Hūšang	1st ruler of the seven-fold earth[10]
Taxma Urupi	Tahmūraf	Tahmūraṣ	mounted the Evil Spirit as his steed and rode on him to the ends of the world
Yima (xšaēta)	J̌am([x]šēd)	J̌am(šīd)	saved mankind from extinction, type of first ruler
Aži Dahāka	Aždahāg	Ẓaḥḥāq, Ẓoḥḥāq	the Giant Dragon (king)
Θraētaona son of Āθβi	Frēdōn	Ferīdūn	slayer of Aži Dahāka[11]

[6] All the traditions about these names known to him were quoted or summarized by Christensen, 1918, 1932.

[7] I quote the names in their stem form, so it should be strictly "Gaiia- Marətan-," etc.

[8] These characters are not yet in the *Avesta*. Mašī is simply the Avestan word for "(mortal) man," *maṣiia*. His wife's name is formed with the ending *-ānī*, as in *Ahurānī* from *Ahura*, OInd. *Indrāṇī* from *Indra*.

[9] Av. Siiāmaka- is the name of a mountain. In some of the later tradition Siyāmag has for opponent Arzūr, son of Ahrimen (Av. Aŋra- Mainiiu-, the Evil Spirit). In the *Avesta* Arəzūra- is the mountain in the top of which is a hole serving as the entrance to Hell. See Christensen, 1918, Vol. 1, 53, 90–91.

[10] He had two brothers: Wēgerd (Av. Vaēkərəta, a land) and Tāz (father of the *tāzīgs* = Arabs). — According to *Dēnkard* 7.1.18 he also killed seven disciple brats (*āmōxt-wišūdag*?) of Hešm (Christensen, 1918, Vol. 1, 145–46). According to the summary of the *Čihrdād nask* in the *Dēnkard* (8.13.6–8), the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th rulers of the seven-fold earth were Tahmūraf, J̌amšēd, Dahāg (tr. West, Vol. 4, 1892, 27).

[11] Frēdōn had three sons Salm, Tūz, Ērīǰ, named after the peoples listed in the *Avesta* in *Yašt* 13.143 as Ariias, Tūiriias, Sairimas, Sāinus, and Dāhis; see also Molé, 1952, 1953.

Θrita of the Sāmas	Srid		the first healer
Kərəsāspa the Sāmid	Karisāsp	Garšāsp	dragon slayer; exacts revenge upon Hitāspa for the slaying of his brother Uruuāxšaiia

The Kayanid period

Fraŋrasiian	Frāsyāw	Afrāsiāb	the Turanian, constant enemy of the Ariian lands in the Kayanid period
Kauui Kauuāta[12]	Kay Kawād	Key Qobād	
Kauui Usan[13]	Kay Us	(Key) Kāʾūs, Qābūs	
Kauui Siiāuuaršan	Kay Siyāwa(x)š	Key Siyāvoš	is seduced by the wife of Kay Kawād and killed by a Turanian
Kauui Haosrauuah	Kay Husraw	Key Xosrow	takes revenge for his father Siiāuuaršan

From the coming of the Religion

Zaraθuštra	Zardu(x)št	Zardošt	
Kauui Vištāspa	Kay Wištāsp	Kay Goštāsp, Bištāsp	supporter of Zarathustra
Zairiuuairi	Zarēr, Zarwar	Zarīr	brother of Wištāsp
Jāmāspa	J̌āmāsp	Jāmāsp	counselor of Wištāsp
Arəjaṯ.aspa	Arzāsp		enemy of Vištāspa
Spəṇtōδāta	Spandyād	Esfandiyār	son of Vištāspa

[12] In the list of *kauuis* in *Yt.* 19.71 there follows Kauui Aipi.vohu.

[13] In the list of *kauuis* in *Yt.* 19.71 there follow Kauuis Aršna, Pisina, Biiaršan. Kauui Usan (*Yt.* 5.45, 14.39 nom. *Usa*) is also called Usaδan (*Yt.* 13.131 gen. *Usaδanō*). The syllable *δa* seems to be intrusive, perhaps caused by the similar-sounding name *Usaδānō* in *Yt.* 13.121. Whether his name was also associated phonetically by the late copyists with the name of Mount Ušaδā, which in the manuscripts is also spelled *Usaδā*, I do not know. The etymology of this name is probably *ušaδā-* "shoulder," attested in the *Frahang ī oīm* 3g: *ušaδąm* = Pahl. *pušt ī tēz* "pointed back," Sogdian *šδ"k*, and modern Yidgha *šilë* (Morgenstierne, 1938, 251b with ref. to the Sogdian form). The manuscript situation is: *Yt.* 1.28 *ušadąm* Pt1, O3; *uši.dąm* Jm4, J9; *usidąm* L18, P13, K12 (these are descendants of Pt1); *Yt.* 19.2 *usaδō* F1; *ušadō* J10; *ušaδō* L18; *Yt.* 19.66 *ušaδå* F1, J10 (F1 not infrequently has *s* for *š*, e.g., *Yt.* 19.11, 19 *azarəsəntəm* for *azarəš°*; Yt. 19.58 *tarasuca* for **taršu°*; *Yt.* 19.96 *suδ°* and *saoδ°* for *šuδ°*). The Pahlavi version of *Yt.* 1.28 has Uš-dāštār.

	Wahman	Bahman	son of Spandyād, identified with the Achaemenid Artaxerxes III (359/8338/7) Longimanus and the Sasanian Ardašīr I[14]
Humāiiā	Humāy	Homā	daughter of Wištāsp or daughter and wife of Wahman, mother of Dārā

Of these Yima, Θraētaona son of Āθβi, Θrita, and Kauui Usan have (etymological) Old Indian counterparts: Yama, Trita Āptya, and Kavi (Kāvya) Uśanas. Kauui Usan and Kavi Uśanas are, moreover, related to legendary figures found in other Indo-European traditions and are therefore part of the old myths and legends of the Indo-European peoples (see, e.g., Dumézil, 1986, Vol. 2, part 2). The origins of the remaining characters still remain to be investigated.

The Manichean story of the origins

Mani's view of the origins of mankind was strongly influenced by the Biblical story in the version of such apocryphal books as *1 Enoch* and the *Book of Giants*, of which fragments were found among the Dead Sea scrolls.[15] Mani recast these in a Manichean mold in his own *Book of Giants*. When his writings were translated into Iranian languages he and his followers incorporated elements from the Iranian epic tradition in the *Book of Giants*, possibly also in other of his works, but some of the Aramaic names still linger in these Iranian versions side by side with Iranian ones.

The theme of the *Book of Giants* is taken from the Biblical account in *Genesis* 6:1–2, 4 of the giants and the daughters of men (in the King James Version):

> "And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them,
> That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. ...
> There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown."

[14] Christensen, 1932, 98, 124, 148.

[15] An edition of the fragments so far made known is found in Reeves, 1992.

In the Manichean texts the term *kăw* seems to be used indiscriminately of good and evil characters and in some contexts just means "giant" (Henning, 1943, 53–54). More specifically, the term is used to designate the powers of darkness, as in *Mir. Man.* iii, text n 27–29: *syzdyn z'[wr]'n kw'n rzmywzn 'st'nynd rwšn 'c hrw d'md'd'n* "frightening *powers (and) battle-seeking giants seize the light from all living creatures," and Henning, 1934, 29: *'yr 'wd k'w* "watchers and giants." Finally, it is also used of the Biblical giants, the *nepīlīm*, who were the offspring of the sons of God who consorted with human women, hence also the Iranian name of Mani's *Book of Giants*: *Kăwān*.

Mani had already identified Gayōmard, Man. Mid. Pers. Gēhmurd,[16] with Adam and — leaving out Mašī — Mašiyānī, Man. Mid. Pers. Murdiyānag, with Eve. He may also have identified their descendants with their Iranian counterparts, but the extant texts do not mention this.

Prophetic successions

With the heroic pre-Kayanid and Kayanid period before Vištāspa in Iran Mani may have identified the period of the antediluvian patriarchs, some of whom were included in Mani's list of the prophets who preceded him (see Smagina, 1992). In chapter one of the *Kephalaia* these prophets are listed as:

> "from Sethel, the firstborn son of Adam, to Enosh, and Enoch, and from Enoch to Sem, son of Noah ... the Buddha to the East and the Aurentes and the other ... who were sent to the East. From the coming of the Buddha and the Aurentes to the coming of Zaradēs to Persia, at that time when he came to King Hystaspēs. From the coming of Zaradēs to the coming of Jesus Christ ...."

The Sogdian text Kaw Sogdian K (Henning, 1943, 71) apparently contained an account of the prophets in the context of the *Book of Giants*,[17] but, unfortunately, only the title is preserved: *yyšw 'ys'mdnyh [...] wny 'δ'my šytylyy δyyn* "The coming of Jesus and [his bringing] the religion to Adam and Šetel."

Whether the Middle Persian text published by Henning (1934, 27–29) was part of the same text we do not know:[18]

[16] On these identifications and the substitution of *murd* "dead" for *mard* "man" see Skjærvø, "Irano-Manichaica II."

[17] The succession of prophets was also included in other books by Mani; Bīrūnī (tr. Sachau, 1897, 190) quotes from the *Šābuhragān* the following passage: "Wisdom and deeds have always from time to time been brought to mankind by the messengers of god. So in one age they were brought by the messenger called Buddha, to India, in another by Zardušt to Persia, in another by Jesus to the West. Thereupon this revelation has come down, this prophecy in this last age through me, Mani, the messenger of the God of truth, to Babylonia."

[18] I have copies of D. N. Mackenzie's corpus of all Manichean Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian texts and of N. Sims-Williams's complete corpus of Sogdian texts on diskettes, which

ʾwd ps pd ʾwʾm ʾwʾm hm wʾxš ywjdhr xwyš wzrgyy pd dhyn ʿy pdyštʾn ʾhyngʾn wyʾwrd ʿy xwd hynd	And then, in each era the same Holy Word spoke through the mouth of the ancient prophets, who are none other than:
šyym syym ʾnwš[19] *nktyʾwys d[....]l[..] ʾwd hwnwx o dʾ ʾw [... m]ʾzyndrʾn*	Šem, Sem, Enōš, nktyʾwys ... and Enoch until the ... of the Giants.
ʾwd bwd [....]gr ʾw twhm ʿy [...] cʾwnytʾn ʾš[nwd? ...]rndyh ...	And [they] were [destroy?]ers of the race of [...], as you have *heard. ...

These lists contain no hint of any identification of the Biblical patriarchs with the Iranian heroes of the early ages, but in the later Iranian and Muslim tradition we do find such identifications. Thus al-Ṭabarī mentions several alternative synchronies. According to one, Hūšang is the 3 x great-grandson of Noah, but in another he gives the following line of descents: Gayūmard = Adam, Mašī = Seth, Siyāmak = Enos, Kenan (no counterpart), Hūšang = Mahalaleel (Christensen, 1918, Vol. 1, 147–48, 159–60). Similarly, in the *Fārsnāme* it is said that Hūšang was the father of Enoch (Idrīs; Christensen, 1918, Vol. 2, 170), while according to the *Mujmil al-tawārīx* Enoch (identified with Idrīs) appeared during the reigns of Hūšang. According to the *Murūj al-ðahab* Tahmūras was identified with Noah (Christensen, 1918, Vol. 1, 210), while according to Ḥamza of Isfahan and al-Bīrūnī a flood occurred during his reign (ibid., 197, 199–200).

The only Iranian name included in the Manichean succession lists is that of Zarathustra himself, which shows that to Mani Zarathustra was a legitimate prophet, who had received a genuine revelation from the Cosmic Intelligence, the Great Nous, called Wahman in the Persian sources, and that he had founded a true Religion.

The prophetic succession might seem a very typical Manichean concept; nevertheless, an Iranian counterpart to it is seen in *Dēnkard* 7.1.43:[20]

ud anīz būd hēnd pēš az Zarduxšt waxšwar ī andar dēn mazdēsn a-guft nām, čē paydāg kū gāhīhā az mēnōyān and-ēw ō ōy ī pēšōbāytar ōh mad.	And **there were also other prophets before Zarathustra** whose names have not been spoken in the Mazdayasnian religion, for it is revealed that **at times a number of spiritual beings came to assume leadership**.

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has allowed me to check the latest status of these texts and has saved me much time. I am extremely grateful to them both. Any errors in the reproduction of these texts and in their translations are — needless to say — my own responsibility.

[19] Note the possibility of a pun with *anōš* "immortal."

[20] I have quoted the passages from *Dēnkard* book 7 after Molé, 1967, with a few modifications; there are numerous problems in the Pahlavi text, however, which I cannot discuss here.

mardōhm pad xwāhišn pursišn ī hān tis ēdōn griftār būd hēnd čiyōn nūn pad xwāhišn pursišn ī dēn.	People were just as eager to learn those things as they are now to learn the religion.
*ān zamānag ōh abāyīd nūn *nē abāyēd čē har mardōhm pad dēn āgāh kard estēnd*	At that time it was necessary. Now it is *not necessary because everybody has been informed about the religion.

What the historical relationship between the Manichean and Pahlavi texts is cannot at present be determined, and the possibility that the Pahlavi tradition had been influenced by the Manichean one cannot be excluded. On this problem see Skjærvø, "Irano-Manichaica I–II."

Slanderers

Although the religion had been revealed to a number of prophets throughout the past it did not endure. The reason for this, according to Mani, was that the prophets were slandered and their teachings corrupted. Not only did each prophet have his own slanderer, but each religion had its own destroyers. Lists of the prophets, their slanderers, and the destroyers of their religions are extant both in Manichean writings and in later writings about Manicheism.

General opposition to the revelation is seen in a Parthian text (*Mir. Man.* iii, 34–36; Boyce, 1975, 171–73) in which we are told that Zarathustra came down to the land of Persia, exposed the truth and began saving souls but that Satan became aware of it, sent the demons of wrath against him, and the truth was distorted. What influenced Mani the most to adopt and develop this concept may have been the story of how Jesus, whose apostle he was, was betrayed by Judas. This story itself may well reflect a current tradition. A full list of slanderers and destroyers is found in a Sogdian text (Henning, 1944, 138, 141):

rtxw δβtykw [ʾpsypw]-wʾβʾkw ʾxw zʾmʾspw wmʾt ky [ZY prw] ʾzrʾwšcw psypw wγtwδʾrty	And the **second slanderer was Žāmāsp who slandered Zrušč**,
rtxw nksyntr MLKʾ ky ZY mwγztw ʾkδʾrty	and **King Alexander who performed the Murder of the Magi**;
rtxw kwγwnʾkw ZK ʾtδrmnw zʾtʾk ky ZKw mwγʾnch δynh nštwδʾrty oo	and Kūγūnē the devil's brood who **destroyed the Magian religion**.[21]

[21] The text concludes: "There were still other sinners whom Greed and Ahriman kept as their mounts," which Henning (1944, 142 n. 1) compares with a Parthian passage: "Satan made Iscariot his mount." Although the image is also used of the Holy Ghost taking the disciples as his mounts, it is interesting to speculate that Mani may have taken the Avestan and Pahlavi story about Kauui Urupi, who used the Evil Spirit as his mount for 30 years (*Yt.* 19.29), and turned it upside down, as he frequently did with the material he adopted and adapted. Note Alexander of Lycopolis quoted by Reeves, 1992, 21: "The Manicheans, however, understand nothing of all this; whenever

In the Iranian tradition a Zoroastrian version of the concept of both promoters and destroyers of the religion[22] is found in *Dēnkard* 7.7.4–8:

*wāwarīhistan-iz ī ān ī abar xwadāyān dastwarān nām čiyōnīh ī andar zamānagīhā ud āwāmīhā ī pas pas ō ārāstārān (ī) dēn ud gēhān rasīd ud sāstār-iz ud ahlomōγ ī andar āwām āwām ō wišuftārīh ī dēn xwadāyīh ud gēhān *padīh mad hēnd*[23]

And the confirmation of that which is about the nature of the names of the lords (and) teachers who throughout time again and again have come to redress the religion and the world, as well as **the tyrants and heretics who have appeared at different times for the destruction of the religion** (and) lordship and mastery of the world.

čiyōn az xwadāyān Wahman ī Spandyādān ī-š andar Abestāg ēn-iz abar {abar} gōwēd kū: Wahman ī rāst ī hanǰaman-kerdārtom az mazdēsnān

For instance, **among the lords Wahman son of Spandyād**, about whom it is also said in the Avesta that, "Righteous Wahman, who among Mazdayasnians makes most assemblies."[24]

ud az dastwarān Syēn (sʾywnˡ) *čiyōn-iš ēn-iz abar gōwēd kū 100-sālag bawēd dēn ka Syēn zāyēd ud 200-sālag ka bē widerēd; ān-iz fradom mazdēsn 100 ʾyʾ būd kē pad 100-hāwištīh frāz raft abar ēn zamīg*[25]

And **among the teachers** (there is) **Syēn**, about whom it is also said that "the religion will be a hundred years when Syēn is born and two hundred when he passes away. And he will be the first Mazdayasnian centenarian who shall walk forth over this earth with a following of a hundred students.

*az wišuftārān Aliksandar čiyōn-iš andar dēn ēn-iz <abar> gōwēd kū *ay ān ī hamē-ābag zamistān ī ōy Hešm abar pad Āz dāmān wigānīhā mar kunēd ī duš-xwarrah Aliksandar.*

Among the destroyers (there is) Alexander, as it is also said about him in the religion, namely "in that winter of eternal ... of Wrath that inglorious Alexander will cause innumerable destruction through the creatures of Āz."

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they are able to come to false conclusions, they appropriate these as a god-send, whatever their origin, making every effort, as it were, to vanquish truth by all possible means."

[22] The concept of aggression against the religion is explored in greater detail in chapter 24 of the *Bundahišn* about the "evils that befell Iran in each millennium."

[23] Ms.: *gēhān padīd paydāg madan padīd hēnd.*

[24] This is a translation of the Avestan term *viiāxana-*, the meaning of which is not known, cf. *Y.* 62.4–5 (cf. *Yt.* 13.134) *dāiiå mē ātarš puθra Ahurahe Mazdå ... āsnąm frazaiṇtīm karšō.rāząm viiāxanąm* "May you give me, o fire son of Ahura Mazdā, well-born offspring, *drawer of straight border-lines, *viiāxana*"; Pahlavi translation: *dahē ō man ātaxš ī Ohrmazd pus ... ān ī nām-burdār āsnūdag frazend ī kišwar-wirāy ī hanǰomanīg* " ... famous, noble offspring, land-ordering, *assembly-wise."

[25] Cf. *Yt.* 13.97: *Saēnahe Ahum.stutō aṣaonō frauuaṣīm yazamaide yō paoiriiō satō.aēθriiō fraxštata paiti āiia zəmā* "We worship the Faith of the Orderly Saēna Ahum.stut, who was the first to stand forth upon this earth with a hundred students."

Here again we face the problem of textual priority, which cannot at present be solved. We may also note — as an example of how it is all in the eyes of the beholder — that according to the *History* of al-Ṭabarī (tr. IV, 46-47), "among the People of the Book in Palestine" Zarathustra himself betrayed and slandered his master, the prophet Jeremiah, and was cursed by him and became a leper.

The Book of Giants

The beginning of the reign of the giants on earth is described succinctly in the Coptic *Kephalaia* 92.24–31 (cf. Henning, 1943, 71): the Watchers (Egrēgoroi) were originally in the "watch-district" of the Rex Honoris (King of Honor), the second of the five sons of the Living Spirit, but "descended to the earth. They did all deeds of malice. They revealed the arts in the world, and the mysteries of heaven to men. Rebellion and ruin came about on the earth." Two hundred demons descended upon earth (cf. *1 Enoch* 6:6, Reeves, 1992, 141 n. 146), who were later overcome by four angels.

These and the ensuing events are told in numerous fragments from the Iranian versions of the *Book of Giants*. For the purposes of the present study I have omitted most fragments that do not contain specifically Iranian themes.

To what extent *1 Enoch* and the *Book of Giants* agreed or differed is difficult to ascertain on the basis of the few extant Aramaic and Iranian fragments. The study by J. C. Reeves shows that it is possible to match most of the fragments with parts of *1 Enoch*, and a new investigation of the Iranian, Turkish, and Coptic fragments is clearly needed. Such a study cannot be undertaken here, however.

Descent of the giants to earth

The Parthian fragment published by Sundermann (1973, 76–77, text 20; Reeves, 1992, 75) appears to belong to the introduction to the story: *BT* 4, no. 20 verso:

... ʾ]hynd ʾw zmyg wsnʾd mʾdgʾn hwcyhryft	... (who) are [descended?] to earth because of the beauty of the females.
[cwʾ]gwn kd ʾbdʾgʾn pd [...] ʿzgst ʾc ...	*Like assailants upon ... (they) came down from ...

Primeval period in the Avesta

The *Avesta* contains some passages with themes similar to those of the *Book of Giants*, which it may be worth quoting here. Thus, we have a description of the

world before the attack and infiltration of Evil in the world in the *Farvardin yašt*, *Yt.* 13.57:

aṣāunąm ... yazamaide	We worship the ... fravashis of the Orderly ones
yå strąm måŋhō hūrō anaγranąm raocaŋhąm xᵛaδātanąm paθō daēsaiiən aṣaonīš	who pointed out the Orderly roads of the moon, the sun, and the endless lights which have their own law,
*yōi para ahmāṯ hame gātuuō hiš̌təṇta *afraš̌ūmaṇtō*	(all those) who before that stood in one and the same place without moving forward,
daēuuanąm parō ϑbaēšaŋhaṯ	**before the aggression of the *daēuua*s,**
daēuuanąm parō draomōhu	**before the deceptions**[26] **of the *daēuua*s.**

In a passage from the *Hōm yašt* we are told that in the beginning the demons lived on the earth in the shape of men, *Y.* 9.15:

tūm zəmargūzō ākərənuuō vīspe daēuua Zaraθuštra	You made all **the daēuuas** hide in the ground, Zarathustra,
yōi para ahmāṯ vīrō.raoδa apataiiən paiti āiia zəmā	**who before that went about on this earth in the shape of men,**
yō aojištō yō taṇcištō yō θβaxšištō yō āsištō	(you) the strongest, the firmest, the most active, the fastest,
yō as vərəθrająstəmō [abauuaṯ] mainiuuå dāmąn	who were the greatest resistance-smasher of the creations of the two spirits.

And in a passage from *Yašt* 19 a primeval age is described in which the demons were free to move about as they wished and to mingle with humans and use human women as objects of their pleasure, *Yt.* 19.80:

vaēnəmnəm ahmaṯ para daēuua pataiiən	**Before that the demons would run about in full view.**[27]
vaēnəmnəm maiiå frāuuōiṯ	(Their) **pleasures** would *take place in full view.
vaēnəmnəm apa.karšaiiən jainiš haca maṣiiākaēibiiō	In full view **they would drag off the women** from the humans.
āaṯ tå snaoδəṇtiš gərəzānå hazō niuuarəzaiiən daēuua	Then **the demons would by force debase them** weeping and complaining.

[26] See Schwartz, 1966, 121.

[27] A Pahlavi reference to this state is found in the *Dēnkard* (7.4.63) in the legend of Zarathustra: *wēnābdāg-dwārišnīh ī dēwān pēš az Zarduxšt andar gēhān* "The running about in full view of the demons before Zarathustra in the world."

From the later tradition we may compare a passage in the *Selections of Zādspram* from the legendary history of Iran: in the 30th year after Zarathustra's revelation the Chionites are said to have ravished the most beautiful girls of Iran, *SZ* 25.3 (ed. Gignoux-Tafazzoli, 1993, 86–87):

*pad sī sālag rasēnd Xyōn ō Ērān dehān wardag kunēnd ān ī *hutōhmagtar*[28] *az kanīgān*	And in the thirtieth year the Xyōn come to the towns of the Iranians, **capture the young women of best family**.

Sām the dragon-slayer

The most important of the demons that descended to earth seems to have been Ohya, who was said to have fought with a dragon after the flood, cf. the Decrasian Decree (6th cent.?), which condemned the *Liber de Ogia nomine gigante "Qui post diluvium cum dracone ab hereticis pugnasse perhibetur apocryphus"* (see Reeves, 1992, 22, 42 n. 84 with refs.). This reference is also found in Kaw Parthian N (Henning, 1943, 72):

cwʾgwn ʾhyʾ lwyʾtyn ʾwd rwfʾyl ʿyw pt̰ byd ʾngʾfʾd	like Ohya, Leviathan, and Raphael lacerated each other.
(variant:)	
... ʾhyʾ lwyʾtyn [...] byd ʾngʾfʾd oo	... Ahya, Leviathan, [and Raphael] lacerated each other

As the Iranian counterpart for his dragon-slaying giant Ohya Mani chose an Iranian dragon-slayer Karisāsp, son of Sāma. In the *Avesta* we have Sāma Kərəsāspa once in *Yt.* 13.61, where we are told that 99,999 fravashis guard his body,[29] and *Yt.* 13.136, where he is invoked to protect the Ariians from the cruel enemy army and other evil-doers. Elsewhere he is commonly referred to as *naire.manah-* (from **nairiia-manah-*) *Kərəsāspa-* "K. of manly spirit."

In the *Avesta* and the later literature Θrita of the Sāmas is the father of Kərəsāspa and Uruuāxšaiia, who was killed by Hitāspa but avenged by Kərəsāspa, who killed him and dragged him after his chariot (*Yt.* 15.28, *Yt.* 19.41). Θrita himself is credited in *Videvdad* 20.2 with inventing medicine, which in *1 Enoch* 7:1 is also ascribed to the Watchers.

[28] Mss. *hwtl twhmktl*; cf. the name of the queen of the Massagetae whom Cyrus fought (Herodotus, i.205–214): Τομυρις, whose name may be Iranian **tauhmaᵘarī* "of (noble) family". (We would expect *Τωμυρις, but much could have happened before the name reached Herodotus.)

[29] This refers to his eschatological function: at the end of time when Aždahāg runs free of his bonds Karisāsp will awake from his long sleep and kill him, see below.

In the *Bundahišn* (35.32–33, tr. Anklesaria, 1956, 297) Karisāsp and Urwāxš seem to be reckoned as the sons of Aθrit, son of Sāhm, and Narīmān is not included.

In the later Iranian epic traditions, however, Garšāsp more or less disappears and gives way to Sām, who is closely associated with another hero, Narīmān, who is alternately said to be the same as Garšāsp and father of Dastān (father of the greatest of Ferdousi's heroes, Rostam), Garšāsp's grandson and Dastān's father, or Garšāsp's grandson and Sām's father (Christensen, 1932, 131).

Mani's source seems to have been closer to the later recorded tradition. Thus his giant brothers Ohya and Ahya, sons of Šahmīzād,[30] are called in Middle Persian Sām, Sāhm and Narīmān[31] but in Kaw Sogdian H Sāhm and Pātsāhm[32] (Henning, 1943, 69–70; Reeves, 1992, 81; cf. *1 Enoch* 7) from the chapter entitled *ʾδw 100 δywty ʾysʾmʾntʾkw* "The coming of the two hundred demons":

... rty ʾwnʾkw ʾyδcw cwZYšn ʾprw smʾnyth ZKwy βγγšty myδʾny wyty wmʾt oo	... and what they had seen in the heavens among the gods,
rty ms tym ʾwnʾkw cwZYšn xypδ ʾpzʾtʾykw nʾ βʾy tmyʾ wytʾkw wmʾt oo	and also what they had seen in hell, their native land,
rtyšnms ʾwnʾkw cwZY prw ʾ βcʾnpδ wyty wmʾt wβyw šyrw wβyw γntʾkw rty ʾʾγʾzʾnt sʾt ZKn mrtxmy ywγty ZY ʾβsʾγt oo oo	and furthermore what they had seen on earth, — **all that they began to teach to the men.**
rty nwkr ZKn šxmyzʾty cnn δmwmh wδwh ʾδw zʾt[y] ʾʾ[zʾy]t rtš[y ʾwx]yʾ n[ʾm] kwntʾ oo kyZY ʾxw swγδyw sʾxm kwʾy ʾz[γy]rty oo	To Šahmīzād two(?) sons were born by ... One of them he named Ohya, who in Sogdian is called Sāhm the Giant.
rtšy ms δβtykw zʾty xʾʾy rtšy ʾxyʾ nʾm kwntʾ rtšy ms swγδʾyw pʾtsʾxm βwt oo	And again a second son [was born] to him. He named him Ahya; and in Sogdian he was Pāt-Sāhm.
rtyms ZKh ʾnʾyt kwʾyšt cywyšn pʾrʾykt δywty ZY ykšyšty ʾʾzʾytʾyt[33]	As for the remaining giants, they were born to the other demons and yakṣas.

[30] From an Iranian point of view Šahmīzād ought to mean "son of Šahm." That would probably not prevent Mani from seeing the father as son of his son, in view of the strange family relations that obtained in the early days of the world. Whether Mani was also influenced by the phonetical similarity between Sām, Sāhm and Šahmīzād on one hand and Šem and Sem on the other, we can only speculate. We do know, however, that Mani sometimes chose his terminology on such a basis (see Skjærvø, "Irano-Manicahica I").

[31] The Avestan origin was already noted by Ḡadanfar of Tabriz (Reeves, 1992, 22; Henning, 1943, 72). Note also the name Wahman Narīmān in the text M11 lines 12–15 on *ʾgrʾyh ʿy hmwcʾgʾn* "Excellence of the Teachers" (Boyce, 1975, 146, text cn 4), cited below.

[32] The form reminds us of Pādhusraw brother of Zarēr.

[33] The next chapter is about the "Questions of the King of Kings about the world," see Sundermann, 1983.

Sām and his brother are the actors in several fragments from the *Book of Giants* (Reeves, 1992, 84):

Sundermann Kaw Middle Persian L recto (Sundermann, 1984, 495–96; Reeves, 1992, 109, 117):

o mʾzyndrʾn o	[The speech] about Māzendarān
... ny ptʾyy	... you do not remain ...
dwdyš gwpt kw ʿyn dw txtg ʿy wymyn ʾw pr br kw nbyšt oo kw	Again he said: Take these two stone tablets to that *place where it is written!
nxwstyc ʾw hʾn nrymʾn pygʾm br oo cy rʾy ʾʾwn ʿštptyhʾ dwʾryd oo nwn ʾmdym ʾwm ʿyn dw txtg ʾ[wrd] kw pyš qwʾʾn phypwrs[ym] yk ʾw mʾzyndrʾn oo	And first bring the message to **Narīmān**: Why are you running so fiercely? Now I have come and I have brought these two tablets so that I can read to the giants the one to **Māzendarān**.
š[hm]yzʾd gwpt kw pypwrs ds[t] nbyg ʿy hwnwx ʾzwʾrg ... [ʿ]yg ʾc gwyš[n] ʿyg [mʾzyndrʾn rʾy]	Šahmīzād said: Read the manuscript of Enoch the interpreter ... from The Speech about Māzendarān![34]

Sundermann Kaw Middle Persian L verso (Sundermann, 1984, 496–97; Reeves, 1992, 121, 154–55 n. 311):

o sʾm qwʾn o	Sām of the giants
ps sʾm ʾw qwʾn gwpt ʾwryd kw xwrʾm ʾwd šʾd bwʾm	Afterward **Sām** said to the giants, "Come let us eat and be merry!"
ʾc zryg ny xwrdn nʾn xwptynd mʾhwy ʾw tnbyš šwd hrw gwpt o dwdy mʾhwy ʾmd	Because of (their) despondency they did not eat (but) went to sleep. Māhaway went to Atanbīš[35] (and) told (him) everything. Again Māhaway came.
sʾm xwmn dyd ʾbr ʾc ʾsmʾn ʾmd o ʾc zmyg tb ʾyʾpt oo hʾmʾg ʾb ʾwbʾrd	**Sām** had a dream: He came up above heaven. Heat ... from the earth.[36] All the water was swallowed up.
ʾc ʾb xyšm ʾwzyd prhʾn ʾbydʾg bwd hynd oo hndymʾn dyd pʾdxšʾyʾn [ʿ]y ʾsmʾn ...	(The demon) Xešm came out of the water. The glories became invisible. He saw before him the rulers of heaven.[37] ...

[34] Cf. Reeves, 1992, 84.

[35] = Utnapištim(?), Reeves, 1992, 159 n. 373.

[36] Reeves' translation "Upon earth fever broke out" does not seem possible.

[37] It is not certain whether the transitive verbs here (*ayāft*, *ōbārd*, *dīd*) have an unexpressed "he" as agent or are to be understood as agentless = passive. For an Aramaic parallel expression see Reeves, 1992, 63, 159 n. 376.

The dream of Sām is also mentioned in Sundermann Kaw Middle Persian j page 2 (Kaw 33–42; Henning, 1943, 57, 60; Reeves, 1992, 94):

...] nyys[...]m[... ʾ]br txtg oo ʾw prystgʾn [dʾd ʿy?] ʾc ʾsmʾn oo	... on a tablet (and) [gave it?] to the angels from heaven.
txtg ʾw [...] txtg ʾw ʾb ʾbgnd oo pd przʾ[m pd?] xwmn txtg dyd sh nyšʾ[n pdyš?] oo yq wʾy ʾwd wryc oo ʾwd yk [...] wnywdyh oo	One tablet he threw ..., another into water. In the end ... saw a tablet in a dream (with) three signs [on it?] One woe and flight and one ... annihilation.
nrymʾn dyd bwy[stʾn pwr dr]xtʾn rdg rdg oo [d]wys[d ...] ʾwzyd drxt ...	**Narīmān** saw a garden [full of] trees in rows. Two hundred ... came out; the trees ...

Kaw Sogdian I (Henning, 1943, 70; Reeves, 1992, 121):

... (mr)ṭʾ(n)[yʾ p](r) ṭʾw(nty) zwsṭmbkyʾẖ ny myr(y)ṭy-qʾm oo	... manliness, in powerful *tyranny, he shall not die.
ʾrty xw sʾhm qwy δ(wn) xypδδ βrʾṭ p(r)yw ʾykwn jw(n)[d]kʾm	**Sāhm the giant and his brother will live eternally**. For in the whole world in power and strength, and in ... [they have no equal].[38]
pʾrty pr ʾnγṭc fcm[bδ] pr ṭ[ʾ]w ʾ(ṭ)y z[ʾw](r) oo ʾty pr ...	

Kaw Middle Persian c page 1 (Kaw 1–11; Henning, 1943, 56–57, 60; Reeves, 1992, 109):

... ʿy ʿs[t]pt tygr ʾ[...]ry qmʾn hʾn ʿy q[...] ʾw [...]yd oo	... a hard ..., arrow ... bow, that which [... shoot?]s ... to.
sʾm gwpt ʾpryd byh [kyt?] ʿyn dyd ny mwrd hy oo	**Sām** said: Blessed be [you? who] saw this (and) did not die!
ghy [šhm]yzʾd ʾw sʾm ʿyš [pws gw]pt oo kw hrw cy mʾhwʾy [... w]nst oo	Then Šahmīzād said to **Sām**, his son: All that Māhawai [made?] has been destroyed!
dwdʿyš [...] gwpt kw dʾ ʾw [...]d hwm oo ʾwd [... ʾ]md ...	Again he said [to Sām?]: Until ... we are ... And ... *came ...

Kaw Middle Persian c page 2 (Kaw 12–22; Henning, 1943, 56–57, 60; Reeves, 1992, 109):

...]rgʾn oo ʿy [.] ʾʾyb [...] ʿ[yst]ynd oo km wrwgdʾd pyd ʾ[...] bwd oo oo	... the -s; .... stand .... When my father Wirōgdād was ...

38 Thus Henning.

šhmyzʾd g[wpt] kw rʾst gwyd oo yk ʾc hzʾ[rʾn] gwyd oo cy yk ʾc hzʾrʾn n[...]	Šahmīzād said: He is right. He says (only) one (thing) of a thousand[39] (he could say). For one of a thousand ...
sʾm dwdy nwyst [...]	Again **Sām** began to [search?]
mʾhwyc ws gy[ʾg ...] dʾ ʾw hʾn gyʾ[g ʾmd kw?] rhyy ʾwd p[...]	Māhaway too [searched?] in many *places until he came to that place [where there was?] a *chariot, and a ...

Kaw Middle Persian j page 1 (Kaw 23–42; Henning, 1943, 57, 60; Reeves, 1992, 76, 94):

...]b[... wr]wgdʾ[d ...]t oo	... Wirōgdād[40] ...
hwbʾbyš ʾw ʾhr[...]nxtg ʿyš zn ʾpwrd oo	Hōbābīš[41] [killed?] Ahr- and carried off his wife -naxtag.
ps [nwys]t hynd kʾwʾn ʾʾgnyn oo ʾwzdn ʾw[šʾn ... ʾpw]rdn oo	Then they began together to kill the giants and to carry off [their wives?], they also began together to kill the living beings.
dʾmʾnyc nwyst hynd [ʾʾgn]yn ʾwzdn	
sʾm pyš hwrxšyd [ʾxy?]st oo yk dst pd prʾwhr oo yk [...] hrw cy wyndʾd ʾw br[ʾd ...] ʿy [...]ʾn bst ...	**Sām [rose up?] before the sun**,[42] one hand in the air, the other [... and] all that he found [he gave?] to (his) brother ... who ... bound ...

The only possible mention of the dragon-slaying action of Ohya/Sām in the extant fragments would seem to be the reference to the "Rage" that "crawls out of the water" in the account of his dream. In the *Avesta* Aēšma "Rage" ranges second after the Evil Spirit among demons smashed by Miθra in *Yt.* 10.96–97:

vazrəm zastaiia dražəmnō ...	**holding a cudgel in the hand** ...
vərəθrauuastəməm zaēnąm	the most victorious of weapons,
yahmaṯ haca fratərəsaiti Aŋrō Mainiiuš pouru.mahrkō	**which the Evil Spirit full of destruction fears**,
yahmaṯ haca fratərəsaiti Aēšmō duždå pəṣ̌ō.tanuš	which **Wrath** giving bad gifts, whose body is forfeit, **fears**.

[39] See Reeves, 1992, 154–55 n. 311; Sundermann, 1981, 117 lines 1925–26.

[40] = Baraqʾel, Henning, 1943, 53.

[41] = Humbaba(?), Reeves, 1992, 124–26.

[42] This phrase curiously recalls that used of Yima in the *Videvdad* (*Vd.* 2.10, 14, 18) *āaṯ Yimō fraš̆ūsaṯ ā raocå upa rapiθβąm hū paiti aδβanəm* "Then Yima went forth toward the southern lights, on the path of the sun", preparatory to performing the acts that enlarge the earth to enable it to support the constantly growing population, which eventually causes depopulation through the killer winters and ensuing floods.

If that is so, we might have here a scene in which Sām has been called to the presence of the rulers of heaven, who ask him, because he is unequaled in strength in the world, to fight the terror in the water and promise him eternal life as reward. This would then provide a vague parallel with Avestan Kərəsāspa's, and Middle Persian Karisāsp's eschatological slaying of Aždahāg described in the Pahlavi books but alluded to also in *Yt.* 13.61 (see also Henning, 1943, 54–55, on Sām's immortality).

Yima and the Rex Honoris

The most remarkable fragment of the *Book of Giants* is one that contains a description of Yima (Sogd. *Yami*), Kaw Sogdian V page 2 (Henning, 1943, 74):[43]

...]ḫ pnc ps'k nm'ckn βr'nd oo ('')rtšn xw ymyḫ 'ww ps'kt [...]t ptycxš oo	... they brought five diadems in homage, and **Yima** accepted their diadems.
'rtxw w'n(t)t [...]'k ky 't(y) [...]'tyḫ [...]('')t mzyx 'xš'wn [...]yy wm't oo	And those ... who ... and great kingship ... was ...
'rtšn prw [...](s)tyy oo 'rty šyrn'm [...]	And on ... them ... and good name [= cheers] ...
'ty cn 'ww š(yrk)ty [... p]s'k prw srw w''(st) [f]cmbδykt	And from those good ... he placed the diadem on his head[44] ... (people) of the world ...

Kaw Sogdian V page 1:

... pyδ''r [...] 't[y] 'ww βγyšty δm'n 'ty 'ww ''ykwncyk š''twxy('') 'ty šyryy 'wxryy oo [oo]	... because of [...] and the house of the gods and eternal joy and good *fame (?).
p''rty (w)['']('nw) wxst[yy kt] prywynd jmn(w) [xw] ymyḫ prw fcmb(δ) [...] wm't oo	For so it is (being) said: At that time **Yima** was [king?] in the world.

[43] This fragment is in an Appendix in Henning's article, which presumably means that it came to his attention during the printing process. This is probably the reason why he does not explain why this fragment should belong to the *Book of Giants*. My discussion is based upon the assumption that Henning was right.

[44] Cf. the similar expression in the Paikuli inscription: *dēhēm sar bast* "bound the diadem to (his) head", Humbach–Skjærvø, 1983, pt. 3.1, 29, pt. 3.2, 26.

ʾrty pr nwy m[yδ ʾxw] fcmbδykt	And on **New *Day**[45] the *lords of the
frn[xwntt?] sγtmʾn mnwzʾn[d ...]	world all assembled[46] ... every ...
wysp[w	

Reeves does not attempt to locate this fragment within the *Book of Giants* nor its parallel in *1 Enoch*. There seems to be only one place, however, where the description of a great ruler can be fitted in, namely corresponding to *1 Enoch* 9, where the archangels bring the complaints of the earth to the Most High but first offer an "introductory paean of praise" to God (Reeves, 1992, 82; *1 Enoch* 9:4): "For he is ... the King of kings, and the seat of his glory (stands) throughout all the generations of the world. Your name is holy, and blessed, and glorious throughout the whole world."

This raises the question which deity in Mani's system would correspond to God in *1 Enoch*? In the non-dualist Gnostic systems, for instance that of Marcion, the God of the Old Testament is the Demiurge, who creates the world. In Manicheism this is the function of the Living Spirit. There are, however, other characters, as well, who would fit the description of God in *1 Enoch*, for instance the Father of Greatness himself, but in view of the fact that the Watchers originally came from the watch-district of the Rex Honoris, it is most likely that the complaint was brought before him. We shall see that the description of the Rex Honoris is indeed consonant with that of God in *1 Enoch*.

One of the Aramaic fragments too seems to be related to *1 Enoch* 9 (line 2; Reeves, 1992, 82). In QG3 we have the phrase *hdr yq[-*, which Reeves restores as *hdr yq[rkh]* and translates "majesty of your glory". The 2nd person pronoun is not indispensable, however; the 3rd person would do as well, but no pronoun is actually needed. Thus the fragmentary line can be read as *ʿlyn mn qwdm hdr yq[rʾ]* "they *rise up before the majesty of glory", with which we can compare the Syriac name of the Rex Honoris: Malkā rabbā d.īqārā "Great King of Glory". Note also line 4 of QG3 *mlkwt rbwtkh* "your kingdom of greatness".

Clearly Yima cannot represent the Father of Greatness or Living Spirit, whose Iranian names in the Sogdian Manichean texts are, respectively, *(ə)Zrwā βaγi* "god Zurwan"[47] and *Wēšparkar* from Avestan *Vaiiuš uparō.kairiiō* "Vaiiu, whose work is above(?)". The Rex Honoris, on the other hand, is described as follows in a Sogdian fragment of the Manichean cosmogony, M178ii 106–111 (Henning, 1948, 312–13, which see for commentary):

[45] If the proposed restoration *nwy m[yδ]* rather than Henning's *nwy m[ʾx]* "new moon" is correct, we have a reference to J̌am's institution of the celebration of the New Year, known from Ferdousi (see below), Biruni, etc. Biruni gives *nwsrd* as the Sogdian word for "New Year," however.

[46] Cf. *Vd.* 2.20–21 on the "assembly" (*haŋjamanəm*) of Ahura Mazdā, to which "Yima came with the best of men."

[47] For all the names see Sundermann, 1979: *(ə)Zrwā-βaγ*, *Wēšparkar* p. 101; *Pāhragbed*, *Smānxšēδ* p. 102.

ʾrty ptsʾr xw wyšprkr ʾww smʾnxšyδ jyγyr o	After that Wēšparkar (the Living Spirit) evoked the Lord of Heavens (*smānxšēδ*).
ʾrtyšw wyʾ ʾβṭmyk smʾnyyḥ pr γʾδwk nyšyδʾnd ʾty pr mγwn δsʾ smʾn ʾxšyδ ʾty xwtʾw qwnʾnd o	And they set him upon a throne in the seventh heaven and made him lord and ruler of all ten heavens.

Sogdian *ʾxšyδ*[48] is probably a loan-word from Persian *xšēd* rather than directly from Old Iranian (Av. *xšaēta*), and although it is used in other contexts as well it may be worth noticing that *xšēd* is the standing epithet of J̌am: Av. *Yima xšaēta*, Middle Persian *J̌am(x)šēd*, Mod. Pers. *J̌amšid*.

The function of the Rex Honoris, the second son of the five sons of the Living Spirit, also matches his Middle Persian title: *Pāhragbed* "master of the watchers" or *Pāhrbed* "master of the watch(-district)." According to Bar Khonai he sits in the middle of the heavens and watches over the heavens and the earths.[49]

Having established the probable identity of Sogdian Yami we may look for parallels between God, the Rex Honoris, and the Iranian Yima, J̌amšēd. We shall see that they are numerous.

God's throne is described in *1 Enoch* 14:18 as follows: "And I observed and saw inside it a lofty throne — its appearance was like crystal and its wheels like the shining sun." Similarly, al-Ṭabarī calls J̌amšid's throne a glass chariot, which allowed him to go from his place at Dumbāwand to Babylon in one day (tr. Vol. 1, 349–50).

The Rex Honoris is in charge of a wheel that is like a big mirror and allows him to see everything (*Kephalaia*, 88.30–33). J̌amšid has a famous Cup, *J̌ām-e J̌am(šīd)*, which allows him to see everything that goes on in the entire world.

According to *1 Enoch* 7–8 the 200 angels, led by Semyaz, taught people medicine, decorations, ornamentation, etc., crafts that according to Kaw Sogdian H (above) "the 200 *δēws* had seen in the heavens among the gods, etc." Under J̌amšid the *divs* taught people the use of clay to make bricks and build houses, and according to al-Ṭabarī (loc. cit.) J̌amšīd charged the *divs* "with producing depilatories ... as well as different kinds of perfumes and medicines".

The presentation of diadems in the above fragments echoes closely Ferdousi's account of the beginning of J̌amšid's reign (ed. Mohl, lines 1–2, 4–5):

> The outstanding J̌amšid, his [Tahmuras's] son readied himself
> and with the heart full of his advice ascended the glorious throne of his father.

[48] Also *βγʾn ʾxšyyδ, δynʾn ʾxšyδ*.

[49] See Bar Khonay's description of the five sons of the Living Spirit in Jackson, 1932, Study XI). Sundermann, 1979, 131 n. 224, refers to the "guardianship (*Wächteramt*) of the world [as one of the] occasionally mentioned duties of of the Rex Honoris," presumably referring to Bar Khonay.

According to the custom of the *keys* [= *kauuis*] he placed a crown on his head ...
The temporal world was relieved through (his) passing of judgments.
At his command (were) *div* and bird and *pari*.
Through him the world increased[50] in honor and fame, through him the royal throne blazed.

The completion of the wonderful throne and the institution of New Year's Day are described as follows (ed. Mohl, lines 49–54):

By his Kayanid glory he built a throne, which he adorned with jewels,
which the *divs* whenever he wanted lifted up from the flat earth to the firmament.
like the shining sun the commanding king sat on it in the middle of the air.
The whole world gathered at his throne, astounded at the glory of his throne.
They scattered jewels upon J̌amšid. They called that day the New Day.
At the beginning of the year, on the day of Hormoz, month of Farvardin,
the body rested from toil and the heart from anger.

The function of the Rex Honoris is to protect and guard the heavens and earths. Similarly, Avestan Yima's function is to be the first king of men[51] and to protect and guard the creations of Ahura Mazdā. In the story of Yima in *Videvdad* 2, Ahura Mazdā first asks him to be the protector of the religion, but Yima declines. Ahura Mazdā next asks him to be the protector of the living creatures, which Yima does accept (*Vd.* 2.4–5):

āaṯ hē mraom Zaraθuštra azəm yō Ahurō Mazdå	Then I said to him, o Zarathustra, I, Ahura Mazdā:
yezi mē Yima nōiṯ vīvīse mərətō bərətaca daēnaiiāi	If you are not prepared, o Yima, to be the reciter and upholder of the Religion,
āaṯ mē gaēθå frāδaiia āaṯ mē gaēθå varəδaiia	then further my herds, then make my herds grow,

50 Cf. Kaw Aramaic QG3 II.2 "... you have increased ..." (Reeves, 1992, 63)?

51 The Mesopotamian counterpart to Yima may have been Gilgameš, also first great king, mentioned in the Aramaic *Book of Giants*, see Reeves, 1992, 120–121.

āaṯ mē vīsāi gaēθanąm θrātāca harətāca aiβiiāxštaca[52]	then be prepared to be the protector, guardian, and overseer of my living creatures!
āaṯ mē aēm paitiiaoxta Yimō srīrō Zaraθuštra	Then he answered me, o Zarathustra, beautiful Yima:
azəm tē gaēθå frāδaiieni azəm tē gaēθå varəδaiieni	I shall be prepared to be the protector, guardian, and overseer of your living creatures.
azəm tē vīsāne gaēθanąm θrātāca harətāca aiβiiāxštaca	

In the Indian tradition Yama was also the first king of the realm of the dead. As the principal function of the Rex Honoris is to "watch over the heavens and the earths". To Mani, however, the world, consisting of the heavens and the earths, is nothing but "the realm of the dead". In the Middle Persian texts published by Sundermann (1973, no. 1.1) the cosmos is called *ns'h wzrg* "the great corpse", as opposed to the body of man, which is the "(small) corpse".

The Avestan Yima is initially endowed with *x^{v}arənah-* "glory," which could correspond to the Glory (*iqqārā*) of the Rex Honoris.[53] Yima is also famous for having sinned against the gods and to have been punished for his transgressions by the *loss* of his "glory". Here in the *Book of Giants* Yima does not seem to have any bad side, however. Is it possible that Mani, who frequently turned the "good" characters he took from other traditions into "bad" ones, this time took the only Old Iranian hero-king who was notoriously "bad" and made him one of the rulers in the realm of Light?

Hōšang and the Living Spirit

The Rex Honoris is the second son of the Living Spirit, called in Middle Persian Mihryazd (Sogdian Wēšparkar, see above). As Mihr is originally also a sun god and the Manichean Living Spirit resides in the chariot of the sun (*rahy ī xwarxšēd*),[54] we may have here the same relationship as between Yima and his father Vīuuaŋ^{v}ha(h), OInd. Vivasvant, a name of the sun. On the other hand in the Sogdian cosmogony (Henning, 1948, 314) the Living Spirit is also called Aβtkišpi Xutāw "ruler of the seven climes", which agrees with his Middle

[52] The Pahlavi translation renders these terms as: *srāyišn (parwarišn) sālārīh (framān dādan) pad nigāhdārišnīh (pānagīh kardan)* "protection (i.e., fostering), chieftainship (i.e., giving of commands), in guardianship (i.e., providing protection)."

[53] The Aramaic word used as heterogram for Middle Persian *xwarrah* is *gaddā* (*GDE*), however.

[54] In the Middle Persian *Šābuhragān*, ed. MacKenzie, 1979, 512–13.

Persian name Dahībed "master of the world".[55] In the *Avesta* this is a characteristic of Haošiianha, who is described as follows in *Yašt* 19.26:

yaṯ upaŋhacaṯ Haošiiaŋhəm paraδātəm darəγəmciṯ aipi zruuānəm	(the x^{v}arənah) which followed **Haošiiaŋha Paraδāta** for a long time thereafter indeed,
yaṯ xšaiiata paiti būmīm haptaiθiiąm	**so that he ruled on the sevenfold earth**
daēuuanąm maṣiiānąmca yāθβąm pairikanąmca sāθrąm kaoiiąm karafnąmca	over demons and men, sorcerers and witches, tyrants, kauuis and karapans;
yō janaṯ duua θrišuua māzainiianąm daēuuanąm varəniianąmca druuatąm	he who smashed two-thirds of the Giant demons and the Greedy Lieful ones.

This description of Haošiianha is quite similar to the description of the five sons of the Living Spirit in the eschatological chapter of the *Šābuhragān* (MacKenzie, 1979, 512–13):

yzd ky pd ʾsmʾn ʾsmʾn u zmyg zmyg mʾnbyd wysbyd zndbyd u dhybyd pʾhrgbyd u ny[xrwstʾr] hynd	the gods who in the various heavens and various earths are the home-lord, house-lord, tribe-lord, land-lord, **watch-lord and *tormentor** (of the demons)
u šhr wynʾrd dʾ[rynd ʾwd] ʾʾz ʾwd ʾh[r]myn u dywʾn [ʾwd] prygʾn nyxrwhynd	and keep the world arranged in order and **torment Āz and Ahrimen and the demons and the witches**.

Further parallels between the Living Spirit and Hōšang are, however, difficult to find. The later identification with Mahalaleel also suggests nothing useful. It is perhaps possible that the functions of the Living Spirit = Mihryazd and Haošiianha were conflated. In the *Avesta* Miθra himself is said to "survey" the seven climes individually (*Yt.* 10.15) but not to be "lord of the seven climes".

Frēdōn and Adamas

If the identification proposed here for the Rex Honoris is correct, then Mani chose his name from the pre-Kayanid heroic period of the Iranian history. In this light we may reconsider the name of the third son of the Living Spirit, Light Adamas, slayer of a mighty dragon (Hutter, 1992, 41–42):

[55] Still higher in the hierarchy is the Third Messenger, the lord of *hāmkišwar* "the entire cosmos."

(Mihryazd) hʾn yzd ʿyw tskyrb frystʾd ky ʾwy mzn ʾndr ʾbrg pʾdgws ʾz Xwrʾsʾn dʾ Xwrnywʾr pd hmʾg ʾbrg frʾrʾst pʾy ʿspwxt ʾwd ʾbgnd ʾwš ʾbr ʿystʾd kw ʾndr šhr wynʾh ny kwnʾd ʾwd ... wysbyd kyrd kw šhr pʾyʾd	(Mihryazd = the Living Spirit) sent **that god of four forms, to stretch out that giant (dragon)** in the province of Abarag, from east to west, over all Abarag; he pressed his foot (on it) and stood on it so that it could do no harm in the world; and he was made home-lord so that he might protect the world.

Šābuhragān 222–5 (ed. MacKenzie, 1979, 512–13):

ʾwd hʾn Wysbydyzd ʿyg ʾbr ʿyn zmyg ʿystyd ʾwd hʾn ʾzdhʾg ʿy mzn ʾndr ʾbrg kyšwr nyrʾft dʾryd	that god House-Lord, who stands on this earth and **keeps subdued that giant Aždahāg** in the land of Abarag.

See also the description of the chase of and victory over the dragon in Sundermann (1973, 48–49), where the verb used is (l. 907) *nibāst* "threw down". In the Manichean psalm-book (ed. Allberry, 1938, 138 l. 42) the Greek verb δαμάζειν "subdue, overcome" is used.

Adamas is called Wašaγni in Sogdian, from Old Iranian *Wṛθragnah, Av. Vərəθraγna-, literally "resistance-smashing" (see Watkins, forthcoming, passim), who is not, however, a dragon-slayer in the extant Avesta. If there is a connection between the names of the sons of the Living Spirits and the pre-Kayanid heroes, however, then the use of the name here can be easily explained as the epithet of Θraētaona, the oldest Iranian dragon-slaying hero, as in *Yt.* 5.61: *Vərəθrajå taxmō Θraētaonō* "the resistance-smashing, steadfast Θraētaona", slayer of Aži Dahāka, which is also the function of Light Adamas. Moreover, his Middle Persian name, Wisbed-yazd, may have been influenced by the Avestan epithet of Θraētaona: *vīsō sūraiiå* "of the strong house" (Pahl. *kē abzār wis*).[56]

This proposed identification may be tested directly on the Manichean texts, where Frēdōn is mentioned in two texts: in a Middle Persian text published by Müller and Salemann (M4b), and in the Middle Persian magical texts published by Henning.[57] The latter passage is as follows (Henning, 1947, 40; Boyce, 1975, 187–88, text dr 3):

...] prydwn nyrʾmʾd [ ] ʾwm sḫ phyq[yrb] ʾwd prwdg ʿy ʾdwryn ʾ[ndr] ʿystʾd hynd	... **Frēdōn** shall subdue [the dragon]. I have three forms, and fiery ... are placed within.

[56] Such may then also be the explanation of the Armenian dragon-slayer Vahagn, as well. Alternatively, either Mani may have taken this aspect of the god from India, or the dragon-slaying of Vərəθraγna may have survived outside of the *Avesta* in western Iran. See also Skjærvø, 1987, 193; Russell, 1987.

[57] I do not understand Henning's statement (p. 39 of his article) that "*Frēdōn* ... whose name is as common in Manichæan prayers as in Zoroastrian amulets". The passages quoted here are the only ones in MacKenzie's corpus.

ʾwd tb(r) [ʿy] tyj ʾwd wšwbʾg pd dst dʾrym ʾwm šfšyr ʾwd [cy]lʾn ʿy hswd ʿy ʾrmʾs [ʿ]y pʾk pyrʾmwn ʾwbʾyyd	And I have a sharp axe and a cleaver in my hand. And I am girded with a (well-)sharpened, clean steel sword and dagger.

Although the context here is fragmentary, it contains one indication that we are dealing with the Old Iranian Frēdōn in the role of the Manichean Adamas, namely the verb *nirāmād* "he shall subdue", which is the verb used in the *Šābuhragān* passage just quoted (*nirāft dārēd* "he keeps subdued"). Whether the following text, in the first singular, with its martial terminology refers to Frēdōn as well, cannot unfortunately be ascertained. I tend to think that it does not, especially in view of the mention of the "three forms", which to my knowledge is associated neither with the Iranian Frēdōn or the Manichean Adamas. In another Middle Persian text he seems to be referred to as the "god of four forms" (*taskerb-yazd*), which is also not a feature of Frēdōn, however, and must have been taken from some other tradition.

The Manichean Adamas, like his brothers, are not well served in the texts; however, there is a hymn to Adamas (ed. Allberry, 1938, 209–10) in which he is described as "the pitiless, the subduer of the rebels", the conqueror of demons: "he put fetters on the feet of the demons ... the false gods also that rebelled he bound beneath the dark mountain". The last expression is strongly reminiscent of Frēdōn's chaining of Aždahāg to Mount Damavand (see below), after which all the giants of Māzandarān set out for Xwanirah (the central clime) but were struck down by Frēdōn (Molé, 1959),[58] but also the description in *Jubilees* 5:6 (tr. Charlesworth, 1985, Vol. 2, 65): "And against his angels whom he had sent to the earth he was very angry. He commanded that they be uprooted from all their dominion. And he told us to bind them in the depths of the earth." See also below.

The second text mentioning Frēdōn is also a text containing implorations of the deities and angels for protection (M4b; Boyce, 1975, 190–91, text dt 5–6, 9–13):

ʾpryn ʾw prystgʾn thmʾtrʾʾn pʾyʾnd [ʾw dyn ʿy yzd]ʾn o	Blessing upon the most valiant angles. They shall protect [the pure Religion] and overcome those who harm truth.
ʾwd wʾnʾnd ʾw wzyndgʾrʾn ʿy rʾstyh prystg rʾymst yzd dwšʾrmygr wryhr pd dydyšn nyrwgʾwynd by ʾgrʾw nʾm prydwn šʾh u yʾkwb nry[m]ʾn	**King Frēdōn**, the wise angel, loving god, ... to look at, the mighty god of exalted fame, and **Jacob Narīmān** shall themselves protect the Religion and us, (their) children [or: our children].
xwd pʾyʾnd ʾw dyn ʾwd ʾmʾh przyndʾn	**God Mihr**, the deliverer of (our) fathers and ... together with brave **Frēdōn and all the angels** shall protect and watch
myhryzd pdʾn bwxtʾr ʾwd xwʾbr oo ʾbʾg frydwn nyw oo ʾwd wyspʾʾn prystgʾn oo pʾyʾnd u phryzynʾnd ʾw dyn ywjdhr oo	

[58] According to the account in *Dēnkard* book 9 freezing, deadly snow came out of his right nostril and stones big as houses out of his left. Add this to the examples of killing demons with stones quoted in Skjærvø, "Irano-Manichaica IV".

'w prwx s'r'r xwd'y nywn'm rwšnygr xwrxšyd' zyn'rys by oo 'b'(g) zyndg'n m'dr [....] yzd o hmys prystg'n pnz 'wd dw'zdh oo hrwysp 'st'yh'nd 'c dyn ywjdhr

over the pure Religion and (our) glorious leader lord, **divine Zēnārēs, the Sun, the illuminator** of good fame, together with the Mother of the Living [and] god [...Call?] together with the five and twelve angels, they shall all be praised from the pure Religion.

nmbrym 'w by y'qwb prystg 'b'g prh'n zwr'n nyw w'xšn kwm'n xwd p'ynd pd zwr 'y 'bz'r oo 'wm'n xwd z'myn'nd 'c 'ndrwn 'wd byrwn

We revere the **divine angel Jacob** together with the glories, the powers, the good spirits, so that they shall themselves protect us with powerful strength and themselves lead us (out of matter), from within and without.

Here Frēdōn is associated first with Jacob (Yākōb) Narīmān, then with Mihryazd = the Living Spirit. The second association is unproblematic if Frēdōn is the warrior son of the Living spirit. Note that, in the *Bruce Codex*, Aphrēdōn dwells with the "Father, the second *demiurge*" (Schmidt–MacDermot, 1978, 230).

The association with Yākōb Narīmān is more problematic. Fortunately the figure of "Jacob, the great general" has been clarified and described in detail by A. Böhlig (1989),[59] who showed that the later Jewish and Gnostic Jacob was a general and an angel, consequently the general of an army of angels.[60] As such he is mentioned in Manichean texts together with the arch-angels Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, and Sariel. The epithet Narīmān, Böhlig points out, suggests connection with Karisāsp Narīmān, the second great Old Iranian dragon-killer, but nothing seems to support such an identification. Böhlig also points out that the epithet Narīmān is used of the Great Nous, as well: Wahman Narīmān[61] (M11 R 11–15; Boyce, 1975, 146, text cn 4):

'wd nmbrym pd 'pryn 'w hmwc'g'n wzrg'n 'stwn'n 'wd pwštb'n'n 'y whmn nrym'n šhry'r 'y dyn ywjdhr

And we revere with blessing the great Teachers, the columns and protectors of **Wahman Narīmān, the prince** of the pure Religion.

Now Wahman, the Nous, can, as a matter of fact be fitted into the scheme of the sons of the Living Spirit, as these also correspond to mental states (see table below), and Nous here corresponds to the Splenditenens, the first of the five sons. There is, however, no indication that the Splenditenens had any

[59] Ref. in Klimkeit, 1989, 199; 1993, 165 ns. 17–18.

[60] Böhlig, 1989, 174, wonders about the curious "Aphrêdon-aspect [of the only-begotten one] which is called Aphrêdon-Pêxos" in the *Bruce Codex* (Schmidt–MacDermot, 231). It might conceivably be remotely connected with the descriptions of Adamas as the god of four forms, see above.

[61] Unless this is a personal name.

martial function, being assigned to hold (*tenens*) the "five luminous gods" or the ten heavens suspended from above (Jackson, 1932, 235–36, 298). There is, however, one of the five sons who is the general of the hosts of angels, namely the Rex Honoris himself. Jacob or Jacob Narīmān may therefore be yet another example of the identification of a Manichean figure with a Near Eastern one, be it from the Jewish or the Iranian tradition, as in the *Book of Giants*. Why the epithet Narīmān was chosen for the first two sons of the Living Spirit I am at a loss to say. I do not particularly believe W. Sundermann's suggestion cited by Böhlig (1989, 175 n. 50) that it is simply an adjective meaning "manly, brave", as one would expect it to be used more generally in Middle Persian;[62] however, the common term for "brave" used of heroes is *nēw*, as in *Frēdōn nēw* above.

Other sons of the Living Spirit

The first son of the Living Spirit, the Splenditenens, is Middle Persian Dahībed "land-lord," Sogdian ᵊXšēšpat-βaγ "god master of the *realm" (from **xšaiθra-pati*).[63] In *Yasna* 2.16 Ahura Mazdā is invoked as *iməmca šōiθrahe paitīm* "and this lord of the settlement", and in *Yašt* 8.1 Tištriia is said to be *šōiθrahe baxtārəm* "the apportioner of the settlement". In the *Gāθās*, finally, *šōiθra-* is still one of the socio-political divisions: *dəmāna- vīs- šōiθra- daxiiu-* (*Y.* 31.18), which was replaced by *zaṇtu-* in the *Young Avesta*: *nmāna- vīs- zaṇtu- dahu-*, Middle Persian *mān wis zand deh*. All five terms are found in *Yašt* 10.75: *buiiama tē šōiθrō.pānō mā buiiama šōiθrō.iricō mā nmānō.iricō mā *vīsō.iricō* [for ms. *višō* F1] *mā zaṇtu.iricō mā daŋhu.iricō* "May we be for you those who protect the settlements. May we not be those who leave the settlements, not those who leave the homes or houses or tribe or land."

The fourth son is the Gloriosus Rex, who leads the wind, water, and fire upward; he is Middle Persian Zandbed "tribe-lord" or Wādahrāmyazd "god leader upward of the wind", Sogdian Zāy Spandārmat "the earth Spəṇtā Ārmaiti", the Zoroastrian Beneficial Immortal in charge of the earth.

The fifth son is Atlas, who stands on the lowest earth and supports the other earths, the "home of mankind", on his shoulders; he is Middle Persian Mānbed "home-lord" or Kišwarwāryazd "god bearer of the world", Sogdian pδfʾry (Paθβārī?) βaγi of uncertain interpretation.

To this series of "lords" the Column of Glory is added, being called in the Middle Persian texts Bannbed "prison master" as well as Srōšahrāy, that is, Pahlavi Srōš Ahlāy, Av. Sraoša Aŝiia. The identification here is probably based on Sraoša's connection with "punishment," cf. the *sraošācaranā* "the whip".

We thus get the following (possible) correspondences:

62 In Avestan *naire.manah-* is only used of Kərəsāspa-.

63 See N. Sims-Williams, apud Boyce, 1990, 7–8: Sogd. ʾxšyš-, with long *ē*, appears to represent a cross between *xšaθra-* "power" and **šaiθra-*, Av. *šōiθra-* "settlement."

Manichean	Iranian myth	Iranian deities		Socio-political functions		Mental states[64]
		Mid. Persian	Sogdian	Mid. Persian	Sogdian	
Living Spirit	Hōšang	Mihryazd	Wēšparkar		aβtkišpi xutāw	
Splenditenens		*Wahman[65]		Dahībed	əxšēšpat βaγi	Nous
Rex Honoris	J̌amšēd			Pāhr(ag)bed[66]	smānxšēθ	Thought
Light Adamas	Frēdōn		wšγnyy	Wisbed(yazd)		Insight
Rex Gloriosus			Zāy spandārmat	Zandbed		Reflection (*handēšišn*), patience
Atlas				Mānbed(yazd)		Deliberation (*parmānag*)
Column of Light		Srōš Ahlāy	Srōšart βaγ	Bannbed		

[64] *Kephalaia*, 91–93.

[65] Cf. the corresponding mental state: Nous, which in the Iranian texts is Wahman and Wahman Rōšn "Light Wahman" (cf. *Splenditenens*). I see no basis yet for identifying the Splenditenens with Tahmōraf, who in the Iranian traditions comes between Hōšang and J̌amšēd.

[66] For the use of *pāhrag* to designate an administrative or geographical unit see Humbach–Skjærvø, 1983, pt. 3.2, 34.

The two irregularities in the correspondence between the order of the five sons and the regular sequence Dahībed, Zandbed, Wisbed, Mānbed can thus be explained: Pāhr(ag)bed was inserted because of the function of the Rex Honoris as "master of the Watchers", and Wisbed was moved "up" because of the connection between Adamas and Θraētaona who is *vīsō sūraiiå*. The title of Zandbed may thus have been assigned to the Rex Gloriosus by default.

We see that the attested names are taken from various Iranian contexts. Whether there were distinct systems in the different languages originally (Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian) cannot be investigated here.

Planting of vines

The following fragment, Kaw i page 2 (Kaw 103–111; Henning, 1943, 58, 62; Reeves, 1992, 75–76), may contain a text analogous to the second half of the instructions of God in *1 Enoch* 10:11–22, especially 10:18–19 (Charlesworth, 1983, Vol. 1, 18–19, where God is speaking to Michael): "And in those days the whole earth will be worked in righteousness, all of her planted with trees, and will find blessing. And they shall plant pleasant trees upon her — vines ... and all nations shall worship and bless me ...":

...] hʾmʾg [...] ʾpwrd [... k]s ks ʾw kʾr ʾwd	... all ... carried off ... severally they were
[ʾ]spʾs [...] nyrʾpt hynd oo oo	subjected to work and service.
ʾwšʾn [...] ʾc šhrystʾn šhrystʾ[n ...] ʾwd	And they ... from each city ... and were
prystyšn prmʾd ʾw p[...] qyrdn oo oo	ordered to serve the ...
myšnʾygʾ[n ...] hrʾstn oo hwjygʾn rwpt[n ...	The Mesenians [were directed] to prepare,
ʾ]šyxtn oo pʾr[s]ygʾn [...	the Khuzians to sweep [and] water, the
	Persians to ...

What is of interest here is the explicit mention of the provinces of the Iranian empire, corresponding to similar lists in the royal inscriptions of the 3rd century, e.g., in the introduction to the inscription of Shapur I: "Persia, Parthia, Hūzestān, Mēšān, Asūrestān, etc."

Capture of demons and relocation to Aryān Wēžan

According to the *Kephalaia* (117.1–9; Henning, 1943, 72–73) "before the Watchers rebelled and descended from heaven, a prison had been built for them in the depth of the earth beneath the mountains. Before the sons of the giants were born who did not know righteousness and piety among themselves, thirty-six towns had been prepared and erected, so that the sons of the giants should

live in them, they that came to beget [men of renown?][67] who live a thousand years".

In *Kephalaia* (93.23–28; Henning, 1943, 72) it is further told how "the four angels received their orders: they bound the Watchers with eternal fetters in the prison of the *Dark, their sons were destroyed upon the earth".

The Iranian texts from this part of the story are the following, Kaw Middle Persian l page 1 (Kaw 43–49; Henning, 1943, 57, 61; Reeves, 1992, 117):

... hwn]wx prys[tʾd ...] ʾw przyndʾn pygʾm oo kwtʾn [...] ʿy ny drwd oo	... *Enoch *sent [...] a message to the children (of the demons): "You [shall] have [a ...] that is not good.
ʾšmʾh bstn [...]n oo	I shall [send ... to] fetter you for the sins you have committed.
pd wynʾh ʿytʾn kyrd oo pd [...] przyndʾn wʾnyšn wynʾ[d ...](x)šʾy sd ʾwd wys[t ...]	For [your ...] you shall see the destruction of (your) children. [And] you shall rule [only] 120 [years].[68]

The story of the four angels and the 200 demons is told in Kaw Sogdian G, in the chapter entitled *4 fryštyt δn 200 [δywtyy] / pšʾn prβʾr* "The pronouncement (about) the four angels with the 200 [demons]," Kaw Sogdian G recto (Henning, 1943, 68–69; Reeves, 1992, 122–23):

... ʾʾwmrʾzṭ ky pr smʾnyṭ wmʾṭnd sʾṭ nyʾṭδʾrnd ʾty βyndʾnd oo	... they seized and imprisoned all the helpers that were in the heavens.
ʾṭyy xwtyy wyšnd fryštyṭ cn smʾnyy kw zʾy sʾr wʾxznd oo	And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth.
ʾrty 200 δywṭ wyšnd fryštyṭyy wynʾnd oo [jγw p]cykwyrʾnd ʾṭy δrβnd oo	And (when) the two hundred demons saw those angels, they were much afraid and worried.
ʾrtyy mrṭxmyyṭyḫ pṭsʾδ nyʾṭδʾrnd ʾty pγwšṭnd oo	They assumed the shape of men and hid themselves.
*wyδpʾṭyy wyšnd fryštyyṭ wʾ mrṭxmy[y](ṭ)[yy] (cn) δywṭyy zynʾn[d] ʾṭyy pr 1 kyr[ʾn wʾ](s)tynd oo ʾṭyšn cwpr pʾš[yyṭ *wʾstynd oo*	Thereupon the angels forcibly removed the men from the demons, placed them on one side, and placed watchers over them.
...] wnyy kwyšṭ[yy ...] zʾṭyyṭ wmʾ[ṭnd ... 1 δβṭ]yʾ ʾpryw ʾngyr(p)[...] 1 δβṭyʾ xwtyy [...]	... the giants ... were sons ... **identical**[69] **with one other** ... one other themselves ...

[67] Cf. *Genesis* 6:4?

[68] Reeves, 1992, 157–58 n. 353.

[69] See Skjærvø, "Irano-Manichaica I."

ʾrtyy wyš[nd ...] ky cn wyšndyyẖ ꞌꞌjytyytt wmʾ(t)[nd oo] cn δywtyẖ zynʾ[nd oo	And the [men?] that had been born to them, they forcibly removed them from the demons.
ʾ]tyyšn nymyyẖ [cn]	And **they led one half of them**

Kaw Sogdian G verso:

xwrsn kyrʾn oo ʾty nymyy cn xwrtxyz kyrʾn pr 4 mzyx γrtyʾ pδʾmn kw smyrγryy pδww kww 32 knδ sʾr ʾškrtδʾrnd oo kyy wʾδjyw [nd]yẖ cn ꞌꞌγʾzyẖ wyšndyẖ pyδʾr prštʾtyẖ wmʾt oo	**eastward and the other half westward** on the skirts of four huge mountains, toward the foot of the **Sumeru** mountain, into thirty-two towns which the Living Spirit had prepared for them in the beginning.
ʾtyy ʾryʾnwyjn nʾm jγyrʾnd oo	And one calls it **Aryān Wēžan**.[70]
ʾrtyẖ wyšʾnd mrtxmyyt pr p(yr)[nmc](y)k fsʾk ʾtyy ʾnδ(y)[k ...](y)y ʾskwnd oo	And those men are ... **the first arts and crafts**.[71]
[... q]wnʾnd oo oo	... they made ...
... fryštyyt [...] ʾty kw δywt [sʾr ... ꞌꞌ](x)[ʾ]s wytrʾnd oo	... the angels .... and to the demons ... they went to fight.
[ʾrtyy wyšn]d 200 δywt δn (c)[tfʾr fryštyty]ẖ ʾpryw šxy(y) ꞌꞌxʾs (ʾkr)[tw]δʾrnd oo wytwr ʾt[yy] xw(w) [fryšt]yyt (ʾ)ʾtr nftt ʾt[yẖ γ]wqtt ...	And those **two hundred demons** fought a hard battle with the [four angels] until [the angels used] fire, naphtha, and brimstone ...

The Parthian fragment Kaw Parthian T page 1 (Henning, 1943, 73; Reeves, 1992, 123–24), with its "image [in] a mirror" = Sogd. "identical with one other" (?) seems to refer to the same story:[72]

... ꞌꞌdyng pdkr	... **[like] an image [in] a mirror**.
ws [pd šh?]rʾn bxt mrdwhm [...]	**Many people (were) distributed [in] the *lands** ...
u hwnwx ngwst o ušʾn c[...]gʾn pdgryft oo	And Enoch was hidden. And they took ...

The motif of fettering the giants to a mountain is also Iranian. Thus, in the later tradition Frēdōn is said to have captured Aždahāg and chained him to Mount Damavand.[73] According to the *Bundahišn* (9.34, tr. Anklesaria, 1956, 99)

[70] See Henning's introduction (1943, 55–56).

[71] According to Kaw Coptic M (see above) the Watchers "revealed the arts in the world, and the mysteries of heaven to men" (*Kephalaia* (92.24–31). Henning, 1943, 71, Reeves, 1992, 81).

[72] The rest of page 1 as well as page 2 of this fragment are discussed in Skjærvø, "Irano-Manichaica IV."

[73] *Dēnkard* 9.21.10, tr. West, Vol. 4, 214, Molé, 1959; see also, e.g., *Bundahišn*, tr. Anklesaria, 98–99; tr. West, Vol. 1, 40; *Mēnōy ī xrad* 26.38; tr. West, Vol. 3, 61. See also Skjærvø,

Mount Dumbāwand, "that on which Bēwarasp [= Aždahāg] is fettered", grew from Mount Padišxwargar, which, however, is not said to be in the middle of the earth, but (9.20, tr. p. 97) "in Tabarestān and Gīlān and that area".

In the *Hōm yašt* Haoma is said to have bound Fraŋrasiian in the middle[74] of the earth, *Y.* 11.7:

θβāṣəm ā gəuš frāθβərəsō taṇcištāi haomāi draonō	In the firmament you fashioned forth for the firmest haoma the draonah of the cow.
mā θβā haomō baṇdaiiāṯ yaθa mairīm baṇdaiiaṯ	May not the haoma bind you **like he bound the rogue,**
yim tūirīm Fraŋrasiiānəm maδəme θrišuue aŋ́hå zəmō	**the Turian Fraŋrasiian, in the middle third of this earth**
pairiš.x^{v}axtəm aiiaŋhahe	**fettered in iron.**

The flood

The story of a flood released to relieve the earth of an overwhelming population[75] is told both in the *Videvdad* and in the Bible and other Mesopotamian literatures. A fragment of this story may be seen in Kaw Middle Persian 1 (Kaw 50–56; Henning, 1943, 57, 61; Reeves, 1992, 122):

page 2	
...] gwr oo p'c[yn ...] nrmyš oo twštr oo ''hwg oo y'[...] xrbwz oo dwysd dwysd oo jww[g ...] 'b'ryg dd mwrw oo 'wd d'm ʿ[y ... ']wš'n my šwh hz'r xw[mb ... 'w]d s'ryšn ʿy ['']b ...	... wild ass, ibex, ... ram, *goat, gazelle, ... oryx, (all) by two hundreds, [by] pairs. [And] the other wild beasts, birds, the creatures of ..., their wine shall be six thousand jugs ... and .?. of *water ...

The animals are standard in Pahlavi zoology, cf. *Bundahišn* 13.12 (tr. Anklesaria, 1956, 121): *xarbuz ud gōspand ud pāčēn ud warrag ud buz* "oryx,

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1987, 196. At the beginning of the millennium of Ušēdarmāh Aždahāg breaks loose from the fetters and rushes out to terrorize the world, devouring one third of men, oxen, sheep, and other creatures of Ohrmazd, and smiting the water, the fire, and the plants. The last three then request from Ohrmazd that Frēdōn should be resuscitated to combat him. In the event, however, it is not Frēdōn but Karisāsp (in the texts variously called Sām or son of Sām) who is reawakened and kills the dragon (see the account of the *Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg* in Williams, 1990, Vol. 2, 82).

[74] I.e., a lower level or center of the earth's surface? Note the description in the *Bundahišn* (1.8–9; see Zaehner, 1955, 319) of the creation of the earth in a succession of three thirds: one hard, one dusty, and one soft.

[75] Cf. *Clementine Homilies* quoted by Reeves, 1992, 73.

sheep, ibex, ram, goat"; 24.36 (tr. Anklesaria, 1956, 201): *gāw ī kōfīg ud pāčēn ud āhūg ud gōr* "mountain cow (?), ibex, gazelle, wild ass".

The reference to pairs recalls both the Old Testament story and the story of Yima and his *vara* "enclosure" in the *Videvdad*,[76] where Ahura Mazdā tells Yima how to populate the *vara* to save all his creatures from the killer winters and the ensuing floods, *Vd.* 2.35–36:

haθra vīspanąm narąm nāirinąmca taoxma upa.baraṯ	He brought together there the seeds of all the men and women
yōi hənṭi aŋhå zəmō mazištaca vahištaca sraēštaca	who are the greatest, and best, and most beautiful on this earth.
haθra vīspanąm gəuš sarəδanąm taoxma upa.baraṯ ...	He brought together there the seeds of all the cattle species ...
tē kərənaoṯ miθβaire	**He made those into pairs.**

Extra-Iranian parallels

We should also note, however, that many of the important Iranian-Manichean parallels discussed here are also found in the Indian epic tradition. Thus a parallel to the descent of the giants onto earth is found in the *Mahābhārata* 1(6)59 (tr. van Buitenen, 1973, Vol. 1, 138): "And so the celestials in succession descended from heaven to earth, for the destruction of the enemies of the Gods and the well-being of all the worlds; thereupon they were born in the lineages of brahmin seers and the dynasties of royal seers, at their own pleasure. O tiger among kings. They slew Dānavas and Rākṣasas and Gandharvas and Snakes, and other man-eating creatures in great numbers. Neither the Dānavas, nor the Rākṣasas, nor the Snakes, O best of the Bhāratas, slew them; for even in their infancy they stood in strength" (see also Skjærvø, "Irano-Manichaica IV").

The origin of the "generations of *kauuis*", is probably of Indo-Iranian date, as suggested by the Rigvedic expression *jánimā kavīnā́m* (*RV* 3.38.2; cf. the title of chapter 25 of the *Bundahišn*: *Abar tōhmag ud paywand ī kayān* "on the descents and generations of the *kays*"), and the first chapter of the *Mahābhārata* on the "origins" is of the same genre as the presentation in Ferdousi and the Muslim historians.

The theme of the giants filling the earth to the extent that it cannot support them any longer is also found in the *Mahābhārata*. In this connection we may also wonder whether Mani had heard the Brahminical story of the giants (*asuras*)

[76] A curious parallel between the Avestan and the Biblical accounts of the building of the ark and the *vara* is in the making of a window and a door, Hebrew *ṣōhar* and *peṭaḥ* (*Genesis* 6:16) and Avestan *duuarəm raocanəm* (*Vd.* .2.30), where both Hebrew *ṣōhar* and Avestan *raocanəm* mean literally "light".

oppressing the earth and the liberation of the earth found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (see Dumézil, 1986, Vol. 1, 113-15):

Mbh. 1(6)58–59 (tr. van Buitenen, 1973, Vol. 1, 137)

> "When she was thus tyrannized by the grand Asuras, bloated with power and strength, Earth came to Brahmā as a supplicant ... Earth sagging under her burden and brutalized with fear, sought refuge with the God who is the grandfather of all beings."

With this cf. *1 Enoch* 7:6, 9:2–3 (Charlesworth, 1983, Vol. 1, 16)

> "And then the earth brought an accusation against the oppressors ... they saw much blood being shed upon the earth, and all the oppression being wrought upon the earth. And they said to one another, 'The earth, (from) her empty (foundation) has brought the cry of their voice unto the gates of heaven."

A similar story is found even in the Greek tradition, where in the poem *Cypria* of the Epic Cycle Zeus devises the Trojan war to rid the earth of the myriad heroes that weigh upon her (Loeb ed., 496–97; Nagy, 1990, 16). It would therefore seem that the story has proto-Indo-European as well as proto-Semitic roots.

In the analogous Avestan passages giants are not mentioned, *Vd.* 1.1:

mraoṯ Ahurō Mazdå Spitamāi Zaraθuštrāi	Ahura Mazdā said to Spitama Zarathustra:
azəm daδąm Spitama Zaraθuštra asō rāmō.dāitīm nōiṯ kudaṯ šāitīm	I have made, o Spitama Zarathustra, a place *obeying laws not *lacking happiness.
yeiδi zī azəm nōiṯ daiδiiąm Spitama Zaraθuštra asō rāmō.dāitīm nōiṯ kudaṯ šāitīm	For if I had not made, o Spitama Zarathustra, a place *obeying laws not *lacking happiness,
vīspō aŋhuš astuuå Airiianəm Vaējō †frāšnuuāṯ[77]	the entire existence would have gone forth to the Ariian Expanse.

Vd. 2.9, 13, 17:

āaṯ Yimāi paiti.vaēδaēm	Then in response I informed Yima:
Yima srīra Vīvaŋʸhana	O beautiful Yima son of Vīuuaŋʸha,
pərəne īm zå haŋgata pasuuąmca staoranąmca maṣiiānąmca sūnąmca vaiiąmca āθrąmca suxrąm saociṇtąm	This earth is full because of the gathering of animals, small and large, and men, of dogs, birds, and red and blazing fires.
nōiṯ hīm gātuuō viṇdəṇti pasuuasca staorāca maṣiiāca	They do not find it in (their) place,[78] animals, small and large, and men.

[77] **frašušuiiāṯ* is the expected form.

[78] The text seems to be corrupt, but the meaning must be that they found no ground to stand on where they were.

About the origin of these correspondences between the Indo-European and Semitic literary parallels we can only speculate. Were they the result of the connections that existed between Mesopotamia and Central Asia and the Indus valley in the early 2nd millennium, as the archeological evidence seems to suggest, or later interactions on the Iranian Plateau after the Iranians settled there? The existence of Indo-Iranian parallel themes would seem to argue in favor of the former. On the other hand, the even earlier traces of the same themes among the Indo-European peoples point to pre-Indo-Iranian contacts. But maybe we are talking here about mythological themes that developed independently in different places at different times and that should therefore be ascribed to similarities in patterns of human thought.

Obviously much research remains to be done before these questions can be given more precise answers. On the Iranian side the study of mythology and legends has not yet even begun to take flight, and so we can still look forward to revelations in this field.

Conclusions

There can be little doubt that the Iranian (oral) epic traditions were used by the Manichean missionaries to render Mani's teaching more accessible to the Iranian audiences. This is completely in line with Mani's policy as outlined in his "ten points of superiority of his religion", the fifth of which is: The writings and the wisdom and the apocalypses and the parables and the psalms of all earlier religions were gathered everywhere and came to Mani's religion and were added to the wisdom which he revealed. The *Kephalaia* (see Böhlig, 1988, 30–31) adds: "As water will be added to water and becomes much water, so were the ancient (earlier) books added to my writings and became a great wisdom the like of which was not proclaimed (hitherto) in all ancient (earlier) generations" (see also Asmussen, 1966).

At what exact time the Iranian elements entered the Manichean prophetology and the *Book of Giants* is impossible to determine. There is no evidence, however, that Mani depended upon the Iranian tradition when he first composed the book.[79] Instead — like most of the allegedly Iranian elements in Manicheism — they can be explained as secondary Iranization of fundamental concepts learned and interpreted by Mani in the Elchasaite community in which he grew up (see also Skjærvø, "Irano-Manichaica I". Additional Iranization no doubt occurred as the texts were adapted to East Iranian communities — Parthian, Bactrian, Sogdian — in the course of the propagation of the religion.

It must indeed have been a revelation to Mani when he heard the Iranian legends about Zarathustra and his predecessors to find that many of the elements with which he was familiar from the reading of the standard texts of his

[79] As asserted by Widengren, 1960, 42–49; 1965, 81–82 (ref. Reeves, 1992, 48 n. 144).

Elchasaite community, including the *Book of Giants*, were found in much the same form in Iran as well.

What is significant from the point of view of Iranian literature is that the Manichean literature provides independent evidence for the Iranian epic traditions in the early Sasanian period and is therefore of crucial importance for understanding how it developed.

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SOGHDISCH *XWŠT'NC „LEHRERIN"

WERNER SUNDERMANN
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Eine Würdigung des Lebenswerkes Zsigmond Telegdis wäre unvollkommen, würde sie nicht auch die früh vollendeten Meisterwerke seiner Jugendzeit berücksichtigen. Seine 1939 veröffentlichten „Notes sur la grammaire du Sogdien Chretien"[1] haben in der Geschichte der Erforschung des Soghdischen einen ehrenvollen Platz behauptet. Telegdis nicht weniger sichere Beherrschung des Syrischen hat viel zum Ergebnis dieser Arbeit beigetragen. Wenn später auch die Selbstdisziplin und Bescheidenheit es diesem großen Gelehrten verboten, sich zur Erforschung des Soghdischen zu äußern, so weiß ich doch, daß er die weitere Arbeit auf diesem ihm wohlvertrauten Gebiet mit kritischem Interesse verfolgte.

Gewiß hätte auch der soeben erschienene ausgezeichnete Artikel von Wassilios Klein „Christliche Reliefgrabsteine des 14. Jahrhunderts von der Seidenstraße. Ergänzungen zu einer alttürkischen und zwei syrischen Inschriften sowie eine bildliche Darstellung"[2] seinen Beifall gefunden, und die kleine Bemerkung, die ich zu einem Wort in einer seiner alttürkischen Inschriften machen möchte, hätte ich gerne mit Prof. Telegdi zuvor besprochen.

Das Wort befindet sich auf einem Grabstein aus Almalïq von 1368, der heute in der Ermitage von St. Petersburg aufbewahrt wird. Der Text ist türkisch in nestorianischer Schrift. Eine ausgezeichnete Abbildung gibt Klein auf Tafel 6 seines Artikels, seine Umschrift und Übersetzung, die auch ältere Editionen berücksichtigen, finden sich auf S. 432. Danach ist der Grabstein einer vornehmen Dame, Tärim Kuschtantsch, gewidmet, die den vielleicht schon zum Namensteil gewordenen Titel *tärim* führte und den Namen Kuschtantsch trug. Was diesen betrifft, so beschränkt Klein sich darauf, die Vermutung Chwolsons zu zitieren, der im Wort „eine Corruption von Constantia" erkannt habe.[3]

Natürlich ist es schwer, die Lautentwicklung verderbter Wortformen zu verfolgen, und insofern ist Chwolsons Annahme nicht unmöglich. Es bietet aber geringere Schwierigkeiten, das qwštnṣ umschreibbare Wort (bei Klein steht

[1] Journal Asiatique 1939, S. 205–233.

[2] In: VI Symposium Syriacum 1992, ed. R. Lavenant, S. J., (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 247) Rom 1994, S. 419–442.

[3] Vgl. Anm. 2, S. 435.

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irrtümlich č für š) als ein im Soghdischen nicht belegtes soghdisches Lehnwort im Türkischen zu erklären.

Diese Erklärung glaubte ich gefunden zu haben und hatte sie bereits zu Papier gebracht, als Peter Zieme mich darauf hinwies, daß V. A. Livshits sie vorweggenommen hat, was mir entgangen war. Ich kann mich daher darauf beschränken, die von Livshits gegebene, m. A. n. etymologisch zutreffende Feststellung hier in deutscher Übersetzung wiederzugeben und sodann einige Bemerkungen zur möglichen Übersetzung des Problemwortes anzuschließen. Livshits schreibt:

„In vielen Texten dieser [d.h. 'türkisch-nestorianischer' oder 'syrisch-türkischer'] Epitaphe kann man auch einen bisher nicht erkannten soghdischen Terminus entdeken: qwšt'nṣ. Dieses Wort folgt allein weiblichen Eigennamen, es entspricht einer türkischen Aussprache qoštanč, von soghd. *xuštānč 'die Älteste; Leiterin, Äbtissin', der Form nach fem. von xušte, xušt 'Ältester; Haupt, Meister' (die Variante xuštar liegt vor in alttürk. qoštr). Dieser Terminus muß offensichtlich schon vor dem 9. Jh. übernommen worden sein und ist über einige Jahrhunderte bei den nestorianischen Türken des Semireč'e erhalten geblieben."[4]

Wie ist qwštnṣ zu übersetzen? Bereits die Übersetzung des besser bekannten *qošt(i)ranč* bereitete den Turkologen Schwierigkeiten. Hatte P. Zieme 1972 in aller Vorsicht einem Vorschlag A. v. Gabains zugestimmt, daß (mask.) *qoštr* einen „oberen Laien über Laien" bezeichne,[5] so meinte er 1975, *xweštaranč* (so!) meine „so etwas wie 'Äbtissin'".[6] Aber in seinen „Manichäisch-türkischen Texten"[7] deutete er wiederum *qoštiranč* als feminine Form von 'Lehrer, Meister' in „allgemeiner Bedeutung", und er zitierte die Zweifel S. Tezcans an der Erklärung des Wortes als einer soghdischen Femininbildung.[8]

Auch im Soghdischen scheinen xw(y)štr und die ihm zugehörigen Wörter eine große Bedeutungsvielfalt besessen zu haben (von „älter" und „ranghöher" bis „Chef" und „Presbyter"), xwšty aber bedeutet vorwiegend, wenn nicht ausschließlich, „Lehrer", und zwar sowohl in buddhistischen[9] wie in mani-

[4] V. A. Livšic, Sogdijcy v Semireč'e: lingvističeskie i epigrafičeskie svidetel'stva, in: Pis'mennye pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov vostoka I,2, Moskva 1981, S. 78–79.

[5] P. Zieme, Zu einigen Problemen des Manichäismus bei den Türken, in: Traditions religieuses et para-religieuses des peuples altaïques, Vendôme 1972, S. 177.

[6] P. Zieme, Ein uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im uigurischen Reich, in: Researches in Altaic Languages, Budapest 1975, S. 334–335.

[7] P. Zieme, Manichäisch-türkische Texte, Berlin 1975, S. 69–70.

[8] Wie mir P. Zieme mitteilt, erwägt er nunmehr auch die Möglichkeit, statt qwštyrnc generell qwstyr"c zu lesen und dies als eine Ableitung von qwštyr zu erklären, die mit dem alttürkischen Diminutiv-Suffix *-ač* gebildet wurde, das allerdings, wie M. Erdal schreibt (Old Turkic Word Formation I, Wiesbaden 1991, S. 44–47) sonst an Nomina antritt, die eine Blutsverwandtschaft zum Ausdruck bringen. Sollte diese Möglichkeit sich als die richtige erweisen, so wäre ein alttürkisches *qošt(i)ranč* möglicherweise gänzlich aufzugeben.

[9] D. N. MacKenzie, The Buddhist Sogdian Texts of the British Library, Leiden, Téhéran–Liège 1976 II, S. 49, sub *mwck' ZY γwyštk.*

chäischen[10] und christlichen Texten. Was die christlichen Zeugnisse betrifft, so vgl. z.B. Matth. 10, 24: nyst žw(xšq)[y] qt frtr by cn (x)ypϑ xwšty „es gibt keinen Schüler, der höher sei als sein Lehrer“.[11] Vergleiche auch meinen Aufsatz „Der Schüler fragt den Lehrer“,[12] in dem der Lehrer immer xwšty genannt wird. Im Türkischen scheint es ebenso gewesen zu sein. Jedenfalls wird in einem manichäischen Text aus Qočo dem *bitigäči oγlan*, dem „Studenten“, der Lehrer gegenübergestellt, der *xwištih* genannt wird.[13]

Man darf dann vielleicht in qwštnṣ eine „Lehrerin“ oder „Erzieherin“ sehen. Die Verbindung mit *tärim*, die, wie Klein festgestellt hat, nicht ganz selten ist,[14] läßt an eine hochgestellte Dame denken, vielleicht an eine Erzieherin der Töchter eines lokalen Herrschers. Als ihr Eigenname bleibt dann nur das von Klein als ein ehrendes Beiwort aufgefaßte qwtlwγ „mit der Gnade versehen“ übrig, das tyrym qwštnṣ unmittelbar voranging.[15]

[10] I. Gershevitch, A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian, Oxford 1961, § 810.

[11] W. Sundermann in AoF 1, 1974, S. 252, Zeilen 10–11, auch 12–13.

[12] Acta Iranica 28, Festschrift J. P. Asmussen, Leiden 1988, S. 173–186.

[13] A. v. Le Coq, Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho. III, APAW 1922, S. 14, Nr. 7, I /v/5–9/, vgl. Zieme in Anm. 5, S. 176–177. Übrigens erscheint qwšty auch auf einem der von Chwolson veröffentlichten Grabsteine nach einem Namen: dnḥʾ ... br dzmḥʾ qwšty „Denḥā ..., Sohn des Zemḥā, der qwšty“. Chwolson deutet qwšty wiederum als „Corruption von Constans, oder Constantius“ (Syrisch-Nestorianische Grabinschriften aus Semirjetschie, St.-Pétersbourg 1890, S. 20–21).

[14] Anm. 2, S. 435.

[15] P. Zieme bestätigt mir, daß *Qutluγ* ein üblicher türkischer Frauenname war, und verweist mich auf „Oeuvres Postumes de Paul Pelliot, Recherches sur les Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et l'Extrême-Orient“, Paris 1973, S. 279 mit Anm. 3, S. 302b. Ebenfalls weist Zieme mich hin auf den Aufsatz von J. Hamilton, Deux inscriptions funéraires de la Chine Orientale, JA 282, 1994, S. 147–164, in dem u.a. ein türkisch beschriebener christlicher Grabstein veröffentlicht wird, der einer *marḍa tärim* „Princesse Marthe“ gewidmet war (S. 156, 161).

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THE ARDENT LOVER AND THE VIRGIN — A GREEK ROMANCE IN MUSLIM LANDS

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In 1833 a book appeared in Vienna with the title *Wamik und Asra, das ist der Glühende und die Blühende. Das älteste persische romantische Gedicht, im Fünftelsaft abgezogen von Joseph v. Hammer.* This was, so far, the final station on a long journey undertaken by two lovers, or rather the story of two lovers, or, more exactly the idea of a story of those lovers. Their names, Vâmiq and ᶜAdhrâ, had been famous among Arabs, Persians, Turks and Indians for centuries, along with those of other exemplary loving couples like 'Yûsuf and Zulaikhâ', 'Lailâ and Majnûn', 'Khusrau and Shîrîn' etc.[1]

Von Hammer found the story of the two lovers in a Turkish version by the 16th century poet Lâmiᶜî and retold it playfully "im Fünftelsaft" (i.e. quintessence, or perhaps rather distillate) in the just mentioned book, which was dedicated to "die hochgeborene Gräfinn, Frau Flora von Wrbna, geborene Gräfinn von Kageneck, *Dame du Palais* Ihrer Majestät der Kaiserinn, Sternkreuz-Ordens-Dame". His translation of the name of the hero, Vâmiq, 'ardent lover', as 'der Glühende' is understandable. On the other hand, his translation of ᶜAdhrâ, 'virgin', as 'die Blühende' seems rather far-fetched. An explanation might be found in the purpose of the little book. The first name of "die hochgeborene Gräfinn" of the dedication was Flora, and in his introduction (p. 7) von Hammer states that 'der Glühende und die Blühende' correspond to 'Amor und Flora' in Roman mythology. At the end of the book, however, when the lovers are transformed into stars, 'Adhrâ is appearing as 'Jungfrau' and Vâmiq as 'Arcturus'.[2]

The story that von Hammer had 'distilled' from the 3000 verses of Lâmiᶜî comprises 49 nine-line stanzas of rhyming, flowery German.[3] His version is extremely free already from the beginning. For example, these two verses from the introduction of Lâmiᶜî:[4]

[1] Cf. B. Utas, Did ᶜAdhrâ remain a virgin?, *Orientalia Suecana* 33–35 (1984–86) 429–441.
[2] Stanza 47, p. 36.
[3] The rhyming pattern is *a,b,a,b,c,d,c,d,c* as against the *mathnavī* pattern of the original.
[4] MS. Bibliothèque Nationale Turc 353 (Cat. Blochet, I, pp. 148–149).

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Previously this beautiful story
was versified and written down by whom but 'Unṣurî?
[When] that Houri-clad at last came to Rûm,
in Turkish language that silk robe was made into sack-cloth.

find their closest parallel in the end of stanza 5:

Es fehlte überall das ihn Ergänzende,
Verloren war das Werk, bis es zuletzt
Gefunden Lamii, das ist der Glänzende,
Mit neuem Laub es frisch Bekränzende.

And directly after these verses the cavalier von Hammer simply leaves Lâmiʿî and continues with a love poem of his own making and for his own purposes. Only in the end he returns to something reminiscent of the original poem.

On the other hand, the scholar von Hammer treated this theme in a more serious way in his *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*.[5] There he translates the introductory verses quoted above in this, still rather free way (p. 46):

Ich frisch' die alte Sage auf,
Der **Anßari** gegeben Lauf,
Sie kömmt zuletzt in's Land von Rum
und türk'schen Schmuck häng' ich ihr um.

After that he retells the story of Lâmiʿî's poem with much detail and with long passages in verse translation. In short, the plot runs like this:[6]

The emperor of China, Taimûs, is childless and seeks a beautiful bride. The master painter Bashîr, who has travelled around the whole world painting its most beautiful women, shows the emperor a picture of Tûrân-dukht, the daughter of the Khân of Tûr. He falls in love with this beauty and succeeds in bringing her as his bride to China, and she bears him a son, who is given the name Vâmiq. This prince is brought up and taught all arts and skills under the tutelage of an old philosopher, and he becomes world-famous for his wisdom, skill and beauty. In distant Ghaznain, the sultan's beautiful daughter, ʿAdhrâ, falls in love with him just from heresay. She is unable to conceal her feelings from her wetnurse, who consoles her and gives her advice. She has her portrait painted, and this painting comes under the eyes of Vâmiq, who, naturally, falls madly in love with her.

Vâmiq goes raving in his wild passion, and his father gives him permission to go out in the world in search for his beloved accompanied by his stepbrother, Bahman. During their perilous wanderings they reach the King of the

[5] J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst bis auf unsere Zeit*, Vol. II. Pesth 1836–38, 45–63.

[6] According to the summary given by von Hammer. The poem by Lâmiʿî has obviously remained unpublished; cf. G. Kut, Lâmiʿî Chelebi and his works, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 35 (1976) 73–92 (here p. 84).

Parî, Lâhijân, who is residing in the Caucasus. Lâhijân becomes an intimate friend of Vâmiq and confides to him his secret love of the angelic Farî, who lives on the mountain Qâf. From there the King of the Jinn arrives to attack Lâhijân, who wins the battle with the aid of Vâmiq and wins Farî for his bride. Then Lâhijân and Farî accompany Vâmiq in his continued search for his beloved. During these travels Vâmiq and Bahman happen to confront the mighty King Ardashîr, and in a fight with him Vâmiq is seriously wounded, whereafter Ardashîr is captured by Bahman. Ardashîr's daughter, Dilpazîr, arrives with immeasurable riches in order to buy her father free, and they all go to the palace Dilgushâ, where a physician, just named Pîr ('old man'), prepares a theriac to heal the wounds of Vâmiq. Bahman and Dilpazîr bring the land under their power. However, the Sultan of Balkh, Tûr Kahramân, marches against Dilpazîr and in a letter requires that she surrenders Bahman and Vâmiq to him. Tûr is angered by the sharp negative reply by Dilpazîr and attacks Nakhjivân, the stronghold of Bahman and Dilpazîr. Bahman is made a prisoner by Tûr, and Dilpazîr goes together with Vâmiq and Pîr back to Dilgushâ, from where she beseeches Lâhijân and Farî for help.

Meanwhile, ʿAdhrâ remains in Ghaznain tortured by love for Vâmiq. With her wetnurse as her confidante she runs away from her father and comes to Herat, where they stay with an old woman. Dilpazîr and Pîr, who have been separated from Vâmiq, happen to come to Herat and meet ʿAdhrâ. They tell her everything that has happened, and they decide to go together, in the guise of merchants, to Oman in order to find a remedy for the separation of ʿAdhrâ and Vâmiq. They board a ship, and on their way they are found by Lâhijân, the King of the Parî, who comes flying in search of ʿAdhrâ. Lâhijân brings them to the nearest island, gives them each a Dîv to ride on back to Dilgushâ and Vâmiq. Vâmiq and ʿAdhrâ meet, finally, but together with Dilpazîr, Pîr and the wetnurse they have to go to Balkh in order to free Bahman from the captivity of Tûr. They win the ensuing battle and succeed in freeing Bahman, while Tûr flees to the land of the infidel Antûn Firangî ('Anton the Frank'). Tûr comes back with Antûn and his army and attacks them, whereby Vâmiq is captured in a pitfall. ʿAdhrâ, Bahman, Dilpazîr, Pîr and the wetnurse are, however, rescued by Mîzbân, King of Tûs, who has happened to see a portrait of ʿAdhrâ and consequently fallen in love with her.

Bringing Vâmiq as their prisoner, Antûn and Tûr escape on a ship in the Persian Gulf. They are chased by storms for six days, and then they meet fire-throwing Indian ships and are taken prisoner. The Indians are fire-worshippers and prepare a huge pyre to sacrifice their three captives to the fire. Antûn and Tûr are consumed by the fire, but the flames refuse to touch Vâmiq, because the glow of his love is stronger than that of the fire. Von Hammer translates:[7]

Als dieses sah'n die schwarzen Inder,
Da staunten sie verblüfft wie Kinder.

[7] *Geschichte*, II, p. 58.

The Indians fall to the feet of Vâmiq in adoration.

Meanwhile, ʿAdhrâ, Bahman, Dilpazîr, the wetnurse and Pîr, who follow the traces of Vâmiq onto the see, are captured by Zangîs, i.e. black Ethiopians or Zanzibaris. The king of the Zangîs, Hilhilân, wants to take possession of the two princesses, ʿAdhrâ and Dilpazîr, but is outwitted by them during a drinking-bout. Among the women of Hilhilân, there is already Humâ, a daughter of the King of Kashmir, who becomes a new confidante of ʿAdhrâ and her company. Now, Vâmiq arrives at the palace of Hilhilân and kills its black guards. Hilhilân escapes and flees with the captive princesses, ʿAdhrâ and Humâ, to King Mîzbân in Tûs, asking for his protection. When Mîzbân sees ʿAdhrâ, he understands what has happened, fetters Hilhilân and sends a message to his capital summoning Vâmiq, Bahman, Dilpazîr, the wetnurse and Pîr to Tûs. At last Vâmiq and ʿAdhrâ are reunited under the auspicies of King Mîzbân, whose love of ʿAdhrâ obviously has been sublimated.

Preparations for the wedding of Vâmiq and ʿAdhrâ start. Bahman is sent to the Khâqân of Chîn, the wetnurse to the Sultân of Ghaznain and Pîr to Ardashîr in Nakhjivân in order to invite them to the festivities. At that moment, however, news arrive that the demon Ghûr has captured Farî and put the whole mountain of Qâf in confusion. Vâmiq hurries to Qâf in order to help his desperate friend Lâhijân, receives from him a talisman against all Dîvs and fights his way through demons and dragons to the tomb of Tahmûras, the tamer of Dîvs. He liberates Farî and brings her back to Lâhijân, and they rejoice together.

Meanwhile the guests are arriving in Tûs. Mîzbân hosts a veritable meeting of emperors, with the Khâqân of Chîn, the Sultân of Ghaznain, the Shâh of Nakhjivân and the King of the Parî. In order that nothing shall disturb the joy, ʿAdhrâ asks Mîzbân to free Hilhilân. He concedes, and thus a fivefold wedding can take place. Humâ is married to Hilhilân, Farî to Lâhijân, Dilpazîr to Bahman, the wetnurse to Pîr and, of course, ʿAdhrâ to Vâmiq. The poem of Lâmiʿî ends with a description of the resplendent wedding feast and the final union of the two main lovers, who seem to be raised to the stars (as Jupiter and the Sun).[8]

Lâmiʿî's plot is typical for later Persian and Turkish romances and at first glance it differs completely from what is known about its professed source, the Persian poem *Vâmiq u ʿAdhrâ* written by Abû'l-Qâsim ʿUnṣurî in the beginning of the 11th century. The relation between the two versions may be complicated, because ʿUnṣurî's poem is only the first in a series of at least 24 works with the same title.[9] The oldest of the post-ʿUnṣurî versions have not survived, but from the time of Lâmiʿî (i.e. the 16th century) onwards, there are a dozen extant poems in Persian, Turkish and even Kashmiri that tell the story of our lovers in the most different ways. Seemingly, the only connecting link is the necessity of preserving the virginity of the heroin to the very end. This is achieved in various,

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[9] Cf. 'A. Tarbiyat, *Vâmiq u ʿAḏrâ, Armaġân* 12:8 (1310/1931) 519–531; M. J. Maḥjûb, *Vâmiq u ʿAḏrây-i 'Unṣurî, Suxan* 18:1 (1347) 43–52, 18:2 (1347) 131–142; N. Şahinoğlu, Vâmik ve Azrâ, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Cüz 137. Istanbul 1982, 190–194.

more or less ingenious ways. For example, the Persian poet Nauʿî Khabûshânî, who wrote in India in the 17th century, has Vâmiq killed just before the wedding by the roof of the bazaar falling down over him, and ʿAdhrâ, wild with sorrow, ascends his funeral pyre like an Indian "suttee"![10]

In spite of the reference in the beginning of Lâmiʿî's poem to ʿUnṣurî (and the fact that von Hammer gave his book of 1830 the subtitle "das älteste persische romantische Gedicht"), it is far from certain what sources Lâmiʿî used. To judge from the fate of the loving couple, Vâmiq and ʿAdhrâ, in other poems with that title, perhaps the mere names, i.e. 'the ardent lover' and 'the virgin', was inspiration enough. At the time of von Hammer, and long after that, it was rather impossible to make a comparison with ʿUnṣurî's poem, since it was only known from isolated verses, quoted in old literary works and dictionaries. This changed radically when the Pakistani scholar Muhammad Shafi discovered twelve leaves of this poem in the binding of a theological manuscript copied in 1132 A.D., probably in Herat. Shafi announced his find at the International Congress of Orientalists in Cambridge in 1954, but the text itself was not published until 1967, when he was already dead.[11]

The regained fragment mainly contains the beginning of the poem. Here we meet a certain King Fuluqrâṭ on the Island of *Samos (written *šʾms*).[12] He marries a certain *Nânî (written *yʾny*), the daughter of a neighbouring king, who bears him a daughter. The future of this girl is fortold in a dream of the king, and later he gives her the name ʿAdhrâ, with the somewhat curious explanation that "he did not see the like of her in dexterity *(farhang)*".[13] The girl is brought up under the guidance of a sage, Filâṭûs, and learns all arts and crafts to perfection, so that she becomes the match of any man even in feasting, hunting and warfare. If we compare this beginning with that of Lâmiʿî, we see that there is a certain resemblance between the two versions, with the important difference that in Lâmiʿî's version Vâmiq takes the place of ʿAdhrâ as the main hero of the story. ʿAdhrâ's philosopher-teacher is replaced by that of Vâmiq and her virtues are transferred to him. It may be argued, however, that these are standard topoi in this type of romantic poem and thus prove nothing. But let us look at the continuation!

ʿUnṣurî changes over to Vâmiq (as Lâmiʿî does to ʿAdhrâ), who is presented as a son of a King Mildhîṭas in a place called Kirûnîs.[14] Vâmiq has an

[10] This poem is also known under the title *Sûz u gudâz*; it was published together with *Dîvân-i Lâmiʿî-yi Gurgânî* in Bombay 1306 A.H.Q. and translated by M. Y. Dawud and A. K. Commaraswamy, London 1912.

[11] *Wāmiq-o-Adhrā of ʿUnṣurī*, ed. M. M. Shafi, Lahore (Punjab University Press) 1967. Cf. also I. Kaladze, *Epičeskoe nasledie Unsuri*, Tbilisi 1983, reprinting the full text of the fragment with a translation into Russian.

[12] Names marked with a * are more or less reconstructed; cf. below!

[13] Ed. Shafi, p. 4, v. 36.

[14] These two names are not found in the Shafi fragment but in lexical verses found *i.a.* in the *Luġat-i furs* of Asadî (ed. ʿA. Iqbâl, Tehran 1319, p. 203).

evil stepmother, called *Highsifûlî (written *mʿšqwlyh*),[15] who plots against his life, and he flees home together with a faithful friend, Ṭûfân (v. 57). They arrive in Samos, where Vâmiq happens to meet ʿAdhrâ at the gate of the temple of Hera. The two are immediately struck by love for each other, and the poet comments (v. 89):

> From one glance all upheaval will arise,
> the sharp fire of love will enter the mind.

In Lâmiʿî, on the other hand, we have a double exodus: Vâmiq and Bahman leave China, and ʿAdhrâ and the wetnurse leave Ghaznain. Lâmiʿî's repeated motif of love by picture is, however, missing in ʿUnṣurî. One might say that this is a typical Muslim solution of the problem how to have two future lovers see each other without breaking the rules of propriety. The faithful companion of Vâmiq is called Ṭûfân by 'Unṣurî and Bahman by Lâmiʿî, but in the case of ʿAdhrâ we do not know for certain how and in what company she came to leave home in the Persian version, since the refound fragment never reaches that stage of the plot. Instead we have there a couple of interesting scenes that are missing in Lâmiʿî.

According to ʿUnṣurî, ʿAdhrâ contrives to have Vâmiq invited to the palace of her father, where a true Symposion is arranged in his honour. ʿAdhrâ is also present, and a sage and counsellor of Fuluqrâṭ by name of *Nakhminûs (written *mjynws*, v. 143) is set to examine Vâmiq. He chooses the theme of love, and Vâmiq is asked to describe what is called *tan-i dûstî*, "the effigy of love" (v. 150). Vâmiq replies cleverly that he personally has no experience of it, but he has heard (v. 156–158):

> That wise men have likened
> love to a young man *(javân mard)*,
> In appearance innocent and good-looking,
> in action quarrelsome like a warrior,
> Keeping a flaming fire in one hand,
> a bow and an arrow in the other.

However, he adds that "they have also likened him to an old man", a seeming dotard who has enormous strengths when challenged (v. 162–164). To this ʿAdhrâ feels compelled to reply that love cannot be old, because its arrows are made for the young heart, and consequently it will always remain young.

Here there is, unfortunately, a lacuna in the manuscript, but after that Fuluqrâṭ's minstrel is presented.[16] In Persian sources his name is given variously as Ranqadûs[17] or Dhîfunûs,[18] but without doubt we have here a reflection of the

[15] Ed. Shafi, p. 4, v. 43 (on the substitution of letters, see below!).

[16] In the edition by Shafi this passage is introduced later, but a careful analysis of the photographs of the leaves shows that it must be inserted here.

[17] Ed. Shafi, p. 20, v. 259.

[18] *Luġat-i furs*, ed. Iqbâl, p. 202.

Greek poet Ibykos, and the strange spellings in Arabic writing may be explained as distortions of an original *Îfuqûs (i.e. *ʾyfqws*). *Îfuqûs takes his *barbaṭ* (i.e. barbiton) and sings a song to love and the beauty of youth which makes the listeners rejoice but himself utterly sad (v. 270).

Then Fuluqrâṭ asks about the origin of this instrument, the *barbaṭ*, and Vâmiq tells a detailed and very interesting story about the sage Hurmuz (v. 182) who found the carcase of a tortoise on a mountain, on the bare tendons of which the wind played a tune. He brought the tortoise with him and tried to fix it into a musical instrument but was not successful until he met a strange old man by name of Hazhrah-man (v. 210), who showed him how to arrange the pegs and strings. The name Hazhrah-man is intriguing. Where does it come from? The story told by Vâmiq (i.e. ᶜUnṣurî) seems to combine the Greek legend of Hermes and the invention of the lyre with the tradition that a special type of seven-stringed lyre, called *barbitos*, was invented by the Lesbian poet and musician Terpander.[19] Hazhrah-man could then be some kind of a translation of Terpandros understood as "man of delight" (from *terpnós/térpo* and *andros*), with *hazhrah* as a contracted form of *hazhîrah*, 'beautiful, agreeable', with a second element *-mand* or *-man*. The spelling of the other protagonist of the story as Hurmuz instead of the ordinary Hurmus (for Hermes Trismegistos) also points in another direction. Hurmuz is, after all, one of the ways of writing the name of the good god Ormuzd, and in that connection Hazhrah-man is strangely reminiscent of the name of his evil counterpart, Ahriman. (Incidentally, the *h-* of the name, as it stands in the verse, v. 210, is metrically redundant.) Could this suggest a myth showing Ormuz as asking his adversary Ahriman to lend him a hand in the construction of the *barbaṭ*, the special instrument of the Iranian minstrel tradition — an expression of the idea that, even if sung for the highest purposes, poetry and music will need something devilish?[20]

So far, not much points to ᶜUnṣurî as a source of Lâmiᶜî's poem. The description of the symposion with the disputation on Eros and the invention of the barbitos are examples of a direct retelling of Hellenistic themes, which, on the whole, seem to have disappeared early in Muslim literatures. Lâmiᶜî could hardly have used these symposion scenes even if they had been present in his source. We have to continue our scrutiny and, unfortunately, the ᶜUnṣurî fragment itself gives little further help. There is a rather long but fragmentary passage, describing how Vâmiq, who is staying in the palace of Fuluqrâṭ, becomes desperate through his love of ᶜAdhrâ, and ᶜAdhrâ similarly through her love of him. They both wander around at night in the palace garden, and this awakens the suspicion of the king. ᶜAdhrâ's teacher, Filâṭûs (v. 289), is sent to investigate the matter, and, referring to the demands of hospitality and propriety, he makes Vâmiq promise never more to set his eyes on ᶜAdhrâ. The latter notices the

[19] Cf. T. Hägg, Hermes and the invention of the lyre — an unorthodox version, *Symbolae Osloenses* 64 (1989) 36–73.

[20] See also B. Utas, Izobretenie barbata, *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Tadžikskoy SSR, Seriya: Vostokovedenie, istoriya, filologiya*, No. 4(16) 1989 16–19.

change in her lover and contemplates suicide. The final, very fragmentary verses change over to disconnected battle scenes showing both ʿAdhrâ and Vâmiq acting as heroes of war.

It is impossible to reconstruct a plot from this, but a number of secondary sources come to our rescue. First of all some 150 *šavâhid* verses found in old Persian dictionaries contain a considerable number of names and episodes that connect both to what is known from the fragment and to developments later on in the plot. To this comes a story about ʿAdhrâ which is retold in the pseudo-historiographical work *Dârâb-nâmah*, 'The Book of Dareios', by a certain Abû Ṭâhir Ṭarsûsî, probably of the 12th century A.D.[21]

According to this *Dârâb-nâmah*, a number of girls brought to a certain island by a slave-trader happen to fall into the hands of a pious and philosophic man named Hiranqâlîs. One of those girls is ʿAdhrâ, and she is made to tell her story, which, as far as it goes, is identical with the story found in the ʿUnṣurî fragment, but where the latter breaks off this story continues thus: ʿAdhrâ is promised by her parents to marry Vâmiq, but then her mother dies, and her father changes his mind. An enemy appears, and her father goes to war and is captured and killed. The new king imprisons the two lovers and makes plans to take ʿAdhrâ for himself. She refuses, however, and is sold as a slave. Finally, she is brought to the island and falls into the hands of Hiranqâlîs. On hearing this, the noble Hiranqâlîs sets her free and promises to bring her to Vâmiq.

This recalls the episode of the Zangîs, Hilhilân and the imprisoned girls in Lâmiʿî. Although an enemy king, Hilhilân unwittingly brings ʿAdhrâ to King Mîzbân in Tus, where she is reunited with Vâmiq. And Hilhilân is obviously not all that evil, since in the end he is pardoned and permitted to marry Humâ. There are also lexical testimonies supporting this development, e.g. a note in Asadî's *Luġat-i furs*[22] stating that a certain Adânûsh was sent to ʿAdhrâ in order to bring her into the possession of Mandârûs. The later name is certainly a Persian writing of Greek Maiandrios, the name of the *grammatistês* (secretary) who took power on Samos after the death of Polycrates, i.e. our Fuluqrâṭ (in 522/21 B.C.).

There is, however, another theme which might be taken to connect Lâmiʿî with an old Iranian version and that is what may be called 'narrowly avoided death by fire'. As mentioned above, Vâmiq escapes what seems a certain death on the Indian pyre, because the flames refuse to touch him. (Incidentally, real death by fire figures in the suttee end of Nauʿî's poem.) There are also traces among the *šavâhid* verses of a fake death of ʿAdhrâ,[23] but the most interesting testimonial is perhaps found in a Christian martyrdom, known in a Coptic form as that of St. Parthenope (i.e. Virgo) and in an Arabic version as that of Bartânûbâ. There the heroin is brought to the Persian Great King, who demands that she marries him, but she manages to save her chastity by arranging her suicide in

[21] Ed. Ḏ. Ṣafâ (= *BTNK*, 272), Vol. I. Tehran 1344/1965, 209–210.

[22] Ed. Iqbâl, p. 225.

[23] "Mâshalâ: the name of a woman who came up to ʿAdhrâ's pillow and thought she was dead" (Asadî, *Luġat-i furs*, ed. Iqbâl, p. 19).

a ceremonial fire. My Graecist colleague in Bergen, Tomas Hägg, has argued that this is a Christian adaptation of our story and that the suicide is patterned on a ruse, typical of Hellenistic novels, and that the heroin in the original version, when saved from the king, would rise again uninjured by the flames.[24] In Lâmiʿî it is Vâmiq who is uninjured by the flames, but we have already pointed out that his Vâmiq in many respects takes over the role of ʿAdhrâ.

There is more of the kind to be found in the complicated lexical material, but this will suffice, I hope, to show that there is at least a possibility of Lâmiʿî having had access to the text of ʿUnṣurî or some source close to it. That would demonstrate a complete Muslim transformation of a Hellenistic material which ʿUnṣurî still felt unhindered to transmit into Persian verses. The way in which ʿUnṣurî got hold of this material is uncertain, but we can trace it to a definite Greek source. Recent work by H. Maehler and others has made it possible to reconstruct parts of a Hellenistic novel about "Metiokhos and Parthenope".[25] The little there is left of this novel proves beyond doubt that it is the origin of the story told in ʿUnṣurî's poem. The main Greek fragments treat a symposion scene taking place in the palace of Polykrates (here Fuluqrâṭ), the historically well-known tyrant of Samos at the end of the 6th century B.C. Apart from Polykrates we meet his daughter Parthenope (i.e. 'Virgin', here translated into ʿAdhrâ, with the same meaning), Metiokhos (here transformed into Vâmiq), the son of king Miltiades (here Mildhîṭas) of Khersonesos (here *Kirûnîs) and the philosopher Anaximenes (here corresponding to a *ḥakîm* seemingly named Mukhsinûs, probably a distortion of *Nakhminûs[26]). The philosopher proposes Eros as the theme for discussion, and Metiokhos speeks of love in a way that upsets Parthenope.[27] Unfortunately, the coherent part of the Greek material ends there, i.e. before the end of the ʿUnṣurî fragment. There are also various other testimonia for the Greek version, but they add little substantial to what we know of the story. The Persian material is thus more useful for the reconstruction of the Greek novel than vice versa. Classical scholars consider the Parthenope romance to be a work of the 1st century B.C. or A.D. standing close to the still extant novel *Khaireas and Kallirhoe* of Khariton.[28] How can we explain that that this Parthenope romance turns up a millennium later in far-away Ghazna? There has been speculation on intermediaries in Syriac and Pahlavi, and the latter proposition finds some support in a reference in the 15th century work *Taḏkirat uš-*

[24] Cf. T. Hägg, The *Parthenope Romance* decapitated?, *Symbolae Osloenses* 59 (1984) 61–91.

[25] H. Maehler, Der Metiochos-Parthenope-Roman, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 23 (1976) 1–20; M. Gronewald, Ein neues Fragment aus dem Metiokhos-Parthenope-Roman, *ibid.* 24 (1977) 21–22; T. Hägg, The *Parthenope Romance* decapitated?, *Symbolae Osloenses* 59 (1984) 61–91.

[26] Written *mjynws* in v. 143 of the Shafi fragment but *mxsnws* in most lexical sources, e.g. *Luġat-i furs*, ed. Iqbâl, p. 202.

[27] Cf. also T. Hägg, Metiochus at Polycrates' court, *Eranos* 83 (1985) 92–102.

[28] See T. Hägg, Callirhoe and Parthenope: the beginnings of the historical novel, *Classical Antiquity* 6 (1987) 184–204, and refs. there.

šuʿarâ by Daulatshâh.[29] Possible Arabic versions by Sahl b. Hârûn ad-Dastmaisânî (d. 830 A.D.), the director of al-Maʾmûn's Khizânat al-Ḥikma, and the great al-Bêrûnî (d. c. 1050 A.D.) are also mentioned in the sources; but nothing of such texts has survived.[30]

There is, however, rather strong evidence against a complicated chain of transmission through languages written in different scripts, such as Syriac, Parthian and Middle Persian. The passage of the Greek fragments which runs parallel with the text of ʿUnṣurî shows a rather close relation between the two versions, at times even a word for word correspondence. Furthermore, the Greek proper names are peculiarly well preserved in the Persian sources under the guise of superficially distorted spellings that mainly depend on changes in the punctuation. This may be demonstrated by the following examples:

*Highsifûlî = Hegesipyle, second wife of the father of Metiokhos/ Vâmiq, mentioned both in the Parthenope romance and the ʿUnṣurî fragment; she was, according to Herodotos (VI.39), the step-mother of Metiokhos and second wife of Miltiades, ruler of Khersonesos somewhat later than Polykrates on Samos; the Persian form Maʿshaqûlî(yah) is an obvious "Verballhornung" based on a transformation of initial *hâ* to *mîm* and a number of changes in punctuation.

*Ifuqûs = Ibykos, in comparatively late Classical sources known as a court poet of Polykrates; this may seem a daring identification, given the Persian spellings which suggest readings like Dhîfunûs and Ranqadûs (*cf. supra*), but the context as well as a close look at the possible corruptions of the individual letters (esp. initial *alif* to *râ* or *ḏâl*) makes it likely.

*Aqrâṣus = Kroisos and *Afrîjah = Phrygia. According to a Persian lexical verse and its explanation, a king *ʾfrʾṭn* (var. *ʾfrʾṭš*) was the father of ʿAdhrâ's mother and *ʾfrnjh* the name of her homeland.[31] Now, the name of ʿAdhrâ's mother is written *yʾny* in the Shafi fragment (*cf. supra*), which most probably should be read *Nânî and correspond to Greek Nanís, which according to late Classical tradition was the name of the daughter of King Kroisos. From this follows the rather spectacular reconstruction of *Aqrâṣus from seeming Afrâṭun or Afrâṭush (a confusion of *ṭâ* and *ṣâd* is not uncommon); on the other hand, the emendation of Afranjah to *Afrîjah, i.e. Phrygia, is slight, but the appearance of Phrygia for expected Lydia is somewhat awkward.

*Anakhlûs = Anaxilaos and *Rêghiyûn = Rhegion. A Persian lexical reference mentions a king *bxslws* (variant *tbxlws*) who abducted ʿAdhrâ by force,[32] and another mentions *zyġnwn* (variant *zyfnwn*) as "a city in the sea where they wanted to kill ʿAdhrâ";[33] it is not obvious that the two should be combined, but a Greek source (Scholion on Dionysios Periegetes, 358) mentions

[29] Ed. M. ʿAbbâsî, Tehran 1337, p. 35; ed. E.G. Browne, London–Leiden 1901, p. 30; transl. by the latter in his *Literary history of Persia*. Vol. II. London 1906 etc., 275–276.

[30] Cf. B. Utas, *Orientalia Suecana* 33–35 (1984–86) 429–430, and refs. there.

[31] Surûrî, *Majmaʿ ul-furs*, ed. M. Dabîr-Siyâqî, Vol. I. Tehran 1338, 96; variant in ʿA. Tarbiyat, *op.cit.*, p. 523, also mentioning the wife of the king as *nṭyš* (< Greek ?).

[32] *Luġat-i furs*, ed. Iqbâl, p. 203.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 404; variant in Tarbiyat, *op.cit.*, p. 524.

"Parthenope of Samos, who in search of her man came to Anaxilaos",[34] i.e. probably the tyrant of Rhegion (the present Reggio di Calabria). The reconstruction of the place name as *Rêghiyûn is beyond doubt, and the reading of the king's name as *Anakhlûs is rather likely.

Hârû = Hero and Andarûs = Leander. These names appear together in a Persian lexical verse, the commentary of which retells the Classical story of Hero and Leander;[35] the writing of Leandros as Andarûs might be a distortion of *Landarûs or depend on a quasi-analysis of the L- as belonging to an Arabic definite article (compare Alexander/Iskandar).

These correspondences are only a few examples taken from a material of at least forty Persian names of Greek appearance. An Arabic intermediary between the Greek origian and the Persian poem by ʿUnṣuri is conceivable or even likely, also considering the evidently Arabic names of the two lovers, but it is difficult to imagine several intermediary versions in different alphabets and definitely none in the ambiguous Pahlavi writing.

These names and these motifs travelled a long way before they were extracted "im Fünftelsaft" by Joseph von Hammer. After all, it seems as if all these embroilments started with a short note in Herodotos III.124, according to which Polykrates was implored by his unnamed daughter not to go to see the treacherous Persian satrap Oroites. Polykrates then "threatened her that if he came home safely, she should long remain a virgin; and she answered by praying that his threat might be fulfilled, for she had rather be long unmarried than bereft of a father".[36] A line catches the eye of a poet and something starts which grows and changes over continents and millennia.

[34] Cf. Hägg, *Symbolae Osloenses* 59, p. 76, and refs. there.
[35] *Luġat-i furs*, ed. Iqbâl, p. 202; cf. Tarbiyat, *op.cit.*, pp. 523–524.
[36] Transl. H. Carter, *The Histories of Herodotus of Halicarnassus*. London 1962, 214.



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ZSUZSA KAKUK

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PROFESSOR ZSUZSA KAKUK

Zsuzsa Kakuk was born in Nagytálya, a village in county Heves on August 13, 1925. When she was eight years old, her family moved to the county seat Eger and there she studied in the school of Mary Ward's nuns. In the last school year her father was moved to Szatmárnémeti where she concluded her secondary school studies with best results in the grammar-school of the sisters of charity.

She continued her studies at the University of Debrecen between 1944 and 1949, graduating there in Hungarian and Latin. She acquired her doctor's degree with highest honours at the same Alma Mater, with a thesis in the field of Hungarian linguistics, an interest evoked by Professor Géza Bárczi, who was one of the greatest authorities of the century on the history of the Hungarian language.

Her activity at the Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest started in 1951 when she became a Ph.D. student of Gyula Németh, one of the brightest names in Hungarian Turkology. Working intensively under his guidance, she developed her competence in this new area and defended her thesis, which combined both fields of expertise, in 1955. In the meantime, while continuously engaged at the Department of Turkology, she was employed by the Institute of Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In the autumn of 1955 she became finally bound to the University, first as a research worker, then as a lecturer in 1958, a senior lecturer in 1965, and a professor in 1977. After Gyula Németh's retirement in 1966 and a short tenure of the Chair by Prof. Lajos Ligeti, she was elected Head of Department in 1971 and held this position until 1990. Her work was honoured by a high state prize in 1986.

In her scholarly activity, Professor Kakuk paid special attention to the Ottoman-Turkish loanwords of the Hungarian language. With this aim, right from the beginning of her career as a Turkologist, she began scrutinizing the most important Hungarian and partly Latin text editions of historical and literary sources of the 16th and 17th centuries assembling over the course of the next 20–25 years a large collection of Turkish words used in Hungary during the period of Ottoman rule. This work resulted in several important papers and books. First, in her Ph.D. thesis she investigated the phonetical questions, both from the Hungarian and Turkish sides, of approximately 150 of these words, belonging to the topics of clothing, eating, dwelling, and military life.

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As the project developed, it seemed necessary to become more acquainted with the historical dialectology of the Turkish language and with the field of the so-called "transcription" texts. Consequently she made several study tours to the regions of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia with Turkish populations. Her conclusions concerning dialectology confirmed Gyula Németh's hypothesis, that the Turkish dialects in the Western Balkans show strongly archaic characteristics, and have preserved down to the present many elements peculiar to 16–17th century Turkish spoken by the Balkan Turks. With this knowledge several features of Turkish loanwords in Hungarian can be very well explained. As regards transcribed linguistic sources, Dr. Kakuk mainly dealt with texts containing sporadic Turkish elements; among others she analyzed the Turkish material in Hans Dernschwam's *Tagebuch*. Later, when invited to deliver lectures at the University of Venice, she also prepared a so far unpublished summary evaluation of the 13–17th century Turkish linguistic monuments, both in Arabic and non-Arabic scripts. A similar study will be soon printed as part of a collective work in Russian.

With this foundation, she could return to her main subject and submit her thesis for the academic doctorate. This immense work was published under the title *Recherches sur l'histoire de la langue osmanlie des XVIe et XVIIe siècles. Les éléments osmanlies de la langue hongroise* by the Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. It contains a full elaboration and documentation of approximately 1,100 items found in the Hungarian sources of the Ottoman period. Regarding these words as remnants of contemporaneous Turkish, she used them to reconstruct this language as it might have sounded in the 16th and 17th centuries, an otherwise difficult task to accomplish on the basis merely of sources written with Arabic script. She gave a detailed analysis of the phonetic peculiarities of the borrowing dialects, mostly Ottoman Turkish as spoken in the Balkans, but also called attention to the role of South Slavic languages as mediators.

At present Professor Kakuk is working on the presentation of these loanwords from a Hungarian angle. In her forthcoming book entitled *A török kor emléke a magyar szókincsben* [The Memory of the Ottoman Period in the Hungarian Vocabulary], only those words will be dealt with which still survive in Hungarian (be they slightly obsolete or very commonly used elements of the vocabulary). More emphasis will be placed this time on the adaptation of these words into the Hungarian language as well as on their later history, namely the phonetic and semantic changes they have undergone during the centuries.

Professor Kakuk has made excursions to somewhat later periods of Turco–Hungarian linguistic contacts, the years when Hungarian political emigrants, Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II and Governor Lajos Kossuth, stayed in the Ottoman Empire. She wrote an article about the Turkish elements in the "Turkish Letters" of Kelemen Mikes, the faithful companion of Rákóczi during his prolonged stay ("exile") in Tekirdağ, and devoted a separate volume to the manu-

script Turkish grammar used by Lajos Kossuth during his sojourn in Kütahya and to his other works in Turkish.

Professor Kakuk made her contribution to the study of other layers of Turkic loanwords in Hungarian as well. These comprise those elements of the language which were partly borrowed before the settlement in the Carpathian Basin, and partly in later centuries of the Middle Ages, from Pecheneg and Cumanian. As a contributor to the *Historical Etymological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language* she gave the etymology of approximately 200 Turkic loans for this ambitious multi-volume undertaking, which is now also being published in German.

Another important service for national research was her first full translation of the Orkhon inscriptions which are essential also for a better understanding of the early history of the Hungarians. Recently she began a systematic investigation of affixes in the Turkish loanwords in Hungarian.

In 1960 Professor Kakuk had the opportunity to go to China for a short time. She wished to study the Salar language. No field work was possible, but she was able to collect material from a Salar scholar active at the Institute for Language Research of the Minorities in Peking/Beijing. The Salar vocabulary published after her return is often cited in Turkic etymological studies.

Another major achievement, so near to Zsuzsa Kakuk's heart, is an anthology of old-Turkic literature in Hungarian translation entitled *Örök kőbe vésve* [Carved in Eternal Stone]. Professor Kakuk prepared rough Hungarian versions of the texts, while the final versified forms were given by significant contemporary poets. Starting with texts on old Kirghiz tomb stones, one can read selections from the Orkhon inscriptions, from the most beautiful Manichean and Buddhist poetical and prose literature in the Uyghur, from outstanding products of early Islamic literature like the Qutadγu Bilig, the songs by Kāšγarī, the poems of Rabγūzī, Qutb, Chwārezmī, Lutfī, Huǰandī, Nevāī, and others, from epic poems of the Oghuz peoples, and from hymns of the Codex Cumanicus, and conclude with some Volga-Bulgarian tomb stone texts.

Professor Kakuk's wide range of erudition is clearly shown by her interest in the folklore of Turkic peoples. Ignác Kúnos's remarkable collection, noted down during the First World War in a prison camp in Hungary, especially attracts her. She intends to edit the whole manuscript; in its final form the series will consist of eight volumes, of which three have been already published (*Kazáni tatár népdalok* [Kazan Tatar Folk-Songs], *Kazáni tatár népmesék* [Kazan Tatar Folk-Tales], *Krími tatár népdalok* [Crimean Tatar Folk-Songs]) and two more are in press (*Kazáni tatár szójegyzék* [Kazan Tatar Word-List], *Miser tatár szövegek* [Misher Tatar Texts]).

Professor Kakuk has also been active in scholarly organizations, holding positions of great responsibility. She was one of those who revived the activity of the Hungarian Oriental Society, named after Csoma de Kőrös, becoming one of its vice presidents between 1982 and 1988. She has been a member of the Committee for Oriental Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and also

its president from 1985 until 1990. Today she is the only delegate member who represents oriental studies at the general assembly of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. She has also been elected to the Linguistic Committee of the Ph.D. Commission of the Ministry of Education and Culture, which is entitled to accept applications for doctoral programs.

Her achievements in the field of Turkology were honoured by the Türk Dil Kurumu, which conferred corresponding membership to her in 1970 and honorary membership in 1978.

It is her merit to have founded the single orientalist periodical in Hungarian, the journal *Keletkutatás* in 1986. Appearing twice a year, it aims at transmitting the latest scholarly results both to a professional and to a more general reading public. As its editor-in-chief until 1994, Professor Kakuk invited the participation of everybody active in the field, but due to the fact that Turkology in the broader sense has a special place in Hungarian oriental studies, a significant part of the papers came from this domain. Special numbers were dedicated to the 100th year anniversary of Gyula Németh's birth and to the memories of Tibor Halasi-Kun and István Mándoky-Kongur. Further, she has been on the editorial board of Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae and Studia Turco–Hungarica, the periodical of the Department of Turkish Studies.

Here we return to her most beloved sphere of activity, teaching at the University. Professor Kakuk spent more than 40 years at the same place, bringing up generations of turkologists, instilling in them a love of the field, so important for a better understanding of the origins and later history of the Hungarian nation. Her clear reasoning and personal aura have influenced all who listened to her lectures and seminars. She loved her students and approached them with understanding and sympathy.

Finally, she was able to combine scholarly work with family life, never neglecting her husband or children. After her husband passed away five years ago, she found consolation in her work at the Department and in her grandchildren.

Her colleagues, students, and friends now gather around her confident in the hope that she will remain an active scholar and colleague in the years to come.

Géza Dávid

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DAS WORT FÜR TAUCHENTE IM WOLGAGEBIET

KLÁRA AGYAGÁSI
(Debrecen)

Das tschuwaschische Wort für Tauchente, *čămkăś*,[1] gehört nach seiner Bildung nicht zu den zwei häufigsten Typen der tschuw. Vogelnamen. Es ist kein Derivat eines onomatopoetischen Stammes wie z. B. das Wort *kărkka* 'Pute' (< *kăr* + *ka),* und es kann nicht mit einer attributiven Konstruktion identifiziert werden, wie z. B. *xura kayăk* 'Schwarzamsel' (wortwörtlich Schwarzer Vogel)[2].

Als Parallele zur Etymologie können die wolgakiptschakischen Varianten des Wortes dienen.

Kasantat. lit. *čumgalak* 'нырок (дикая утка)'[3]; *čumga* 'die Taucherente'[4]; zentralmundartliches (Kaz-ar-lš) *čumγaq* 'нырок, одна из разновидностей диких уток'[5]; sibirischtat. (Stob) *cumγa* 'нырок'[6]; baschk. lit. *sumγalaq* 'нырок'[7]; südbaschkirisch mundartliches (Eyek) *sumasa* 'утка-нырок'; (Urta) *sumγŏš* 'id.'[8].

In diesen Wörtern kann der Verbalstamm gut getrennt werden. Er ist in allen Mundarten die regelmäßige Entwicklung des alttürkischen Verbs *čom-* '(unter)tauchen', vgl. alttürk. *čom-* 'окунаться, нырять'[9]. Die zweite Komponente dieser Wörter ist ein deverbales Nomensuffix. Das Suffix stimmt in den tatarischen und baschkirischen literatursprachlichen Formen überein, in der mundartlichen Variante hat es verschiedene Formen. Diese Eigentümlichkeit der Bildung zeigt, daß das Wort für Tauchente, neben der Form, die später zur literatursprachlichen Form geworden ist, im selbständigen Leben der wolgakip-

[1] N. I. Ašmarin, *Slovar' čuvašskogo jazyka.* T. 15. Čeboksary 1941, 271; M. I. Skvorcov, *Čăvašla–vĭrăsla slovar'.* Muskav 1982, 583.

[2] Über die tschuw. Vogelnamen s. N. I. Jegorov–L. P. Petrov, Etimologija nekotoryh čuvašskih ornitonimov. *ST* 1982:6, 64–76.

[3] N. N. Osmanov (ved. red.), *Tatarsko–russkij slovar'.* Moskva 1966, 642.

[4] V. V. Radlov, *Opyt slovarja tjurkskih narečij.* T. III/2. Sankt-Peterburg 1905, 2189.

[5] *Tatar tĕlĕnĕŋ dialektologik süzlĕgĕ.* Kazan 1969, 492.

[6] D. G. Tumaševa, *Slovar' dialektov sibirskih tatar.* Kazan 1992, 242.

[7] K. Z. Ahmerov (otv. red.), *Russko–baškirskij slovar'.* Moskva 1964, 451.

[8] N. H. Maksjutova, *Slovar' baškirskih govorov.* Tom 2. (Južnyj dialekt). Ufa 1970, 217.

[9] V. M. Nadeljaev–D. M. Nasilov–E. R. Tenišev–A. M. Ščerbak (red.), *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'.* Leningrad 1969, Z. R. Sadykova, *Zoonimičeskaja leksika tatarskogo jazyka.* Kazan 1994, 63.

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tschakischen Mundarten andere Varianten entwickelt hat. Diese Feststellung kann natürlich erst dann wahr sein, wenn es möglich ist, in der Literatursprache und in ihren Mundarten den selbständigen Verbalstamm darzustellen, ebenso die verschiedenen Suffixe in verschiedenen Lexemen.

Der Verbalstamm der tatarischen und baschkirischen Formvarianten existiert in der kasantatarischen und baschkirischen Literatursprache, vgl. tat. *čum-* 'окунаться, нырнуть; утопать; отдаваться чему-л.; углубляться'[10]; baschk. *sum-* 'нырять'[11]. Das Suffix der literatursprachlichen Form *-galak ~ -γalaq* ist zusammengesetzt. Das Element *γala (γa + la)* ist mit dem in den wolgakiptschakischen Mundarten verbreiteten frequentativen Verbalsuffix *-γala ~ -gälä ~ -qala ~ -kälä* identisch, s. z. B. in folgenden Beispielen: tat. *bargala-* 'herumgehen' (< *bar-* 'gehen'), baschk. *tŏrkĕlä-* 'herumstoßen' (< *tŏr-* 'stoßen')[12]. Das *-q* im Auslaut ist ein deverbales Nomensuffix, das aus transitiven Verben Objekte bildet und aus intransitiven Subjekte.[13] Die etymologische Bedeutung der Wörter *čumgalak* und *sumγalaq* ist 'der (oft) Taucher'.

Das Suffix in der zentraltatarischen Dialektform *čumγa* und sibirtatarischen *cumγa* ist das heutige tatarische Äquivalent des alttürkischen Suffixes *-gA*[14]. Es bildet aus Verben Substantive mit konnotativer Bedeutung für das Agens. Das Suffix *-γA* im heutigen Tatarischen ist nicht produktiv, es ist nur in wenigen Wörtern bewahrt, z. B. *yĭl-γa* 'Fluß', *tam-γa* 'Zeichen, Zeichnung'. Die Wörter *čumga* und *cumγa* hätten spätestens in der mittelkiptschakischen Periode gebildet werden können. Ihre etymologische Bedeutung ist 'der Taucher'. Die mittelkiptschakische Form *čomga* ist in nordrussischen Mundarten bewahrt, vgl. *čómga* 'нырок, гагара, морская поганка, Podiceps Colymbus'[15]. (Vasmer konnte in seinem Russischen etymologischen Wörterbuch die richtige Etymologie der nordrussischen Form *čómga* nicht angeben, im Gegensatz zu Šipova[16].)

In dem Wort *čumgaq* der Submundart „Kazanartĭ" des Zentraltatarischen kommt Suffix *-gAk* vor. Es ist das heutige Äquivalent des alttürkischen Suffixes *-gAk*. Dieses Suffix bildet im Alttürkischen Nomen agentis.[17] Im heutigen Tatarisch kommt es sporadisch vor, z. B. *kŏygäk* 'der Grämer' (< *kŏy-* 'grämen, traurig sein'). Die etymologische Bedeutung der Form *čomgaq* ist wiederum 'der Taucher'.

Das Suffix des Wortes *sum-asa,* das aus der südbaschkirischen Mundart stammt, ist im Baschkirischen nicht produktiv. Miržanova führt es in ihrer

[10] *Tatarsko–russkij slovar'*, 642.

[11] K. Z. Ahmerov, *Russko–baškirskij slovar'*, 451.

[12] Vgl. L. S. Levitskaja, Slovoobrazovanie glagolov. In: *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja grammatika tjurkskih jazykov. Morfologija.* Moskva 1988, 439.

[13] S. M. Erdal, *Old Turkic Word Formation.* Vol. I. Wiesbaden 1991, 224–261.

[14] M. Erdal, *op. cit.*, 376–382.

[15] V. Dal', *Tolkovyj slovar' živogo velikorusskogo jazyka.* T. IV. Sankt-Peterburg–Moskva 1889, 610.

[16] E. N. Šipova, *Slovar' tjurkizmov v russkom jazyke.* Alma-Ata 1976, 396.

[17] M. Erdal, *op. cit.*, 391.

Monographie über die südbaschkirische Mundart (1979) nicht an.[18] Seine regelmäßige tatarische Variante ist *-ača*, die in wenigen Wörtern in mischärtatarischen und zentraltatarischen Mundarten existiert, z. B. MČst *yuwača* 'мучное национальное блюдо'; ZNgb - krš *ǰuwača* 'id.'; *Mčst, ěčk tumača* 'троюродные'[19]. Die Herkunft und die Funktion dieses Suffixes müssen noch weiter untersucht werden.

Die letzte Formvariante des Wortes für Tauchente ist das südbaschkirische *sumgŏš*. Das Suffix *-γŏš* in diesem Wort ist die sekundäre Variante des regelmäßigen heutigen Äquivalentes des alttürkischen Suffixes *-gUč*. Das deverbale Suffix *-gUč* im Alttürkischen bildet Nomina mit Instrumentalbedeutung.[20] In wolgakiptschakischen Mundarten wurde aber im Laufe der Zeit seine Funktion erweitert, es konnte auch Nomina mit Agensbedeutung bilden, z. B. Sbaschk. *qŏrŏtqŏs* 'вредитель' (< *qŏrŏt-* 'высушить'), *yĭrt-qĭs* 'хищник' (< *yĭrt-* 'рвать, разорвать')[21]; tat. lit. *yĭrtkĭč* 'хищник, зверь; тиран, деспот'[22] (< *yĭrt-* 'рвать, разорвать'); *ürčĕtkĕč* 'питомник, рассадник; производитель (о животных)'(< *ürčĕt-* 'разводить, развести (о животных); выращивать, вырастить'[23]; tat. Z.Gäy. *irĕngĕč* 'лентяй, лодырь, ленивый' (< *irĕn-* 'утомиться, устать, надоесть'); tat. M.Kuzn. *bulgĭč* 'тот, кто, приходится кем-кому' (< *bul-* 'бывать, быть, оказываться и т.п.')[24].

Es ist bemerkenswert, daß Miržanova[25] die Funktion dieses Suffixes im Südbaschkirischen darin sieht, daß es die Nomina mit der konnotativen Bedeutung 'Neigung zu einer Handlung' bildet, wobei diese Bedeutung vom Verbalstamm des Wortes bestimmt wird. Baskakov in seiner türkischen historisch-typologischen Morphologie[26] schreibt den heutigen kiptschakischen Varianten des alttürkischen Suffixes *-gUč* nur eine nominalisierende Funktion zu, ohne semantische Einschränkungen.

Auf dieser Grundlage kann die etymologische Bedeutung des südbaschk. Wortes *sumγŏš* als 'der Taucher' oder 'zu tauchen bereites Lebewesen' angegeben werden.

Das tschuwaschische Wort *čămkăś* ist auch ein Derivat des alttürk. Verbs *čom-* 'tauchen', es kann aber wegen des *č-* im Anlaut und *-k-* im Inlaut nur ein Lehnwort aus anderen Türksprachen sein.[27] Es ist naheliegend, die Quelle des Wortes in wolgakiptschakischen Mundarten zu suchen.

[18] S. F. Miržanova, *Južnyj dialekt baškirskogo jazyka*. Moskva 1979.

[19] *Tatar tĕlĕnĕŋ dialektologik süzlĕgĕ*, 175, 426, 576.

[20] M. Erdal, *op. cit.*, 357–359.

[21] S. F. Miržanova, *op. cit.*, 198.

[22] *Tatarsko–russkij slovar'*, 147, *Tatar tĕlĕnĕŋ aŋlatmalĭ süzlĕgĕ*. I. Kazan 1977, 1334.

[23] *Tatarsko–russkij slovar'*, 752.

[24] *Tatar tĕlĕnĕŋ dialektologik süzlĕgĕ*, 95.

[25] S. F. Miržanova, *op. cit.*, 198.

[26] N. A. Baskakov, *Istoriko-tipologičeskaja morfologija tjurkskih jazykov*. Moskva 1979, 193–194.

[27] V. G. Jegorov, *Etimologičeskij slovar' čuvašskogo jazyka*. Čeboksary 1964, 319.

Das tschuw. *čămkăś* könnte aus einer mittelkiptschakischen Form **čomγuč* abgeleitet werden, wie z. B. die vorhergehende Variante des heutigen südbaschk. Wortes *sumγöš*. Diese Möglichkeit ist aber nur eine theoretische Möglichkeit, weil in der mitteltürkischen Periode nach dem Mongolensturm im Wolga-Kama-Gebiet keine reale Wahrscheinlichkeit für unmittelbare Kontakte zwischen der tschuwaschischen und südbaschkirischen Bevölkerung bestand. In diesem Fall bleibt es nur zu beweisen, daß die tschuwaschische Sprache den Verbalstamm und das Suffix separat entlehnt hat und das Wort *čămkăś* eine innere tschuwaschische Schöpfung aus Lehnelementen ist.

Das Verb 'tauchen' ist anfangs aus der mitteltatarischen Mundart in den tschuw. Dialekt Anatri übernommen werden, vgl. A *čăm-*, Sp. *čŏm-* 'tauchen, untertauchen',[28] Mitteltschuw. (A) *čom-* ← Mitteltat. (Z) *čom-* 'id.' Von hier verbreitete es sich noch später in nordwestliche Richtung. Der nördlichste Punkt, den Ašmarins Wörterbuch zitiert, ist Ibresi[29]. Seit dem aus der Anatri-Mundart die tschuw. Literatursprache entstanden ist, ist das Verb *čăm-* allgemein im ganzen tschuwaschischen Sprachgebiet gebräuchlich.

Das Suffix *-kăś* ist in Levitskajas tschuwaschischer historischer Morphologie als eine phonetische Variante des Suffixes *-kăč ~ -kĕč* behandelt.[30] Es ist Levitskaja zuzustimmen, daß das Suffix *-kăś* eine Entlehnung des gemeintürkischen Deverbalsuffixes *-gVč ~ -γVč* ist. Es kann noch hinzugefügt werden, daß die Übernahme des kiptschakischen Suffixes nur in der spätmitteltschuwaschischen Periode erfolgen konnte. Zu dieser Zeit wurden nämlich im Tschuwaschischen die ursprünglichen stimmhaften Gutturalen schon spirantisiert oder sind verschwunden, und *k* hat seine Funktion für die Bezeichnung der Artikulationsart des Wortes schon verloren. Nur in diesem Fall war es möglich, im Tschuwaschischen die fremde Lautbeziehung *-γu-* mit *-ku-* (> *kă)* zu ersetzen. Die von Levitskaja zitierten Beispiele mit dem Suffix *-kăś* sind alle Substantive mit Instrumentalbedeutung. Das Vorkommen der Instrumentalbedeutung stimmt mit der alttürkischen Funktion dieses Suffixes überein, dementsprechend, was über die Funktion dieses Suffixes in der deskriptiven Grammatik der tschuw. Sprache geschrieben wurde.[31] Weder Levitskaja noch Andreev haben aber bemerkt, was Ašmarin schon 1898 geschrieben hatte: Neben der Instrumentalfunktion des Suffixes *-kăś* kommt sehr selten eine andere Funktion vor, nämlich Bildung des Agens.[32] Als Beispiel gibt Ašmarin das Wort *čămkăś* 'Tauchente' an. Natürlich kann das für unser Problem kein genügender Beweis sein, man soll weitere Beispiele für die Existenz der Agensbedeutung des Suffixes *-kăś ~ -kăč* im Tschu-

[28] H. Paasonen, *Csuvas szójegyzék.* Budapest 1908, 184; reprint *Tschuwaschisches Wörterverzeichnis.* Eingeleitet von A. Róna-Tas. Szeged 1974. (Studia Uralo-Altaica IV)

[29] N. I. Ašmarin, *Slovar'.* T. XV, 270.

[30] L. S. Levitskaja, *Istoričeskaja morfologija čuvašskogo jazyka.* Moskva 1976, 156–157.

[31] N. A. Andreev, Imja suščestvitel'noe. In: *Materialy po grammatike čuvašskogo jazyka.* Čeboksary 1957, 47.

[32] N. I. Ašmarin, *Materialy dlja issledovanija čuvašskogo jazyka.* Kazan 1898, II, 111.

waschischen anführen. Ein solches Beispiel ist das Wort *tupkăč* 'сват, сваха'[33]. Das Verb *tup-* ist die regelmäßige tschuwaschische Entwicklung des altbulgarisch-türkischen *tap-*, vgl. AT *tap-* 'to find'.[34] Das Suffix *-kuč* wurde zum Verbalstamm in spätmitteltschuwaschischer Periode hinzugefügt, und das Wort bedeutet etymologisch 'der Finder' (der eine Braut für den Bräutigam findet). Aufgrund dieser Parallele gibt es keine Schwierigkeit mehr zu behaupten, daß das tschuw. *čămkăś* eine aus Lehnelementen gebildete innere tschuwaschische Formation ist.

[33] L. P. Sergeev, *Dialektologičeskij slovar' čuvašskogo jazyka.* Čeboksary 1968, 72; M. I. Skvorcov, *Čăvašla–vĭrăsla slovar'*, 495.

[34] Sir G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-thirteenth Century Turkish.* Oxford 1972, 435.

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KARAMANIA, THE ANTI-OTTOMAN CHRISTIAN DIPLOMACY AND THE NON-EXISTING HUNGARIAN–KARAMANID DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS OF 1428

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Karamania, one of the Turkish principalities in Asia Minor that assumed great power after the decline of the Seldjuk Sultanate of Anatolia, ranked among the fiercest enemies of the Ottomans as early as the fourteenth century. Consequently, it was a potential ally of those Christian states threatened by the Ottoman drive towards Europe. The Karamanids were reluctant to accept the Ottomans as their overlords and seized every opportunity to increase their territories at the expense of the fledgling Ottoman Empire. In spite of the successive peace treaties and family ties between the Ottomans and the Karamanids, the Ottomans could never feel safe during any of their European campaigns, and always had to reckon with the Karamanids' breach of the peace treaty as well as with the possibility of a Karamanid attack against Ottoman territories in Anatolia.

In his indignation over the Karamanids' successive revolts, Sultan Bayezid I (1389–1402) suppressed another Karamanid revolt against his rule in 1389. He had Alaeddin Karaman Beg executed and occupied the greater part of Karamania. Thus, the principality of Karaman was temporarily eliminated. It is common knowledge that the Karamanids and some other Anatolian principalities re-established their former sovereignty during the fratricidal years after Timur's (1336–1405) victory at Ankara in July 1402 and the death of Sultan Bayezid I in March 1403.[1] From then on, in European diplomatic records we more and more frequently come across the Karamanids, their two outstanding rulers, Mehmed Beg (d. 1423) and his son, Tadjeddin Ibrahim Beg (d. 1464).

Byzantium, Venice, King Sigismund and the Karamanids

The impressive military victories of the Ottomans, as well as their expansion in Anatolia and Rumili, frightened Byzantium. As early as the mid-1300s, the Ottomans' rise in power made Byzantine rulers seek support in European

[1] For the events see: E. A. Zachariadou, Süleyman çelebi in Rumili and the Ottoman chronicles. *Der Islam* 60:2 (1983) 268–296, C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire* 1300–1481. Istanbul 1990, 55–73.

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courts.[2] Neither the principalities of Anatolia which threatened the Ottomans from behind, nor the emerging conqueror of the steppe, Timur, escaped the attention of Byzantine diplomacy. Several sources refer to the ties between Byzantium and Timur. Georgio Stella gives account of relations between Timur and some Christian monarchs, among whom he mentions the rulers of Genoa and the Emperor of the Greeks (*Imperator Greacorum*).[3] Other scholars also assume that, supposedly prior to his visit to the western countries in about 1399, the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II had sent his envoys to Timur and encouraged him to launch an attack against Bayezid.[4] In the summer of 1401 the Tatar ruler was visited by two Dominicans. Presumably on behalf of the Byzantines, one of the envoys proposed to Timur that if he attacked the Ottomans the Byzantines would pay him the same taxes that they had previously paid to Bayezid.[5] The relationship between Timur and the Byzantines is also referred to in the chronicle of Doukas.[6]

Sources at our disposal testify to the fact that Venice paid keen attention to the ties between Timur and Byzantium. In August 1401, the Venetian Senate was aware of the arrival of two envoys from Timur in Pera. They advised the Emperor and the people of Genoa against entering into peace negotiations with

[2] In 1366, Emperor John V Palaiologos, who was accompanied by his two sons and his chancellor, conducted negotiations at the court of the Hungarian King Lajos the Great about receiving military assistance. Cf.: Gy. Moravcsik, Vizantijskie imperatory i ih posly v.g. Buda. *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 8:3–4 (1961) 239–255, idem, *Byzantium and the Magyars*. Budapest 1970, 98–99, J. Gill, John V Palaelogos at the Court of Louis I of Hungary (1366). *Byzantinoslavica* 38 (1977) 31–38, O. Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome. Vingt ans de travail pour l'union des églises et pour la défense de l'empire d'Orient 1355–1375.* Warszawa 1930 (reprinted London 1972) 111–137 where the author approaches the issue in the light of a thorough knowledge of the Hungarian sources and discusses the theme in great detail in the chapter entitled 'Un empereur de Byzance à Buda'. Concerning the later trips of Byzantine Emperors to Europe, see: M. A. Andreeva, Zur Reise Manuels II. Palaiologos nach Westeuropa. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 34 (1934) 37–47, Donald M. Nicol, A Byzantine Emperor in England. Manuel II's visit to London in 1400–1401. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 12:2 (1971) 204–25. (reprinted in: idem, *Byzantium: its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World.* London 1972, no. X), F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches* 5. Berlin 1965. Nr. 3285, 3286, 3287, 3288.

[3] J. W. Barker, *Manuel II. Palaeologus (1391–1425). A study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship.* New Brunswick–New Jersey 1969, 505.

[4] Dölger, *op. cit.*, Nr. 3278, but cf. Barker, *op. cit.*, 505.

[5] Dölger, *op. cit.*, Nr. 3197.

[6] In his memoirs about the fighting after the battle of Ankara and the death of Süleyman Çelebi, Doukas says that Musa Çelebi, having learned the news about his brother's death, delivered a speech in front of the assembly of Thracian and Macedonian noblemen, accusing the Byzantines of having invited Timur to his country so that his troops would ravage the Ottomans' homes. According to the chronicler, '*it was no other power but Constantinople and the emperors who reign within, who brought the Scythians and Persians and the other nations to ravage our homes.*' Doukas, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks.* Transl. H. J. Magoulias. Detroit 1975, 107.

Bayezid, since Timur would attack the Sultan before long.[7] In the beginning of the following year Venice intended to form a league against the Ottomans, and she continued her activity after the battle of Ankara when the league came into existence. However, in January or early February 1403, Süleyman çelebi succeeded in concluding a treaty with the Byzantines. What is more important, the Venetians together with the Hospitallers of Rhodes, Genoa and the duke of Naxos also were included in the treaty.[8] In the years to come Süleyman would follow the policy of intervention in favour of one Christian ruler against another and succeed in maintaining the *status quo* in Rumelii. In these years Venice would repeatedly reject the Hungarian king's plans to attack the Ottomans.[9]

During the time of the internal struggle among the Ottoman princes, Venice acted in the interests of its own people. The republic was inclined to pay its respects to whichever side seemed to be coming into the power.[10] She remained sensitive to shifts in power as well as to political changes in the region. On April 2, 1415, the Venetian Senate assigned to Captain Pietro Loredan the task of gathering information in Byzantium concerning the activities of Mustafa, brother of Sultan Mehmed I (1413–1421) and claimant to the throne, and of discovering the position of Karamanoğlu Mehmed Beg, the Karaman ruler.[11] At this time, Venice did not seem to regard the Karamanids as an important factor. The Venetian Senate's letter to Sultan Mehmed I and the instructions received on April 2 by Delphinus Venerius, the Venetian envoy to the Sultan, permit us to draw the above conclusion. According to his instructions, the envoy was ordered to conclude a peace treaty with the Sultan. In case of failure, he was instructed to gather information concerning the ways and means of inflicting damage on the Ottomans, 'especially through the Charaman (i.e., Karamanoğlu Mehmed Beg), Mustafa (i.e., the claimant to the throne) and through the Vlach (i.e., Mirčea, the Prince of Wallachia). The Venetians decided to send secret envoys to the above rulers. Delphinus Venerius had to persuade Karamanoğlu Mehmed Beg, Mustafa and Mirčea, into harassing the Ottomans. The envoy was ordered not to make any pledges that would put Venice under obligation, but merely to raise the hopes of these foreign rulers (*non obligando nostrum dominum in aliquo in speciali, sed dando eis spem*).[12]

Earlier studies mention the cautious diplomatic initiatives of Venice but regard them as a curious effort of lesser importance in the history of 1415 and

[7] Barker, *op. cit.*, 505–506.

[8] Zachariadou, *op. cit.*, 274, Imber, *op. cit.*, 57. Cf. also G. T. Dennis, The Byzantine-Turkish treaty of 1403. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 33 (1967) 72–88.

[9] Imber, *op. cit.*, 59.

[10] Donald M. Nicol, *Byzantine and Venice. A study in diplomatic and cultural relations.* Cambridge 1992, 352.

[11] F. Thiriet, *Régestes des déliberations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie* II. Paris 1959, Nr. 1610.

[12] E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitore la Istoria Romanilor* I. 2. 1346–1450. Bucuresci 1890, 501.

1416. However, sources at our disposal suggest that the above outlined Venetian initiatives were part of a joint anti-Ottoman diplomatic and military campaign, in which Byzantium played a significant role. The Byzantines were apparently worried about Sultan Mehmed I's consistent efforts to create a powerful empire, as the repeated subjugation of the Anatolian principalities made clear. In spite of the fact that peace, and a kind of gentleman's agreement existed between the Emperor Manuel II and the Sultan Mehmed I,[13] Byzantine diplomacy made use of the traditional spirit of rebellion in Karamania and joined the anti-Ottoman diplomatic campaign. From the summer of 1415 onwards, an anti-Ottoman alliance was formulated which included: The Genoese rulers of Chios and Mitylene, the Knights of St. John on Rhodes, Mirčea, and Mustafa, who was enjoying his hospitality, Karamanoğlu Mehmed Beg, Stefan Lazarević, the Serbian despot, Venice, and Sigismund, king of Hungary and the Holy Roman Empire. In principle, Venice did not reject the idea of the league and authorized Pietro Zeno to conduct further negotiations.[14] However, the creation of the league was hindered, partly due to king Sigismund's increasing participation in European politics, his visit to France and England, and his active participation in the Council of Constance. A further obstacle was the rift between Venice and king Sigismund over the rule of Dalmatia. Although the five-year truce based upon the *status quo*, was agreed upon in Castelleto on April 17, 1413, might have been regarded by the unaware public as a starting point for a peaceful settlement at a later date, but this was not the case. Sigismund harboured hostile feelings and plans towards Venice which thwarted peace efforts.[15]

The Byzantine Emperor, familiar with the conflict between Venice and King Sigismund and interested in the establishment of the league before long, volunteered to negotiate between the two parties and sent a delegation to Venice headed by Nikolaos Eudaimonoiannes. The Venetian Senate discussed the proposition of the Byzantine delegation on February 8, 1416. In their reply to the envoys, the Venetian Senate accepted the Byzantine Emperor as a mediator and showed willingness to conclude a peace treaty with Sigismund, provided the terms would be acceptable for the Republic.[16] The Byzantine delegation left Venice for Constance to meet Sigismund. They arrived at the end of March and stayed until the conclusion of the Council of Constance.[17]

The Byzantine envoys had to perform a delicate task, since it had been Sigismund himself who had sent a letter to Manuel II in early 1412 suggesting that the two empires should co-ordinate their policies directed against Venice. Thus, the Byzantines were aware of Sigismund's plans against Venice.

[13] Cf., Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 353, 356.

[14] In order to comply with the request of Byzantium, Venice intended to send a special envoy. Cf. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, II. Nr. 1592.

[15] Mályusz Elemér, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon 1387–1437.* Budapest 1984, 92.

[16] Thiriet, *op. cit.*, II, Nr. 1599.

[17] J. Gill, *The Council of Florence.* Cambridge 1959, 22.

Sigismund's sending of envoys to Djelaleddin Khan, one of the rulers of the Golden Horde of the Kipchak Steppe, and his endeavours to join forces with the Byzantines in his anti-Ottoman policy gave rise to a limited optimism. Sigismund's main end, however, seems to have been to paralyse the eastern trade of Venice, and not to create an anti-Ottoman alliance.[18] The Byzantine envoys, consequently, could not succeed in performing their task in 1415 and 1416. Besides the well-known conflicts between the European countries, their failure also can be attributed to recent changes in the internal affairs of the Ottoman empire, and to the lack of synchronization between anti-Ottoman diplomatic and military campaigns.

In late 1416, Sultan Mehmed I put down the revolt of Şeyh Bedreddin, who had joined forces with opponents to Mehmed's rule. The sultan had the rebellious şeyh executed. In return for his pledge to preserve the *status quo* stipulated by the peace treaty with Byzantium, the Byzantines undertook to keep Mustafa on the island of Lemnos during the lifetime of the incumbent sultan. Soon, peace negotiations with Venice began making the naval victory of the Republic in May 1416 of no avail for a general anti-Ottoman diplomatic campaign. A striking example of the lack of synchronization between the diplomatic and military campaigns is that, by the time the Venetian envoys received their orders in April 1415 to enquire about the plight of the Karamanids, the Ottomans had put down the latters' revolt. In the following summer the Karamanids seized the realms of the Ottomans, but in the spring of 1417, Mehmed himself attacked Karamania and destroyed many of its towns and villages. Karamanoğlu Mehmed Beg, however, succeeded in concluding a peace treaty with the Ottomans. Because Karamanoğlu Mehmed Beg had offered himself as a vassal of the Mamluk Sultan, al-Malik al-Muayyad, the Ottomans, in order to avoid Mamluk reprisal, returned the captured territories to the Karamanids.[19]

Having signed the Karamanid-Ottoman peace treaty, Karamanoğlu Mehmed Beg did not again revolt against Ottoman rule during Sultan Mehmed I's lifetime. As we know Mehmed Beg first pledged his allegiance to the Mamluk Sultan. The successive sieges and the consequent occupation of Tarsus by the Karamanids, however, precipitated the deterioration of the Karamanid-Mamluk ties and Mehmed Beg, after suffering a crushing defeat, was imprisoned in Cairo in January 1420. The Mamluk ruler gave Karamanid territories to Mehmed Beg's brother, Bengi Ali Beg. Mehmed Beg was released from Mamluk captivity only after the death of al-Malik al-Muayyad in 1421. The new Mamluk sultan Sayfuddin Tatar ordered that part of Mehmed Beg's previous lands should be restored to him. At the time of Murad II's (1421–1444; 1446–1451) ascension to the throne, when the attention of the Ottomans was focused upon their internal affairs, Karamanoğlu Mehmed Beg, just released from Mamluk captivity, seized the opportunity to increase his lands and laid siege to the castle of Antalya, but

[18] H. Heimpel, Zur Handelspolitik Kaiser Sigismunds. *Vierteljahrschift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 23 (1930) 145, Mályusz E., *op. cit.*, 81–82.

[19] Imber, *op. cit.*, 82, 87–88.

was killed during the siege and buried in Larende in 1423. His brother Ali Beg declared himself ruler of Karamania, and Mehmed Beg's sons sought refuge with Sultan Murad II. In order to obtain their allegiance, the sultan married Isa and Ali, two sons of Mehmed Beg, to his own daughters. They entered Ottoman service, and were each given a *sandjak* in Rumeli. Mehmed Beg's eldest son, Ibrahim, occupied Konya and reconquered part of Karamania from his uncle with supporting Ottoman auxiliary troops. By 1424 he had assumed control. As a token of his gratitude and his allegiance to the Ottomans, he returned several territories that had been given to his father by Timur.[20] However, his behaviour can only be regarded as a tactical measure taken under compelling circumstances. Sources at our disposal testify to the fact that Ibrahim did not relinquish his claim to his former territories. Furthermore, he was determined to implement an independent policy that often conflicted with Ottoman interests. In pursuing his policy, Karamanoğlu Ibrahim Beg enjoyed the support of all anti-Ottoman forces in Europe, including Venice.

Venice maintained good relations with the Karamanids. On April 17, 1424, Pietro Loredan was authorized to establish contacts with the Karamanids and incite them, together with the emirs of Menteşe and Aydın, against the Ottomans.[21] In August 1429 the Venetian Senate was informed that the Great Karaman, i.e., Ibrahim Beg, was showing willingness to take up arms against the Ottomans on the side of Venice. Consequently, the Venetians decided to send an envoy to Ibrahim Beg. The envoy would be responsible for the creation of a Karamanid-Venetian alliance.[22] On August 30, 1429, the Venetian Senate, acting on the recommendation of the Doge's councillors, Giovanni Loredan and Giorgio Corner, passed a resolution to send Lodovico Correr as an envoy to the Great Karaman. The envoy was to tell Ibrahim Beg that Venice was ready to assist the Karamanids in their struggle against Sultan Murad, and was willing to send 8 or 10 galleys and a larger 2,000 ton ship, from April through November 15, in order to blockade the Dardanelles and prevent the passage of Ottoman vessels.[23]

[20] I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri.* Ankara 1984, 18–23.

[21] Thiriet, *op. cit.*, Nr. 1931. Cf. Imber, *op. cit.*, 98.

[22] Thiriet, *op. cit.*, Nr. 2158.

[23] *Ibid.*, Nr. 2160. Concerning the extremely cautious eastern policy of the Venetians cf. Max Silberschmidt, *Das orientalische Problem zur Zeit der Entstehung des Türkischen Reiches nach venezianischen Quellen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Beziehungen Venedigs zu Sultan Bajezid I., zu Byzanz, Ungarn und Genua und zum Reiche von Kiptschak (1381–1400).* Leipzig–Berlin 1923.

The non-existing Hungarian–Karamanid diplomatic relations of 1428

Both the Hungarian historian Lajos Tardy and the Ottomanist Halil İnalcık assume that the beginnings of Hungarian–Karamanid ties date back to this period.[24] Referring to Nicolae Jorga,[25] they claim that Hungarian–Karamanid diplomatic relations were first established in 1428. However, no Hungarian–Karamanid diplomatic ties are mentioned in the document quoted by Iorga. The document in question, most references to which are based on István Katona's fragmentary publication,[26] can be found in the Hungarian National Archives.[27] It is a deed of gift (*litterae donationis*) written in Nagyszombat on February 16, 1428. The two beneficiaries were Miklós Szerecsen (*Nicolaus Sarachenus*) and Józsa Török (*Iosa Turcus*).

Miklós Gereczi (*Nicolaus filii Philippi de Gerecz*) had fallen into Turkish captivity at Nicopol and spent twelve years in bondage (*sub castro Nicopolis... per Turcos captus et in huiusmodi captivitate fere xii annis integris extitit*). After having regained his freedom in 1408, he entered into the service of King Sigismund. He was probably called Sarachenus because of his captivity among the Muslims. On his way back to Hungary Miklós Gereczi was accompanied by a Turk who later became a Christian. He was the aforementioned Józsa Török, and he also entered into the service of King Sigismund and rendered diplomatic services in the East together with Miklós Gereczi.

According to the document in question Miklós Szerecsen was sent '*ad principem Karayuluk, dominum Mesopotamiae*' and Józsa Török was assigned '*ad principem Mahometham, dominum tartarorum de Ahorda*'. Thus, it was not the Karamanids whom Miklós Gereczi and Józsa Török visited as King Sigismund's envoys. Instead, Miklós Gereczi payed a visit to Kara Yülük, the ruler of the Ak-Koyunlu Türkmen state. Józsa Török, on the other hand, was sent to the Lord of the Golden Horde Tatars. The document refers to Sigismund's well-known eastern diplomatic mission of 1419. In this mission Miklós Gereczi succeeded in persuading Kara Yülük to launch a campaign against Sultan Mehmed

[24] Lajos Tardy, Ungarns antiosmanische Bündnisse mit Staaten des Nahen Ostens und deren Vorgeschichte. *Anatolica* 4 (1971–1972 [1973]) 148. and idem, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire. 14–15th Century Hungarian Diplomacy in the East.* (Studia Uralo-Altaica 13) Szeged 1978, 27, *Gazavât-i Sultân Murâd b. Mehemmed Hân. İzladi ve Varna Savaşları (1443–1444) Üzerinde Anonim Gazavâtnâme.* H. İnalcık–M. Oğuz ed. Ankara, 1978. 82–83. (İnalcık's notes) and idem, The Ottoman Turks and the Crusades, 1329–1451. In: *A History of the Crusades VI. The Impact of the Crusades on Europe.* Harry W. Hazard–Norman P. Zacour eds.

[25] N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* I. Gotha 1908, 406.

[26] S. Katona, *Historia Critica Regum Hungariae* V/XII. Buda 1790, 503–507.

[27] Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár: 100.445. I am indebted to Prof. Pál Engel who drew my attention to this document.

I. He also persuaded Shah Rukh, the son of Timur, the ruler of Transoxania and Persia to join the campaign. This diplomatic mission helped to avert the sultan's planned campaign against Hungary.[28]

[28] W. Stromer, Diplomatische Kontakte des Herrschers vom Weißen Hammel, Uthman genannt Qara-Yuluk, mit dem Deutschen König Sigismund. *Südost-Forschungen* 20 (1961) 267–272, idem, König Sigismunds Gesandte in den Orient. In: *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel* II. Göttingen 1972, 591–609, L. Tardy, Ungarns antiosmanische Bündnisse, 145–146. and Mályusz, *op. cit.*, 82. One does not understand why Lajos Tardy, who was familiar with this sending of envoys by King Sigismund, and quotes lengthy passages from the document, should accept just a few pages later Jorga's statement which is also based on this document concerning the establishment of Hungarian–Karamanid diplomatic relations in 1428.

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ABOUT THE TURKISH DIALECT OF DELIORMAN
(Illustrated with texts on the circumcision feast)

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The Turkish dialectology can be considered as one of the traditional fields of the Hungarian Turkology. It is sufficient just to refer to the pioneering researches of József Thúry[1], Ignác Kúnos[2] and Gyula Mészáros[3]. Their followers, Gyula Németh[4], János Eckmann[5], György Hazai[6] and last but not least Zsuzsa Kakuk[7], who mostly studied the Turkish dialects of the Balkan peninsula.

During my last years at the University of Budapest I had the opportunity of taking a course in Turkish dialectology with Professor Hasan Eren and when I spent a semester at the University of Leningrad in 1977 I could attend A. P.

[1] *A Kasztamuni-i török nyelvjárás*. Budapest 1885.

[2] *Oszmán-török népköltési gyűjtemény* I–II. Budapest 1887, 1889; Kisázsiai török nyelv I. Brusza Ajdin vidéki nyelvmutatványok (népdalok). *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 22 (1890) 113–156; II. Brusza vidéki szólások. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 22 (1890) 261–274; Láz dalok. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 22 (1891) 275–298; *Kisázsia török dialektusairól*. Budapest 1897; Rumelisch-türkische Sprichwörter. *Keleti Szemle* VII (1906) 66–83; *Ada-Kálei török népdalok*. Budapest 1906; *Materialien zur Kenntnis des rumelischen Türkisch. I. Türkische Volksmärchen aus Adakale gesammelt, in Transkription*. Leipzig 1907.

[3] Oszmán-török babonák. *Keleti Szemle* VII (1906) 315–347.

[4] Emphatische Formen in der türkischen Mundart von Vidin. In: *Annali del R. Istituto Superiore Orientale di Napoli*. N. S. I. Roma 1940; La cérémonie du tewhid à Vidin. In: *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* I. Budapest 1948; Le passage ö > ü dans les parlers turc du de la Roumélie nord-ouest: *RO* XVII (1953); *Zur Einteilung der türkischen Mundarten Bulgariens*. Sofia 1956; *Die Türken von Vidin. Sprache, Folklore, Religion*. Budapest 1965. BOH X.; etc.

[5] Die türkische Mundart von Warna. *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* III (1941) 144–214; Anadolu Karamanlı ağızlarına ait araştırmalar. I. Fonetika. *AÜDTCFD* 8 (1950) 165–200; Razgrad Türk ağzı. In: *Türk dili ve edebiyat tarihi hakkında araştırmalar*. Ankara 1953, 1–25; Dinler (Makedonya) Türk ağzı. *TDAYB* 1960, 189–204; Kumanova (Makedonya) Türk ağzı. In: *Németh Armağanı*. Ankara 1962, 111–144; The Turkish Dialekt of Edirne. In: *American Studies in Altaic Linguistics*. Bloomington 1962, UAS 13, 45–69.

[6] Les dialectes turcs du Rhodope. *AOH* 9 (1959) 205–229; Textes turcs du Rhodope. *AOH* 10 (1960) 184–229; Beiträge zur Kenntnis der türkischen Mundarten Mazedoniens: *RO* 23 (1960) 83–100; Rumeli ağızlarının tarihi üzerine. *TDAYB* 1960, 205–211; etc.

[7] Le dialect turc de Kazanlyk. *AOH* 8 (1958) 169–187; Textes turcs de Kazanlyk. *AOH* 8 (1958) 241–311; Constructions hypotactiques dans le dialect turc de la Bulgarie Occidentale. *AOH* 11 (1960) 249–257; Türkische Volksmärchen asu Küstendil. *UAJb* 33 (1961) 90–94; Die türkische Mundart von Küstendil und Michailovgrad. *Acta Linguistica Hung.* 11 (1961) 301–386; Le dialecte turc d'Ohrid en Macédoine. *AOH* 22 (1972) 227–283.

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Vekilov's practice lessons on the same subject. At that time, Professor Zsuzsa Kakuk and my tutor István Mándoky-Kongur often spoke about their former and recent field-work among the Turks of Rumelia and encouraged me when they heard of my plans about going to Bulgaria. After such antecedents I decided to visit *Deliorman*, which is situated south-west of Bulgarian Dobrudja in the north-eastern part of the country. The region of *Deliorman* seemed to have been the least searched by Hungarian and foreign Turkologists[8], although Emil Boyev reported of great enterprises and some results of the Bulgarian colleagues[9].

In July and August of 1978 I spent three weeks visiting different villages of *Deliorman.* My basis were in Yenipazar (Новипазар), where I stayed with the family of a Turkish friend of mine, Şükri Şükriyev Ahmedov. Originally I only wanted to improve my Turkish and get some live impressions about the Turks but then and there I got convinced that I could collect some material, which might be of certain value to both linguists and folklorists.

During the three-week period I put down several separate words and expressions, recorded five audio cassettes, took a few slides and photos. I also happened to take part in a traditional wedding (*düğün*).

My informators were born and mostly lived in different villages, such as Çobannasıf (Загориче), Ekizçe (Близнаци), Yenipazar (Новипазар), Doyranlar (Дойранци), Tekke Kozlucası (Избул), Pıyıklı (Борци), Наум, Голяма Вода.

Some characteristic features of the linguistic material[10]

All the changes and alternations will be compared with the facts of the standard Turkish language (given in parenthesis).

[8] See the footnotes Nos. 4 and 5. Cf. D. G. Gadžanow, Vorläufiger Bericht über eine im Auftrag der Balkan-Kommission der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien durch Nordost-Bulgarien unternommene Reise zum Zwecke von türkischen Dialektstudien. *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der k. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Jahrgang 1911, Nr. V, 1–15, Zweiter Vorläufiger Bericht über ergänzende Untersuchung der türkischen Elemente im nordöstlichen Bulgarien in sprachlicher, kultureller und ethnographischer Beziehung. Unternommen im Jahre 1911 von D. G. Gadžanow. *Anzeiger* ... Jahrgang 1912, 1–8; T. Kowalski, Türkische Volksrätsel aus Nordbulgarien. In: *Festschrift für Georg Jakob*. Leipzig 1932, 128–145; T. Kowalski, Les turcs et la langue turque de la Bulgarie du nordest. In: *PAU, Mém. de la Comission Orientaliste* 1933, 1–33; S. Čilingirov, Turski poslovici, pogovorki i charakterni izrazi. *INEM* II (1922) 157–171, III (1923) 59–65, XII (1936) 153–156; M. F. Köprülü, Şimalişarki Bulgaristanda Türkler ve Türk dili. In: *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Hakkında Araştırmalar* 1934, 293–310.

[9] E. P. Boyev, Bulgaristan'da Türk dialektolojisiyle ilgili çalışmalar. In: *Bilimsel Bildiriler* 1966, Ankara 1968, 171–177. Hüseyin Dallı's excellent monography has to be mentioned here, although the region he made his researches in is far south-west of Deliorman (H. Dallı, *Kuzeydoğu Bulgaristan Türk ağızları üzerine araştırmalar.* Ankara 1976, 201 pp. [TDK Yayınları 450]).

[10] When presenting the different phenomena I tried to give examples from all my material, not only from the one I have published in the second part of this article.

1. The law of vowel harmony is generally effective like in the standard Turkish language. The exceptions usually are in connection with other phenomena which will be shown below.

2. Phoneme /e/ has three allophones: *e, ė* and *ä.*

ė – in initial position: *ėşek* (P.[11], E.[12], eşek), *ėve* (Y.[13], eve), *ėvlän-* (Y., evlenmek);

ė – in the first syllable: *bėyänmez* (Y., beğenmez), *dėri* (E., deri), *gėnä* (Y., gene), *tėkēlėk* (P., tekerlek), *dėñil* (P., dingil), *yėñge* (D.[14], yenge), *tėte* (D., tete), *kėmik* (D., kemik), *tėl* (E., tel), *çėşme* (E., çeşme);

ė – in the last syllable: *tėkēlėk* (P., tekerlek)

ė – in final position: *ïnė* (D., iğne)

ē – in the first syllable: *vēmemişim* (D., vermemişim), . Long *ē* is usually a bit more open than the normal *e* so it is in the middle between *e* and *ä.*

ä – a very open *e*, which is close to *a*: *cümlelämiz* (Y., cümlelerimiz), *yiñgäm* (D., yengem), *ilāsi* (D., ilerisi).

3. Diphtongs with *y* or semivocalic *ʸ(i̯)* in their second part tend to become monophtongs. See the examples below among the items in connection with consonant *y*.

4. Phenomena in connection with vowels:

ö > ü[15]: *düveyler* ~ *düveyle* (Ç.[16], dövüyorlar), *büyle* ~ *büle* (Ç., böyle), *dǖdüler* (Ç., dövdüler), *küyden* (Ç., köyden), *üyle* ~ *üle* (Y., öyle), *süyler* (Ç., söyler), *ürenmiş* (öğrenmiş), *şüyle* ~ *şüle* (şöyle), *küy* ~ *kǖ (~ köy)* (Ç., köy), *düüş-* (dövüş- ~ döğüş-);

ö ~ ü: *yörük* ~ *yürük* (25, yörük ~ yürük), *böyle* ~ *büyle* (Ç., böyle);

ė ~ i: *yėñge* ~ *yiñgä* ~ *iñgä* (D., yenge)

o > u: *suvan* (D., soğan), *buynuz* (Ç., boynuz);

u > ı: *bızā* (P., buzağı)[17], *yımta* (D., yumurta);

u > (ı̯) > i: *yimita* ~ *yimta* ~ *imtē* (D., yumurta);

e > i: *iyē* (Ç., eğe);

i > u: *musāfir* (misafir);

i > ü: *sülmek* (silmek), *büber* (~ *biber*) (P., D., biber)

i > ö: *böber* (~ *biber*) (P., biber)

ı > (ı̯ ~ i̯) > i: This change is due to the assimilatory effect of the following consonants *y, ç, c* and *ş*. Examples: *çirak* (çırak), *sādiç* ~ *sādı̯ç (~ sādıç)*

[11] Pıyıklı.

[12] Ekizçe.

[13] Yenipazar.

[14] Doyranlar.

[15] The development is characteristic to the dialect of Western Rumelia (cf. Németh, Le passage ö > ü ... s. footnote 4; Kakuk, Ohrid ..., 236–237, see footnote 7).

[16] Çobannasıf.

[17] M. *bızā* (Dallı, s. footnote 9).

(sağdıç), *yapiyeri* (yapıyor), *yapiyez* ~ *yapıyeriz* (yapıyoruz), *çikiyeri* (çıkıyor);

ı > u: *bōzu* (D., boğazı).

5. The phenomena that consonant *g* (*ğ*) is involved in are almost the same as those of the standard language. It is a distinctive feature of the Turkish dialects of Eastern and Western Rumelia. In the last one consonant *g* is kept in each position[18]. Special features:

-*g*- (velar, between vowels) > Ø: *aaç* ~ *āç* (ağaç), *bōzu* (D., boğazı), *uşā* (Y., uşağa), *uşaa* (Y., uşağı), *sār* (sağır);

-*g*- (velar, between or near rounded vowels) > -*u̯*- > -*v*- ~ -*w*-: *sovuk* (soğuk), *suvan* (soğan). Exceptions: *aġa* (ağa);

-*g* (velar, in final position) > Ø: *bā* (E., bağ), *sā* (Y., sağ), *sāya* (Y., sağa);

-*g*- (palatal, between vowels) > Ø: *ak ciēr* (ak ciğer), *düüş*- (döğüş- ~ dövüş-), *gȫs* (D., göğüs), *söüt* (TK[19], söğüt), *iyē* (Ç., eğe), *kesmee* (P., kesmeğe), *büün* ~ *bügün* (bu gün). Exceptions: *eger* ~ *ėger* (eğer);

-*g* (palatal, in final position) > Ø: As it is in the standard language.

The loss of -*g*- (either velar or palatal) may cause the further changes of the remaining vowels. Examples: *kuyrū* (D., kuyruğu), *yürē* (D., yüreği), *bardak ėri* (Ç., bardak eriği), *kėmi* (D., kemiği), *hayvan taraa* (Ç., hayvan tarağı), *çamaşır kıstarcā* (çamaşır kıstırcağı), *sancaa* (sancağı).

6. The phoneme /h/ of the dialect tends to be lost in each position while showing up a very complicated picture. Gy. Németh stated that in Eastern Rumelia /h/ was preserved, while in the West it was mostly lost[20]. In Ohrid[21] and in our material from *Deliorman*, however, we can see exactly the same development.

h- > $^{h-}$ > Ø: *ala* (Y., hala), *apis* (hapis), *ayvan* (~ *hayvan*) (Ç., N.[22], TK, hayvan), *ediye* (hediye), *oroz* ~ *oras* (P., D., horoz), *asır* (hasır), *añgı* (Ç., hangi), *ısım* (hısım), *ep* (~ *hep*) (hep). Exceptions: *hādi* (Y., haydi), *halka* (P., halka), *hirende* (Ç., rende)[23], *hoş* (hoş), *hep* (hep), *her* (her) etc.

-h- > -$^{h-}$ > Ø: *sabāleyin* (Ç., sabahleyin), *ī̆tiyar* (Ç., ihtiyar), *ana^{h}ta^{r}* (E., anahtar), *tomlatmak* (tohumlatmak). Exceptions: *ilkbahar* (ilkbahar), *Çahır* (P., the name of a dog);

-h > Ø: *kade* (kadeh), *sabā* (sabah).

18 Cf. Kakuk, Ohrid ..., 311 (s. footnote 7).

19 Tekke Kozlucası.

20 Cf. Németh, Einteilung ... (s. footnote 4).

21 Cf. Kakuk, Ohrid ..., 241 (s. footnote 7).

22 Naum.

23 In this case the occurrence of *h*- is due to analogical effect of other words having initial *h*-. Cf. M. *irende* (Dallı, s. footnote 9).

7. Phenomena in connection with the phoneme /y/:

y- It usually remains in initial position. Exceptions: *üksek* (yüksek), *imtē* (D., yumurta), *iñge* (Y., yenge)[24];

-y- > -^{y}- > Ø: Mostly as semivocalic part of the diphtongs it drops or almost drops out and lengthens the preceding vowel[25]. Examples: *büyle ~ bū^{y}le* (Ç., böyle), *būle* (böyle), *ü^{y}le ~ üle* (öyle), *i^{y}mee* (Ç., yemeğe), *küyden* (Ç., köyden), *küün* (Ç., köyün), *büük ~ büyük* (Ç., büyük), *delmi ~ dėlmi* (değil mi?).

-y- > -^{y}- > -v- ~ -w- This phenomenon has been observed only in the word *kü ~ küy* (köy): *küwe* (Ç., köye), *köve* (D., P., köye)[26].

8. Phoneme /r/:

-r > Ø: *-lā, -lē* (-lar, -ler) [If *-lā* or *-lē is* followed by a word beginning in a vowel, *-lar* or *-ler* will be pronounced again.], *ciyē* (ciğer), *bī ~ bi^{r} ~ bi* (bir).

-r- (standing after a vowel and before a consonant) > (-^{r}-) > Ø: *vāmış* (varmış), *tūbe* (türbe), *bādak* (P., bardak), *bāsak* (D., bağırsak), *çādak ~ čardak* (Ç., çardak), *kūsak* (D., kursak), *tīnak* (D., tırnak), *kādaş ~ kā^{r}daş ~ kardaş* (kardeş), *āka* (arka), *sīgan ~ sırgan* (TK, N., ısırgan). Exceptions: *süpürge* (süpürge), *tıkırdak* (TK, N., 'small bell'), *kardaş, sırgan, çardak* (P., 'stack') etc.

9. In some cases the bilabial allophon (*w*) of the phoneme /v/ can be heard. Examples: *awul* (Y., avul), *çuwal* (E., çuval), *süwe* (P., süve), *suwacı* (E., su ağacı = saka sırığı 'water carrier'), *tawa* (Ç., tava), *kuwet* (Ç., kuvvet).

10. The progressive assimilation *nl > nn* is also one of the characteristic features of the dialect. However, a strong alternation can be observed even in the speech of the same informator. Examples: *bunnar* (bunlar), *onnar ~ onnā* (onlar), *samanlık ~ samannık* (Ç., samanlık), *unnuk* (Ç., unluk), *ekinner* (Ç., ekinler), *tütünner* (Ç., tütünler), *nişannar* (Ç., nişanlar), *zemannar* (Ç., zamanlar), *annattım* (D., anlattığım), *anlaşiylar* (D., anlaşırlar), *yannarna* (D., yanlarına), *duşmannık* (düşmanlık). Exceptions: *pişmanlık.*

11. Some peculiar forms of the present:

A strong influence of the "western" *-y* (more precisely *-ay/-ıy ~ -ey/-iy*) forms can be observed everywhere in the examined region[27]. The *-yor* form is

[24] Identical development in Ohrid: *ık-* 'détruire', *^{y}ıkan- ~ ıkan-* 'se laver' (cf. Kakuk, Ohrid ..., 243, see footnote 7).

[25] Similar phenomenon was noted in Ohrid: *ūlede* 'à midi', *söyledi ~ sūledi* 'il a dit' (cf. Kakuk, Ohrid ..., 240, see footnote 7).

[26] Cf. *kŏe/köve ~ küve* (T. Kowalski, Einige Probleme der osmanisch-türkischen Dialektforschung. *RO* VII (1929–1930) 264–280).

used very rarely, seemingly under the influence of the standard language. The characteristic affix is *-yeri ~ -yerⁱ ~ -yer* instead. The *-y* and *-yeri ~ -yerⁱ ~-yer* forms are used mixed:

yeri ~ -yerⁱ ~ -yer, -yē: *bilmiyeriz* (bilmiyoruz), *gelmiyer ~ gelmiyē* (D., Y., gelmiyor), *istiyer* (E., istiyor), *istemiyeri* (E., istemiyor), *işlemiyerim* (Y., işlemiyorum), *sāıyeri* (Ç., sağıyor), *yapiyeri* (yapıyor), *akiyē* (akıyor), *anlıyesin* (Ç., anlıyorsun)

-or (< ? *-yor*): *yapor* (Ç., yapıyor), *kalmor* (Ç., kalmıyor).

-y forms: *biliyem* (biliyorum), *bilmiyem ben* (Y., bilmiyorum ben), *öyreniy* (Y., öğreniyor), *kırkaylar* (21, kırkıyorlar), *geliyler* (Ç., geliyorlar), *gideyle* (gidiyorlar), *kalaʸ* (Ç., kalıyor), *çekişe, çekişeyler* (Ç., çekişiyor, çekişiyorlar), *istiylē* (istiyorlar), *yapayler* (Ç., yapıyorlar), *karışmay* (Ç., karışmıyor), *yatırıyler* (Ç., yatırıyorlar), *kaçamıysın* (Ç., kaçamıyorsun)

12. The irregular forms of the aorist are usually due to the drop out of the consonant *r*, or other phonetic changes. The present and the aorist forms of the verbs seem often to be used collaterally, referring to present continuous aspect of the action.

Texts[28]

SÜNET DÜÜNÜ
(Circumcision feast)

No. 1

[Side 4, 690–]

Sünet düünü ilēden ǖʸle yapardık,[29] *eski zamanda.*[30] *Şimdi gene olıyer ama şimdi gene başka. Evel şimdi ben çocuuma yapacam sünet düünü [...]. Eski zamanın şeyė gėne başkaydı. Eski zamanda çok büyük düün olurdu, sünet düünü. Nasıl? Şimdi ben yapacam çocuuma düün... de, heyecan... Bütün masraf benim, nekadar masraf. Pelvanlar, yörükler, muzıka var, epsini ben yapayım deʸilmi, bana masraf. Gelir böylen yirmi-otuz yürük, tā çok gelir belki, bilinmez, geliyeri yirmi-otuz pelvan, tā çok gelir, o bilinmez-e, nekadar geliyer okadar aşā-yukarı, bunların ilān eder bu adam [...] panoir var, o zaman yok böle ilān etsin şey, k'āt daatsın, o zaman yok, şimdi gider panoira bu adam [...] orada bir adam tutar, bādır*[31] *orda panoira: Zagorçede*[32] *filan adam düün yapacek, filan datada işte,*

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[27] Németh published similar forms from Stara Zagora and Sliven: *aliylar, yašay, bakiy*, from North-West Bulgaria: *yapay, ālay, geliy, ügreniy*, from Macedonia: *yapaylar, söyley* (Cf. Németh, Einteilung ..., s. footnote 4).

[28] Special thanks to İnci Yurdakul, the Turkish lecturer of University of Budapest, who was so kind as to listen to the recordings and advise me on some problematical parts of the texts.

[29] The commas in the texts are signs of a shorter pause in the speech of the informators.

[30] Full stops in the texts mean a longer pause in the speech.

[31] bağırtır

[32] Çobannasıf köy

filan günde, haber eder o. Gider sōra başka panoira, gider başka panoira ilān eder hep. Tā onbeş-yirmi gün vākan ilān eder büyle bittāyı, erkesin aber olur, a burda düün olacak diye.

A soa, gelir zaman, bī gün vākan gelir yörükler. Ā, oraya gelince şimdi yapar bu bir, şey, toplantı, bu adam. Burada küyde, toplar bütün köwü. Onlara hepsine o auşam doyuru, şıgar doyuru, sini, hepsi oturu sofra, epsi oturu ekmek yīnden, ey, süyler, benim düünüm var, aftaya, misāfirlerį nekadar misāfir gelse alacānıs, anlıyesin a? Yeni afta çekece yürükler, o auşamı tā der: yürükler nakadar olur, filanlar, filanlar, filanlar, filanlar yürükler, dėyelim on hāne yürük, on hāneye pelvan, on hāneye başka misāfirler gelir büyle, yaparlar, taksim. A şüle, gelir bī gün vākan yürükler gelir, pelvannar gelir, onları hepsini taksim ederler āne, āne, āneye. [...] o auşamı. Sabālan düün.

Alaya da sabāla çıkālar. Ye, pelvanlar, düünler nasıl olacanı iç yaptın mı sünet düünü, gittin?

Hiç, hiç.

Baştan yürükler koşuya. Var çādak, küçük orta.

O nedir?

Çādāmış yānı şimdi küçük orta. Yürük onnar şimdicik. Ep, ayrı ayrı onlar. Büyük orta, baş, bilesin baş? En büyük. Baş. Onları epsini taksim ederler. Salarlar baştan çādak. Bu çādakları salarlar tē t-ōda... Küçük ortayı salarlar tā to-onnan uzak, büyük ortayı aydālar tā öte, tā uzak, yapālar. Başlar şimdi intergan[...] savaşlara. Başlar şimdi en büyük ayrıkın. Geliyer bu yandan, bu yandan, bu yandan, erkes istiyeri benim yürük geçsin, bāzısı yapıyeri çok şey, yürüüne ni yapar. O tā salarlar, koşarlar, geçeni yazālar, ikinciyi, üçüncüyü hepsini yazālar te-üle, sōra gelirler ta pelvanlara, pelvanlar tā alay kulīlar böle. Onlar güleşi aynı büle: çādak, a kara gürö, çādak, büyük orta, dėyil, küçük orta, büyük orta, baş. Onnar da üyle.

Orda büle güleştiler. Auşam oldu mu, ondan ayretten var k'ātip, yazıcı, filan yürük geçmiş küçük ortada, ona bāşiş bukadar, hepsine ayrı ayrı ayrı bāşistan veriler, pelvanların gene yaparlar bāşişlerį. Evel gėne, dėyil, düün büyük ortaya, başa, verilėdė koç, dana, yahutā māçe, deme-ki[33]*, kota. Yürüklere gene aynı öyle veriler, başlara, büyük ortalara. Büyük ortalara tā küçük olacak, ama başlara büyük olacak, geçene ama, añgısı geçiyeri, koşuda yautta güreşti epsin yā. Böyle düünü açālar...* [The end of the cassette]

[Side No. 5, 000–125]

Bu düğünde o dediğiniz yürükler ...?

Yürükleri anlamiyerin? Kategoriya...

Evet. Onlar at mı?

Yürük, sen bilemedin mi yürük ne? Biz yürükleri diyez ama koşucu. Atlā, at ... Biz onnara yürük diyeriz, çok kaçiyeri. Dīl at, dėmeyis, yürük. Başka yerde belki at deniyeri, burda diyeriz yürük. Çok kaçi... At demeyiz biz ona. Yürük.

[33] demek ki

Sünnet düğününde daha ne yapılır?

O zaman tā te-o vakitlarke^{n} *dakı yapar. Bu çocua sünet, bunlar sünet ola de*^{y}*ilmi sen bilesin sünet ?*

Evet, biliyorum.

Nası? ... Çüklen[34] *kesiyler.*

Evet, evet. Sünnetçi, ya da doktor.

Var şey, burda deri, kožabi[35]*, onu, kesiyler burda, te-o, ve bu vakitlar şimdi düün günü. Buyurlar bu çocuklar şimdi giydirīler böyle gēcikke yapālar bunları [...] çıkārır beş-altı tāne bü*^{y}*le çocuk, bir yere, sıraya oturular bü*^{y}*le alaya amma. Ē, ne zaman güleşeyler pelvannar, durdurular güleş. Pelvannar durur. Pelvannar çıkmıy t-orayı Uşaklara yazālar bir kilim. Uşakları büle dizēler orayı, dizēler orayı* ^{h}*epsini. Bittāyı kimin gönlünde ne vāsa giriveriler dakı atmaa, [...] para, hā bakalım, o düün alkı ne kadar atabilīse, kim ne kadar atabilīse, atālar onnarı, o düün sāibi toplar onnarı, götürü bu çocua, kınışka*[36] *yapar ona, ne kadar toplanmışsa büyüdünen tā o parayı çocuun.*

Çocuk kaç yaşında alır onu?

On yedi on sekiz yaşında alır, parayı [...] Öbür türlü şimdi. Düün sāibine, yānı düün yapı^{y}*er yā. Ona bāşiş geliy bü*^{y}*le, bu alay var yā şimdi, alay bileysin-ē, alay ā, ne zaman pelvanlar güleşiyeri, meydan, a şüle, alay meydanı [...] Bittāyı bu düün sāibi āpāpları koşa bi çi-beygir*[37] *araba, beş-altı kişi piner o arabaya, ona dakar on metru, yīmi metru, otuz metr basma, tē burdan tā o yana kadar. Ama bir sopaya, kocaman bir sopa uzun, bālar onu yükler onu öyle, tutālar onu beygileri aydālar alaya, alay içine, çekēler, onnarın var ayretten şimdi burda kumsiya*[38] *var, düünün kumsiyası [...] o şeyler veriler kumsiyeye orayı getiren verį, getiren verį, getiren verį. Pelvanlara veriler o adam bāşiş, yenene, yenene, sora yörüklere veriler o adam basma, sora para veriler. Sora en büyüklēne, başlara veriler koç, en yenmiş, āne baş, ona veriler dana, kocaman, yürüklere gene aynı öyle. Böyleliklen düünnerį yapālar. İşte büyle eski zaman*^{n}.

[Bilal Yusufov Ismailov (ca. 50), a farmer, Çobannasıf (Загорище)]

No. 2

[Side 5, 625–]

Sünet düünü. Ėskiyi mi annatayım gėne?

Eski zamanı, tabii.

Sünet düünü, mesel'ā, şāılda Çobannasıf Yusuflar, ne ise, amma Yenipazar olsun, Şumnu olsun, sünet düünü var. Mėktup gelir ōrdan. Sünet düünne o zaman takımnar çok, hepsi çiñgene ama, takımnar. Türklerden yok takım o-zman. İşte ye sali-çāşamba, ye cumātesi-pazar, ne ise. Koc-abam bir yürükçüydü büük. Ben

[34] çükten

[35] Bulg. кожа.

[36] Bulg. книжка.

[37] *bir çift beygir*; The drop out of *f* in the word *çift* can be explained with its bilabial character, which was noted in the same village from an other informator.

[38] Bulg. комисия

yedi sene yürük koştum ona. Yėdi sene ben. Biz ille gideriz düünnere gideriz. Sünetçi tutulmuş o zaman. Cerā, cerā dėyler bunnara. Sünetçinin aberi var, o gelecek, ama üçüncü günü gelecek o da, gelse de üçüncü günü gelecek şimdi[39]*. Daullar vuru*^{r}*. Sabāla gėne kına yapıyler kalır, sabāla şimdi birinci günü.*

Çıkarız düüne. To-bu zamannar sõ, hayda, davullar vurayı küte-küte. Tėl'l'al var o zaman, o çiñgenlerne olur çok, Türk te olsa da, bārıye şimdi, başa gidecek olan soysun yürüüne, bārıyer orda [...] çimnikte. Baştan başlā gidiyeri. Onnā gitti mi, hayde büyük orta soysun, büyük ortaya da bārı, o da gider, küçük orta, küçük orta da soyar, andan sõ çādaklar, çādak ta gider, tā öte yanda kara koş^{u} *var, o da gider. Şimdi başlar, dėlmi, uzak gidiyeri. O büle şim*[40]*-başlaya gelmē. Baştan kara koş*^{u}*, çārdak, küçük orta, büyük orta, baş. Ayda o geçer. Geçen geçer. Şindi ayda, alaya. Pelvannar güleşė*^{y}*k*[41]*, yālı güleş amma, kıspetlen meşin epsin ayānda, dil şimdiki. Onnar güleşir. Ėşte halk ōda, ā şimdi ikinci auşamı gėne kına olur, tā kalabalık olur şimdi ikinci auşam sabāsıs düün o.*

Sabāla şin-ayde[42]*, başa gidecek olan soysun gėne. Gėne oraya çimnie. Çādaklar ōda, çādak yapılmış kazaldan-mazaldan, kolbo-molbo epsi var. Başa gidecek olan soysun g'ėne daullar vuru, tėll'al g'ėne bārı. Gidēler ama büün yol uzak, gidecekler on, oniki onbeş kilometru kadar, başlar gėne gider öyle, büyük ortala tā bölde, tā küçük orta, çādak, kara koş dedim mi? Onnā şim-geri git*[43] *sıra çabucak geliyler. Başlar geliy tā üylene karşı. Aylā bi bāzı zeman beklemezler çünkü* ^{h}*iç zaman kalma pelvannar ne zaman güleşė*^{y}*k?*[44] *Onlar da gelir, geldi-mi hayde şimdi alaya. Pelvannar güleşiy şimdicik. Ayde, kara güleş çıksın, çādak çıksın, ākasınnan, onnar bütün [...], küçük orta çıksın, büyük orta çıksın, tel'l'al bārı*^{y}*er, halk alay, otur*^{ı}*yer herkes yerde büle, erkes bide otura halka, çim üstünde. Tel'l'al gezine, pelvannar güleşiye burda, kumısiyo*[45] *ōda çādak altında. Onnar kara koş*^{u}*dan, güleşten başlar,* ^{i}*şte onnar şıkar*[46] *başa, başlar çıkar bittā. Başlar güleşir, kim yenēse, dedim mi yālı güleş o zaman. Kota mı alacak, dana mı alacak? Başlar. O zaman mısmıl iş var ba, mısmıl güleş var şaka-maka yok. Çok zemān görüydüm, karannık-ulaatında fenāye*[47] *getiriyler tok*[48] *yok o-zman. Fenār-ayaz*^{i}*na*[49] *güleşīler, brakmadır, annan sõ bittā, bitti mi toplaşiylar, geliyler, geldilē mi şimdicik. Pelvannar, yürükler dakı saldı gitti atkın onnarın düünü bitti.*

Evet. Şimdi bir sorum var. Ne demektir bu küçük orta, yani baş?

[39] Because of the strong reduction it is quite dificult to fix whether it is *şimdi* or *şindi* and *şimdicik* or *şindicik*.

[40] şimdi

[41] güleşecek

[42] *şindi ayde*.

[43] gitme

[44] güleşecek

[45] Bulg. комисия

[46] çıkar

[47] or *fenarye*, or *fenerye* from Bulg. фенер (< Turkish *fener*)

[48] Bulg. ток 'electricity'

[49] *fenāre-ayazına*; s. also footnote 47.

Bunnar nası-pelvannar aynı yürükler de buda. Yürükler aygıllē, bileysin yürük dedii ne? [...] ā, şuda, pelvannar da īsannar. Ammā şindi küçük o [...]

Amma kime derler küçük orta, baş...

Şindicik kara güleş, kara koşu, ānı küçükleri.

Bu yaşlara bağlı mı?

Yaşlara, kuwete bālı, kuwete yaşa. Yürüklēde aynısı.

Şimdi kilo var...

Tā aynısı [...] Te aynısı gėne hep öyle geliyer, ama o zaman kantā[50] *yok. Kara güleş, sen güleşirsin, sen genç çocuk, meraklı da, acık ta tursça, sen kara güleş, kara güleşi yendin mi, tā kuwetleşti isen büʸüdün ātın, çādaa çıkāsın, onda yendin başka sėne, küçük ortaya, küçük ortadan büyük ortaya. Yürükler de aynısı. Büyük ortadan başla bittā, baş pelvan oldun, yautta baş yürük, çok uzaktan kaçıyēsin, geçiyēsin, aynısı to-bunnar. Ye.*

Yani böyle yüz-yüzyirmi kiloluk bir adam ...?

O başpelvan...

... kocaman bir adam...

Kiloyu da brak ta! Kuweti var, yeniyeri. Çeketmiş kara koşᵘdan, çādaı yenmiş, küçük ortayı yenmiş, büyük ortayı da yenmiş baş artık, başa çıkmış, onu[51] *gücü yetiyeri yeniyer, mesel'ā, Āmet, Āmet pelvan, yautta Memet pelvan yeniyeri ātık, onnā hēkes tanıyeri, başa çıkmış artık, bunnar demek.*

Anladım.

Andan sōra, şim-pelvannā, yürükler al-dakısını,[52] *gitti. Takımlar orda şim-tā,*[53] *sabāla sünet olcak, çocuklar sünet olcak, asıl sünet düünü üşüncü günü şindicik. Sabāla şimdi küte-küte-küte-küte ura daullar şindicik daullar burda, yürük, pelvan yok, ilān bilāt. Kimi uşāını sünet ettirecek şāıldan vā baıllādan, saltıklardan, nerde olsa çok kalabalık o-zman, getiriye uşānı. Fes var o zaman, fez giydīmiş, tel-mel takmışlar, akça bes, pırlanda. Uşaın elbėyası ėlleri şėker, ade ālamasın. Onnar pindirīler, arabalan gezdiyēler, ana annamasınnar bi şey. Sünetçi gelir, belki sabāʰtan ūʸlene kāşı, nė ise, sünetçi gelir, kesiyer bittā [...] ʰep bi damda, dam bilesin, ane, ayvannarı nege bālıyerız, yautta bi daim altında, karannık bi yēde, ōda mütertipler ayazı var, mům yakıyeri. Cerā ōda. Bi kişi de tutuyer uşaa, biri bacaklānı tutar aşāda, büle yatsın orda. Ondan harss, [...] mesel'ā yapıyler toru basıyer tozı çıkar akmaz o, basar tozı [...]. Dolu dam dolu uşakla hepsi, kimsi ālay, kimsi uyur, kimsi şeker ye öyle. Bittā acık topālāsek, sünet, sünetçilik bu. Şimdi hep devām eder. Hep etiyeri ama o zamanda tā başka, şimdi tā başka, be canım, hep deyişler. Sünet hep olurus Türkler şim-tā.*[54] *Vādı sünetçek büle...*

Sünnet düğününde dakı tutmamışlar mı?

[50] Bulg. кантар 'weighing machine'
[51] onun
[52] *aldı dakısını.*
[53] şimdi daha
[54] şimdi daha

A, çocua dakılır, onu unuttum! Düünün ikinci günü, t-ō[r]da dakılır, alayda, çimnikte. Onı getiyeler biygir arabasına koyïler orayı, onda var sādıçı şindicik, yanıbaşında, ya, onu götüyeler ōda dakılır, akālar evde yapı[y]or, dakı aynı olıyer ama, para atılır, ne atılsa çocua. Ve sabāsı tōle dediim gibi sünetçi sünet eder onu sırada, baştan añgı sıra düün yapılīsa onu,[55] *bittā hepsini sünet etti, serili orası uşaklā, amma on, amma yïmi, amma yüze kadar. Biz ep öyle olduk mesel'ā kaç uşak [...] Bittā düzeliyer o be can[ım], çok gitme. Sora bu cerālar da doktor gibi amma, doktor olmadı bi, cerālar doktoru çünkü o biliyeri ne ile geçecek [...] onda öyle toz var mesel'ā geçiri̇r. Şindicik hep cerā kesiyer, ama sāde doktor var yanında şindicik. [...] Kėsmee hem öyrene çünk-onnāda*[56] *ustal[ı]g-il'āzım, kesmee de ustalıg-il'āzım.*

Bu, çocuğa pek ağrımaz mı, şey, kesme?

Ācımaz mı, diyesin? Hiç acımaz, çünkü o, şimdicik dėycäm, dur acık, bu[57] *sünet olmuş tā. Bunu şindicik ben kėsēke gödüm. Bu cėränın, doktorun, bir kıskıçı var, kıskıç diye ona, hop kıstıra bile yapay şindicik.*

Sadece deri mi?

Ā şuda, bi büle bi tertip o. Şu kaldı buda şimdi, o buyla bunu sıktı mı, buda hass, seker ust[u]rayı [...] traş bı̣çā, budan tutup hass, bunu[58] *boynan çekiveriyer, çünkü burda kafa var, bu kıskıç burda kafayı koruyeri. Anadın mı şindicik?*

Anladım.

Hiç tēlike yok. O sıkıyer, o kafa kalay būda te, te kafa. Kıskıç ta büle uzun o, töble, o bu[r]dan tutuk hass!, bi gene ciss!, bu kadar. Tok, toklu olduu gibi o demek [...] operatsiya yok ōda, uzun iş yok ōda.

Anladım.

O yannan kıskıç [...] hırss! hayde!, hırss! hayde! Nė zaman şimdicik būda. Onu burda bilen de var takılı bir şey, töble bir tētip, ne diyēler ona bilmem ki, o gümüş mü ne, bilmem ki, ne zaman baştan bakıyer, bu şimdicik toplaşmır[59] *yahutta gelmiyer, bu budan bu deri dėycem mesel'a, onu sokup onu, mi hā mir, mil diyer ona, bu kafanı[n] yanına sokuyer burayı, yapıyer, düzeldiyer o, bilen de... būda hop, şey eder o, topālak [...] düzeldiyer, hāde, harss! sekip, kıskıcı bi te böle çıktı tutup ucunan, hırs! hayde!, o kadar, hėç acı-macı yok, em bïs*[60] *çikarı gibi operatsiya yapay-bi,*[61] *yahutta burda te bi yere olmuş doktor şindicik bunu acık acık acık, acıyarak, böyle bir, ciss!, hayde! [...] sünet çok var. A sōra acıyer acık, ama [...] ep benzer hıtır hıtır, mesel'ā bir tiken batsa el[i]ne çikarïken gene aciyeri. böyle bir, ciss! hayde. Bi kere, bi kere çekiverir. Öyle [...] makasla kırksın yahutta... Uşak bāsa da bittā yok.* [His wife's voice: *Salıyer adam be canım.*] *Toz yapıyeri ona hiç kan-man yok o sora yaroları yayılır bāsı mesel'ā*

[55] onun
[56] *çünkü onnāda.*
[57] He was pointing at his grand-son playing just around.
[58] bunun
[59] *toplaşmı[e]r ~ toplaşmıyer.*
[60] *bir iş.*
[61] yapay gibi

buda uşak öyle de geziyer [...] mesel'ā olmaz mı olan yok... [The end of the cassette].

[Eşref Hamdiyev (50), a farmer, Çobannasıf (Заорище)]

No. 3

[Side 3, 300–335]

Sünnet düğünü nasıl yapılır?

Sünet düünü, çalgıcılā toplaniyeri gėne, uşaklar, çėvre dakiyeler uşaklara, giydiriyeler uşakları. Ninesi, bubası, ısımnarı, annesi, koca-bası toplaşiyler, dakıya tutiyele oynayī ler orada.

Dakı nasıl tutulur?

Aynı gelinne güvē gibi nasıl, amma sāde onnā, te sünet edecek uşā ısımnādan yā-da kādaşın-da sünet edeces ōle, sādıç gibi oturiyelē onun yanʲnı[62] *ve tutiyelē bittāyı ısımnarı, yakın ākadaşları, te ōle...*

Orada-da bir kresnik[63] var. Onun vazifesi nedir?

A: *O-da aynı, bāriyer orada dakıya tutākan k'āye deniyer ona. Sonu ondan sōna, sariyelē aaçlara, ėski uruba falan sariyelē yakiyeler-onu ayāz olsun dėye. İki yanından yakiyeler onu.* [Her sister's note: *Alay atsınnā diye.*] *İyē, dakı içün büyültsünnē yē dėye.*

[A housewife (ca. 30), born in Doyranlar]

No. 4

[Side 3, 335-565]

O bir ayaz etmek içi, o maşon deris, maşonnā yaparlar. O ėvelden bu kalma demek, ėvelden kalma-dı bu maşonu yapmak. Onu ayaz etmek içi ėvel, şimdi artık kʷruşkalarımız var, tok var, şimdi ayaz edılır. Evet. Ėskiden yokmuş bē, ve şimdi bu aynı bu, bu sünet. Ėvelden kalma bu, a dėsen, ādet. Tā şimdi bile demek [...]

Sünnet olacak cocuğu ne gibi elbiselere giydirirler?

O sünet içi elbiseleri var onnarın kayretten. Sünet ettikten sōna. Sünnet edilsin, bilinsin diye bunun şapkası vardır. Şapka giyer. Şapkayı demek bilinsin sünet içi. [A woman's voice: *Maşalla yazıyı.*] *Evet. Baştan ben yenʲden geçecem gene baştankı soruya. Bu bizim, çünki bilgim tā çok şimdi, böyle açıldı. Bu sünet düünneri ėvelden kalma, tā dedelerimizden kalma bu sünet yapmak. Bu süneti demek bir, bu bir temis [...] bek temis şey içi bu sünetlik, tā güzel mesel'ā o zaman.*

Baştan sünet düününe başlanacak oldunan, meseler, söylenılır. Sünet düünde, güleş yaparlar, beygi koşturulur. Sōna orda, çeşint orda koşular olur, olur orda, çalgılar tutulur, çalgılar tutulduktan sōna, deʸilmi, düün başlar birinci günü, ve orda baştan alay yapılır kocaman bir alay. Orda çalgılar şimdi erkes misāfirlere āber edılır tā bir-afta ileri. Misāfirler geldinen epsi doyurulur

[62] *yanʲna.*

[63] Bulg. кръстник 'godfather'

onnar, düün başlar. Orda güleşler başlar, güleşler başladınan orda pelvanlar, küçük orta olsun, kara güleş, büyük orta. Büyük orta da-sa[64] *orda baş pelvan var onnar orda, yā yālayıp ta onnar, yālı güreş deris ona. Çoklu bir güzel güleştir. Bu güleşte en büyük ortada olannar baş pelvanlar orda ceñge gelirler ve o güleşe. Başa çıkan, meseler, baş en büyük başa, bir koç verilir, bir de bāşiş orda para verilir, iyerettii küçük ortaya olsun, onnarda aynı böyle para verilir. Baştan küçük ortadan güleştikten sōna demek o alır bāşʲşını, birinci olan, baş çıkan sōna öbürleri alır.*

Beygi koşsa o g'ėne, o beygi koşlarında gėne aynı böyle. Orda-da koş yaparlar. Birinci yeri alan yėneyine bāʰşiş fazlıca verilir onnara-da, ya koç mu olᵃcak yahutta para ile mı verilir, öbürlerine de tā as, çünki onnar tā yey geldiler, tā as verilir.

Sorna o bittikten sona, artık, delmⁱ, çalgıcılar çalır soñra. E gelirse aᵘşamleyin, gelir dakıya. Dakı gėnä şimdi nası dediimiz gibi orda da maşonlar yapılır. Bu maşonlar böyle eski parsallardan sadmun telle isle o ... Tā üç dört gün-leri[65] *şey içine, benzin içine, benzin dil-de, nafta içine sokulur, de o, eski bezler, bu çeksin bu naftayı bittā yanar, bu naftadan yanar bittā.*

Ve düün başladıktan sonna geldinen dakıyasā[66] *baştan banket, doyurulur insannar misāfirler gelen insannar, doyurulur. Sona dakı, başlar, dakı başlar çalgılar çalır, dakı başlayacak içi. Dakı başlar. Baştan babası, ve anası atar, çocuun tarafından. Çocuk babası atar bu kadar dėyelim. Kimisi atar bın leva, çocua mesel'ā, anası beş beş yüz lef atar böyle, demek kimi tā as, sona araba mı atacak olur, araba atar, sāt, sāt dakar mesel'ā, sōna o çeşint te meseler o almış diyelim böyle bufetler almış, televizor almış mesel'ā, öyle de olabilir, böyle para, evet böyle demek, radiyo olsun demek, elbiseler onuⁿ içi verirler. Sorna geçer amcalar, bitta amcalar atar, onnar-da atar orda nekadā gönlünde varsa, ne kadar, biz diyeriz, gönlünde nekadar koparsa o kadar atar, amcaları, sōna amcaları geçtikten sōʳna, amcaları, amcalarıⁿ karıları geçer. A karılar geçmes [...] Soñ dayılara gelir sıra. Dayılar atar gene orda, dayılar atar, sona agalar atar, enişteler, bittā köylü, meselē, köylü olan ısım akraba onnar-da atar orda para. Bu bahşış. Bu dakı onun için-ē, evet dakı onun için yapılır. Eş dost, epsi gelir, mesele köyden olsun, başka köylerden, kasabalardan olsun gelirler.*

Dē, dakıyı tuttuktan sorna olur banket, mesel'ā banket yaparlar. Banketi yaptınen yidikten sona kimse yiyip içer meseler oynarlar, nekadar oynınacak kimse, evet, böyle kadınlar oynar, erkekler, kadın erkekler dans oyᵘnnar oynar, böyle oyun ʰavalar oynınılır, Bulgarca böyle horo diyorus, horolar oynınılır. Bunnar hep böyle oynınılır. Çeşint çeşit oynar böyle şindiki çeşint oyunnar vardır, böyle yeni çıkarılmış, onnar oynınılır, kadınlar oynar, erkekler, çeşint oyunnar, köçek olsun, böyle afif müzikten böyle çeşintli oyunlar, böyle batı müziklerin böyle şey edilir.

64 da olsa
65 gün ileri
66 dakıya sıra?

Gelir sıra artık sünet etmeye. Bittā devrisi günü artık o de^{y}ilmi, g'ene o olabilir, mesel'ā, auşamı de^{y}ilmi, kimisi sabaya kadar gider, banket gider, oyun oynılır sabāya kadar. Devrisi günü gelir vakit çocuu sünet etmeye. Ē, bittā sünet başlancek, yahuttā o şimdi sünet edi̯lecek vakit, başka köyden alır sünet etmeye çocuunu, oglunu getirir meseler sünetçi gelmiş meselē, dü^{y}ün oluyor, onun için [...], sünet içi, başkalar gelir sünet içi, oraya çocuklarını getiriler sünet etmeye. Orda sünet başlar, mesele çalgılar çalır, orda, ve sünet edilir. Çalgılar da o-z^{a}man tā böyle şiddetli çalması l'āzım, evet sünet ėderke^{ñ}

Yani bu düğünden sonra yapılır...

Evet, bu düünden sōna, baştan hepsi olur şeyin de böyle güzel ^{h}epsi, delmi, sünet edilmez baştan, delmi, baştan işennik olur, hepsi işennikli olur da, ondan sona sünet o-zman ondan sona olur, işennik yaptıktan sona.

Evet, anladım.

Bu ondan sona olur, delmi, güreşler baştan, güreşler olur, dakı böyle, güreşler çeşint çeşint, annattım gibi, ve bu olur işennik olduktan soruna, demek bu bitki, son günü, artık delmi sünet edilir, ve başlanır sünet etmek, ederler sünet. Orda sünetçi, evet, baştan, başlanınca kadar delmi, alırız epsini azır eder, şeylerin orda, sünet şeylerin. Sünetçi bu, bu sünetçi bu büyük bi şey. Ne bilem[67]*, o doktor, bir doktor gibi o, böyle, doktor dėyeris, çünki o sünet ėden şey o da gene doktorlar gibi doktor ne yapıyor, demek o da demek böyle...*

Evet. Bu sünnetçiler zakonlu[68] mu çalışırlar?

[...] Ō, şindiye kadar böyle zakon vardı, onnarda çalışmak içi. Onnan zakon geçerdi, çünki bizim, bis Türkler burda Bulgaristanda, l'āzım dilmi, bizim ādetimiz vardır sünet olmak içi, il'āzım bu sünet olmak, olmamız l'āzım. Ondan da, bunnar bizi baştan yasak ėdemedi çünki mümkün yoktu, sona sünetçi, artık vermiyorlar sünet ėtmee. Şimdi artık doktorlar sünet ėder. Doktorlar yapsın diye, çünki doktor yapacak, çünki o tā öyle şey içi, var bilgisi çok öyle, sünetlik yapmak içi çünki o doktordur, tā bilgisi var. Orda, demek, düün böyle bitkinci günü, sünetçiye, – sünet yapılır – sünetçiye orda bāşişlar veriler.

Evet. Sonra?

Evet, sünetçiye bāşiş verilir, ne kadar orda, nekadar l'āzımsa. Ondan soa ettikten sona, delmi, düün artık sonun-uzattı[69]*. Düün de demek öylelikle, demek böyle çalgılarla, şeylerle işennikle böyle biter. Demek söyledi̯m bu kadar böyle, şey, bizim böyle bu tarafta böyle yaparlar. Demek sünet düünlerimiz bukadar olur.*

Akrabaların ve misafirlerin verdikleri parayı kim ve ne zaman alabilir?

Evet. Babası olsun, mesel'ā ısımları, akrabaları ^{h}epsi vermiye konu-komşı ^{h}epsi köyde olsun, başka yerden gelir-e, verdile^{r} bu parayı. Bu parayı verdiler çocua, sünet olan çocua verilir bu, mesel'ā bu para ilä, bu para toplanmış meselē, eşyā çeşinti orda yā, giyim atılır, dedik yā, giyim ^{h}epsi atılır, bunnā olur çocuun. Çocua, mesel'ā, nė l'āzım alırlar, bu paralarla, mesel'ā ne l'āzım olmuş, bu

[67] *bileyim.*
[68] Bulg. закон 'law'
[69] *sonuna uzattı.*

parala onun demek, onun içi bu paralar bu parala onun demek, ona ne l'āzım alınır bittā. Demek, bu paralar onun içindir.

Toptan bu parayı, bilmem binbeşyüz levayı, verirler mi ona büyüdükten sonra?

Evet. Bunu bizim nasıl öyle banka yatırılır bu para. Bu parayı l'āzım oldukça ona, de^{y}ilmi, mesel'ā, sünet olan çocua, demek, ona l'āzım oldukça. Evet, onaltı yaşında, soñra evlenir, mesel'ā o-z^{a}man l'āzım olur bu paralar. Evet, sona bu paralara, evet düün yā, çeşit düün içi l'āzım olur ^{h}epsi içi, demi bu paralarla, o banka yatırdıktan sona çekerler bu parayı, demek, l'āzım oldukça çeker ...

[Süleyman (ca. 35), a shepherd born in Tekke Kozlucası (Избул)]

No. 5

[Side 7, 560-588]

Sünet düünü şimdi iki: ā, bī yaparlar koşu güreş olmas sāde emen bir, mesel'ā mūm getiri götürü. Büün cümēt^{e}si günü götürülerse mūm^{u}, pazar günü giderler alīla, ā aldıktan sora çocuu sünet edēler. Ā, başka var, koşu güleşle. Cümētesi günü, mesel'ā koşu güleş olur, [...] koşu sonā güleşi, mūm gene aynisi. Mūm kōlar demi, sabāsı gene, mesele, pazar günü güleş yerine. Güleşirke^{n}, tamam ortaya dōru o sırada, o sünet düünü yapan adamın añgı çocua ānı yapıyeri, o çocukları getirī ler orayı, güleş yerine, ā getirī ler orda dakıya tutālar çocukları. Tutālar dakıya, onnar gidēler gėne evine, güleş gene devām eder bitkiye kadar. Bu çeşint bu. Koşu güleş bittikten sōra sünet çıkıyer [...] Düünü sordu, güleş filān bittikten sora, auşam üyle ülenden sora, auşam üstü sünet edēler...

[Mūmün (ca. 35), a shepherd living in Vetrino]

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THE 'LAZ SONGS' REVISITED: ORAL TRADITION IN NORTH-EAST TURKEY[1]

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The present paper is the outcome of repeated extended stays in North-East Turkey and extensive ethnographic research among the Lazi there. The original inspiration for research in this particular region and for my own interest in oral traditions came from Susanne Kakuk, my former teacher, who first introduced me to the work of the Hungarian Turcologist Ignácz Kúnos. In this paper I shall attempt to take a fresh look at the most recent layer of oral folk poetry of North-East Turkey and to present representative examples.

In 1891 Kúnos published a small collection of 'Laz songs'[2] which were intended to demonstrate the peculiarities of a little known Turkish dialect. The songs were collected in Istanbul from Laz sailors. According to Kúnos[3]

"these Laz live by the Black Sea between the ports of Samsun and Trapezunt, and their language is so different from the other Turkish dialects that people in Istanbul can understand them only with great difficulty. They speak fast, in a jabbering way, and they use numerous foreign words and mix up the vowel harmony to such an extent that their speech comes across as corrupted Turkish. They are considered to be a foreign race, which has become Turkicised, and which in certain locations still uses its own language. Since most of the *kayıkçıs* (boatmen) of Istanbul are Laz, I had ample opportunity to get to know their language even in Istanbul."

Elsewhere Kúnos adds philological comments and in one place he notes that "Trapezan or Trapzan (Trapezunt) is the main centre of the Laz."[4]

Kúnos, like many Turks today, clearly did not have specific knowledge of the origins of the Laz and the affiliation of their language.[5] Even though the

[1] This paper is a product of fieldwork carried out jointly with Chris Hann and was supported by the Economic and Social Research Council of Great Britain (R000 23 3208, 1991–1993).

[2] I. Kúnos, Láz dalok [Laz songs]. *Nyelvtudományi közlemények* XXII (1891) 275–284.

[3] I. Kúnos, *op. cit.*

[4] I. Kúnos, *op. cit.*, 282.

[5] For a general introduction to the Lazi see R. Benninghaus, The Laz: An Example of Multiple Identification. In: *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey.* Ed. by P. A. Andrews. Wiesbaden 1989, 479–501.

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somewhat amusing and contradictory stereotypes of the Laz, the people of the province of Rize (Rizeli) or of the Black Sea people (Karadenizli) in general are well known all over Turkey, the confusing ambiguity of the designation 'Laz' has been fully uncovered only relatively recently.[6] The ethnic group, whose self-designation is 'Lazi' and whose members speak a Caucasian language (Lazuri) closely related to Mingrelian and Georgian, inhabit today the coastal valleys in the far north-eastern corner of Turkey. Their numbers have been estimated at 250 000,[7] a figure that is supposed to include the handful of Lazuri speakers living in Georgia and the migrant villages in western Anatolia.[8] However, while these people call themselves Laz in Turkish and accept this designation from their western neighbours, the term 'Laz' has for a long time been widely used to refer to the Black Sea Turks in general, or at least to those living east of Samsun.[9] This shifting use of the term has been explained in terms of the nature of Black Sea society which "ecologically and culturally represents a transition between western Anatolia and the southwestern Caucasus".[10] However, it also obscures the regional differences which exist among the people of the Black Sea region. One of the many differences is the dialectal variation of this region, and, in the far north-eastern corner of Turkey the existence of two distinct languages not related to Turkish.[11]

Clearly, Kúnos's vague definition of the Laz reflects this old ambiguity of the term. While it is true that many of the Lazuri speaking Laz were seafarers and in the past their main port was Trabzon, Trabzon has never been the centre

[6] M. Meeker, The Black Sea Turks: some aspects of their ethnic and cultural background. *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 2:4 (1971) 320–321.

[7] W. Feuerstein, Lasen. In: *Die Völker der Erde. Kulturen und Nationalitäten von A–Z.* München 1992, 206. (Bertelsmann Lexikon).

[8] For a detailed ethnographic description of a Lazi migrant village in western Anatolia see G. Paleczek, Der Wandel der traditionellen Wirtschaft in einem anatolischen Dorf. *Wiener Beiträge zur Ethnologie und Anthropologie* 1987.

[9] As Meeker has pointed out, the inhabitants of the coastal region west of Pazar reject the designation 'Laz' and claim that it is their immediate neighbours to the east who can rightly be called by that name. It is only the speakers of Lazuri who accept the designation 'Laz' when applied to them. M. Meeker, *op. cit.*, 321–322.

[10] Meeker, *op. cit.*, 326.; Among the characteristics shared by the Eastern Black Sea region in general one can mention settlement type, traditions of a transhumant lifestyle, distinctive position of women, tradition of blood feuds, sensitivity to honour (*namus*), interest in weapons, etc. Since these are also characteristic of the peoples of the Caucasus, it is very likely that the shared features are the result of a long history of interaction between the two regions. See M. Meeker, *op. cit.*, 332–333.

[11] B. Geiger–T. Halasi-Kun–A. H. Kuipers–K. H. Menges, *Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus. A Synopsis.* The Hague 1959, 14–15.; Alongside Lazuri, the language of the Laz 'proper' or Lazi, the other one is the language of the Hemşinli which is of Armenian origin. However, this language has only survived in the easternmost Hemşinli villages of Hopa. The Hemşinli of Pazar have lost their original tongue and are monolingual Turkish speakers. On the Hemşinli and their language see R. Benninghaus, Zur Herkunft und Identität der Hemşinli. In: *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey.* Ed. by P. A. Andrews.; and U. Bläsing, *Armenisches Lehngut im Türkeitürkischen am Beispiel von Hemşin.* Amsterdam 1992. (Dutch Studies in Armenian Language and Literature 2).

of the Lazuri speaking Lazi.[12] Kúnos's reference to Trabzon as a Laz centre must refer to the people of the Eastern Black Sea coast in general rather than to the 'Laz proper'.

Here the Turkish oral traditions in the Lazuri speaking region will be considered. Most Lazuri speakers today are bilingual, i.e. they are also fluent in Turkish.[13] As Brendemoen remarks, in spite of the strong Laz[uri] adstratum influencing the Turkish dialect of the Lazi, "the amount of Standard Turkish influence [here] seems stronger than it is further to the west".[14] He explains this by arguing that for many people Turkish is an acquired language, although one might also add that this is the combined result of a successful education system, the long tradition of migrant labour and the relative prosperity of most if not all Lazi villages, which has opened the door to the direct and continuous influence of the mass media.

In spite of recent efforts to create an alphabet for Lazuri,[15] Turkish has been the only written language ever used locally. Although in the past, because of the relative isolation of the individual valleys and villages from each other and the high rate of illiteracy, the oral tradition was mainly transmitted in Lazuri, it is also clear that in most recent times, i.e. within the last sixty years or so, a body of popular songs, epics and tales have also been created and transmitted in Turkish. In other words, local oral traditions, as far as they are available for study today, exist both in Lazuri and in Turkish. The emergence of a Turkish oral tradition in a predominantly Lazuri speaking area has come about as a result of the region's economic integration into Turkey, the mobility of the population (the long tradition of migrant labour, military service for men) and generally an increased contact with the outside world through the media and through the arrival of monolingual Turks as sharecroppers (*yarıcı*) in the Lazuri speaking villages.[16] Finally, intermarriage with Turks and the Hemşinli which in the past was relatively rare, has also increased and this may also have been an important factor in the emergence of Turkish folk poetry. Alongside orally transmitted and locally produced or recited poetry, I came across several hand-written folk songs and epic poems which were being kept by villagers at home. Nowadays, as the number of occasions when such songs can be performed is rapidly decreasing, in a predominantly literate environment writing down such

[12] B. Brendemoen, Laz Influence on Black Sea Turkish Dialects? In: *Altaica Osloensia. Proceedings from the 32nd Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, Oslo, June 12–16, 1989.* Ed. by B. Brendemoen. Oslo 1990, 56.

[13] The degree of fluency in Lazuri and Turkish varies according to age, gender, social status, level of education and place of residence.

[14] B. Brendemoen, *op. cit.*, 50.

[15] W. Feurstein, *Lazuri alfabe. Parpali* 1. Gundelfingen 1984.; idem, *Nananena. Lazca Ders Kitabı. Parpali* 2. Freudenstadt 1991.

[16] The sharecroppers' arrival is closely connected to the replacement of the traditional subsistence economy of the region by a cash crop economy based on tea. See Hann, C., *Tea and the Domestication of the Turkish State.* Huntingdon 1990, 3–11. (SOAS Modern Turkish Studies Programme Occasional Papers 1).

works is the only way to preserve them. Being exposed to Turkish media and taped popular songs in Turkish has also encouraged the creation of Turkish poetry.[17] The Lazi villages east of the village of Melyat, which marks the western boundary of the Lazi, have an extensive Lazuri folk culture which has remained, for the most part, unknown to the outside world. Apart from the substantial Lazuri materials published by Dumézil[18], the publications of Georgian scholars[19] and the efforts of W. Feurstein, little else is available on the subject, mainly because Lazuri has remained an oral language up to the present day.[20]

Compared to the Lazuri materials, the orally transmitted Turkish folk material is probably much more recent and limited in size. Like the Lazuri materials, the Turkish texts have received limited attention so far.[21]

In spite of the neglect of local oral traditions east of Pazar in recent years there have been some efforts by local researchers to collect such materials both in the province of Rize and in Artvin. This collection of folk materials was initiated by the local Adult Education Directorates (*Halk Eğitim Müdürlüğü*) and local teachers. The materials so far have not been published and they are only available in the local offices of the organization. These together with my own

[17] On the few occasions when people tried to put down even a few words or sentences in Lazuri, they were hesitant and often gave up. The Lazi of Pazar, who are said to have the most contact with outsiders due to the presence of numerous Hemşinli villages in the district and its proximity to the linguistically more homogenous Turkish district of Çayeli, found it difficult to read the Lazuri texts in one of Feurstein's publications (Feurstein, W., *Lazuri alfabe. Parpali* 1. Gundelfingen 1984). This may be due to people not being used to the idea of reading their mother tongue, but also in the case of certain texts to the considerable dialectal differences within the Lazuri speaking valleys, which rendered the comprehension of the middle and easern dialects difficult for the people of Pazar.

[18] G. Dumézil, *Contes lazes*. Paris 1937. (Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie. XXVII); idem, *Documents Anatoliens sur les langues et les traditions du Caucase*. IV: *Récits lazes en dialecte d'Arhavi (parler de Şenköy)*. Paris 1967. (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Sciences religieuses. Bd. LXXIV); G. Dumézil–T. Esenç, Textes en Laze d'Ardeşen. In: *Bedi Kartlisa* XXIX–XXX 1972, 32–41.

[19] For a bibliography of these works see Feurstein, W., Die Gestalt des Waldmenschen („Germak'oči") im Volksglauben der Lazen. In: *Studia Caucasologica I. Proceedings of the Third Caucasian Colloquium, Oslo, July 1986*. Ed. by F. Thordarson. Oslo 1988, 51–68. However, these publications for the most part remain inaccessible for the Lazi of Turkey because of their lack of familiarity with the Georgian alphabet.

[20] For Lazuri folk materials with a Turkish translation see M. Vanilişi–A. Tandilava, *Lazların Tarihi* (translated from the Georgian by Hayri Hyrioğlu). ANT Yayınları. Istanbul 1992.

[21] T. Günay, *Rize Ili Ağızları*. Ankara 1978, 297–306.; Concerning the Turkish language materials from the Lazuri speaking region Brendemoen writes that Günay's texts "[...] are the only Turkish texts available where accurate origin of the text is given". B. Brendemoen, Laz Influence ... 58. He quotes Räsänen's material (M. Räsänen, Chansons populaires Turques du Nord-Est de l'Anatolie. *Studia Orientalia* 4:2, Helsinki 1932) but ignores Kúnos's 'Laz songs' presumably because they originate from outside the Lazuri speaking region, i.e. west of Pazar and the precise provenance of the songs is not known. In this context mention should also be made of K. Reinhard, Musik am Schwarzen Meer. (Erste Ergebnisse einer Forschungsreise in die Nordost-Türkei). *Jahrbuch für musikalische Volks- und Völkerkunde* 2 (1966) 9–58 and A. Caferoğlu, *Kuzey-Doğu İllerizmiz Ağızlarından Toplamalar*. Istanbul 1946.

collection reveal the existence of an oral tradition which probably dates from the 1950s or even earlier.

From the texts mentioned above and from my own field research the following picture emerges. Like most texts available in Lazuri, some of the Turkish materials belong to the category of tales (*masal*) and anecdotes (*fikra*).[22] Further popular genres include the *mani* (short, four-lined rhymed poems which can be improvised on many different occasions), the *destan* or epic poem, which relates a heroic or tragic event, and the *türkü* or song. Although such materials are usually of great interest for the student of dialects, here we shall concentrate on the ethnographic value of the texts.[23] Each genre will be illustrated with some examples.

The ethnographic value of the various texts lies in the numerous references to popular beliefs and local practices. While Kúnos's texts focus on the universal theme of love, and include elements such as the motifs of the sea, the ships, the ports, the anchovy etc. typical of the Laz in the widest sense of the word, the texts which are introduced here have easily identifiable local relevance. Among the folk tales, the story entitled 'The Dragon' (*Ejderha*) is connected to a particular locality, relating the origins of an interesting geographical formation in the village of Sulak (Fındıklı). The story of the man who killed ninety-nine persons is an allegory of the value system which is expressed in the more universal Islamic notions of *sevap* (meritorious deed) and *günah* (sin).[24]

Several *destans* have been written about women who had drowned in a stream. Such occurrences have happened relatively frequently as women were washing by the stream. In 1992, in Pazar in a Lazuri speaking village (Şahitler köyü) I received one such *destan*, kept in a written form in one household. Apparently a girl had married after she had been kidnapped (*zorlan kaçırılmış*) from her family, an event which used to be common in the past in this region but which is extremely uncommon today. Three years after the marriage she drowned in the river of Ayder, although the precise time of the event and the composition are not known. The poem was composed in the village of Murat by the girl's maternal uncle (*dayı*), who makes the dead girl the narrator:[25]

[22] Cf. Dumézil, G. *Contes lazes*. Paris 1937. (Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie. XXVII) Dumézil, *Documents Anatoliens sur les langues et les traditions du Caucase*. IV: *Récits lazes en dialecte d'Arhavi (parler de Şenköy)*. Paris 1967. (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Sciences religieuses. Bd. LXXIV.) For lack of space only poetry is quoted here.

[23] Many of the texts were collected by teachers of sewing courses organized by the Adult Education Directorate (*Halk Eğitim Müdürlüğü*) in the various villages and their pupils. These texts have been made available to me in a written form. To the best of my knowledge most of them have never been taped and have remained unpublished.

[24] See *Halk Eğitim Müdürlüğü: Sözlü folklorumuz konusunda söyleyen masallar Fındıklı*. Rize, 1987–8 (typescript).

[25] This seems to be a common device in local folk poetry: the heroine of another *destan*, sung in Lazuri, also narrates her own tragedy (Vanilişi–Tandilava, *op. cit.*, 186–187).

'Destan'[26]

Yazın mezarıma ismim nurhayat
Söyleyinde dayıma yaptırsın hayrat
Dayı gelme artık ayderi bırak
Duştum derelere arayın beni.

Write my name, Nurhayat on my tomb,
Tell my uncle to have a pious foundation made for me.
Uncle, do not come, leave Ayder
I have fallen into the stream, look for me.

Yaşım yirmi iki dunya hevesi
A[l]di gençliğimi ayder deresi
Kader böyle yazdı yoktur çaresi
Duştum derelere arayın beni.

I [was] twenty-two, full of zeal for the world
The stream of Ayder has taken my youth
This was preordained by fate, there is no way out
I have fallen into the stream, look for me.

Mezarıma gelsin kadının bazı
Merak etme yavrum böyledir yazı
Allaha emanet etmişim sizi
Düştüm derelere arayın beni.

Some of the women should come to my grave
Don't worry, my love, it is written like that [in my fate]
I have entrusted you to God
I have fallen into the stream, look for me.

Gelin oldum zaten takmadım duvak
Zalım dere artık kenara bırak
Hepimizin yeri o kara toprak
Düştüm derelere arayın beni.

I became a bride [but] did not wear a veil
Cruel stream, leave me on the bank
The black earth will be the place for all of us.
I have fallen into the stream, look for me.

[26] In the texts quoted below I have left the original spelling of the hand-written version. Although the standard Turkish spelling obscures a great many dialectal characteristics, the rendering of certain vowels indicates local variations.

Gelin oldum üç senedir gülmemişim
Ayder deresine kurban olmuşum
Ana ko[r]kusunu şimdi duymuşum
Gençliğimi suya verdim ne çare.

I became a bride three years ago and I have not laughed ever since
I fell victim to the stream of Ayder
I can now feel the mother's fear
I have given my youth to the water, there is no way out.

Kaynatam yanımda kurtaramadı
Dereye duştumda tutan olmadı
Annesiz kalmıştım bakan olmadı
Gençliğimi suya verdim ne çare.

My father-in-law was by my side: he could not rescue me
When I fell into the stream there was nobody to catch me.
I was without a mother, there was nobody to look after me
I have given my youth to the water, there is no way out.

Dereye düşerken gördunmu Ayşe
Bensiz bal vermesin a zalım meşe
Mezarıma aksın sarı menekşe
Kokusunu duyan ağlasın.

Did you see it, Ayşe, when I fell into the stream
That cruel oak should not give any honey when I am not there.
Let my grave be covered with yellow violets
Whoever smells it should cry.

Acı haberimi verin babama
Kızım yoktur diye at[t]ı yabana
Şimdi vursun kafasını duvara
Gençliğimi suya verdim ne çare.

Give my bitter news to my father
Saying 'I have no daughter' he paid no attention.
Now let him bang his head against the wall
I have given my youth to the water, what a pity.

Although the name of the stream of Ayder indicates that the event originally took place in a Hemşinli area, the fact that the *destan* was given to me in a Lazuri speaking village indicates that the Turkish oral tradition is very much shared by the villages of the region. This is supported by the fact that similar *destans* in Turkish have been collected in Arhavi, a district with no Hemşinli presence, which is popularly credited with preserving Lazuri and old customs in general more successfully than any other neighbouring district. In this Arhavi

destan the tragic event was written by the girl's lover, who puts the whole story into the dead girl's mouth, except for the last verse:

Martun 15de,
Bir liva taşti,
Dere tepe dumduz,
Her taşı aştı,
Ulumumun işi tezden ulaştı,
Hasret ilen ağlasunlar bir zaman.

On 15th March
A province was in turmoil
Everything was flattened
Every stone was raised
My death came about quickly
One day let them cry with regret.

Yaşım 13–14 dünya hevesi,
Boğdi beni bu yıl abu deresi,
Bilmeyen sorsun abu neresi?
Hasret ilen ağlasunlar bir zaman.

I was 13–14 years old, full of zeal for the world
This year I was drowned in the stream of Abo,
Those who do not know should ask where Abo is
One day let them cry with regret.

Ne demeli üstümdeki yazıya,
Koydum genç yaşumi bir teraziya,
Adum koy bana kaldımı Şaziye,
Hasret ilen ağlasunlar bir zaman.

What must be written [upon my grave or/and in my fate]
I put my young life on the scales
Put my name there which has remained Şaziye,
One day let them cry with regret.

Kul kule sebeptur vade dolunca,
Baş yastukta ulum değil ölünce.
Unutulmaz böyle zulum olunca,
Hasret ilen ağlasunlar bir zaman.

When time is up one man is the reason for another's death
When I died, my head was not on a cushion
When such cruelty occurs it will not be forgotten
One day let them cry with regret.

Köprü ortasında dolandı başım,
Çok aklıma geldi annem, kardeşim,
Ondan sonra dedum eyvah genç yaşım,
Hasret ilen ağlasınlar bir zaman.

I became dizzy in the middle of the bridge
I remembered my mother and brother
Then I said, 'Alas, my young life,
One day let them cry with regret.'

Suya düşer düşmez hemen bayıldım,
Can acısıyla taşa sarıldım,
Ne hal ilen ayrıldım tatlı candan,
Hasret ilen ağlasunlar bir zaman.

I fainted as soon as I fell into the water
I embraced a stone with acute pain
In what state did I separate from my sweet soul
One day let them cry with regret.

Alnında yazılan hep gelir başa,
Saçının telleri sarıldı taşa,
Yazık olur ölüm genç yaşa,
Hasret ilen ağlasunlar bir zaman.

Whatever is written on one's forehead will come true
Her hair wound around the stone
It is a pity when a young one dies
One day let them cry with regret.

(Balıklı köyü, Arhavi)[27]

Destans have also been occasionally composed on topics such as unfulfilled love, the forthcoming operation of a beloved wife in the hospital or about the hunter who has been shot dead. The genre of *türkü* seems to be a vaguely defined, wide category. It includes the *dörtlük* or *mani*, the short verses made up of four rhyming lines which can be written upon virtually any topics, but especially love. The examples below were written down at my request by a Lazuri speaking girl from the village of Tütüncüler (Pazar district):

[27] This *destan* was collected by Hatice Şenoğlu, embroidery and sewing teacher. Unpublished material.

Islamı oyle yaşaki akıllar dursun
Sen! ... Ona buna deyil Allaha kulsun
Zümrütler içinde parlıyan nursun
Senin gibi insana bin kere selam olsun.

Live according to Islam so that people should be perplexed
You! You are not the servant of this or that but of God.
You are a shining light among the emeralds
A thousand greetings to people who are like you.

1. Dolmuş gidiyor dolmuş
Dolmuşun rengi solmuş
Bakın benim yengeme
Ne güzel hanım olmuş.

1. The dolmuş is going
The colour of the dolmuş has faded
Look at my aunt
What a pretty woman she has become

2. Fiziklen araştırdım
Kimya ile förmulleştirdim
Türkçe ile söylüyorum
Seni çok seviyorum.

2. I have reserached it with the help of physics
I have made the formula with the help of chemistry
I am saying it in Turkish
That I love you a lot.

The following *mani* deals with a more traditional topic (from a Hemşinli village called Ortayol, Pazar):

Ka baci bilirmisin
bekarlık kıymetini
kötü kaynanalarda
yer gelinin etini.

Oh, sister, do you know
the value of virginity,
the bad mothers-in-law
eat the young brides' flesh.

It seems that the simple *türkü* is still being composed today in spite of the general decline of folk poetry. For example the following verses have been

composed on the occasion of a sewing and embroidery exhibition organized in the village.[28]

Öğrenciydim bilemezdim ev işi
Başkasından bekler idim her işi
Benimsemez idim dikiş nakışı
Ani değişiklik sonradan oldu.

I was a student, I knew nothing of housework
I always expected others to do all [such] work
I did not learn how to sew and embroider
A sudden change occurred later.

Hemen mahallemde bir kurs açıldı
Kursiyerler birer birer seçildi
Nazik bir teklifle bana soruldu
Seve seve girdim faaliyete.

Right now a course has been opened in my neighbourhood
The participants were selected one by one
They also asked me kindly
I started these activities with joy.

It is noteworthy that no funeral laments appear among the Turkish poems. These remain for the most part long improvised Lazuri performances by close female relatives of the deceased.[29] However, the genre of lament (*ağıt*) is represented by a Turkish song composed by a young man who did not want to go to the army:

Askerlik iki sene
Vermiyorlar teskere
Ben nasıl gideceğim
Arhavi'den askere.

The military service lasts for two years
They do not give you your discharge papers
How shall I go
From Arhavi to the army?

[28] In recent years the Adult Education Directorate has been regularly organizing such courses in individual villages. The course runs from autumn till spring when girls and young women have the spare time. The course always ends with an exhibition of the end products of the course: local officials from the district centre take part and the participants receive a diploma. The poems presented here were included in a small unpublished typescript entitled *Çamlıhemşin Halk Eğitimi Bülteni* 1989, 19. Although most villages of the district of Çamlıhemşin are Turkish speaking Hemşinli, it also contains five Lazuri speaking villages.

[29] I observed such a funeral in a Lazi village in Fındıklı in 1988. For a description of funeral customs among the Lazi see Vanilişi–Tandilava, *op. cit.*, 148–151.

Asker ettiler beni
Van'a diyorlar Van'a
Bir gün öğle zamanı
Jandarma geldi bana.

I was enlisted
They said [I have to go] to Van, to Van
One day at lunchtime
The gendarme came for me.

Aldılar iş başından
Attılar nezarete
Gece sabaha kadar
Sayardım yıldızları
Hemde seyrederdim
Yoldan geçen kızları.

They took me away from work
They put me under surveillance
All through the night till dawn
I was counting the stars
And I was watching the girls
Passing by.

Böyle söylerken
Daldım derin uykuya
Bir de uyandım baktım
Polis geldi kapıya.

Having said so
I fell into a deep sleep
Suddenly I woke up and saw
That the police have come to the door.

Dedi bana laz oğlu
Intikam böyle olur
Ordan kalktım yukarı
Uyuştu bir tarafım.

He said to me: Son of a Laz
Such is revenge
I got up from there
One side of mine was numb.

Dedim polis efendi
Nedir senin merağın
Yine hatırlıyorum
O uzun geceleri.

I said, Mr policeman
What is your worry
I again remember
Those long nights.

Ellerime vurdular
Demir kelepçeleri
O zaman içerimde
Ah dedim anneciğim.

They put those
Iron handcuffs on my hands
At that time I said to myself
Oh, mother.

Ellerimde kelepçe
Nasıl görüneceğim
Sen bilirsin yüzbaşım
Teskereyi ver bana
Dedi Ulan Laz Oğlu
Oldun başıma bela.

Handcuffs on my hands
How shall I be seen
You know my captain
Give me my discharge papers
He said, hey son, Lazoğlu
You have brought trouble upon me.

(Konaklı köyü, Arhavi)[30]

Other *türküs*, especially the *atma türkü*sü or *karşılıklı türkü* (performed in the form of a mocking dialogue) are connected to traditional events such as village weddings and the *meci* (also known as *imece/nodi/noderi*) or neighbourly help.[31] The presence in both Lazuri speaking and Hemşinli villages of Turkish folk poetry associated with declining practices such as the village wedding and

[30] Collected by Fatma Turan, sewing teacher. Unpublished material. The collection was initiated by the local *Halk Eğitim Müdürlüğü*.

[31] This observation is supported by the brief summary on Lazuri oral traditions by M. Vanilişi–A. Tandilava, *op. cit.*, 145. For a description of the communal help (*imece, meci, nodi, noderi*) cf. G. Paleczek, *op. cit.*, 149–152, W. Feurstein–T. Berdsena, *op. cit.*, 36 and I. Bellér-Hann, Informal Associations ...

the communal work suggests that part of this Turkish oral tradition, though relatively recent, must have come into existence before the economic and social changes that brought about the decline of the above practices.[32]

The following example is a Turkish *atma türküsü* from the district of Arhavi. It used to be sung at the communal work performed when hazelnuts were cleaned (*fındık ayıklama imecesi*):

Söylerim yana yana
Söyle derdini bana
Söyle derdin var ise
Derman olayım sana.

I am saying
Tell me your trouble
Tell me your trouble if you have any
I shall be the cure for you.

Derman olduğun çoktur
Bir türkü söylesana
Bir türkü diyeceğim
Hem sanada hem bana.

Your being a cure is [too] much
Sing [us] a song
I shall sing a song
Both for you and me.

Uzaktan beri geldim
Bir hoşgeldin desana
Geç oturda karşıma
Diyelum yana yana.

[32] Today both the Hemşinli and the Lazi differentiate between a traditional village wedding (*köy düğünü*) and a modern wedding (*salon düğünü*) which takes place in the municipal hall of the district centre. The latter became popular in the 1970s and is quickly gaining ground at the expense of the village wedding which is far more elaborate, lasts longer and imposes greater material sacrifice on the families involved.

As for the *meci/imece*, although rotating labour associations are still organized today, the practice is said to have been more widespread during the time when villagers relied on a subsistence economy. It has declined with the introduction of tea as a cash crop, which resulted in a relative prosperity in most villages but also accentuated inequality among individual households. This in turn brought about a diversity in the needs of individual households for communal action, and more and more families started employing waged labourers or sharecroppers (Hann 1990). According to locals, the decline of *meci* parallelled the growing popularity of tea, i.e. it occurred in the late 1960s and 1970s.

I have come a long way
Welcome me
Sit down facing me
Let us talk

Bir sen söyle birde ben
Girelum yarışmaya
Nede bet sesun varmış
Bir yumurta iç sana.

You say something, then it is my turn
Let's have a competition
What an ugly voice you have
Eat an egg!

Tavuklarım geberdi
Bir tavuk göndersana
Bizde tavuk ne gezer
Git kümese bak sana.

My hens have died
Send me a hen
Here hens don't roam about
Go and look in the poultry house

Dertlerum çok fazladur
Uzulmeyesin bana
Senun derdin benumdur
Kurban olayım sana.

My pains are numerous
Are you not sorry for me
Your pains are mine
I would die for you [I love you so much].

Sesin pekte güzelmiş
Sen türkücü olsana
Sen dalga geçiyorsun
Fındık ayıklasana.

Your voice is beautiful
Be a singer
You are pulling my leg
[Carry on] cleaning the hazelnuts

Bu işte neden çıktı
Ander olsun kaybana[33]
Kardeş, kardeş söyleşip
Gidelum yana yana.

Where has this thing come from?
May it be unlucky [?]
Let's talk like brothers and
Walk side by side.[34]

The following example is said to have been recited by father and son on the occasion of communal work:

Oğlum ne duruyorsun
Başlasana bir yerden
Ben nerden başlayayım
Su çıkıyor her yerden.

My son, why are you standing there
Start [the job] somewhere
Where should I start
There is water all over

Düğün davet oldum
Kalkıp giyin abayı
Şeytan öyle diyorki
Kalk döv böyle babayı.

I have been invited to a wedding
Get up and put on your coat
The Devil says
That one should beat such a father.[35]

[33] *Ander* and *kaybana* both appear in Günay's vocabulary (Günay, T., *Rize Ili Ağızları.* Ankara 1978, 310, 323). According to Günay *ander* means 'uğursuz, sahipsiz, metruk', *kaybana* means 'uğursuz, işe yaramaz'. Kúnos gives the meaning of *kaybana* as 'wicked' (gonosz) (Kúnos, I., Láz dalok. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* XXII (1891) 279). The translation of this line remains uncertain.

[34] From the anonymous typescript *Arhavi ilçesinin tarihi-ekonomik-kültürel ve coğrafi durumu* (no date, no page numbers). The provenance of the folk material in the typescript is not clear. Among the materials collected by the sewing teachers of the Adult Education Directorate in Arhavi several versions of this *türkü* are quoted.

[35] From the village of Papilat (Arhavi district), the name of the collector is not known. Unpublished manuscript prepared for the Arhavi Adult Education Directorate (*Halk Eğitim Müdürlüğü*).

Another *mani* said to have been recited when rotating labour associations were formed to sow the corn fields (*mısır ekme imecesi*):[36]

Kazıyın kızlar kazıyın
Mısırımız olacak
Bütün dertler başımıza yağacak
Solucanla örümcek başımıza bitecek.

Dig, girls, dig,
We shall have corn,
All the trouble will fall upon us
Worms and spiders will grow in our heads.[37]

The following *mani* is also associated with communal work and was apparently recited when wood was collected for house construction (*ev ağacı taşıma imecesi*).[38]

Ağaç gelir tıra tıra
Kızlar gelir sıra sıra
Kimi bozo kimi şira[39]
Hessa yassa yalessa.

Wood is coming, dragged along
Girls are coming in rows
Some are girls some are widows
Hessa yassa yalessa.[40]

It is noteworthy that the concluding line in the above *mani* occurs in Lazuri songs as well.[41]

[36] Such occasions were only characteristic of the subsistence economy before the arrival of tea, when the main crop was corn. Corn is grown in Laz villages today but only for household consumption. Since its importance and cultivation has been dramatically reduced, there is no need to call a helping party for any work connected to it. According to informants, this was a job for women, as is also testified by the text.

[37] Collected in the village of Konaklı (Arhavi district), by Fatma Turan sewing course teacher, prepared for the local Adult Education Directorate (*Halk Eğitim Müdürlüğü*). Unpublished typescript.

[38] In the building of the traditional Lazi house wood played an important part (Cf. Feurstein, W., *Untersuchungen zur materiallen Kultur der Lazen.* (unpublished M.A. thesis) Freiburg 1983, 68. Apparently, collecting and carrying firewood has always been a job for women, but the collecting and carrying of wood for house building was considered to be a man's job (oral communication).

[39] *Bozo* and *şira* are Lazuri words.

[40] Collected in the village of Konaklı (Arhavi district), by Fatma Turan sewing course teacher, prepared for the local Adult Education Directorate (*Halk Eğitim Müdürlüğü*), unpublished typescript.

[41] M. Vanilişi–A. Tandilava, *op. cit.*, 188–189.

Finally, the Turkish folk material from this region also includes some wedding songs which were evidently performed at traditional weddings. One of many local customs is the episode described as the "tying of the bridegroom" (*enişte* or *damat bağlaması*).[42] This practice is not known to the Lazi villagers of Pazar and Ardeşen but seems to have been widespread further to the east. It is said to have taken place at the engagement ceremony (*nişan*) which was held in the girl's house. While dancing in groups the bridegroom's relatives demand all kinds of things from the girl's mother, his future mother-in-law, who has to fulfill every request. Eventually the mother-in-law ties a kerchief around the groom's head. One version from Arhavi of the song accompanying this ceremony goes as follows:

Gelir mola gelmez mola!
Tavuk gelsin tıramola![43]

Is it coming or not,
A hen should come, tıramola.

Gelir mola gelmez mola
Baklava gelsin tıramola!

Is it coming or is it not,
Baklava should come, tıramola.

Gelir mola gelmez mola
Şekerleme gelsin tıramola!

Is it coming or is it not,
Sweets should come, tıramola.

Gelir mola gelmez mola
Kayboldu mu verin mola!

Is it coming or is it not,
Has it been lost, give it [to us]!

Gelir mola gelmez mola
Enişte gelsin tıramola!

[42] This custom, together with some others such as the custom of removing the bride's identity card at the time of the engagement (*koçan alma*) seems to have been known only in the eastern Lazuri speaking districts, namely Arhavi and Fındıklı. Regional differences among the Lazi valleys have seldom been considered in the literature so far.

[43] Although *mola* and *tıramola* are meaningful lexical items in Turkish (*mola* means 'act of slacking off or letting go, rest, pause', tiramola means 1.'haul on a rope 2. Let go and haul 3. a kind of capstan' cf. *Redhouse Yeni Türkçe–Ingilizce Sözlük*. Istanbul 1981) it seems more appropriate in this song to leave them untranslated. They may belong to the same group of expressions as *heyamola*, quoted in Vanilişi–Tandilava, *op. cit.*, 188–9 who do not translate it into Turkish.

Is it coming or is it not,
The bridegroom should come, tıramola.

Gelir mola gelmez mola
Kaynana gelsin tıramola!
Gelsin gelsin vahahay!
Enişte gelsin vahahay!
Tutuşalım vahahay!
Oynaşalım vahahay!
Gelin nerde vahahay!
Görül muyor vahahay!
Gelse idi vahahay!
Mendil gelsin vahahay!
Beyazlansın vahahay!
Karşıda kim var?
Enişte
Beride
Gelin ahahay!

Is it coming or is it not,
The mother-in-law should come, tıramola.
Let her come, vahahay!
The bridegroom should come vahahay!
Let's get hold of each other!
Let's dance together!
Where is the bride vahahay!
If only she came vahahay!
A kerchief should come vahahay!
It should be white vahahay!
Who is there facing us?
The groom
And on this side
The bride ahahay!

Oy kaynana kaynana!
Sana diyorum sana!
Enişteyi bağladım!
Bir mendili örtsana!
Yavaş yavaş oynayın!
Teriniz kurumasın!
Enişte ile gelin
Oynarken yorulmasın!
Oy enişte enişte,
Yokuştedir yokuşte
Bu gece senin gecen,
Sevdalık budur işte.

Oh, mother-in-law, mother-in-law
I am talking to you, to you!
I have tied the bridegroom!
Put a kerchief [on him]
Dance very slowly!
Your sweat should not dry!
The groom and the bride
Should not tire of dancing!
Oh, groom, groom,
It's high up, it's high up
This night is your night,
This is love.

The examples given above are illustrative of a limited yet not insignificant body of folk poetry. These, together with the folk tales and anecdotes represent the emergence of a Turkish oral tradition in a bilingual region. In genre and subject matter these are very much local products which evoke elements of a traditional lifestyle characteristic of the region before the dramatic economic transformation which began in the 1950 (hence the songs connected with the sowing of sweetcorn, and the gathering and cleaning of hazelnuts). This new layer of folk songs may have come about as a result of intensifying interaction with neighbouring, non-Lazuri speaking groups such as the Hemşinli and the Turks and also with the outside world at large. Nevertheless they are local products in the sense that they clearly mirror similar folk material produced in Lazuri.[44] They are associated with social practices such as weddings and the communal work that was characteristic of the Lazi villages before the onset of modernization. Like the (presumably) much richer body of Lazuri folk materials, this more recent Turkish oral tradition is also disappearing fast as a result of the accelerating pace of economic and social changes.

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[44] My bases for comparing this modern Turkish material with Lazuri texts was M. Vanilişi–A. Tandilava, *Lazların Tarihi* (translated from the Georgian by Hayri Harioğlu). ANT Yayınları. Istanbul 1992.

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NEUE LESUNGS- UND DEUTUNGSVORSCHLÄGE FÜR DIE INSCHRIFT TOŃUQUQ

ÁRPÁD BERTA
(Szeged)

Frau Prof. Zsuzsa Kakuk hat sich während ihrer vielseitigen Tätigkeit auf dem Gebiet der Turkologie mehrmals mit den Orchoninschriften beschäftigt. Die schönsten und zutreffendsten ungarischen Übersetzungen der Denkmäler von Toŋuquq und Köl Tegin verdanken wir ohne Zweifel der Jubilarin.[1]

In diesem — Frau Prof. Kakuk gewidmeten — Aufsatz möchte ich einige in jüngster Zeit zur Debatte gestellte Lesungs- und Interpretierungsvorschläge für die Inschrift Toŋuquq behandeln.[2]

Diese Vorschläge sind unterschiedlicher Natur. Es gibt Versuche, die fraglos als überzeugende Verbesserungen zu betrachten sind oder die als gleichwertig mit den früheren Deutungen bezeichnet werden können, sowie Überlegungen, die m. E. neue — manchmal größere — Probleme aufwerfen.

Unter den hier behandelten Vorschlägen werden auch eigene Verbesserungsversuche aufgeführt, die m. W. in der Literatur bisher noch nicht erwähnt worden sind.

1. Am Anfang eines Berichtes über eine gegen die Türken gerichtete Koalition der Völker *Oġuz*, *Qïtań* sowie *Tabġač* steht in Zeile 8–9. der Toń.-Inschrift *oġuzduntun*[3] *: KWRG : kälti KWRG sabï antaġ*.

Das Lexem *KWRG* erscheint in der Inschrift von Toŋuquq noch an zwei anderen Stellen: In der 29. Zeile kann man lesen *türgäš qaġanta : wKWRG*[4]

[1] Vgl. hierzu die Anthologie der alten türkischen Literatur: *Örök kőbe vésve. A régi török népek irodalmának kistükre a VII-től a XV. századig*. [Hrsg.] Zsuzsa Kakuk. Budapest 1985, 31–43.

[2] Nach Abschluß dieses Aufsatzes hat Frau Ingeborg Hauenschild (Frankfurt am Main), die freundlicherweise die sprachliche Verbesserung meiner Arbeit übernommen hatte, den mir damals noch unbekannten in der Doerfer-Festschrift (1995) inzwischen erschienenen Beitrag von Prof. Talât Tekin meiner Aufmerksamkeit empfohlen. Hier möchte ich Frau Hauenschild meinen besten Dank für ihre sorgfältige Arbeit sowie die Zusendung des erwähnten Aufsatzes von Talât Tekin aussprechen. Ich zitiere lediglich diejenigen Verbesserungen von Tekin im Fußnotenapparat, die sich auf Textstellen beziehen, die in meinem bereits fertiggestellten Aufsatz erwähnt worden waren.

[3] Manche Forscher lesen hier *oġuzdantan* bzw. *oġuzdïntïn*.

[4] Hier ist das untersuchte Lexem mit dem Zeichen *ök* geschrieben. Diese Schreibung des Lexems kann lediglich als graphische Variante von KWRG betrachtet werden.

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kälti : sabï antäg und in der 33. Zeile findet man den Ausdruck *üč KWRG kiši kälti : sabï : bir.*

Die Gruppe der Runenschriftzeichen $K^2WR^2G^2$ wurde vor Hamiltons Werk über die uigurischen Denkmäler aus dem 9–10. Jh. gefunden in Tunhuang,[5] in den bekannten Ausgaben der Toń.-Inschrift als *körüg* (*körig*) gelesen und mit 'Spion' ('Späher', 'Kundschafter') übersetzt.[6]

Hamilton macht in einer Anmerkung (20,7, S. 112) zum Text Pelliot *Ouïgour 15* darauf aufmerksam, daß die richtige Lautung des bisher als *körüg* gelesenen und als 'Spion, Kundschafter' interpretierten Wortes in der Inschrift von Tońuquq *küräg* sei, und daß das Lexem *küräg* nicht 'Spion', sondern 'Deserteur' bedeute.

Erdal (1991, 196) akzeptiert die von Hamilton vorgeschlagene Verbesserung für die entsprechenden Stellen der Inschrift von Tońuquq. Er fügt noch hinzu, daß in einer Ableitung auf **-(X)g* von *kör-* 'sehen' in der zweiten Silbe kein /ä/ vorkommen könnte.

Ich glaube, daß Hamiltons Verbesserung und Erdals Ergänzung ohne Zweifel berechtigt sind.

Ihre Argumentation läßt sich jedoch ergänzen: Obwohl die Runenzeichen-Gruppe KWRG in der Inschrift von Tońuquq sowohl die früher vorgeschlagene Lesung *körüg* wie die neuempfohlene Lesung *küräg* ermöglicht, sollte das Lexem *körüg* nicht nur wegen morphologischer, sondern auch wegen semantischer Probleme ausgeklammert werden: *körüg* kann an den entsprechenden Stellen der Inschrift nicht in der Bedeutung von 'Kundschafter, Spion' vorkommen.

(1) Von dem tr. Basisverb *kör-* 'sehen' vermag das Suffix **-(X)g* lediglich Objektsnomina bzw. Nomina actionis zu bilden.[7]

(2) Abgesehen davon, daß *körüg* wegen morphologischer Schwierigkeiten kaum 'Spion' u.ä. bedeutet haben kann, erscheint es mir auch sehr unwahrscheinlich, daß an den entsprechenden Stellen der Inschrift von 'Spion' die Rede sein soll. Die kontextuellen Zusammenhänge in der Inschrift schließen m. E. sehr eindeutig diese Möglichkeit aus. Von einem Spion des Gegners kann man

[5] Hamilton, James (1986). *Manuscrits ouïgours du IXe – Xe siècle de Touen-houang*. T. 1–2. Paris.

[6] Vgl. hierzu: Orkun 1936–41 I, 102–103, Giraud 1961, 54, 60.

Aalto–Granö–Ramstedt (1958, 32, 40, 41) geben die folgenden Übersetzungen an: 'von der Seite der Oġuz ein Späher kam. Des Spähers Wort war derartig', 'Vom Türgis-Qaġan ein Späher kam. Sein Wort (war) derartig', 'Drei Späher nacheinander kamen. Ihr Wort war ein (und dasselbe)'.

Thomsen (1924, 163, 166, 167): 'kam ein Kundschafter von den Oġuzen. Des Kundschafters Wort lautete so', 'Vom Türgiš-kagan kam ein Kundschafter; sein Wort lautete so', 'Da kamen in Eile (?) drei Kundschafter. Ihre Botschaft war eine und dieselbe'.

Doerfer TMEN 4, 85 liest an den entsprechenden Stellen *körĕg*. In bezug auf die Zeilen 8–9 meint er, daß das Lexem *körĕg* einen Spion der Türken bezeichnet, der »bei den aufrührerischen Oghusen gewesen war«.

Vgl. hierzu noch Clauson (741b) 'a spy came from the Oğuz'.

[7] Vgl hierzu die Bedeutung 'Interpretation' von *körüg* im QB.

nicht erwarten, daß er nach seiner Ankunft die Türken über die kriegerischen Pläne seiner Auftraggeber informiert.[8]

Die von Hamilton vorgeschlagene und von Erdal akzeptierte Lesung von KWRG kann nur *küräg* 'Deserteur' sein.[9]

2. Eine andere Textstelle in der 8. Zeile der Inschrift stellt eine schon immer umstrittene Passage dar. An dieser Stelle lesen wir: *keyik yeyü : tabïšġan yeyü : olorur ärtimiz : bodun : boġzï : toq ärti : yaġïmïz : tägrä: wčwq : täg ärti.*

Der erste Teil des Textes ist unproblematisch, die Schwierigkeiten bei der Interpretierung sind mit dem Ende des zitierten Textes verbunden. Für YĠMZ : TGRÄ : WČwQ TG RTİ *yaġïmïz : tägrä : wčwq : täg ärti* gibt es eine größere Auswahl von unterschiedlichen Deutungen in der Literatur.[10]

Erdal (1991, 252) möchte die bisherigen Interpretationen verbessern. Seinem Vorschlag nach kann *yaġïmïz tägrä wčwq täg ärti* die Bedeutung 'Our enemies around [us] were as if flown away' haben. Der kontextuelle Zusammenhang von *yaġïmïz tägrä wčwq täg ärti* soll seinen Erklärungsversuch gewissermaßen unterstützen. Erdal glaubt, daß der Ausdruck *wčwq täg ärti* 'were as if flown away' als Umschreibung einer friedlichen Periode, in der die Türken nicht von seiten ihrer Feinde bedroht waren, zu verstehen sei, und führt dies als Argument für seine neue Übersetzung an.

Diese mutmaßliche Friedensperiode war m. E. auf jeden Fall von sehr kurzer Dauer, denn in der darauffolgenden 9. Zeile der Inschrift wird berichtet, daß sich die Feinde der Türken auf einen Krieg vorbereiten wollen.

Obwohl Erdals Erklärungsversuch[11] mir wesentlich besser zu sein scheint als die bisherigen Erläuterungen des Textes, möchte ich hier auf zwei weitere Interpretierungsmöglichkeiten hinweisen.

[8] Doerfers Interpretierung, daß die Inschrift von Toñuquq über die Ankunft von türkischen Spionen berichtet, ist wenig stichhaltig. Wenn es in der Inschrift tatsächlich um die Ankunft von türkischen Spionen ginge, hätte man nicht das Verb *käl-* 'kommen (*von dort hierher*)', sondern das Verb *yan-* 'zurückkehren' verwendet.

[9] Zur unmittelbaren Basis von *küräg* s. Erdal (1991, 422) *kür + ä-* 'to desert, make oneself independent'; ähnlich auch Tekin 1995, 213.

[10] Aalto–Granö–Ramstedt (1958, 32) geben die erstaunliche Übersetzung 'Unser Fett zu berühren — es war wie Sehnen', die kaum akzeptabel ist. Sie haben *yaġïmïz* nicht als *yaġï + mïz* 'unsere Feinde', sondern als *yaġ + ïmïz* 'unser Fett' aufgefaßt. Bei Giraud (1961, 60) findet man: 'Nos ennemis, alentour, étaient comme envolés'.

Thomsen (1924, 163) bietet für den fraglichen Textteil die Übersetzung: 'Unsere Feinde waren ringsum wie Raubvögel (?)'. Malovs Übersetzung (1951, 65) 'Vragi naši byli krugom, kak hiščnye pticy' stimmt mit der von Thomsen überein.

Tekin (1968, 284) versieht ebenso wie Thomsen seine Übersetzung mit Fragezeichen: *yaġïmïz tägrä učuq täg ärti* 'Our enemies were like peaks (?) around us'. Clauson hält wie die meisten Forscher *učuq* für eine Ableitung von *uč-* 'fliegen' (22b–23a: VU ?D *učuq* Dev.N. fr. *uč-*) und ist der Meinung, daß der untersuchte Textteil als 'our enemies were all round us like a flock of birds' zu übersetzen sei.

[11] Erdal erwähnt nebenbei, daß *wčwq* auch als *očoq* gelesen werden kann, und *očoq* könnte hier auch in der Bedeutung von 'Feuerstelle' vorkommen. Vgl. auch Tekins Interpretierung (1995, 212–213) *očoq* 'hearth'.

(1) *wčwq* kann tatsächlich eine deverbale Ableitung auf *-*Ok* von der Basis *uč-* 'fliegen' sein. *učok* kommt hier vielleicht in der Bedeutung von 'Spreu'[12] vor. *Spreu* wird nicht nur als Sinnbild für *Wertloses*, sondern auch für *unzählbar* gebraucht.[13]

Dementsprechend kann der Ausdruck YĠMZ : TGRÄ : WČw͡Q TG RTİ 'wir haben ringsum unzählbare Feinde gehabt' bedeuten.

(2) Ich möchte noch eine andere — aber weniger wahrscheinliche — Erklärung kurz erwähnen.

Eventuell stellt *wčwq* in dem untersuchten Textteil *uč (O)k* dar. *uč* kann hier das Nomen 'Grenze' sein, und das zweite Element ist die Partikel *(O)k*, die zur Verstärkung des voranstehenden Lexems dient. In diesem Falle könnte die Bedeutung des Ausdrucks etwa 'unsere Feinde waren ringsum genau wie [unsere] Grenze(n)' sein.

3. Erdal (1991, 536) meint, daß die von den meisten Forschern bevorzugte Lesung *qač näñ ärsär* und deren Interpretierung 'was auch sein mag'[14], 'unter allen Umständen'[15], 'kak by to ni bylo'[16], 'come what may'[17] usw. für die Runenzeichen-Gruppen QČN^{2}ÑR^{2}SR^2 in den Zeilen 20 und 29 sowie QČN^{1}ÑR^{2}SR^2 in der Zeile 21[18] unannehmbar ist. Nach seiner Ansicht wird die richtige Lesung und Deutung dieses Ausdrucks lediglich von Giraud vertreten, der die entsprechenden Stellen *qačan äñirsär* liest und die Bedeutung 'si par hasard il nous encercle' angibt.[19]

Die entsprechenden Textteile sind die folgenden:

(Zeile 20) *„öñrä türk qaġanġaru sülälim" temiš. „añaru sülämäsär QČN^{2}ÑR^{2}SR^2 ol bizni..."*[20]

Diese Passage steht in dem Bericht eines zu den Türken geflüchteten Deserteurs, der die Türken darüber informiert, daß die Kaganen der *Tabġačen*, des Volkes *On Oq* sowie der *Qïrqïzen* bei einem Zusammentreffen beschlossen hätten, sich in Zukunft an einer Koalition gegen die Türken zu beteiligen.

Die Zeile ist zwar am Ende beschädigt, aber sie läßt sich mit Hilfe der Zeilen 21 und 29 zuverlässig ergänzen. Dort ist nach der Phrase *qač näñ ärsär /*

[12] Vgl. in derselben Bedeutung im deutschen Teil des Codex *učux* učuH 'Spreu'.

[13] Vgl. hierzu als semantische Unterstützung ung. *pelyva* 'Spreu', das im Ungarischen genauso als Sinnbild für *Wertloses* wie für *unzählbar* gebraucht werden kann. Im Ungarischen ist ansonsten auch das etymologisch mit *učoq* zusammenhängende *ocsú* 'Spreu' belegt. *ocsú* stellt ein älteres türkisches Lehnelement innerhalb der ung. Lexik dar.

[14] Vgl. Aalto–Granö–Ramstedt 1958, 36–37.

[15] Vgl. Thomsen 1924, 165.

[16] Vgl. Malov 1951, 67.

[17] Vgl. Clauson 589b.

[18] In der Malovschen Ausgabe der Inschrift ist hier ebenfalls QČN^{2}ÑR^{2}SR^2 zu finden.

[19] Vgl. Giraud 1961, 61 und vgl. S. 91 unter den Kommentaren.

[20] S. hierzu Aalto–Granö–Ramstedt (1958, 36–37) „Im Osten gegen den Türk-Qaġan wollen wir Krieg führen", sollen sie gesagt haben. „Wenn wir nicht gegen ihn Krieg führen, was auch sein mag, er wird uns (? sie werden uns) ...".

qačan äñirsär immer der Ausdruck *ölürtäči kök* 'er (sie) wird (werden) uns sicherlich töten' zu finden. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß nach dem genannten Subjekt und Objekt *ol bizni* hier gleichfalls der Ausdruck *ölürtäči kök* stand.

(Zeile 21) *qaġanï alp ärmiš, ayġučïsï bilgä ärmiš QČN¹ÑR²SR² ölürtäči kök. üčägün qabïšïp sülälim* ...[21]

Dieser Textteil setzt den voranstehenden Bericht fort.

(Zeile 29–30) *qïrqïzda yantïmïz. türgäš qaġanta wK̂WRG kälti. sabï antäg „öñdün qaġanġaru sü yorïlïm!" temiš. „yorïmasar bizni qaġanï alp ärmiš, ayġučïsï bilgä ärmiš QČN²Ñ RSR. ölürtäči kök"*[22]

Der letzte Textteil, in dem der untersuchte Ausdruck vorkommt, enthält den Bericht eines Deserteurs der *Türgäschen*.

Ich glaube, daß die von Giraud und Erdal vertretene Meinung kaum zu akzeptieren ist.

(1) Bei einer Lesung *qačan äñirsär* in den Zeilen 20 und 29 treten graphisch-orthographische Schwierigkeiten auf: Die Schreibung von N² bedarf einer Erklärung.

(2) Die größeren Probleme bei der von Giraud–Erdal vorgeschlagenen Lesung bzw. Interpretierung sind inhaltlicher Natur. Ich halte es für kaum vorstellbar, daß die Phrase *qačan äñirsär* '[er] wird [uns] unter allen Umständen einkreisen' von dem Verfasser der Inschrift allen Ernstes den zu einer Koalition bereiten Kaganen in den Mund gelegt wurde. Die Türken besaßen vor 691, unter der Herrschaft von *Elteriš*, kaum genügend Streitkräfte für die Einkreisung von drei feindlichen Völkern.

Ich bleibe bei der im allgemeinen üblichen Lesung und Übersetzung.[23]

4. Das folgende Beispiel stellt einen Vorschlag dar, der zwar besser als die früheren Erklärungen zu sein scheint, jedoch nicht als eine endgültige und befriedigende Lösung betrachtet werden kann. Es geht auch in diesem Falle um einen neuen Erklärungsversuch von Erdal.

In der Zeile 25 der Inschrift von Tońuquq ist der folgende Textteil zu finden: *sü yorïtdïm atlat tedim aq tärmäl käčä uġraqlatdïm bintürä qarïġ sökdüm, yoq(ġ)aru at yetä, yadaġïn, ïġač tutunu aġturtum.*[24]

[21] S. hierzu Aalto–Granö–Ramstedt (1958, 37) 'ihr Qaġan soll tapfer sein, ihr Befehlshaber soll weise sein — was auch sein mag, sie werden uns sicherlich töten. Zu dreien uns vereinigt habend'...

[22] S. hierzu Aalto–Granö–Ramstedt (1958, 40) 'Vom Qyrqyz kehrten wir heim. Vom Türgis-Qaġan ein Späher kam. Sein Wort (war) derartig: „Gegen den östlichen Qaġan wollen wir mit dem Heer ausziehen" soll er gesagt haben. „Wenn wir nicht ausziehen, werden sie uns — der Qaġan soll tapfer sein, der Befehlshaber soll weise sein —, was auch sein mag, uns sicherlich töten", soll er gesagt haben'.

[23] Tekin (1995, 216) bleibt bei seiner alten Lesung (1968: 286) und Interpretierung: *qačan näñ* 'sooner or later'.

[24] S. hierzu Aalto–Granö–Ramstedt (1958, 38) 'Ich liess das Heer losziehen. Es zu Pferde steigen lassend, sagte ich. Jenseits von Aq-Tärmäl liess ich es eine passende Gelegenheit erwarten.

Erdal (1991, 801–802) bezweifelt aus guten Gründen die für die Runenzeichen-Gruppe $B^2N^2T^2R^2A$ bisher angenommene Lesung *bintürä*.[25]

Diese Lesung ist äußerst problematisch und kaum zutreffend:

(1) Es gibt in der ersten Silbe eine defektive Schreibung.

(2) Im Falle der Lesung 'bintürä' müßte der Labialvokal in der zweiten Silbe ausgeschrieben sein.

(3) Das Konverb für ein Verb mit dem Kausativsuffix auf *-tUr-* ist *bintürü* und nicht *bintürä*.

Dementsprechend möchte Erdal $B^2N^2T^2R^2A$ als *ävin terä* lesen. Für *ävin terä* gibt er zwar keine Übersetzung, geht aber sicherlich davon aus, daß der Ausdruck *ävin terä* aus den entsprechenden Formen der Lexeme *äb* (*äv*) 'Zelt' und *ter-* 'sammeln' zusammengesetzt sei.

Das ist nicht die einzige Stelle, wo Erdal eine scharfsinnige Verbesserung empfiehlt, die an und für sich einwandfrei ist, jedoch nicht ohne weiteres in den Kontext hineinpaßt.

äbin (ävin) terä kann '[das Volk] seine Zelte gesammelt habend' bedeuten. Dieser Ausdruck kommt innerhalb des Berichtes von Toñuquq vor, er scheint aber nach dem kontextuellen Zusammenhang dort nicht am Platze zu sein.[26]

Die Frage bedarf daher einer weiteren Untersuchung. Ich kann zur Zeit nicht entscheiden, welche — in der Literatur existierende — Lesung zu präferieren ist. Möglicherweise muß man hier noch auf die richtige Lösung warten.

5. In der 54. Zeile kann man über die Verdienste von Toñuquq lesen: *bw türük bodunqa* [oder: *bodun ara*] *: yarïqlïg yaġïg : yältürmädim* [oder: *kältürmädim*] *: twgünlüg atïg : yügürtmädim*.[27]

Dieser Textteil weist mehrere Schwierigkeiten auf. Mit dem Problem, ob man innerhalb der Zeile *bodunqa* oder *bodun ara* bzw. *yältürmädim* oder *kältürmädim* lesen muß, möchte ich mich hier nicht beschäftigen.[28] Diese an und für sich möglichen Lesungsvarianten haben keinen wesentlichen Einfluß auf die Interpretierung des Textes.

Als problematische Stelle soll hier die Runenzeichen-Gruppe $T^2WG^2N^2L^2G^2$ betrachtet werden. Die Mehrheit der Forscher, die sich mit der Inschrift von Toñuquq befaßt haben, geht von der Lesung *tögünlüg* aus.[29] Die

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Zu Pferde steigen lassend watete ich durch den Schnee. Aufwärts, die Pferde am Zaum führend, zu Fuss, an Bäumen Stütze findend, liess ich sie emporsteigen.'

25 S. hierzu Malov 1951, 62; Clauson 350a; vgl. aber Giraud 96 *bän terä*.

26 Vgl. hierzu die ähnliche kritische Anmerkung von Tekin (1994, 280–281).

27 S. hierzu Aalto–Granö–Ramstedt (1958, 38): 'inmitten dieses Türk-Volkes panzerbekleidete Feinde umherreiten ließ ich nicht, aufgezäumte Pferde umherlaufen ließ ich nicht'.

28 Erdal (1991) gibt die Lesung *bo türk bodun ara yarïqlïg yaġïg kältürmädim* an und weist darauf hin, daß die richtige Übersetzung dieses Textteiles 'I did not give a chance for the mail-clad enemy to come in among this august (or 'Turkic') people' sei. Clauson (923b) liest *bu Türkü bodun arā yarïqlïg yaġïg yältürmädim* und übersetzt diesen Textteil folgendermaßen: 'I did not allow armoured enemies to gallop about among this Türkü people'.

29 Vgl. hierzu z.B. Clauson 485a.

Interpretierung der Form *tögünlüg* ist 'mit Brandmal versehen sein'.[30] Die größte Schwierigkeit bei dieser Lesung und Interpretierung besteht darin, daß das Grundwort (?) *tögün*, dessen Etymologie unbekannt ist, erst bei *Kāšġarī* vorkommt.[31]

$T^2WG^2N^2L^2G^2$ kann selbstverständlich auch als *tügünlüg* gelesen werden. Aalto–Granö–Ramstedt (1958, 38) lesen *tügünlüg* in der Bedeutung von 'aufgezäumt', Erdal (1991, 308) geht ähnlicherweise von der Basis *tüg-* 'knoten, binden' bzw. von der Ableitung *tügün* 'Knoten' aus. Er glaubt, daß *tügünlüg at* 'horse with (*mane bound into*) knots' bedeuten kann, und verweist darauf, daß es aus dieser Periode einige Illustrationen von Pferden mit geknoteter Mähne gibt.

Ich möchte weder die Deutung *tögünlüg* 'mit Brandmal versehen' noch *tügünlüg* 'aufgezäumt' oder 'mit geknoteter Mähne' ausschließen, doch bietet sich m. E. eine weitere Erklärung an, die eventuell plausibler als die voranstehenden ist.

tügünlüg at kann nämlich auch 'gebundenes Pferd' bedeuten und vom Kontext her (*yarïqlïg yaġïg : yältürmädim* [oder: *kältürmädim*]: *twgünlüg atïg : yügürtmädim*) als ein militärischer Terminus aufgefaßt werden. Den Nomaden in Zentralasien war die Angriffsmethode bekannt, bei der man mehrere stärkere Pferde (manchmal andere Reit- oder Zugtiere) in einem gewissen Abstand aneinander befestigt hat und dann auf die feindlichen Streitkräfte zulaufen ließ. Der kontextuelle Zusammenhang kann hier diesen Erklärungsversuch eher bestätigen.

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[30] Malov (1951, 64) liest zwar *tögünlig*, aber er gibt in der Übersetzung '(i ne privodil) snarjažennuju (konnicu)' an.

[31] S. Dankoff–Kelly 1, 315: *tögün* 'brand, cauterization'.

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ISTVÁN MÁNDOKY'S UNPUBLISHED TATAR WORDLIST FROM BULGARIA

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The Turkic dialects spoken in the Balkans have always been of great interest for Turcologists. For about five hundred years the Ottomans ruled in the Balkans, so it is not surprising that they exerted a strong influence on the languages spoken there.

The Pechenegs were the first Kipchak group to settle in the Balkans in the 10th century, but gradually they became assimilated. Later on, Nogays started to migrate to the estuary of the river Danube around 1550. The last Kipchaks to settle here were the Crimean Tatars in the 18th–19th centuries.

István Mándoky did some fieldwork among the Tatars living in Bulgaria. In the late sixties, he was asked by András Róna-Tas to compare the word-list of his dissertation with the dialect spoken there. This word-list was prepared with the aim of studying rhotacism and lambdacism.

I went on to compare the material with further Turkic languages. My point of interest concerns the language reflected by the forms István Mándoky noted down among the Tatars in Bulgaria. Though the dialect belongs to the Kipchak group of languages it bears several similarities to that of the Oghuz Turkic. Even though the word-list is very short, the strong influence Turkish exercised on this dialect can be noticed. To prove this, I chose the data of some other Kipchak dialects from the Caucasus: Kumük, Crimean Karaim, Balkar and Karachay. Following Mándoky's entry, further Kipchak data follows, then its Turkish counterpart.

The following four groups consist of words:

a) without a difference between the Bulgarian Tatar datum on the one side and Kipchak data with the Republican Turkish and Gagauz on the other (I mention the place of the occurrence of the word after Mándoky's datum with the abbreviation of the dictionaries I used.)
b) with phonetic (and slight semantic) differences
c) with different meaning of the word
d) unparalleled in the Crimean Karaim, Kumük, Karachay and Turkish, Gagauz material I examined.

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a)

adaš 'namesake'; but: 'name' = *at* (BTat) ~ (Tt), (Gag)
altmiš 'sixty'(BTat) ~ (Tt), (Gag)
ariš 'cart-pole' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KKar), (KumBlk), (KrchP); (Tt)
ayaz 'cold weather, freeze; clear weather in winter, like in a very cold winter night with full-moon' (BTat) ~ (KumBlk), (KrchP); (Tt)
az 'few' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KumBlk), (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
baldïska 'sister-in-law, wife's younger sister' (BTat) ~ *baldız* (Tt)
baš 'head' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KumBlk), (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
beš 'five' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
bez- 'to get tired of sg, become indifferent towards sg.' (BTat) ~ (KumB); (Tt)
biz 'we' (BTat) ~ (KKar), (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
biz 'awl' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KumBlk); (Tt), (Gag)
boġaz 'throat' (BTat) ~ (Tt)
bošan- 'to be freed' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KumBlk), (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
boz 'gray' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KrchP), (Kirg); (Tt), (Gag)
buz 'ice' (BTat) ~ (KKar), (KumB), (KumBlk), (KrchP); (Tt)
edepsiz 'shameless' (BTat) ~ (Tt)
erik- 'excite' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KrchP); [*eri-* 'to be greatly embarrassed'] (Tt),
ešek 'donkey' (BTat) ~ (KumB), *ešek, ješek* 'Esel' (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
ez- 'knead'; 'crumple, press' (BTat) ~ (KumB); (Tt), (Gag)
gez- 'proceed, walk' (BTat) ~ (KumB); (Tt), (Gag)
ïrmak 'river' (BTat) ~ (Tt)
iš 'work' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
iz 'trail, footprint' (BTat) ~ (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
kapat- 'cover, close, wrap' (BTat) ~ [*kapa-* 'to shut, close' (Tt)], (Gag)
kapï 'door; gate' (BTat) ~ (KKar); (Tt)
karġa 'crow' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KumBlk), (KrchP); (Tt)
kaš- 'scratch, rub, scrape' (BTat) ~ (KumBlk), [*k'aši-* 'kratzen' (KrchP)]; [*kaşın-* 'to itch, to scratch oneself' (Tt)], (Gag)
kašïk 'spoon' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
kaška 'mark on the head of a horse' [not star, but of a longer shape; longer, elongated white stripe, band] (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KrchP); (Tt)
kayïš 'leather strap' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KumBlk); (Tt), (Gag)
kawïz 1. 'skin, skin of certain crops having seeds, e.g. chaff of millet; 2. 'honeycomb' (BTat) ~ (Tt)
kaz 'goose' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KrchP); (Tt)
kaz- 'to dig, excavate' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
kazan 'kettle' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KumBlk), (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
kazïk 'stake' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KumBlk); (Tt), (Gag)

kïlawïz ~ kïlawuz 'guide' (BTat) ~ (Tt)
kïmïz 'kumiss' (BTat) ~ (KKar), (KumB); (Tt)
kïrmïska 'ant' (BTat) ~ (KKar): [*karınca* (Tt)]
kïš 'winter' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
kïz- 'be red hot' (BTat) ~ (KumB); (Tt)
kïz 'girl' (BTat) ~ (KKar), (KumB), (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
koš 'a pair' (BTat) ~ (KumB); (Tt)
koyan 'rabbit' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KumBlk)
kurtul- 'to escape' (BTat) ~ [*kutul-* 'sich retten' (KumBlk)]; (Tt), (Gag)
kuš 'bird' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
kutqaril- 'be freed' (BTat) ~ (KKar), (KumB), (KumBlk)
kirt 'lock' (BTat) ~ (KKar)
kökrek 'chest' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KrchP), [*kökürek* 'Herz, Busen' (KumBlk)]
kör 'hearts' (BTat) ~ (Tt)
körük 'bellows: wind is blown with forge-bellows in a smith shop'(BTat) ~ (KumBlk); (Tt), (Gag)
maġrur 'proud' (BTat) ~ (Tt)
neir 'river' (BTat) ~ [*nehir* (Tt)]
ok 'arrow; cartpole' (BTat) ~ (KrchP), [*ok-žaja* (KumBlk)]; (Tt)
omuz ~ omïz 'shoulder' (BTat) ~ (Tt), (Gag)
otuz 'thirty' (BTat) ~ (Tt)
oz- 'pass ahead of; have an advantage over sy' (BTat) ~ (KumBlk), (KrchP)
öktem 'proud' (BTat) ~ (KumBlk), (KrchP)
öz 'own, self' (BTat) ~ (KumBlk), (KrchP); (Tt)
özek 'seed, inside; the middle of sg.; handle, stem, axis, pole'(BTat) ~ (KrchP)
özen 'valley, inclination, gully'(BTat) ~ (KKar), (KumBlk), (KrchP)
saz 'marshy, reedy place'(BTat) ~ (KumBlk); [*sazak* 'marshy place' (Tt)], (Gag)
semir- 'to grow fat, put on weight, become greasy' (BTat) ~ (Tt), (Gag)
semiz 'fat, greasy' (BTat) ~ (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
seslen- 'to listen to' (BTat) ~ (Tt), (Gag)
sez- 'feel' (BTat) ~ (Tt)
sïbïzġï 'flute' (BTat) ~ (KrchP)
sik- 'to squeeze, press' (BTat) ~ (KumBlk), (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
sïndïr- 'to break' (BTat) ~ (KKar), (KumBlk), (KrchP); (Gag)
silk- 'shake' (BTat) ~ (Tt), (Gag)
siz 'you' (BTat) ~ (KKar), (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
söz 'word' (BTat) ~ (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
süs 'ornament, adornment' (BTat) ~ (Tt)

süz- 'to filter' (BTat) ~ (Tt)
taš 'stone' (BTat) ~ *taš: taš iden* 'Fussboden aus Stein' (KKar); (Tt), (Gag)
tel 'string' (BTat) ~ (Tt), (Gag)
tez 'quick' (BTat) ~ (Tt), (Gag)
toz 'dust' (BTat) ~ (Tt), (Gag)
tuzak 'net'; trap, dagger' (BTat) ~ (Tt)
usta 'master' (BTat) ~ (Tt), (Gag)
uzun ~ uzïn 'long' (BTat) ~ (Tt), (Gag)
yaġïz 'brown' (BTat) ~ (Tt)
yaŋïl- 'to err, make a mistake' (BTat) ~ (Tt), (Gag)
yaš 'year, age' (BTat) ~ (KumBlk), (Kirg); (Tt), (Gag)
yaz- 'to write' (BTat) ~ (KumBlk), (Tat); (Tt), (Gag)
yaz- 'to spread, straighten' (BTat) ~ (KumBlk), (Tat); (Gag)
yetmiš 'seventy' (BTat) ~ (Tt), (Gag)
yïldïz 'star' (BTat) ~ (Tt), (Gag)
yüz 'hundred' (BTat) ~ (KumBlk); (Tt)
yüzük~yüzik 'ring' (BTat) ~ (KumBlk); (Tt)

b)

awuz 'mouth' (BTat) ~ *ağız* (Tt)
bakïr 'copper' (BTat) ~ *baġïr* (KumB), (KumBlk), (KrchP)
böz 'linen' (BTat) ~ *bez* (KumB); (Tt)
buz- 'break' (BTat) ~ *boz-* (Tt)
buzaw 'calf' (BTat) ~ *buzou* (KrchP), *buzağı* 'calf (not yet weaned)' (Tt), *buzaa* 'telenok' (Gag)
deŋiz 'sea' (BTat) ~ *dingiz* (KKar), *deŋŋiz* (KumBlk); *deniz* (Tt), (Gag)
egiz 'twins' (BTat) ~ *egiz, yegiz* (KrchP); *ikiz* (Tt)
ešit- 'hear' (BTat) ~ *ešit-, yešit-* (KrchP), *ešit-* 'slušat', slyšat''(Kirg); *işit-* (Tt), (Gag)
iri- 'to melt' (BTat) ~ *eri-* (Tt)
J̌ara 'wound' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KumBlk); *yara* (Tt), (Gag)
J̌aš 1. 'young; young man, bachelor'; 2.'fresh, immature, delicate' (BTat) ~ [*yašar-* 'gençleşmek' (KKar)], (KumB), (KumBlk); *yaş* (Tt), (Gag)
J̌aš 'tear' (BTat) ~ (KumB); *yaş* (Tt), (Gag)
J̌ašïr- 'to hide' (BTat) ~ *yešir-* (KKar), *yašïr-* (KumB), (KumBlk); [*yaşın-* 'to be hidden' (Tt)]
J̌ayniŋ teli 'string of a bow' (BTat) ~ *yay* 'luk (oružie)' (Gag), *yayın kirişi* (Tt)
J̌ewez 'walnut' (BTat) ~ *ceviz* (Tt), (Gag)
J̌ïmšat- 'to soften' (BTat) ~ *yïmišat-* (KumB), (Gag), [*ǰumušak* 'weich, biegsam' (KrchP)]; *yumuşat-* (Tt)
J̌orġan 'blanket' (BTat) ~ *ǰu'urġan* (KrchP); *yorgan* (Tt)
keli 'mortar' (BTat) ~ (KumB), (KrchP); *kile* (Tt)

keš- 'depart, go across' (BTat) ~ *geç-* (Tt)
kobïz 'musical instrument' (BTat) ~ *komuz* (KumB), (KumBlk), *kobuz* (KrchP); *kopuz* (Tt), *kobza* (Gag)
korġašïn 'lead' (BTat) ~ *kurşun* (Tt), *kuršum* (Gag)
koz- 'excite, agitate; put in a rage' (BTat) ~ [*kuzġat-* 'kımıldatmak' (KKar)]; *kız-* 'to be angry' (Tt), (Gag)
kozï 'lamb' (BTat) ~ *kuzu* (Tt), (Gag)
köz 'eye' (BTat) ~ *göz* (KumBlk), *küz* (KKar); *göz* (Tt), (Gag)
kundïz 'beaver' (BTat) ~ *kunduz* (KrchP); (Tt), (Gag)
kuwïšlïk 'hollow' (BTat) ~ *k'u'uš* 'Baumhöhle, hohl' (KrchP); *kovuş* 'large room; dormitory' (Tt)
kuzġïn 'raven' (BTat) ~ *kuzgun* (KumB), (KrchP); (Tt)
kümiš 'silver' (BTat) ~ *gömüš* (KumBlk), *k'ümüš* (KrchP); *gümüş* (Tt), (Gag)
kündüz ~ kündiz 'daytime' (BTat) ~ *günnüz* (KumBlk); *gündüz* (Tt), (Gag)
küneš 'sun' (BTat) ~ *güneş* (Tt), (Gag)
küyiz 'carpet made of felt or rag' (BTat) ~ *k'üyüz* (KrchP)
küz 'autumn' (BTat) ~ *güz* (KumBlk); (Tt), (Gag)
ögüz 'ox' (BTat) ~ *öküz* (Tt), (Gag)
öt- 'go across (on a bridge, mountain etc.)' (BTat) ~ *üt-* (KKar)
özeŋgi 'stirrup' (BTat) ~ *üzengi* (Tt)
saġïz 'mastic' (BTat) ~ *sakız* (Tt), (Gag)
sekiz 'eight' (BTat) ~ *segiz* (KumBlk), (KrchP)
süz- 'to toss' (BTat) ~ *süs-* 'toss (with the horns)' (Tt), (Gag)
šamïr 'mud' (BTat) ~ *çamur* (Tt), (Gag)
šay 'river' (BTat) ~ *çay* 'brook, stream' (Tt)
šaykalt- 'to shake' (BTat) ~ *çalka-* (Tt), (Gag)
šïbas ~ sïbas 'secretion, mucus' (BTat) ~ *çıban* (KumBlk); (Tt), (Gag)
šöz- 'to untie' (BTat) ~ *çöz-* (Tt), (Gag)
taz 'bald' (BTat) ~ *daz* (Tt)
teš- 'to make a hole (in)' (BTat) ~ *tiš-* yırtmak' (KKar); *del-* (Tt), (Gag)
tešik 'hole' (BTat) ~ *delik* (Tt), (Gag)
tïġïz 'tight, narrow' (BTat) ~ *tıkız* 'tightly packed together' (Tt), (Gag)
tïš 'exterior' (BTat) ~ *dış* (Tt)
tiš 'tooth' (BTat) ~ *diş* (Tt), (Gag)
tiz 'knee' (BTat) ~ *diz* (Tt), (Gag)
tiz- 'to line up' (BTat) ~ *diz-* (Tt), (Gag)
toklï 'one year old sheep' (BTat) ~ *toklu* 'polugodovalaja ovca' (KumB); (Tt), (Gag) *[toklyó]*
tokuz ~ dokuz 'nine' (BTat) ~ *dokuz* (Tt), (Gag)
töš 'breast' (BTat) ~ *döş* (Tt)
tüš 'dream' (BTat) ~ *düş* (Tt), (Gag)

tüš- 'fall down, descend' (BTat) ~ *düş-* (Tt), (Gag)
tüye balasï, bota 'young of a camel' (BTat) ~ [*tü* 'Kamel' (KKar)]; *deve balası* (Tt)
tüygiš 'mortar made of metal' (BTat) ~ *döveç* (Tt)
tüz 'smooth, even, flat' (BTat) ~ *düz* (Tt), (Gag)
üyle, üyle waqtï 'noon' (BTat) ~ *öğle, öğle vakti* (Tt)

c)

az- 1. 'to dry out, grow weak, lose weight'; 2. 'grow lax, loose habits'; 3. 'lose one's way'; 4. 'be naughty, misbehave, be up to mischief' (BTat) ~ 'to become unmanageable' (Tt), 'vospaljat'sja, gnoit'sja, naryvat'' (Gag)
bez 'gland' (BTat) ~ 'železa' (KumB), 'Drüse' (KrchP); 'bumažnaja domotkanaja materija' (Gag)
išk ï 'slicer' (BTat) ~ 'curved paring knife with two handles' (Tt)
J̌az 'summer' (BTat) ~ *yaz* 'vesna' (KumB); 'leto' (Gag); *ĵaz* 'Frühling' (KrchP)
kïzġan- 'want; long for sg, yearn for sg.; be stingy with sg., begrudge sy his belongings' (BTat) ~ 'acımak' (KKar), (KumB); 'be jelous (of), envy' (Tt)
kušluk 'noon' (BTat) ~ 'vremja zavtraka' (KumB), 'Frühstück' (KumBlk); 'lunch' (Tt), 'vremja posle voshoda solnca' (Gag), *kuşluk yemeği* 'early lunch' (Tt),

d)

J̌aza, baa 'payment' only with Arab and Iranian words (BTat)
katanay, katanay süyegi, katanay kemigi 'ankle, ankle-bone'(BTat)
küzen 'polecat' (BTat)
örtė- 'excite, stir up, convince' (BTat)
sazaġan 'supernatural creature' (BTat) ~ — [*sárkány*]
sïbïr 'whispering' (BTat)
sïbïz 'whistle' (BTat)
šet 'eye-tooth' (BTat)
šet tiš 'eye-tooth, tusk' (BTat)
töz- 'stand' (BTat)
tuz 'good' (BTat)
tüš 'south; noon' (BTat)
tüye kiškenesi 'young of a camel' (BTat)
uġuz 'first milk' (BTat)
üz- 'break; pick down, tear off' (BTat)

Abbreviations

Btat	Mándoky, I., *Linguistic data of Tatars living in Bulgaria* [my collecting area]; collected in the last years of the 1960ies — unpublished
CKar	Kakuk, Zs., Ein krimkaraimisches Wörterverzeichnis. *AOH* 45, 347–401.
Kirg	Judahin, K. K., *Kirgizsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1965.
KumB	*Qumuqča–rusča sözlük*. Red. Z. Z. Bammatova. Moskva 1969.
KumBlk	Németh Gy., Kumük és balkár szójegyzék. *Keleti Szemle* 12. (1911/12) 91–153.
KrchP	Rröhle, W.: Karatschajisches Wörterverzeichnis. *Keleti Szemle* 10. (1909) 83–150.
Tat	Bammatova, Z. Z. (Red.), *Tatarsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1966.

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ZUR SILBENHARMONIE DES NORDWEST-KARAIMISCHEN

ÉVA ÁGNES CSATÓ und LARS JOHANSON
(Köln) (Mainz)

Da bolur ahač kibik
ornatylhan čyrlach suvlar katyna ki
jemišiń bierir vachtynda
da japrahy anyn upranmyjdyr,
da baryn nie ki kylsa onaryr.

(David' bijniń machtav čozmachlary, 1,3.
Hrsg. v. M. Firkovičius, Vilnius 1993)

„És olyan lesz, mint a folyóvizek mellé ültetett fa,
a mely idejekorán megadja gyümölcsét,
és levele nem hervad el;
és minden munkájában jó szerencsés lészen."

(Zsoltárok könyve, 1.3. Károli Gáspár fordításában)

1. Zum typologischen Status des Nordwest-Karaimischen

In diesem Aufsatz soll der Frage nachgegangen werden, wie „türkisch" die Phonologie des heute in Litauen gesprochenen Nordwest-Karaimisch geblieben ist. Die Sprecher dieses Dialekts des Karaimischen sind, wie Kowalski feststellte, „die am weitesten nach Nordwesten vorgeschobenen Vertreter der großen türkischen Sprachfamilie, nachdem die noch weiter westwärts wohnenden, mit ihnen sprachlich eng verwandten Kumanen in Ungarn bereits im XVIII. Jhdt. in ihrer magyarischen Umgebung gänzlich aufgegangen sind" (1929:xxiv).[1]

Das Karaimische besitzt bekanntlich etliche sprachtypologische Besonderheiten, die sich hauptsächlich unter dem Einfluß slawischer Sprachen entwickelt haben. Einige davon sind auch für andere europäische Türksprachen wie balkantürkische Varietäten und Gagausisch charakteristisch. Im heute gesprochenen Nordwest-Karaimisch fallen zahlreiche slawische und litauische lexikalische Elemente sowie deutlich nicht-türkische syntaktische Eigenschaften auf. Auffällig sind auch gewisse Eigentümlichkeiten des phonologischen Systems. Was die Phonetik betrifft, hat das Nordwest-Karaimische mit seinen vielen palatalisierten Konsonanten einen recht slawisch anmutenden Klang. Es wurde sogar behauptet, daß die für Türksprachen charakteristische sogenannte Vokalharmonie im Karaimischen „zerstört" worden sei (Kowalski 1929:xxix). Diese Auffassung wird heute in turkologischer wie linguistischer Literatur — trotz der Kritik von

[1] In den letzten Jahrzehnten hat eine große Einwanderung türkischer Sprecher nach Nordwest-Europa diese Sprachsituation verändert.

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Musaev 1964 — immer noch oft zitiert (Kakuk 1976:54, Comrie 1981:63–64).[2] Hier werden wir, ausgehend von einem in Johanson 1991 vorgeschlagenen Beschreibungsmodell, dafür argumentieren, daß die typisch türkischen Prinzipien der Lautharmonisierung im Nordwest-Karaimischen trotz der erwähnten phonetischen Eigentümlichkeiten erhalten geblieben sind.

2. Die türkische Silbenharmonie

Die phonologische Opposition zwischen vorderer und hinterer Artikulation (v/h-Opposition) ist eine grundlegende Eigenschaft der Türksprachen, die in allen uns bekannten historischen Perioden und sogar in den am meisten abweichenden Dialekten vorhanden ist (Johanson 1991:77). Eine Beschreibung, welche die funktionell relevanten phonologischen Merkmale ausschließlich auf nacheinander folgende Segmente projiziert, kann die damit verbundenen Eigenschaften aber nicht adäquat erfassen.

In einigen Beiträgen, z. B. Johanson 1991, ist eine alternative, nicht lineare, sondern suprasegmentale Analyse der türkischen v/h-Opposition vorgelegt worden.[3] Diesem Beschreibungsmodell zufolge besteht in den Türksprachen eine sogenannte intrasyllabische Lautharmonie. Sie impliziert, daß das Merkmal [± vorn] nicht einzelne Vokal- oder Konsonantensegmente charakterisiert, sondern jeweils eine ganze Silbe, die mindestens einen Vokal, aber auch vorangehende oder/und nachfolgende Konsonanten umfassen kann. Die intersyllabische Palatalharmonie, die oft unter der irreführenden Bezeichnung „Vokalharmonie" behandelt wird, betrifft die Silbenharmonie, d. h. die Harmonisierung der Silben innerhalb eines phonologischen Wortes in bezug auf das Merkmal [± vorn]. Es gibt zwei Typen von intersyllabischer Harmonie: eine Primärstammharmonie und eine Suffixharmonie. Die Durchführung der Regeln der Silbenharmonie sind aber nie absolut. Unregelmäßigkeiten sind üblich, obwohl sie oft durch orthographische Konventionen vertuscht werden.[4] Das Nordwest-Karaimische ist in dieser Hinsicht eine normale Türksprache, die, wie unten ersichtlich sein wird, die v/h-Kategorisierung der Silben konsequent durchführt.

[2] Kakuk (1976:54) unterstreicht zu Recht die Bedeutung des slawischen Einflusses für die Palatalisierung und die damit verbundene Beeinträchtigung der palatalen Aussprache der Vokale: „A karaim nyelv alakulásában jelentős szerepet játszott az állandóan és erősen ható szláv környezet. Ennek legszembetűnőbb megnyilvánulásai a következők: A mássalhangzók palatalizálódása palatális magánhangzók után, a palatalizálódás során a magánhangzó velárissá lesz, ami által a magánhangzó-harmónia is megzavarodik ..."

[3] Vgl. auch die Darstellungen in Johanson 1984, 1986 und 1993.

[4] Siehe Johanson 1991:82: „Categoric statements about the Turkic word as a harmonic unit are often misleading — and may lead to false conclusions about earlier stages of development. If there are tendencies towards f/b agreement of all segments within the phonological word (including 'vowel harmony'), this is an 'ideal' state seldom attained; moreover, we often observe strong counter-currents."

3. Die nordwestkaraimische Silbenharmonie

Das ursprüngliche Lautsystem des Karaimischen ist durch palatalisierte Konsonanten erweitert worden. Obwohl diese Entwicklung sich zweifellos auf den Kontakt mit slawischen Sprachen zurückführen läßt, ist die phonologische Rolle der Palatalisierung im karaimischen System unabhängig von den slawischen Systemen zu untersuchen. Die slawischen Sprachen besitzen palatale Phoneme, d. h. die Palatalisierung hat bedeutungsunterscheidende Funktion. Palatale Konsonanten können sogenannte Minimalpaare unterscheiden, wie z. B. russisch *brat'* 'nehmen' und *brat* 'Bruder'. Im Karaimischen ist die phonologische Funktion der Palatalisierung nur im Zusammenhang mit den Regeln der Harmonisierung zu sehen. Wie Johanson 1994 argumentiert, ist das Merkmal [± vorn] ein suprasegmentales distinktives Merkmal, das sich nach bestimmten Regeln über eine ganze Silbe oder ein ganzes phonologisches Wort verteilt und ihre distinktive Funktion auf diese Weise ausübt. Dieses gesamttürkische Prinzip wird im Nordwest-Karaimischen sehr deutlich.

Hier können die meisten Konsonanten sowohl palatalisiert als auch nicht-palatalisiert auftreten. Die Palatalisierung soll im folgenden mit einem hochgestellten *j* bezeichnet werden, z. B. b^j, $č^j$, d^j, $dž^j$, g^j, $γ^j$, k^j, l^j. Es gibt aber auch Konsonanten, die nur palatalisiert vorkommen, *ž, y,* und einen Konsonanten, *x*, der nur nicht-palatalisiert auftritt.

Das Vokalsystem hat seinen türkischen Charakter durchaus bewahrt und enthält im wesentlichen die acht auch für andere Türksprachen typischen Vokale *i, ü, e, ö, ï, u, a* und *o*. Die Erhaltung der gerundeten vorderen Vokale, *ü* und *ö*, ist auch deswegen bemerkenswert, weil die Sprachen, mit denen die Karaimen schon seit sechshundert Jahren in engem Kontakt leben, diese Laute nicht kennen. Alle nordwestkaraimischen Vokalphoneme haben mehrere Allophone, die in verschiedenen phonologischen Umgebungen auftreten. Einige phonetische und distributionelle Eigenschaften der Allophone sollen hier im Zusammenhang mit der Beschreibung der Silbenharmonie behandelt werden.

Lexikalische Elemente werden entweder als [+ vorn] oder als [– vorn] kategorisiert. In der hier verwendeten Notation wird die Palatalität der Silbe oder des Stammes durch {'}, und die Nicht-Palatalität durch {"} bezeichnet. Ein Wort wie {'un} 'Stimme' wird als [ün^j], d. h. mit einem palatalen Vokal [ü] und einem palatalisierten Konsonant [n^j] ausgesprochen. Das velare Wort {"un} 'Mehl' wird als [un], d.h. mit einem velaren [u] und einem nicht-palatalisierten [n] ausgesprochen. Die meisten Suffixe harmonieren mit dem Stamm. Wie in anderen Türkprachen, haben mehrere Suffixe, z. B. das Genitivsuffix, vier Varianten, die sich in bezug auf die Merkmale [± vorn] und [± rund] unterscheiden. Auf die Fragen der Labialharmonie soll hier nicht näher eingegangen werden. Es läßt sich jedoch feststellen, daß das Prinzip der v/h-Opposition relativ gut durchgeführt ist, was ein grundlegendes türkisches Charakteristikum darstellt. Im folgenden werden wir allerdings einige Phänomene diskutieren, die den Regeln der Harmonisierung angeblich oder tatsächlich widersprechen.

4. Angebliche Störungen

Kowalski machte geltend, die wichtigste Erscheinung auf dem Gebiet der karaimischen Phonetik sei „die Zerlegung der Vokale der Vorderzungenreihe *e, ö, ü* in ein palatales Element, das eine ausgesprochene Palatalisierung der umgebenden (vor allem der vorangehenden, in etwas schwächerem Grade eine solche der nachfolgenden) Konsonanten bewirkt, und in die entsprechenden Vokale der Hinterzungenreihe: *e* ⇒ *'a, ö* ⇒ *'o, ü* ⇒ *'u*" (1929:xxviii–xxix).

Auch unseren Beobachtungen nach können die Vokale *e, ö, ü* im Inlaut mit einer weniger deutlichen vorderen Artikulation ausgesprochen werden als im absoluten Anlaut. Der Behauptung Kowalskis, daß dieses Phänomen die Harmonie zerstöre, wurde aber schon von Musaev zu Recht kritisiert.[5] Wie auch Musaev feststellt, besitzen die zentralisierten Vokale keine hintere Qualität.

Zur Begründung seien folgende Beispiele erwähnt. Außer im absoluten Anlaut wird das Phonem *ü* als ein mehr oder weniger zentralisierter [ù]-Laut ausgesprochen. Dieser [ù]-Laut ist phonetisch und phonologisch gesehen nicht identisch mit einem velaren [u]. Das Wort {'učun} 'für, über' wird als [+ vorn] kategorisiert. Die Konsonanten werden palatalisert, d. h. als [čʲ] und [nʲ] ausgesprochen. Die beiden Vokale werden mit nicht-hinterer Artikulation gebildet, jedoch in unterschiedlicher Weise. Der erste *ü*-Laut, [ü], hat eine deutlichere vordere Qualität als der zweite, [ù], der in der akzentuierten Silbe steht und mehr oder weniger zentralisiert ausgesprochen wird. Das ganze Wort wäre also in unserer groben phonetischen Umschrift als [üčʲùnʲ] zu notieren. Ein als [– vorn] kategorisiertes Wort wie {"uzun} wird ohne Palatalisierung und mit velaren Vokalen als [uzun] ausgesprochen. Die Opposition zwischen [+ vorn] und [– vorn] ist also ganz deutlich gekennzeichet. Der Unterschied zwischen der ersten und der zweiten Silbe des Wortes [üčʲùnʲ] besteht darin, daß in der ersten der Vokal allein die Palatalität der Silbe signalisiert, während in der zweiten auch die beiden stark palatalisierten Konsonanten diese Funktion deutlich ausüben. Obwohl zu den phonetischen Eigenschaften des zweiten Vokals [ù] keine instrumentalphonetischen Untersuchungen vorliegen, möchten wir ihn — von auditiven Eindrücken ausgehend — als stark zentralisiert einstufen. Die ganze Silbe ist aber phonologisch immer noch deutlich als [+ vorn] markiert. Auf gewisse begrenzte Fälle, in denen die Aussprache die Kategorisierung der Silbe nicht deutlich macht, kommen wir unten zurück.

Auch die halboffenen gerundeten *ö*-Laute werden im Inlaut zentralisiert. Diese Tendenz ist besonders stark in einsilbigen Wörtern, z. B. in {'kop} 'viel', das als [kʲòp] ausgesprochen wird.

[5] Siehe Musaev 1964:52: „Это заявление Т. Ковальского имеет много противоречий и не доказано. Прежде всего здесь отрицается деление гласных на нёбные и ненёбные, что совершенно неверно. ... Что касается гласных, которые Т. Ковальский обозначал знаками 'а, 'о, 'у, то как показывают экспериментальные данные, они не являются гласными заднего ряда, а представляют собой гласные переднего ряда э, ö, ü, которые приобретают элемент *й* в начале их произношения в окружении палатализованных согласных."

Der vordere Vokal *e* hat mehrere Varianten. In erster Silbe, sowohl im absoluten Anlaut als auch nach einem Anlautkonsonant, wird er oft als ein stark geschlossenes [e] ausgesprochen. In bestimmten Wörtern wechselt dieses [e] mit [i], z. B. [nʲečʲik] ~ [nʲičʲik], 'wann', [kʲebʲitʲ] ~ [kʲibʲitʲ] 'Laden'. In nicht-ersten Silben kommen ein halb-geöffnetes [ɛ] und ein stark geöffnetes und zentralisiertes [å] als Varianten vor. Alle drei Varianten [e], [ɛ] und [å] sind vom velaren Vokal [a] phonetisch deutlich unterschieden und üben zusammen mit den Konsonanten die Signalfunktion in der palatalen Silbe aus.[6] Man vergleiche etwa das vordere Wort {'berme} = [bʲerʲmʲå] 'geben' mit dem nicht-vorderen Wort {"barma} = [barma] 'gehen'.

5. Nicht-harmonische Vokale

5.1. Neutralisation der Opposition zwischen i und ï im Anlaut

Im absoluten Anlaut ist die Opposition zwischen dem palatalen /i/ und dem velaren /ï/ aufgehoben, da in dieser Position nur das palatale /i/ vorkommt. Folglich kann /i/ sowohl in palatalen als auch in nicht-palatalen Wörtern stehen, z. B. *ištïril-* 'sich versammeln', *išʲlʲå-* 'arbeiten'. Die phonetische Realisation [išʲlʲå] des palatalen Wortes {'išla} ist natürlich unproblematisch in bezug auf intra- und intersyllabische Harmonisierung. Im velaren Wort {"ištiril-} dagegen wird die erste Silbe nicht-harmonisch realisiert: [*ištïrïl-]. Mit dem Sternchen vor dem Vokal *i* markieren wir hier, daß der Vokal abweichend ausgesprochen wird, d. h. der phonologischen Klassifizierung der Silbe nicht entspricht. Die intrasyllabische Harmonie ist also in der ersten Silbe des Wortes *ištïrïl-* nicht durchgeführt. Die nicht-vordere Qualität der Silbe wird aber durch die Nichtpalatalisierung des Konsonanten *š* signalisiert.

5.2. Regressive Assimilation vor -y

Ein anderer Fall der Abweichung von voller Harmonisierung ist zu beobachten in einigen nicht-palatalen Silben, in denen die Koda ein *-y* darstellt. Pritsak bemerkt: „Im Dialekt von Troki geht sowohl der primäre Diphthong *ay* als auch der sekundäre *ay (< aŋ)* in *äy* (das auf seine konsonantische Umgebung nicht palatalisierend wirkt) über: *ałäy* 'so' (< *ałay*; H. *ałay), atäy* 'dein Vater' (< *ataŋ*)" (1959, 328). Eine derartige regressive Assimilation, welche die v/h-

[6] Musaev (1964:47) bemerkt, daß eine Tendenz vorhanden ist, den offenen ungerundeten Vokal *å*, z. B. im Wort *k'el'åm*, mit hinterer Artikulation auszusprechen (in seiner Notation: [кйелййам]). Unserer Meinung nach gibt es keinen ausreichenden Grund, diesen Vokal phonetisch als hinteren Vokal zu betrachten. Außerdem kommt dieser Vokal ausschließlich in vorderen Silben vor, was schwer zu erklären wäre, wenn er wirklich ein hinterer Vokal wäre. Siehe auch Jankowski (1994).

Kategorisierung der Silbe nicht beeinflußt, kommt in mehreren — aber nicht allen — Suffixsilben vor, die einen *y*-Laut enthalten. Einige Beispiele sollen dieses Phänomen illustrieren.

	[+ vorn]	*[– vorn]*
Optativsuffix	*bʲerʲ* 'nehm' + *gʲey*:OPTATIV + *lʲär*: 3PL = *bʲerʲgʲeylʲär* 'sie mögen geben'	*al* 'nehm' + *ɣey*:OPTATIV + *lar*:3PL = *alɣeylar* 'sie mögen nehmen'
Possessivsuffix der 2. Person	*gʲerʲtʲmʲä* 'Birne' + *y*:POSS.2SG = *gʲerʲtʲmʲey* 'deine Birne'	*ata* 'Vater' + *y*:POSS.2SG = *atey* 'dein Vater'
Konditional der 2. Person	*bʲerʲ* 'geb' + *sʲe*:KONDITIONAL + *y*:2SG = *bʲerʲsʲey* 'wenn du gibst'	*al* 'nehm' + *sa*:KONDITIONAL + *y*:2SG = *alsey* 'wenn du nimmst'
Konditional + DI-Form der Kopula	*bʲerʲ* 'geb' + *sʲe*:KONDITIONAL: *e*:KOPULA + DI:3PL = *bʲerʲsʲe edʲilʲär* oder *bʲerʲsʲeydʲilʲär* 'wenn sie gegeben hätten'	*al* 'nehm' + *sa*:KONDITIONAL: *e*:KOPULA + DI:3PL = *alsa edʲilʲär* oder *alseydlar* 'wenn sie genommen hätten'
A-Nichtvergangenheit	*išʲlʲä* 'mach' + *y*:A-NICHTVERGANGENHEIT + 3PL = *išʲlʲeydʲlʲär* 'sie arbeiten'	*aša* 'ess' + *y*:A-NICHTVERGANGENHEIT + 3PL = *ašeydlar* 'sie essen'

Wie die Beispiele zeigen, werden die Silben, in denen die Assimilation von *a* zu *e* stattgefunden hat, auch weiterhin als [– vorn] kategorisiert. Ihre Konsonanten signalisieren die nicht-vordere Qualität der Silbe, die auch die Palatalität der nachfolgenden Silben bestimmt. Man vergleiche z. B. *ašeydlar* 'sie essen' mit *išʲlʲeydʲlʲär* 'sie arbeiten'.[7]

5.3. Der neutralisierte Vokal ə

Ein neutralisierter Vokal, ə, kommt in einigen nicht betonbaren Suffixen vor. Als Beispiele erwähnen wir hier das adverbiale Suffix *-če* sowie *-be*, die suffigierte Form der Postposition *bila* 'mit'. In diesen beiden Suffixen wird der Vokal [ə] ausgesprochen. Wieder bleibt es Aufgabe der Konsonanten, die v/h-Kategorisierung der Silben zu signalisieren. Man vergleiche die Aussprache des Konsonanten *č* in den Suffixsilben der Wörter *karayčə* 'auf Karaimisch' und *tʲilʲsʲizʲčʲə* 'auf Litauisch'.

[7] Siehe die Diskussion um A. Tietzes Begriff des „lateral shift" (Johanson 1984, 1991:92).

5.4. Neutralisierung der Opposition

In betonten Silben, die mit dem palatalen Halbkonsonanten *y* anfangen und im Auslaut einen Konsonanten enthalten, der in dieser Position die Palatalität nicht deutlich markieren kann, entsteht ein phonetischer Zusammenfall zwischen vorderen und hinteren Silben. So werden das Nomen *yův* [yuv] 'Haus' und der Imperativ *yuv!* [yuv] 'wasche!' gleich ausgesprochen. Die phonetische Form kann die beiden Bedeutungen nicht unterscheiden. Nur die Suffixe zeigen eindeutig, ob das Wort vorderen oder hinteren Charakter hat: man vergleiche etwa *yův'n'ún'* 'Haus: GEN' mit *yuvma* 'wasch: INF'. Eine phonetische Neutralisation findet z. B. auch in der zweiten Silbe des Wortes *k'iyóv* 'Schwiegersohn' statt. Die zweite Silbe wird als [yov] ausgespochen, obwohl sie, wie die Suffixe eindeutig zeigen, als [+ vorn] kategorisiert wird, z. B. *k'iyóv'n'ún'* 'Schwiegersohn: GEN'.

5.5. Kategorisierung kopierter lexikalischer Einheiten

Bei der v/h-Kategorisierung kopierter Wörter in bezug auf Suffixharmonie ist wieder die Qualität der ganzen letzten Silbe und nicht nur des Vokals entscheidend. Die folgenden Wörter sind in bezug auf die Suffixharmonie alle als [– vorn] kategorisiert, da die Konsonanten nicht-palatalisiert erscheinen: die Dativform von *m'etr* 'Meter' ist *m'etrγa*; die Akkusativform von *ob'ed* 'Mittagessen' ist *ob'edni*, die Genitivform des männlichen Namens *Marek* ist *Mareknïn*, die Mehrzahl von *lit* 'Lit [die litauische Geldeinheit]' ist *litlar*. Das Wort *špital'* 'Krankenhaus' ist jedoch [+ vorn], da das auslautende *l* palatalisiert ist: so lautet die Lokativform *špital'd'á*.

6. Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede karaimischer und ungarischer Harmonieregeln

Einem Sprecher des Ungarischen fällt auf, wie viele Ähnlichkeiten zwischen dem Nordwest-Karaimischen und dem Ungarischen feststellbar sind. Die auffälligsten betreffen den Wortschatz. Man entdeckt schnell die gemeinsamen türkischen und slawischen Wörter in diesen geographisch weit voneinander entfernten Sprachen. Die Syntax beider Sprachen wurde von ähnlichen indoeuropäischen Mustern beeinflußt. Diese Behauptung läßt sich leicht nachprüfen, wenn man karaimische Sätze ins Ungarische und ins Türkeitürkische übersetzt. Während die karaimischen syntaktischen Konstruktionen sich in die von der ungarischen Syntax gebotenen Muster leicht einordnen lassen, verlangt die Übersetzung ins Türkeitürkische, daß man — wenn der etwas drastische Ausdruck erlaubt ist — die karaimische Satzkonstruktion gleichsam wie einen rechten Handschuh links herum wendet und sie an die linke Hand anzieht.

Auch die phonologischen Systeme weisen Gemeinsamkeiten auf. In beiden Sprachen finden wir palatalisierte Konsonanten und eine Harmonisierung innerhalb des phonologischen Wortes. Unserer Meinung nach besteht aber auch ein wichtiger typologischer Unterschied zwischen ihnen. Während im Karaimischen die phonologischen Regeln der Harmonie über eine suprasegmetale Einheit, die Silbe, operieren, betrifft die Harmonie im Ungarischen ausschließlich die Vokale. Ein Vergleich der beiden Sprachen kann die Unterschiede zwischen Vokalharmonie und Silbenharmonie gut beleuchten.

Das heutige Ungarisch besitzt eine Reihe palataler Konsonanten, die, wie in slawischen Sprachen, bedeutungsdifferenzierende Funktion haben, z. B. *végy* [ve:ɟ] 'nimm' gegenüber *véd* [ve:d] 'schützt'. Anders als im Nordwest-Karaimischen können palatale Konsonanten sowohl in vorderen als auch in hinteren Silben auftreten, z. B. *úgy* [u:ɟ] 'so' und *így* [i:ɟ] 'so'. Folglich betrifft im Ungarischen die Regel der Harmonie ausschließlich die Vokale.

Die ungarische Standardsprache besitzt keinen reduzierten Vokal. Die meisten Vokale sind in bezug auf die v/h-Opposition eindeutig definierbar. Ausnahmen sind *á*, *é* und *i*, die sich unregelmäßig verhalten. Da im Ungarischen kein velarer *i*-Laut vorhanden ist, wird in einem Wort, das aus historischen Gründen als [– vorn] kategorisiert ist und nur einen Vokal, *i*, enthält, die Palatalität nicht phonetisch signalisiert. So ist das Wort *ír* 'schreibt' [– vorn] und wird genau so ausgesprochen wie das Wort *ír* 'irisch', das [+ vorn] ist.

Wörter, die aus Fremdsprachen kopiert sind, werden immer nach dem letzten kategorisierbaren Vokal eingestuft. Die Qualität der Konsonanten wird nicht berücksichtigt.

Die Unterschiede zwischen den nordwestkaraimischen und den ungarischen Regeln der v/h-Harmonie können folgendermaßen zusammengefaßt werden:

(i) Im Nordwest-Karaimischen herrscht wie in anderen Türksprachen — aber anders als im Ungarischen — intrasyllabische v/h-Harmonie. Dieses Phänomen ist damit zu erklären, daß das distinkive Merkmal [± vorn] im Nordwest-Karaimischen suprasegmental ist und eine ganze Silbe markiert.

(ii) Die Regeln der intersyllabischen v/h-Harmonie operieren im Nordwest-Karaimischen, wie auch in anderen Türksprachen, über den Bereich der phonologischen Silbe. Die Form der Regel kann schematisch folgenderweise angegeben werden: Silbe^2 stimmt in bezug auf die v/h-Qualität mit Silbe^1 überein. Die v/h-Qualität einer Silbe wird typischerweise durch eines oder mehrere ihrer Segmente phonetisch signalisiert.

(iii) Die Regeln der Vokalharmonie des Ungarischen haben typischerweise die folgende Form: Vokal^2 stimmt in bezug auf die v/h-Qualität mit Vokal^1 überein. Die Vokale *á*, *é*, *i* und *í* können sich in gewissen Wortformen vokalharmonisch neutral verhalten, indem sie auf die Qualität des nachfolgenden Vokals nicht einwirken. In solchen Fällen kann auch die lexikalische Kategorisierung des Wortes entscheidend sein (*hidak* 'Brücken'

gegenüber *ingek* 'Hemden'). Nicht-vokalische Segmente der Silbe können keine Signalfunktion haben.[8]

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[8] Die Regeln für die ungarische Vokalharmonie sind selbstverständlich viel komplexer, als hier dargestellt. Mehrere ausführlichere Darstellungen sind vorhanden, z. B. Lotz (1939), Vago (1980).

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JÁNOS BALASSI AND HIS TURKISH CONNECTIONS

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In works on the life of János Balassi, the question repeatedly arose whether this nobleman of Upper Hungary conspired with the Ottomans or not. Recently, János Hóvári touched on this subject, but could not unambiguously decide the nature of the relationship between János Balassi and the Ottomans, either.[1] Hóvári gave slightly more credit to the rumours and concrete evidence suggesting some sort of cooperation than Sándor Eckhardt did, who was definitely well-meaning towards his hero and declared well-nigh triumphantly that the Court did not find anything compromising in Balassi's correspondence, which it had asked to be sent in.[2]

I cannot claim to have succeeded in bringing this issue to a final conclusion. Nevertheless, some Turkish documents and reports preserved in Vienna by all means deserve attention. Of these, two Sultanic letters entered in the volumes containing the extracts of commands discussed in the Divan (the so-called *mühimme defteri*) promise to provide decisive evidence. Unfortunately, it cannot be safely established whether the letters in question were dispatched or not, since the note above the letters is missing when and who they were given to be delivered. This does not necessarily imply that no fair copy of the drafts was finally made, nor that the letters were not dispatched to János Balassi.[3] As we will see later, their content is important even if they did not reach the addressee. This is explained by Turkish chancery practice to quote at length from the text of the antecedents received in Istanbul, which was observed in this instance as well.

The first thing to be noted in connection with the two Sultanic documents is that both were addressed directly to János Balassi, which is in itself a remarkable fact and suggests a special relationship as there are hardly any examples of a document of similar kind written in the centre of the Empire explicitly to a Hungarian nobleman. The greeting of the earlier of the two letters dating from July–August 1571, more than a year after János Balassi's escape from Vienna is

[1] János Hóvári, *A hűtlen Dobó* [Dobó the traitor]. Budapest 1987, 104–105.

[2] Sándor Eckhardt, *Az ismeretlen Balassi Bálint* [The unknown Bálint Balassi]. Budapest 1943, 54.

[3] Among the documents of the Sultan intended for the Habsburg rulers and now preserved in Vienna, several letters can be found, for example, which are included in the mühimme defteri without an indication of the persons delivering them.

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thought-provoking: "To János Balassi, Hungarian nobleman, *who has recently submitted himself to my Sublime Court* (my italics — G. D.) a noble command be written." The continuation is even more interesting as it claims — with reference to his own remark — that Balassi regularly sent secret information through letters and his people to the beglerbegi of Buda and the begs of the marches ever since Selim II ascended the throne in 1566. On the other hand, he now sent his people and a letter to Hızır,[4] the beg of Szécsény, in which he informed him that he intended to submit himself completely to the Sultan with all the lands and castles he possessed, as well as his family and serfs. And that was not all: he even promised to seek the supremacy of the Ottoman sovereign conjointly with some Czech and Moravian lords. To give weight to the sincerity of his intention, he expressed a readiness to release the Ottoman prisoners held captive in his fortresses.[5]

How should we interpret the above statements of considerable importance?

A contrived Ottoman provocation seems to be excluded. If that is so, the above facts can hardly be interpreted other than an offer. What kind of an answer could be expected from the Ottoman side, a consent or refusal? If we accept the view held generally in Hungary that the Ottomans were driven by an insatiable desire for territorial expansionism, we would expect the Porte to enthusiastically welcome the opportunity offered. Instead, there was a fairly different reaction: as a matter of fact, we welcome everybody to our side, they wrote, thus you too, but at the moment when there is peace and the King in Vienna regularly pays the annual tax and your estates lie on his territory, it would not be very fortunate if anything disturbed the peace. Let us wait for the proper opportunity to come. Until then, hold out, keep on pretending and continue sending useful information henceforward, too. At the end, some dim promises were added, which were extended not only to János Balassi, but to his children as well. And they did not fail to include a typical turn: "consider the population of your 'country' and dominion the inhabitants of my well-protected Empire!"

The question arises: what could have been the reason for this procrastinative Turkish reaction? Were they perhaps afraid that Balassi's intentions were not sincere? This possibility cannot be seriously taken into consideration, because if they had made use of the offer and had quickly fallen on the nobleman's castles, subsequently it would have made no difference whether Balassi had meant it honestly or not. Or was peace really so precious for the Ottomans? This is a more powerful argument, since the campaign against Cyprus was in full gear and the Ottoman military leadership was reluctant to engage in a war on several

[4] Hızır was appointed head of the sanjak of Szécsény on May 17, 1567 receiving an annual payment of 230,120 akce. His actual inauguration took place on October 28, that same year. His successor from November 4 onwards was Ferruh beg, but even he received the berat confirming his appointment on a day that was not precisely defined the subsequent lunar year. Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Maliye defteri 563, 54.

[5] Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme defteri 12, 424–426, No. 826.

fronts simultaneously, as examples of other periods showed. Besides, it could have occurred to the pashas in the Divan that Balassi's castles could be taken at any time, but as long as their owner was in an intermediary position, he could always be exploited for useful information.

A chance remark made about a year later confirms that Balassi's offer was not taken too seriously at the Porte. At least, this can be inferred from a note to the beglerbegi of Buda, where Balassi's participation among the possible sympathizers was mentioned in the conditional. (In a word by word translation: "if there happened to be someone among the Hungarian begs who obeys my Threshold of Felicity, get secretly in touch with him, ... and if the Hungarian beg named Yanoş Balaj [*i.e.* János Balassi] also obeyed ..."[6]).

The other entry of interest for us, whose first section deserves particular attention, dates from not much later, the summer of 1572. In it reference to Balassi's recent letter is made in which he set forth that the reason why he had not released his Ottoman captive, called Seifeddin voyvoda, was because by doing so he would have come under suspicion and thus the person concerned could only have been freed in exchange for ransom. From the entry, it also appears that Balassi may have expressed impatience, alluding to the fact that his people were tired of uncertainty, due to the procrastinated Ottoman answer, and were leaving him one after the other. This time the intelligence concerning the mines in Upper Hungary and the Habsburg ruler's support of Venice by military force was gained from Balassi's report. (Balassa may have attributed particular importance to this news: it was the period after the crushing naval defeat of the Ottoman fleet at Lepanto, when it was not yet clearly seen what the rest of 1572, the possible period of the campaign, had in store. We already know there was no battle after all and that Venice concluded a fairly unfavourable peace in the spring of 1573.)

As it so often occurred, the Ottoman reply contained only generalities. It was repeated that they did not want to violate the peace, though the support given to Venice could have offered sufficient pretext. The only concrete promise added was that if Balassi came under military attack, he could put himself under the protection of the Prince of Transylvania who had been given instructions in this sense.[7]

Despite the fact that Balassi complained and worried and provided useful information, the Sultan did not take any concrete steps. Nevertheless, the letter was worded in such a way as to suggest that the offer was taken seriously and they were only waiting for the appropriate time to intervene, even by force of arms and when the actual change of sides could take place. There was also a touch of greater reverence in the tone of the letter: at the beginning, Balassi was addressed in the second person plural, instead of the second person singular, and received a *name* (due mostly to rulers) and not a command.

[6] Mühimme defteri 16, 268, No. 523. The end of the sentence hangs somewhat in the air which is of no concern for us.

[7] Mühimme defteri 19, 325, No. 659.

The conclusion can thus be drawn that János Balassi made two offers to the Ottomans in 1571–1572. It is difficult to decide whether he was quite serious about changing sides or simply put out feelers. If we consider that his procedure for clemency was fairly drawn out and was not settled satisfactorily until August 1572, we cannot be too surprised about the attempts to establish such relations.

The Habsburg ruler's granting of pardons cannot have escaped the Ottomans' attention and did not do Balassi much good. What is more, he did not liberate his captives.[8] So he was looked upon increasingly inimically, which may have been aggravated by the fact that in March–April 1575 he defeated "near Selmec (Slovakian Banská Štiavnica), close to the Hungarian mining towns, two thousand six hundred Turks", as Stephan Gerlach came to know in Constantinople.[9] All it came to was, as so often occurred in similar cases, that the Ottomans dropped Balassi as their informant without further thought and Sokollu Mustafa captured Balassi's castles in Kékkő (Slovakian Modrý Kameň) and Divény (Slovakian Divín) in the summer of 1575. Several sources report that the immediate cause that triggered off the event was that although the nobleman had invited the Ottomans to attend the handing over of the castles, in reality he intended to throw them into a well[10] or take them prisoners.[11] When Maximilian II asked the Ottomans to return the castles, he received letters of denunciation, first from the Sultan[12], then from the Grand Vizier[13] and finally from the Pasha of Buda.[14] The Sultan's argument implied that the return of the castles was out of the question, since Balassi's son named Bálint had joined Gáspár Bekes, which was an open violation of the peace for which the father also deserved to be punished. Instead of asking for the return of his fortresses, he should be captured and exemplarily punished for treason.

There is one aspect that seems to contradict the notion of the changed Ottoman attitude. In December 1575, Sokollu Mustafa sent a safe-conduct pass to Balassi, as if nothing had happened to the castles. He briefly referred to the fact that Balassi should come to him "without delay" since he had offered to

[8] It should be noted that this matter had long haunted János Balassi, who had had difficulties with it back in 1568 already. At that time, Sokollu Mustafa, the beglerbegi of Buda, accused him of having received 800 guldens for a captive called Hüsrev, which was paid — according to the document — by the named person's 140-year-old father (!). The captive had, however, not been released, but Balassi had him beheaded. In his reply, the nobleman strongly denied the whole affair. See Ernst Dieter Petritsch, *Regesten der osmanischen Dokumente im Österreichischen Staatsarchivs. Band 1. (1480–1574)*. Wien 1991, 191. No. 560. (Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Ergänzungsband 10/1)

[9] *Ungnád Dávid konstantinápolyi utazásai* [Trips by Dávid Ungnád to Constantinople]. Translated by József László Kovács. Budapest 1986, 156. (Magyar ritkaságok. Ed. by Anna Szalai)

[10] Wien, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Turcica 32 Konv. 1 f. 212r–213v.

[11] *Ungnád Dávid*, 160–161.

[12] Mühimme defteri 27, 9–10. No. 34.

[13] Turcica 32 Konv. f. 1, 257r.

[14] *A budai basák magyar nyelvű levelezése* [Correspondence in Hungarian of the Pashas of Buda]. I, 1553–1589. Ed. by Sándor Takács, Ferencz Eckhart, Gyula Szekfű. Budapest 1915, 111, No. 105. Hóvári, *A hűtlen Dobó*, 105.

place himself under the Sultan's protection several times already. I wonder what the intention could be here. Did the Pasha have the honeyed words written to ambush Balassi or is the date this letter was written: 1573 instead of 1575?

The question cannot be clarified. One thing is sure, however, that Balassi's series of attempts to seek contact with the Ottomans did not finish. Stephan Gerlach, staying in Constantinople in the company of Dávid Ungnád, wrote into his diary on the last day of 1576 that Balassi sent two of his Turkish captives to the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed with more or less similar promises to those he had made earlier, that is, he would go over to the Ottomans with his people. He added the request that his son should be released and he himself be given a safe abode.[15] A new motivation emerged on this occasion. In the first place, he was not guided by his own interests, but by those of his son, which is somewhat more justifiable. Gerlach reported in 1577 — concordant with others — that Balassi was again involved in a conspiracy with the knowledge of Mehmed Pasha.[16] One of the observers added that Balassi had already come under suspicion when John Sigismund had surrendered to Sultan Suleiman. Though he was later imprisoned, he deserved being executed. By the time this news reached Constantinople, János Balassi was no longer alive (he died on May 6, 1577).

In view of the above, it seems quite certain that János Balassi definitely sought to establish contacts with the Ottomans in various phases of his vicissitudinous life. There is no knowledge about how far he would have gone in 1571 or 1572, when he was in a quandary, had he received a positive answer to his request. However, it is indisputable that he did not react to Mustafa Pasha's letter, but the invitation arrived a bit too late. At any rate, Balassi remains a characteristic figure of the 16th century, full of turmoil when, at times, it was rather difficult to harmonize individual and national interests.[17]

[15] *Stephan Gerlachs des Eltern Tage-Buch...* Franckfurth am Mayn 1674, 285. (Cf. László Szalay, Békés Gáspár pályájához és Balassa Bálint erdélyi fogságához adalék. *Adalékok a magyar nemzet történetéhez a XVI-dik században* [A contribution to the career of Gáspár Békés and Bálint Balassi's captivity in Transylvania. Additions to the history of the Hungarian nation in the 16th c.]. Pest 1859, 243.)

[16] *Ungnád Dávid*, 205; Turcica 35 Konv. f. 2. 200r–v.

[17] Considering the above, the remarks according to which Bálint Balassi knew Turkish appear in a new light. It is conceivable that the farsighted father insisted on his son's relevant studies. — Géza Szentmártoni Szabó drew my attention to this fact in connection with the following quotation: "... he excelled in the Turkish language with such an eloquence that all those familiar with this language testified to his having possessed a uniquely brilliant artistic proficiency". See: *Epicedium a Balassi fivérek, Bálint és Ferenc halálára* [Epicedium on the death of the Balassi brothers, Bálint and Ferenc]. Edited, redacted, and annotated by Pál Ács. Budapest 1994, 59, in Latin 13.

Appendix

1.

Command issued by Sultan Selim II to János Balassi July–August 1571

(Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme defteri 12, 424–426, No. 826)

To Yanoş Balaj (János Balassi), Hungarian nobleman, who has recently submitted himself to my Sublime Court, [the following] noble command be written: Since our royal accession with felicity, good luck, pleasure and glory to the royal throne of Hüsrev honoured with felicity took place, you have regularly dispatched in secret letters and people to the beglerbegi of Buda and the begs of the marches and let [them] know that you completely submit yourself and obey to our Threshold of Felicity now, you sent a letter and people this time to Hızır, the beg of Siçen (Szécsény) — may his glory endure — and informed him that with all the lands and castles in your possession, with your children and serfs and all your belongings you submit yourself to our high Threshold and will obey it with complete obedience and sincerity and in the most obliged humility; that you intend to release the Muslims captive in your castles; [and finally] that some of the Hungarian, Czech, and Moravian begs were in fine agreement and alliance with you and they also want to submit themselves. All the rest that you said in connection with these things has been presented in detail and delivered at the foot of my royal throne, the abode of felicity and have become part and content of our noble lordly knowledge embracing the world.

That is, our Threshold of felicitous construction is open and free, in agreement with our situation, both to the obeying and submitting and to the opposing and inimical people; according to our kind imperial custom and praiseworthy magnificent principle we do not refuse or forbid anybody to come to us. However, since the Habsburg king had earlier requested the grace to live in peace and friendship with our just and high Threshold for eight years [from] our magnificent accession to the throne of Hüsrev, his request had come close to the domain of our imperial acceptance; and up to the date mentioned we deigned giving an imperial *ahdname* for the sake of peace and friendship. We had dispatched noble commands to the beglerbegis of the marches and my beg servants on several occasions so that none of our victorious soldiers in the marches should enter his country and dominion and should not attack them. And the above mentioned king of Vienna dispatches, true to his promise, the tax every year to our Porte, the abode of felicity, and respects on the whole peace and friendship. Since your castles and "country" belong to the kingdom of the above mentioned king, we, the abode of magnificence, abide by and remain unwavering on the path of peace and friendship and will be resolute and consistent in our magnificent treaty as long as there is no deed contrary to peace and friendship [from the Habsburg side] as the custom of the purity of faith and our Sultanship of felicitous end [request]. But [it is also] our praiseworthy imperial principle that you should get

into contact with our high sovereign grace by all means [since] your sincere obedience in the above-mentioned manner as well as your complete subservient humility and submission are welcome to and much appreciated by our Threshold of felicitous construction. Thus we hope that the most high Lord will make the time come when the "country" and dominion and castles in your possession[18] will be deigned to be given to you and your sons succeeding you as long as you are alive and show complete obedience and submission towards our felicitous Porte and in the matter of the handing over and the appointment my imperial promises and given royal words are definite and secure.

I have commanded that you consider the inhabitants of your "country" and dominion the inhabitants of my well-protected Empire and true to your proposal hold out with fine measures and be persistent on the path of obedience and sincerity and on the way of subservient humility and devotion; and do not cease to continuously dispatch in secret true intelligence, which you acquired on that side. But be careful and while the peace and friendship are observed and appreciated by both parties, do not disclose and reveal your submission and declared obedience towards my court, the workshop of felicity, and be submitted so as not to cause yourself damage from the part of the mentioned king. And beware of and restrain from doing anything, which is contrary to the treaty, [on the other hand], do not stop pretending friendship [towards him] by taking fine measures. Should anything be done against peace from that part and the time comes, by the will of the most glorious God, you will certainly get close, in agreement with our magnificent promises, to our various imperial graces and all kinds of royal favours.

2.

Selim II's letter to János Balassi
Summer 1572

(Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme defteri 19, 325–326, No. 659)

To Yanoş Balaj (János Balassi), Hungarian nobleman [the following] letter be written: Your*[19] letter having sincerity as its companion has now arrived to our fortunate Threshold, the nest of felicity. In it [you* informed] that you* had not released Seifeddin voyvoda to avoid your* obedience and sincerity towards our high Threshold becoming known, [instead] you* pretended to demand ransom from him and released him so, sending him to show [by that as well] your* obedience and subservient humility towards our Porte, the abode of felicity; [you* requested that] in the future there should not be any delay and default, a gracious reply be given, since the majority of the serving peoples became weary of waiting, some of them leaving you* went away, and should it drag out any further, there are chances of being left alone by all or being given up; [you* also

[18] The train of thought of the sentence suffers interruption here.

[19] You(r)* thus in the meaning of second person plural henceforward.

let us know] the state of the mines in that dominion and [that] you* had a few serfs only and [therefore] the crop[20] was not enough for you*; if the king came to know of the matter and gave it to somebody else[21], you* would not be left reserves and provisions for a single day; [that] the king gave soldiers to the Venetians, helping them in this manner; [that] Dad died[22] and the King showed favour towards some of his people.[23] And all that had been said and written in this matter, had been submitted to and presented in detail at the foot of my throne of Hüsrev, the abode of felicity and became part and content of our noble knowledge.

Well, considering that the manifestation of a deed contrary to peace and friendship from the part of the king would be in contrast with our pure religion and just law,[24] the manifestation of a deed in connection with peace from this side cannot be allowed these days. Your situation and your* request in the matter have become known in detail. Until something happens, it is necessary that, girding on strongly the belt of endeavour and striving, pretend for a while after the arrival of our letter full of felicity until something happens from that side, cajole your soldiers and people in service and do not allow them to leave your side. And if you happen to be attacked by soldiers and do not have the strength to resist, flee to the voyvode of Transylvania if you can flee in that direction, since the named has been warned. We do hope that the great Lord will help you to have your affairs settled due to your abundant fidelity towards us and they will certainly be held in honour. But whatever the state of the affairs, pretend friendship towards them. That is, if any deed contrary to peace manifested itself from that part, the victorious soldiers will not stand motionless either, and through the abundant miracles of the blessings of the high [divine] grace and of his excellency, the messenger of Allah — prayer be for and peace with him — will march up against him, it will happen what God ordains. You should hold on to complete fidelity and sincerity towards our high Threshold. If you have the purity of heart, whatever should happen until then, strive and endeavour and we hope from the great Lord that both you and those serving you faithfully and sincerely will receive adequate attention. Defend and protect your "country" and territory, as far as possible, and do not cease to inform us of all your affairs and other news of the king received.

20 The word used here could also mean 'income'.

21 This vague formulation may perhaps refer to Balassi's estate.

22 In the text the word *baba* can be found which means 'dad'. In reality, the proper expression should be [*rim*] *papa*, meaning the pope (of Rome). It concerns the death of Pope Pius V who ascended the throne of Peter in 1566 and died at the beginning of May 1572. (The day of his anniversary is April 30.)

23 The word is in the third person singular with possessive ending and denotes thus either the king's or the pope's people, but it does not emerge clearly in what context.

24 This part of the sentence does not really show a relationship with the subsequent thought. We would assume it refers to the peace being kept by the Habsburgs so far. At first, they may really have wanted to write this, but then the first part of the verb 'manifests itself' was deleted, and replaced by the form 'its manifestation'.

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LES MATÉRIAUX LINGUISTIQUES SALARS DE F. GRENARD

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1. Les recherches modernes sur la langue salare, initiées en 1910 par S. E. Malov[1] (mais dont les résultats n'ont pas été, malheureusement, publiés[2]), ont été continuées par Takeshi Shibata[3] (1943–1944), Lin Lianyun et Han Jianye (dans les années '50)[4], Ê. R. Tenišev (1957)[5] et Suzanne Kakuk (1960)[6] (peut-être aussi par d'autres savants). Mais les premiers matériaux linguistiques, surtout lexicaux, salars ont été enregistrés et publiés au milieu de la huitième et au début de la neuvième décennie du siècle passé par quelques voyageurs savants, ethnographes et sociologues non-turcologues, dont les plus connus sont G. N. Potanin (1883–1886)[7], W. W. Rockhill (1891–1892)[8] et (F. Pojarkov–) V. Lady-

[1] Voir Sergej Malov, Otčet o putešestvii k ujguram i salaram. *Izvestija Russkogo Komiteta dlja izučenija Srednej i Vostočnoj Azii* Série II, 1912, nº 1, 98.

[2] Voir Ê. R. Tenišev, *Stroj salarskogo jazyka*. Moskva 1976, 27.

[3] Takeshi Shibata, Seikaishô no Junka no Sarârugo ni tsuite [Sur le salar parlé à Xunhua, province de Qinghai]. *Tôyôgo Kenkyû* (Tokyo), I (1946) 23–44.

[4] Lin Lianyun–Han Jianye, Salayu gaikuang [Aperçu de la langue salare]. *Zhongguo Yuwen* (Beijing), XI (1962) 517–528. (Pour la datation des recherches des deux chercheurs, v. Ê. R. Tenišev, *loc. cit.* et surtout Suzanne Kakuk, Textes salars. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIII:1–2 (1961) 96.

[5] Ê. R. Tenišev, Otčet o poezdke k ujguram, salaram i saryg-juguram. *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Otd. literatury i jazyka* XX:2 (1961) 182–183; Iz nabljudenij nad salarskim jazykom. (O vlijanii kitajskogo jazyka na salarskij). *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 1960:4, 97–102; Sur le folklore et la langue des Salars. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIV:3 (1962) 255–272; *Salarskij jazyk*. Moskva 1964; *Stroj salarskogo jazyka*. Moskva 1976; Salarskie čislitel'nye. *Hungaro–Turcica. Studies in honour of Julius Németh*. Budapest 1976, 159–162; Otryvok iz «Istorii salarov». *UAJb* 48 (1976) 237–248.

[6] Suzanne Kakuk, Textes salars. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIII:1–2 (1961) 95–117; Un vocabulaire salar. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIV:2 (1962) 173–196; Sur la phonétique de la langue salare. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XV:1–3 (1962) 161–172.

[7] G. N. Potanin, *Tangutsko–tibetskaja okraina Kitaja i Central'naja Mongolija*. Sankt-Peterburg 1893, t. I, 173–174 et t. II, 426–434 (*Sobranie slov salarskogo jazyka*). — Les matériaux du glossaire de Potanin sont à la base de l'étude de Nicholas Poppe consacrée à la phonétique du salar et publiée sous le titre Remarks on the Salar Language, *HJAS*, XVI:3–4 (1953) 438–477 (cette étude a été, à son tour, mise à profit par Omeljan Pritsak, Das Neuuigurische, et par Kaare Thomsen, Die Sprache der Gelben Uiguren und das Salarische. *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*. I. Wiesbaden 1959, 524–563 et, respectivement, 564–568 (*passim*).

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gin[9] ; les matériaux des deux premiers chercheurs ont été partiellement utilisés et cités par T. Shibata, Ê. R. Tenišev et S. Kakuk, alors que ceux de Ladygin — seulement par Ê. R. Tenišev.

Il faut y ajouter les matériaux linguistiques salars de F. Grenard ; celui-ci a publié ces matériaux d'abord dans le cadre d'un chapitre d'un livre à lui[10] — livre signalé par Tenišev[11] mais qu'il n'a pas mis à contribution dans son dictionnaire —, puis, sous une forme abrégée et révisée, dans un article publié dans la même année[12] (ce qui veut dire qu'il l'a rédigé lors de l'impression et peu avant ou après la parution de son livre).

Les matériaux de Grenard consistent en deux parties : un vocabulaire français–salar (première variante, p. 459–463 ; variante révisée, p. 547–549) et quelques éléments de grammaire du salar, suivis d'une brève conclusion sur l'origine de cette langue (p. 463–464, respectivement p. 550). Le vocabulaire contient 102 mots « pris au hasard », que l'auteur répartit en six groupes : « 68 [mots], les noms de nombre mis à part, qui sont du turc pur et conformes au dialecte moderne du Turkestan chinois, 15 qui sont du turc ancien ou corrompus, 5 qui sont persans et généralement usités dans le Turkestan chinois, 1 qui est du persan corrompu et inconnu dans ladite contrée, 7 qui sont chinois, 6 dont l'origine est douteuse » (p. 547). Quant aux éléments de grammaire, ils sont peu nombreux, assez souvent incertains et présentés d'une manière rudimentaire, ayant toutefois le mérite d'être la première tentative faite dans cette direction.

Ce qui particularise les matériaux salars publiés par Grenard par rapport à ceux qu'ont publiés ses contemporains, c'est principalement qu'ils sont transcrits en premier lieu en alphabet arabe puis en alphabet latin — la comparaison des deux transcriptions facilitant souvent l'interprétation phonétique des données —, alors que les autres chercheurs ont utilisé dans leurs transcriptions seulement l'alphabet latin (Rockhill), respectivement l'alphabet cyrillique (Potanin et

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[8] W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*. City of Washington 1894, 373–376 (*Appendix I. Salar Vocabulary*). Un extrait de ce vocabulaire avait été publiée, en annexe à une lettre adressée par l'auteur à Rhys Davids, dans *JRAS* 1892, 598–602.

[9] F. Pojarkov–V. Ladygin, Salary (Êtnografičeskij očerk). *Êtnografičeskoe Obozrenie*, XVI:1 (1893) 1–43. Le long de l'étude apparaissent plusieurs gloses salares, et les pages 32–36 renferment le chapitre *Jazyk*, contenant un nombre important de mots, syntagmes et phrases salars, et étant dû à V. Ladygin ; cf. l'affirmation de F. Pojarkov (32) : « Dlja harakteristiki jazyka privodim kratkij spisok salarskih slov i fraz, tščatel'no zapisannyh V. F. Ladyginym. Blagodarja horošemu znaniju kitajskogo jazyka i neskol'kih tjurkskih narečij, g. Ladygin skoro osvoilsja s osobennostjami salarskogo narečija i, takim obrazom, emu udalos' zapisat' slova i predloženija, kažetsja, vpolne pravil'no » (cf. aussi p. 6).

[10] J.-L. Dutreuil de Rhins, *Mission scientifique dans la Haute Asie 1890–1895*. Deuxième partie. *Le Turkestan et le Tibet*. Étude ethnographique et sociologique par F. Grenard. Paris 1898 (chap. *Note sur l'ethnographie du Kan-Sou. Les musulmans Salar*), 458–464. — À la même catégorie de matériaux appartient aussi le petit et très modeste glossaire salar publié au début de notre siècle par Albert Tafel dans son livre *Meine Tibetreise. Eine Studienfahrt* [...]. I. Stuttgart–Berlin–Leipzig 1914, 165.

[11] Ê. R. Tenišev, *Stroj salarskogo jazyka*, 17. nº 211.

[12] F. Grenard, Note sur les musulmans Salar. *Journal Asiatique* 1898, 547–550.

Ladygin). En ce qui concerne la rapport entre les deux variantes de ces matériaux, il faut remarquer que le seconde présente, en comparaison de la première, certaines qualités qui lui sont favorables : une rédaction parfois plus concise, la révision de la présentation graphique et de quelques transcriptions (par ex., renonciation au گ en faveur du ک, translittération du ق par "ķ" au lieu de "k") et la correction de quelques autres transcriptions, — mais aussi l'omission (non justifiée à ce qu'il paraît) d'un fragment de la partie grammaticale.

1.1. Dans ce qui suit nous essayerons de soumettre à une analyse détaillée les matériaux dont nous venons de parler, en nous basant, dans le cas du vocabulaire, des contributions lexicologiques et des conclusions historiques, sur leur variante révisée, mais en utilisant aussi, le cas échéant, leur première variante ; en revanche, nous prenons celle-ci comme base de discussion dans l'analyse des données grammaticales, qui y sont plus riches, tout en relevant les différences significatives que présente la seconde variante vis-à-vis de la première.[13]

Dans tous les cas, nous mettons les données analysées en rapport avec celles enregistrées par Kakuk et Tenišev,[14] — en nous bornant, toutefois, à 2–3 exemples maximum —, ainsi que (lorsqu'elles sont citées par ceux-ci et nous semblent utiles) par Potanin et Rockhill.

Nous employons les abréviations suivantes :

Jarr. = Gunnar Jarring, *An Eastern Turki–English Dialect Dictionary*. Lund [1964].
K = S. Kakuk, *Un vocabulaire salar* (v. ci-dessus, note 6).
Kakuk = S. Kakuk, *Sur la phonétique de la langue salare* (v. ci-desssus, note 6).
Ladygin = F. Pojarkov–V. Ladygin, *op. cit.* ci-dessus, note 9.
ouïg. dial. = ouïgour dialectal (d'après Jarring, *op. cit.*).
P = Potanin (cité d'après K et / ou T).
Poppe = N. Poppe, *Remarks* ... (v. ci-dessus, note 8).
Potanin = G. N. Potanin, *op. cit.* ci-dessus, note 7.
Pritsak = Omeljan Pritsak, Das Neuuigurische. *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*. I. Wiesbaden 1959, 525–563.
R = Rockhill (cité d'après K et / ou T).
T = Ê. R. Tenišev, *Stroj salarskogo jazyka* (v. ci-dessus, note 5), 279–569.
Tenišev = Id., *op. cit.*, 3–271.
TSJ = Id., *Salarskij jazyk* (v. ci-dessus, note 5).
(var.) I = F. Grenard, *op. cit.* ci-dessus, note 10.
(var.) II = F. Grenard, *op. cit.* ci-dessus, note 12.

[13] Nous marquons ces différences par l'abréviation : var. II.

[14] Dans la reproduction de ces données, nous respectons strictement les transcriptions phonétiques utilisées par les deux savants, à la seule exception du "x" muni d'un trait particulier à son pied de droite, que Tenišev emploie pour rendre une « constrictive uvulaire faible sourde» (*Stroj* ..., 50), — auquel nous substituons, pour des raisons d'ordre technique, le signe "x̧ ".

Les chiffres qui suivent les graphies discutées et les sigles indiquent les pages.

1.2. La transcription latine employée par Grenard pour noter les mots salars contient quelques manières graphiques françaises (alors que la transcription en caractères arabes est conforme à la tradition orthographique tschagataï et ouïgoure). Les notations suivantes sont à relever (nos interprétations phonétiques en sont parfois plutôt probables que sûres) :

Voyelles : "a" = *a* et *ä* ; "e" = *e* et *ï* ; "é" = *e* et *ï* ; "eu" = *ï* ; "i" = *i* et *ï* ; "ou" = *u* ; "u" = *ü* et *u̇*. En ce qui concerne les notations "â", "î" et "ô", elles peuvent représenter les voyelles longues *ā, ī, ō*, mais, dans le cas du "â", aussi (en tant que translittération du « *a* plein » arabe de tradition orthographique ouïgoure) un *a* à durée normale.

Consonnes : "ch" = *š* ; "ç" = *s* ; "dj" = *ǧ* ; "gh" = γ ; "k" = *k* vélaire et (semi-) palatal ; "ḳ" (var. I : "k") = *q* ; "kh" = *χ* ; "ng" = *ŋ* ; "tch" = *č* ; "tz" = *t͡s* ; "y" = *y* et (rarement) *ï*.

2. Particularités phonétiques

2.1. La plupart des mots sont phonétiquement identiques à ceux qu'ont enregistré Kakuk et Tenišev (et / ou Potanin et Rockhill), ou à une des plusieurs variantes enregistrées par ceux-ci (ou du moins par l'un d'entre eux).

Phonétismes se retrouvant chez Kakuk et Tenišev (dans quelques cas aussi chez Potanin et / ou Rockhill) : *aba* 'père' ("aba" 548) ; — *aχun* 'membre du clergé, prêtre musulman' ("اخو ن" 549) ; — *al-* 'prendre' ("âlghân"[15] 547) ; — *altun* 'or' ("altoun" 548) ; — *aš-* 'ouvrir' ("achghân 547) ; — *ay* 'lune' ("ay" 548) ; — *bala* 'enfant' ("bala" 547) ; — *bāš* ou *baš* 'tête' ("bâch" 547) ; — *el* 'main' ("el" 548) ; — *et* 'viande' ("et" 548) ; — *ič̆a* 'mère' ("itcha" 548) ; — *ini* 'frère cadet' ("ini" 547) ; — *kel-* ("kelgan" 547) ; — *losa* et / ou *lōsa* 'mulet' ("loça" I 462, "lôça" II 549) ; — *pat* 'canard' ("pât" 548) ; — *qar* 'neige' ("ḳâr" 548) ; — *qaz* 'oie' ("ḳâz" 547) ; — *qoy* 'mouton' ("ḳoy" 547) ; — *su* 'eau' ("sou" 548) ; — *taγ* 'montagne' ("tâgh" 548) ; — *taš* 'pierre' ("tâch" 548) ; — *ton* 'vêtement' ("ton" 547) ; — *ul-*, *u̇l-* ou *ül-* 'mourir' ("اولكان ulgan" 547) ; — *un* 'farine' ("oun" 547) ; — *yaγ* 'graisse' ("yâgh" 547) ; — *yaγmur* 'pluie' ("yâghmour" 548) ; — *yaχši* 'bon' ("yâkhchi" 547) ; — *yer* 'terre, sol' ("yer" 548).

Phonétismes se retrouvant chez Tenišev (dans quelques cas aussi chez P et / ou R) : *aγač* 'bois' ("aghâtch" 548 ; T 280, cf. K 175) ; — *aγïz* 'bouche' ("agheuz" 547 ; T 282, cf. K 175) ; — *āt* ou *at* 'cheval' ("ات ât" 547 ; T 296 : *at,*

[15] En original : "الغان âlghân". Grenard traduit les verbes (en français à l'infinitif) par le participe salar en *-γan / -gän,* conformément à sa fausse théorie que « le participe en غان, كان [var. I, 463 : « le participe en *ghân* ou *gan* »] ... sert pour tous les temps, comme l'infinitif en français-nègre » (550) ; nous les rendons toujours sous la forme de leurs racines.

āt, K 176 : *at* ; cf. ouïg. dial. *at, a:t* Jarr. 29) ; — *āze* 'soeur aînée' ("âzé" 548 ; T 299, cf. K 176) ; — *bar-* 'aller' ("barghân" 547 ; T 301, cf. K 196) ; — *emek* 'pain' ("émek" 548 ; T 323, cf. K 179) ; — *ič-* 'boire' ("itchkan" 547 ; T 301, cf. K 182) ; — *iš* ou *īš* 'affaire' ("îch" 548 ; T 430 : *if, īf,* cf. K 182 : *iš*) ; — *it* 'chien' ("it" 547 ; T 341, P ap. K 182) ; — *kaka* 'frère aîné' ("kaka" 548 ; T 374, cf. K 180) — *kul-* ou *kül-* 'rire' ("كولكان kulgan" 547 ; T 395, cf. K 188 ; cf. ouïg. dial. *kül-* Jarr. 179 et P ap. K ib. : *küle-*) ; — *kumuš* 'argent' ("كوموش koumouch" 548 ; T 395, R ap. K 188) ; — *kuz* ou *küz* 'oeil' ("كوز kuz" 547 ; T 398 : *kuz, ...*, cf. K 189 ; cf. ouïg. dial. *küz* Jarr. 178) ; — *qazan* 'marmite' ("ḳazân" 548 ; T 463, cf. K 187) ; — *surma* 'eau-de-vie' ("sourma" 548 ; T 489, cf. K 190 et T 485) ; — *tal* ou *tāl* 'arbre' ("tâl" 548 ; T 499 : *tal, tāl,* K 191 : *tal*) ; — *tam* ou *tām* 'mur' ("tâm" 547 ; T 500 : *tam, tām,* K 191 : *tam*) ; — *tereğa* 'fenêtre' ("دريجا térédja" 549 ; T 508, cf. K 191) ; — *üy* ou *ùy* 'maison' ("اوى uy" 460 ; T 539 : *üĭ, uĭ,* P ap. K 185 : *üy*) ; — *ye-* 'manger' ("yégan" 547 ; T 373, cf. K 195) ; — *yïγla-* 'pleurer' ("yéghlâghân" 547 ; T 370, cf. K 198).

Phonétismes se retrouvant chez Kaḳuk (et, dans quelques cas, aussi chez P) : *baγ* 'jardin' ("bâgh" 549 ; K 176, cf. T 434) ; — *bazar* 'marché' ("bazâr" 549 ; K 186 et P, cf. T 440) ; — *buz* 'cotonnade' ("bouz" 547 ; K 177, cf. T 454) ; *qïsqa* 'court' ("ḳesḳa" 547 ; K 187, cf. T 553) ; — *siŋil* 'soeur cadette' ("singil" 547 ; K 190, cf. T 482–483) ; — *uzun* 'long' ("ouzoun" 547 ; K 193, cf. T 596).

Phonétismes se retrouvant chez Potanin (et Rockhill) : *burun* 'nez' ("bouroun" 547 ; P ap. K 186 s.v. *pi̯rnâ,* cf. T 456 et K ib.) ; — *osman* (et *asman* ?) 'ciel' ("اسمان osmân" II 548, "اَسمان osmân" I 460 ; P ap. K 176, cf. T 294 et K ib.) ; — *yaman* 'mauvais' ("yamân" 547 ; P ap. K 195 s.v. *yemen*, cf. T 345 et K ib. ; cf. ouïg. *yaman*) ; — *yulduz* 'étoile' ("youldouz" 549 ; P et R ap. K 196, cf. T 365 et K ib.).

2.2. Mots à phonétisme différant de ceux des formes enregistrées par d'autres chercheurs :

2.2.1. L'alternance *o* ~ *u* (< *o*) est bien attestée en salar (v. Kakuk, p. 165 et Tenišev, p. 64) : *oχ* ~ *uχ* 'flèche' (K 184), *orγen-* ~ *urγen-* 'étudier' (K 185), *oĭ* ~ *uĭ* 'dom' (T 424), *on* ~ *un* 'desjat'' (T 425), *pox* ~ *pux* 'otbrosy' (T 454), etc. Chez Grenard, la même alternance se rencontre dans *oγla-* ~ *uγla-* 'dormir' ("اوغلاغان oughlâghân" I 459, "اوغلاغان oghlâghân" II 547 ; cf. K 184 : *oχla-* ~ *uχla-*, T 536 : *uχła-*), — alors que dans les exemples suivants les formes à *u* correspondent à des formes alternantes *o* ~ *u* (et parfois à consonnantisme différent) dans les autres sources : *buz* 'cotonnade' ("bouz" 547 ; K 177 : *boz* ~ *buz,* etc., cf. T 454) ; — *qup-* 'se lever' ("ḳoupghân" 547 ; T 558 : *xop-* ~ *xup-*, etc., cf. K 181 : *χut-*) ; — *surma* 'eau-de-vie' ("sourma" 548 ; *sorma* ~ *surma,* cf. K 190 et P, R : *sorma*).

Enfin, dans les cas suivants les formes à *u* ont pour correspondants les seules formes à *o* (parfois à consonnantisme différent) dans les autres sources : *qul* 'bras' ("ḳoul" 547 ; K 188 et T 464 : *qol*) ; — *tuŋ* 'froid' ("toung" 548 ; cf. K 192 et T 514 : *toŋ-* 'geler', 'merznut', zamerzat'') ; — *tuwaq* 'couvercle' ("touwaḳ" 547 ; T 517 et K 192 : *tovaχ* ; cf. ouïg. dial. *tuvaq* 'lock, cover' Jarr. 317) ; — *ultur-* 's'asseoir' ("oultourghân" 547 ; cf. T 428 : *otur-*, K 185 : *ot'ur-*).

2.2.2. Le changement des occlusives *k* et *q*, surtout en position finale, en la fricative *χ* (v. Poppe, p. 442–445 et 449–450 ; Kakuk, p. 167–168 ; Tenišev, p. 71 et 75), n'a pas eu lieu chez Grenard dans les exemples suivants : *emek* 'pain' ("émek" 548 ; T 524 : *emex, emix, emek* ; cf. K 179 : *emeχ, emiχ*) ; — *ešek* 'âne' ("échek" 548 ; cf. T 326 : *ešex,* K 180 : *ëšiχ*) ; — *yürek* 'coeur' ("yurek" 547 ; cf. T 360 : *jiräx, jirix,* K 195 : *yi̯rəχ,* etc.) ; — *qup-* 'se lever' ("ḳoupghân" 547 ; cf. T 558 : *xup-, xop-*, K 181 : *χut-*) ; — *parmaq* (et *barmaq* ?) 'doigt' ("پارماق parmâḳ" II 547, "بارماق parmak" I 459 ; cf. T 444 : *permaχ, purmaχ, pyrmaχ,* K 186 : *pi̯rmaχ, bi̯rmaχ* et P : *barmaχ*) ; *pičaq* ~ *pʲčaq* 'couteau' ("پیچاق pitchâḳ" II 547, "ptchâk" I 459 ; cf. K 186 : *pi̯čaχ, pš̆čaχ,* T 458 : *p'yčaχ, p'yčix,* etc. ; cf. ouïg. dial. *pičaq, pʲčaq* Jarr. 229) ; — *qulaq* 'oreille' ("ḳoulaḳ" 547 ; cf. T 465 : *qulaχ,* K 188 : *qulaχ, qulâχ, qlaχ)* ; — *tuwaq* 'couvercle' ("touwâḳ" 548 ; cf. T 517 : *tovaχ,* K 192 : *tovaχ, toχ* ; cf. ouïg. dial. *tuvaq* Jarr. 317).

2.2.3. Divers phonétismes particuliers, ayant dans les autres sources des correspondants différents (et coïncidant parfois à des phonétismes ouïgours dialectaux) :

ayaγ 'pied' ("ayâgh" 547 ; T 284 : *ayax, ajex,* etc., K 176 : *ayaχ, ayyȧχ* et P : *ayaχ, ayag,* etc. ; cf. ouïg. dial. *ayaγ* Jarr. 16)

čataγ 'grand' ("tchatagh" 549 ; T 372 : *ǰataχ, ʒātaχ, tatyχ,* etc. K 179 : *čataχ, ɒžatâχ,* etc.)

issiγ ~ *issïγ* ou *ïssïγ* 'chaud' ("ایسیغ issigh" I 460, "issygh" II 548 ; T 560 : *yssy, ysy,* K 182 : *i̯si̯, i̯si̯* et P : *isi, issi ; cf.* ouïg. dial. *ïssïγ* Jarr. 136)

kāγaz ou *kaγaz* 'papier' ("kâghaz" 549 ; T 548–549 : *χaχyt, χax, χāgyt,* K 181 : *χaχɒ, χaγât* ; cf. ouïg. dial. *kaγaz* Jarr. 163, pers. *ḳāġaz*)

kičik 'petit' ("kitchik" 547 ; T 381 : *kiči, kici,* etc. K 182 : *kiči, q'i̯ɒži̯,* etc. ; cf. ouïg. dial. *kičik* Jarr. 172)

kitāb 'livre musulman' ("kitâb" 549 ; T 384 : *kitep* 'kniga, ljubaja musul'manskaja kniga ...' ; K : – ; cf. ouïg. dial. *kita:b* 'book' Jarr. 174)

künim ou *künim* 'ma femme' ("کوذیم kunim" 547 ; T 378 : *keĭne, kiĭne, kiĭni,* etc. 'žena', K 183 : *k'inə, k'ine, k'inȧ,* etc. et P *kän, keni* 'femme')

timur 'fer' ("timour" 548 ; T 510 : *timor, tīmoř, temur,* etc., K 192 : *tīmur, tīmâr,* etc. et P : *temir, temïr*)

tügä ou *tügä* 'chameau' ("توکا tuga" 547 ; T 521 : *tövä, töje, tüvi,* etc., K 193 : *tüyə, düyə, t'öyi̯* et P : *tüvä* ; cf. ouïg. dial. *tügɛ, tügɛ* Jarr. 309).

ultur- 's'asseoir' ("oultourghân" 547 ; T 428 : *otur-, otyr-, ot-,* etc., K 185 : *ōt'âr-, ot'ur-, ot'-,* etc. ; cf. ouïg. dial. *oltur-* Jarr. 213).

3. Particularités lexicales

3.1. Mots d'origine turque ou persane absents dans les autres sources salares et ayant des correspondants (parfois à phonétisme identique) en ouïgour dialectal :

bikit- 'fermer' ("bikitgan" 547 ; K 186 : *pâχ-, вâχ-,* T 319 : *ʒułła-,* 484 : *soła-,* 501 : *taŋna-* ; cf. ouïg. dial. *bɛrkɛt-, bɛkit-, bek'it-* 'to close, to fasten' Jarr. 52)

kala 'vache' ("kala" 547 ; K 180 : *guli̯χ, qulâχ* 'bête de joug, vache, boeuf' et P : *kuli̯χ* ~ 182 : *in'eχ* 'vache' ; T 386 : *kölex, köläx, külix,* etc. 'korova' ~ 338 : *inex, inix* 'id.' ; cf. ouïg. dial. *kala* 'cattle (not collective), cow, ox' Jarr. 163–164)

obdan 'bon' ("ابدان obdân" 549 ; K 182 : *ii, ī, i* 'bon, vrai, juste', T 546 : *χaĭre, χāry, χyĭre* 'horošij, dobryj, prevoshodnyj (o čeloveke) ; dobro, blago' ; cf. ouïg. dial. *obdan* 'good, well, beautifully' Jarr. 211)

qanča 'combien ?' ("ḳantcha" 547 ; T 416 : *neče, neči, neʒ'ʒ'i* ; K 184 : *neᵡᴅžə, neᵡᴅži* et P : *(n)äči, äčä* ; cf. ouïg. dial. *qančæ, qančɛ, qančï* Jarr. 237)

qaš ou *qāš* 'sourcil' ("ḳâch" 547 ; T 395 : *kulix, kurlux* 'brovi' et P : *kulüx, kurlüx,* K 188 : *quli̯χ, qulli̯χ* 'sourcils, cils' ; cf. ouïg. dial. *qaš, qa:š* Jarr. 241)

qašaŋ 'mauvais' ("ḳâchang" 548 ; T 408 : *mät, met,* etc. 'plohoj, ploho', 415 : *načar* 'id.' ; K : – ; cf. ouïg. dial. *kaš'aŋ* 'obstinate' Jarr. 241)

topa 'terre, argile' ("topa" 548 ; K 192 : *toraχ, t'orâχ* 'terre, poussière, argile', T 514 : *toraχ, tōruχ, toryχ,* etc. 'zemlja, počva, pyl', prah' ; cf. ouïg. dial. *topa* 'dust, earth, sand, soil, loess' Jarr. 311)

tōχō ~ *tōχo* 'poulet' ("توخو tôkhô" I 459, "tôkho" II 547 ; T 512 : *toχ bałasy,* K 192 : *toχla* (< *toχ pala*) ; cf. ouïg. dial. *toχï, toχæ, toχa* 'hen, cock, chicken', — ou plutôt de *tōχ* 'poule'[16] + *ō* (< *avu, avo,* v. T 422, *n.n.*)

tuŋ 'froid' ("toung" 548 ; T 487 : *sox, soχ* 'holodnyj, holodno', K 190 : *souχ, soχ* et P : *sok* 'froid' ; cf. K 192 : *toŋ-, doŋ-* 'geler' et T *toŋ-* 'merznut', zamerzat'' ; cf. ouïg. dial. *toŋ* 'frozen, hard-frozen' Jarr. 311)

yidïrγan ou *yïdïrγan* (et *ǧidïrγan* ?) 'riz' ("يدرغان iiderghân" II 549, "ييدرغان djiderghân" I 462 ; K 193 : *t'ut'uryan* 'riz, brouet' et R : *tsut'uran,* T 530 : *t'ütyryan, c'ityryan, ʒ'ityryan* 'ris'. — De *jider-, jidyr-, jydyr-* 'nakormit'', causatif de *ji-* 'est', kušat'' (v. T 356), *n.n.* ; cf. **4**).

3.2. Mots empruntés au chinois (identifiés comme tels par Grenard), non attestés dans les autres sources ou attestés sous des formes différentes :

[16] Voir Ladygin, p. 13 : *m̃oox* ; cf. T 518 : *toχ, tuχ,* 512 : *tōγo* 'kurica' ; K 192 (et Potanin) : *toχ* 'poule'.

čē 'voiture' ("tchee" 549 ; K 177 : *čezi, čeza, tezi,* etc., T 507 : *tāʒe,* TSJ 51 : *čize* (< chin. *če-za*) (*čē* < chin. *chē*)

čoŋrï 'tasse à thé' ("tchongry" 549 ; K 177 : *č'aɒžun, č'aɒžon,* T 307 : *čaǰuŋ, čaʒuŋ,* 474 : *sanzy, senzy, zanze, zanzy*) (< chin. *chongri*)

elle 'sapèque' ("ellé" 549 ; K et T : –) (< chin. ?)

kao 'porte' ("kao" 549 ; T 377 : *kāvu, qāvu, ko,* etc., K 188 : *qo, qō, q'ō, qaɵ* et P : *kàu, koo, kō, ko*) (< chin. *kou*)

latsï 'chandelle' ("la-tzeu" 549 ; K 183 : *la* 'bougie' ; cf. T 404 : *ła* 'vosk', *łacy* 'krasnyj perec') (< chin. *lazhou*)

sutsï 'cadenas' ("sou-tzeu" 549 ; T 489 *suzy* ~ 383 : *kīrit* 'zamok' ; K 183 : *kirit, kirėt* 'clef') (< chin. *souzi*)

šutsï 'livre chinois' ("chou-tzeu" 549 ; K 191 : *šu* 'livre', T 495 : *šu, šū, šō* 'kniga') (< chin. *shuzi*)

talu 'grande route' ("ta lou" 549 ; K et T : –) (< chin. *da lu*)

yaŋp'ao 'fusil' ("yang p'ao" 549 ; T 450 : *po, pō,* K 186 : *p'o, pu*) (< chin. *yang pao*).

3.3. Nouveaux exemples de dérivés en *-ara*, — une des nombreuses variantes du suffixe *-ur / -uř* (< chin. *-ərl*), à propos duquel Tenišev dit ce qui suit (p. 92) : « Ljubopytnoj čertoj salarskogo jazyka javljaetsja fakul'tativnoe naraščenie k koncu slova okončenija *r / ř* s predšestvujuščej i inogda posleduju-ščej glasnoj i ešče *r* » (exemples : *jaxšar ~ jaxʃara* 'horošij, horošo' < *jaxši* 'id.' ; *jamanar ~ jamanara* 'sposobnyj, lovkij' < *jaman* 'id.' ; *varar ~ vařyř ~ varara* 'est', imeetsja' < *var* 'id.', etc.). Tenišev (p. 93) précise : « Konečnyj *r / ř* pridaet slovu ottenok laskatel'nosti, umen'šitel'nosti ili vovse ne vlijaet na ego semantiku ». Voici les exemples enregistrés par Grenard :

ašχara 'bas' ("achkhâra" 549 ; K 176 : *ašaχ, ašχa,* T 295 : *aʃagy, āʃagy, āʃex* ; cf. **4**)

azara 'peu' ("azara" 548 ; K 176 : *az, as,* TSJ 27 : *az* ; cf. **4**)

ku(w)ara 'beaucoup' ("كوارا kouara" 548 ; T 393 : *kö'p, k'op, k'öp'ar, kupari,* K 186 : *köp, k'ȯp* et P : *kob, köp, kup* ; cf. **6**)

piχara 'haut' ("pikhâra" 549, "pikhara" I 463 ; K 186 : *pīχi, p'īχi, p'i̯χə* (< *piyik*), T 450 : *pīxi, pīxī, pēxi,* etc.).

3.4. Mots à sens différant de ceux attestés dans les autres sources salares :

ana 'femme' ("ana" 548 ; K 175 : *ana, anâ, annȧ* 'jeune fille', T 288 : *ana, āna* 'devuška' et R : *anna.* Pour 'femme', v. T 463 : *qatyn (kiš), qātyn, qāten,* K 187 : *qatị̄n qi̯š, qatị̄n qi̯š* et P : *katun kši, katïn kši* ; le sens donné par Grenard nous semble suspect)

bek 'fonctionnaire' ("bek" 547 ; K 186 : *peγ, вeγ* 'souverain' et P : *peχ,* T 441 : *peg, pek, pex* 'knjaz', pravitel', načal'nik' ; cf. ouïg. dial. *beg* 'a native

official, appointed by the Chinese local authorities in Eastern Turkestan, often used as an official interpreter' Jarr. 52)

4. Dans son vocabulaire français–salar, Grenard accompagne bien des mots de brèves notes lexicologiques concernant leurs étymologies, leur force de circulation ou leurs rapports avec d'autres langues turques. Nous estimons qu'il n'est pas dépourvu d'intérêt de les reproduire (d'après var. II, avec quelques petites interventions d'ordre technique) dans ce qui suit, sans oublier d'indiquer les différences significatives que présente la première variante de l'exposé de Grenard par rapport à la seconde :

aba 'père' ("ابا aba" 548) : « djagatay = 'oncle paternel' »

axun 'membre du clergé, prêtre musulman' ("اخون" 549) : « pour اخوند 'maître d'école' » ; I 462 : « pour اخوند, qui signifie 'maître d'école, instituteur' » ; « c'est principalement dans ce dernier pays [= le Turkestan oriental — *n.n.*] que اخوند a pris le sens abusif de 'prêtre musulman' en général » (*ibid.*)

ana 'femme' ("انا ana" 548) : « a le sens de 'mère' dans le Turkestan » (le sens donné par Grenard nous semble suspect, cf. **3.4**)

ašxara 'bas' ("achkhâra" 549 : « (? اشاغی) » (cf. **3.3**)

azara 'peu' ("azara" 548 : « forme corrompue pour ازراق » ; I 462 : « forme corrompue pour ازراق *âzrâk*, comparatif de از 'peu' (Turkestan) »

āze 'soeur aînée' ("ازه âzé" 548) : « des Turcs qui m'accompagnent me disent que ce mot est turc, mais il ne m'est pas connu »

el 'main' ("ال" 548) : « vieux mot djagatay remplacé aujourd'hui en Kachgarie par قول »

emek 'pain' ("ايماك émek" 548) : « vieille forme djagatay pour يماك *yémek* 'manger, nourriture'. (Kachg. : نان) »

et 'viande' ("ايت et" 548) : « vieux turc, djagatay et kazak. (Kachg. : كوش *goch*) »

iča 'mère' ("ايچا itcha" 548) : « djagatay, encore usité, mais rarement, dans le Turkestan sous la forme اچا *atcha* » ; I 461 : « encore usité, mais rarement, dans le Turkestan sous la forme اچا *atcha*. En Kyrghyz, *chéché*, ششه »

kaka 'frère aîné' ("كاكا *kaka*" 548) : « pour اكا *aka* »

kao 'porte' ("kao" 549) : « (turc ? قاپو ou tibétain *g'o* » ; I 463 : « peut-être le tibétain *sgo* (pron. *g'o*) »

ku(w)ara 'beaucoup' ("كوارا kouara" 548) : « forme corrompue pour كوبراك comparatif de كوب » ; I 461 : « forme corrompue pour كوبراق [sic. — *n.n.*], *kouprak*, comparatif de كوپ 'beaucoup' (Turkestan) »

lōsa et / ou *losa* 'mulet' ("lôça II 549, "loça" I 462) : « pour *louo-tzeu* »

obdān 'bon' ("ابدان obdân" 549) : « pour اباران 'fertile' » ; I 462 : « pour اباران, qui signifie 'fertile' en bon persan » ; et un peu plus loin : « L'emploi du mot *obdân* est caractéristique du dialecte du Turkestan oriental. »

pat 'canard' ("پات pât" 548) : « du verbe پاتماق 'barbotter' » (en réalité il provient de l'ar. *baṭṭ*, cf. T 439)

piχara 'haut' ("pikhâra" 549) : « (? يوقارى) » (cf. **3.3**)

qašaŋ 'mauvais' ("قاشانك ḳâchang" 548) : « a le sens de 'paresseux' dans le Turkestan »

surma 'eau-de-vie' ("سورمه sourma" 548) : « mot usité dans le Turkestan avant que l'islamisme ait supprimé l'eau-de-vie » ; I 461 : « ... ait supprimé la fabrication de l'eau-de-vie »

tāl ou *tal* 'arbre' ("تال tâl" 548) : « a le sens de 'saule' dans le Turkestan »

tām ou *tam* ("تام tâm" 547) : « dans le Turkestan occidental, 'toit' »

tereğa 'fenêtre' ("دريجه térédja" 549) : « Mot inusité dans le Turkestan chinois et inconnu dans le persan classique, mais communément employé dans le dialecte tadjik de Boukharie » ; I 462 : « ... de Boukhara et de Samarkand »

yidïrγan (ou *yïdïrγan*) 'riz' ("يدرغان iiderghân" 549) : « participe de يماك 'ce qui se mange, la nourriture par excellence', correspond au *fan* des Chinois » ; I 462 : *ğidïrγan* (?) 'riz' ("ييدرغان djiderghân") : « participe du verbe ييماك *yémek* 'ce qui se mange', correspond au Chinois *fan* 'la nourriture par excellence, le riz' ». (En réalité, le mot provient de *yidïr-* ou *yïdïr-* 'nourrir' ; cf. **3.1**).

Ajouter la note suivante (II 548, I 461), concernant les mots *tōχō* 'poulet', *tām* 'mur', *kala* 'vache', *topa* 'terre, argile' et *tuwaq* 'couvercle', enregistrés aux pages 547–548 (II), respectivement 460 (I) : « Parmi ces 68 mots il faut signaler particulièrement توخو, تام, كالا, توپا, توواق, qui ne sont pas en usage parmi les Sartes de l'ouest du Pamir, mais sont ordinairement employés dans le Turkestan chinois ».

5. Les éléments de grammaire salare se trouvent à la page 463 de la première variante et à la page 550 de la variante révisée des matériaux de Grenard. Vu que les données présentes dans la première variante sont plus riches et plus suggestives, nous les prenons comme base de discussion dans notre analyse, tout en les confrontant avec celles de la seconde variante, dont nous relevons les différences significatives. Nous y procédons en reproduisant tout le texte de Grenard, fragment par fragment, par ordre des aspects grammaticaux abordés par l'auteur, — en les faisant suivre de nos commentaires sur les contributions de celui-ci.

5.1. L'exposé grammatical débute par l'appréciation de quelques parties du discours : « [...] tous les noms de nombre, les pronoms, l'adjectif démonstratif *bou, chou bou,* la particule interrogative *mou* sont les mêmes que dans le dialecte du Turkestan oriental. »

Toutes ces affirmations ne sont pas très exactes (précisons que Grenard comprend par « le dialecte du Turkestan oriental » la langue ouïgoure moderne) :

1. Les noms de nombre salars ne sont pas exactement « les mêmes » qu'en ouïgour, ni au point de vue phonétique, ni au point de vue lexico-grammatical :

a) Les noms de nombre cardinaux salars et ouïgours présentent, au point de vue phonétique, de nombreuses et importantes différences, les rares coïnci-

dences pouvant être signalées surtout dans le plan dialectal (cf. Tenišev, p. 121 et K, *passim* ; Pritsak, p. 547).

Une particularité notable du système numéral salar consiste en la présence, pour les noms de nombre de '60' à '90', des formes composées à partir de *elli* '50', plus fréquentes que leurs correspondants simples, — ce qui n'existe pas en ouïgour : *(pir) elli on* '60' (~ *a'muʃ, ałt'ymuʃ*), *(pir) elli jigirmi* '70' (~ *je'muʃ, jitymuʃ*), etc. (v. Tenišev, p. 121–122).

Une autre particularité du salar, laquelle le différencie de l'ouïgour, c'est que l'emploi des noms de nombre d'origine turque est de plus en plus limité, en faveur de leurs correspondants chinois (v. Tenišev, p. 122).

b) Les noms de nombre ordinaux turcs sont conservés en ouïgour : *birinči* 'premier', *ikkinči* 'deuxième', *üčinči* 'troisième', etc., — tandis qu'en salar ils s'emploient à présent (avec des phonétismes sensiblement différents de ceux de l'ouïgour) seulement en tant que noms de mois : *pirinǰi / pirinʒi (aï)* 'janvier', *iʃkinǰi / iʃkinʒi / ihinǰi (aï)* 'février', *učinʒi / uʃinʒi / uščinǰi (aï)* 'mars', etc. (v. Tenišev, p. 124). Les noms de nombre ordinaux sont conservés avec leur valeur propre, selon Tenišev (*loc. cit.*), seulement comme des reliques dans des textes d'anciens contes et légendes (par ex. *ihinǰi qanāty* 'ego vtoroe krylo'), — alors que Kakuk enregistre de tels noms de nombre de '1' à '10' : *pirinʤi / ʙrinʤi* 'premier' (K 177), *ǃšqi̯nʤi̯* 'deuxième', (K 182), *učinʤi / üšti̯nʤi* 'troisième' (K 193), etc.

2. Les pronoms salars et ouïgours présentent de nombreuses différences entre eux, tant (et surtout) au point de vue phonétique qu'au point de vue morphologique, et parfois même lexical (d'inventaire). Cf., pour les pronoms personnels, Tenišev, p. 127–129 et Pritsak, p. 549 ; pour les pronoms démonstratifs, Tenišev, p. 129–130 et Pritsak, p. 549–550 ; pour les pronoms interrogatifs, Tenišev, p. 131–133 et Pritsak, p. 550 ; pour les pronoms réfléchis, Tenišev, p. 133–136 et Pritsak, *ibid.* ; etc.

Chez Grenard (*loc. cit.*) sont attestés :

a) Les pronoms personnels (présents dans divers contextes, v. **5.3.1**) *men, sen* et "syz" (var. I, سیز var. II) ; cette dernière forme (à interpréter, probablement, comme *siz*) est très douteuse, n'étant attestée dans aucune autre source salare (cf. *sele(r) / sälä(r) / sile(r)*, Tenišev, p. 127) : elle doit être considérée, vraisemblablement, comme une confusion avec ouïg. *siz*, que Pritsak (p. 549) considère comme un pronom de politesse ('Sie'), à la différence de son doublet *silär*, qui s'emploie dans son sens commun de 'vous'.

b) Les pronoms démonstratifs (chez Grenard : « l'adjectif démonstratif *bou, chou bou* » — var. II : بو, شوبو) *bu* et *šubu* : pour le premier d'entre eux, cf. sal. *bu* (T 303), *pu / po / bo / mo* (Tenišev, p. 129), *bu / ʙu / pu* (K 186) et *bu, pu* (P ap. K *ib.*) — ouïg. *bu* (Pritsak, p. 549–550) ; quant à *šubu,* il n'est attesté dans aucune autre source salare, mais il se retrouve en ouïg. dial. : *šubu* 'this, this same' Jarr. 289 ; cf. *ušbu* 'dieser' Pritsak, p. 550 et sal. *çu* 'êtot samyj, êta samaja, êto samoe', Tenišev, p. 129).

3. La particule interrogative *mu* (et sa variante *mo*, attestée dans un contexte cité ci-dessous, **5.3.2**) s'emploie aussi bien en salar (*mu / mo / mi,* etc., Tenišev, p. 193 ; *mu* K 184) qu'en ouïgour (*mu*, Pritsak, p. 550).

5.2. « Le pluriel se forme en لار » (var. II ; manque dans var. I) : la graphie arabe du suffixe doit être interprétée, sans doute, comme représentant les variantes *-lar* et *-lär* de celui-ci (pour lesquels v. Tenišev, p. 102).

5.3. Eléments de morphologie du verbe

5.3.1. « Une des corruptions les plus remarquables qu'ait subi la langue turque chez les Salar c'est que les temps du verbe ont disparu sauf, naturellement, l'impératif, qui est la racine même, et le participe en *ghân* ou *gan* [var. II : عان, كان], lequel sert pour tous les temps comme l'infinitif en français nègre. Ex. :

Syz Kâchgarden kelgan [var. II : سيز كاشغردين كيلكان] = Vous êtes venu, vous venez de Kâchgar.

Irta Landjougha bârghân men [var. II : ايرتا لانجوغا بارغان من] = Demain j'irai à Lan-tcheou. »

Plusieurs observations doivent y être faites :

1. a) L'affirmation qu'en salar tous « les temps du verbe ont disparu », sauf l'impératif et le participe en *-γan / -gän* (qui sont des modes !), ce dernier servant « pour tous les temps », est inexacte ; au contraire, le système verbal y est bien développé, possédant tous les modes et les temps, les diathèses (voix), les aspects et les modalités nécessaires (v. Tenišev, p. 138 et suiv.). En réalité, le participe en *-γan / -gän* n'a d'autre valeur — outre sa valeur propre de participe passé (Tenišev, p. 176) — que celle de passé indéterminé (Tenišev, p. 155).

1. b) Ajoutons que le suffixe mentionné connaît aussi des variantes à initiales sourdes, qui s'attachent à des racines terminées par des consonnes sourdes ; cf. Tenišev, p. 176 : *-γan / -gen / -qan / -ken.* Dans le vocabulaire de Grenard ce suffixe n'est attesté que sous ses formes à initiales sonores ("غان ghân" et "گان [I], كان [II] gan", que nous interprétons comme *-γan / -gän*), les participes respectifs traduisant (faussement, v. ci-dessus, note 14) les verbes français rendus à l'infinitif : "âlghân" 547 (= *alγan* < *al-* 'prendre'), "barghân' ib. (*barγan* < *bar-* 'aller'), "yéghlâghân" ib. (= *yïγla-* 'pleurer'), "kulgan" ib. (= *kùlgän* < *kùl-* 'rire'), "ulgan" ib. (*yïγlaγan* = *ùlgän* < *ùl-* 'mourir'), — mais aussi "achghân" ib. (= *ašγan* < *aš-* 'ouvrir'), "ḳoupghân" (= *qupγan* < *qup-* 'se lever') et "bikitgan" ib. (= *bikitgän* < *bikit-* 'fermer'). Nous ne sommes pas sûr si ces dernières formes sont réelles ou non.

2. À propos des deux phrases illustrant l'assertion ci-dessus, nous faisons les observations suivantes :

a) Pour "Syz" de la première phrase, v. ci-dessus, **5.1**, 2.a).

"Kâchgarden" (var. II : كاشغردين) représente l'ablatif salar normal *Kāšgarden* ou *Kāšγarden* (v. Tenišev, p. 107), à la différence de la graphie arabe (var. II), qui est propre de la forme ouïgoure du même cas.

Le prédicat "kelgan" (= *kelgän*) est correctement traduit par « (vous) êtes venu » — les formes des temps verbaux ne connaissent pas des marques de personne et de nombre (v. Tenišev, p. 137) —, mais non pas, en même temps, aussi par « (vous) venez » : le présent de l'indicatif se forme en salar au moyen du suffixe *-pó(ř) / -pa(ř) / -pā(tyr)* (v. Tenišev, p. 138–139).

b) Quant à la seconde phrase, le premier mot, "Irta", est une simple translittération de la graphie arabe ايرتا (var. II) — graphie de tradition tchagataï pour rendre le mot *ertä* (v. le dictionnaire de Radloff, I, 790) —, cette même forme n'étant pas attestée en salar (v. T 328 : *ētā̈-, ēte, e'tä* ; K 180 : *ete, ette, ettesi, etise* et P : *ätä, ätesi*), mais l'étant en ouïg. dial. *ɛrtɛ* (Jarr. 43).

"Landjougha" (cf. *Łan'ǰou* 'gorod Lan'čžou' T 405) est une forme normale du datif d'un nom terminé par une (semi)voyelle (v. Tenišev, p. 106).

Le syntagme "bârghân men" et sa traduction « j'irai » : d'une part, la marque de la personne du temps verbal est inconnue en salar (v. ci-dessus, point **2**, a) ; d'autre part, le futur de l'indicatif se forme au moyen des suffixes *-γu(r) / -gü(r) / -qu(r) / -kü(r) ~ -γa(r) / -ga(r) / -qa(r) / -ka(r)*, etc. (v. Tenišev, p. 145).

5.3.2. Immédiatement après le passage cité précédement (**5.3.1**), Grenard ajoute :

« Toutefois, le parfait défini en دور, *dour,* ou دى, *dé,* subsiste, mais sans formes personnelles et souvent employé incorrectement. Ex. :

Sen mo keldo ? ah ! te voilà ! c'est toi qui es venu ? *keldo* est pour *kelding.* [Var. II : « سن مو كيلدو (كيلدينك *sen mo keldo ?...*) »].

Aldégel, apporte, au lieu de *alyp gel* ou plus familièrement *âp gel.* [Var. II : « *aldégel* pour اليب كيل ou plus familièrement اب كيل 'apporte' ».]

Aldévâr, emporte, au lieu de *alyp bâr.* [Var. II : « *aldévâr* pour اليب بار 'emporte' ».] ».

Plusieurs observations sont à faire à propos de ces affirmations :

1. Le « parfait défini » "(= passé déterminé) salar ne connaît pas les suffixes "دور, *dour* et دى, *dé*" (c'est-à-dire *-dur* — très probablement fautif au lieu de *-du* — et *-dï*), mais bien *-ʒi / ʒ'i* (< **-di*), invariable phonétiquement et valable pour toutes les personnes (v. Tenišev, p. 148–149)[17]. Cf. ouïg. *-di / -du / -dü ~ -ti / -tü* (v. Pritsak, p. 557).

[17] De rares exceptions, à occlusive dentale initiale et parfois à terminaisons personnelles ou à harmonie vocalique, sont signalées à la fin du siècle passé ; v. Potanin, p. 433 : *sän išittiŋ mu ?* 'ty slyšal li ?', mais outre cela : *sän qačan kelği* ? 'ty kogda priehal ?', *män qoyği* 'ja položil', *meni aba ülği* 'moj otec umer' ; de même Ladygin, p. 35–36 : *män iškimis hurišti* 'my dvoe porugalis'', mais excepté cela : *išib-döydze* 'napilsja', *män aldzï* 'ja vzjal', *yedzi* 'el'.

2. Dans la phrase interrogative citée, la particule interrogative *mo* est une variante de *mu* (v. **5.1**, 3), mais *keldo* est faussement considéré comme illustrant l'emploi de l'un des suffixes précédemment cités par Grenard : dans *sen mo keldo,* l'interrogation vise le sujet (voir la traduction de la phrase), et le suffixe du prédicat est une des variantes du suffixe interrogatif *-dó / -tó,* variante, celui-ci, de *-domó / -tomó* (cf. Tenišev, p. 150 : *men jan'šadó / jan'šadomó* ? 'skazal li ja ?').

3. "Aldégel" et "aldévâr" sont justement équivalus avec les syntagmes *alïp gel ~ āp gel,* respectivement *alïp bār,* — mais fautivement considérés comme ayant à leurs bases le passé déterminé en "dé" (= *di*), « employé incorrectement », de *al-* 'prendre'. En réalité, nous avons affaire ici à des locutions verbales constituées de deux impératifs reliés par la particule copulative *dï* (variante de *da / te,* etc.) : *al dï gel !* 'apporte !' (littéralement : 'prends et viens !'), *al dï vār* 'emporte !' (littéralement : 'prends et va !') ; cf. Tenišev, p. 209 : *àł dy gé* 'voz'mi da daj (= prinesi) !', etc. Les deux locutions sont synonymes avec *akel-, a'kel-, akē-,* etc. (T 286 ; cf. K 176 : *aqâl-, aqįl-*) (< *alïp kel-*), respectivement *apar-, āpar-, avar-* (T 291 ; cf. K 176 : *apar-,* $a^{x}pa$*-,* $a^{x}ba^{r}$*-*) (< *alïp bar-*).

5.4. Les contributions morphologiques de Grenard se terminent par quelques observations sur la déclinaison du nom :

« Les formes du génitif en نينك et de l'accusatif en ى sont supprimées.

Quand un mot au cas accusatif se termine par une voyelle et précède un mot qui commence également par une voyelle, on ajoute l'*n* euphonique qui, en turc correct, sert d'appui au ى de l'accusatif. Ex. :

Kaon âch, ouvre la porte [!].

C'est sans doute un reste de déclinaison. »

Voici nos observations concernant ces considérations :

1. Le génitif se construit, dans le salar actuel, au moyen des suffixes *-ni* (syncrétique avec celui de l'accusatif) ~ *-nigi* ou, dans certains cas isolés, *-ïn ~ -nïn* (par ex. *ayačni ~ ayačnigi* 'dereva', *kiïnyn* 'ženy', *palanyn* 'rebenka', v. Tenišev, p. 105). Grenard affirme que le suffixe *-niŋ* est « supprimé », sans nous dire que lui a été substitué ; cependant, chez Potanin (p. 427) on trouve un exemple d'un tel génitif : *közniŋ qarasï* 'zračok' (= pupille).

2. Les remarques faites par Grenard sur l'accusatif sont confuses : d'une part, le suffixe *-i* n'est pas « supprimé » (et l'auteur ne dit pas par quoi il a été remplacé), mais il n'existe pas et probablement il n'a pas existé en salar[18] ; d'autre part, une forme *kaon,* avec un « *n* euphonique », n'existe pas elle non plus (cf. Potanin, p. 432 : *kōni aš* 'otvori dver' !'). Dans tous les cas, l'accusatif

[18] Cf. toutefois Potanin, p. 433 : *qureni* (куреии) *širya qoy* 'položi êtu knigu na stol', — mais *qureni* pourrait bien être une notation fautive au lieu de *qurenni.*

se construit au moyen du suffixe *-ni* (parfois aussi de ses variantes *-ne* et *-nï*; v. Tenišev, p. 106).

3. Enfin, il est impropre de dire qu'une forme comme *kaon* est « un reste de déclinaison », du moment que l'auteur même cite, dans son exposé, une forme de datif (*Lanğouγa*) et une forme d'ablatif (*Kāšgarden* ou *Kāšγarden*) (v. ci-dessus, **5.3.1**, 2).

6. Les données syntaxiques de Grenard sont en même temps très pauvres et rudimentaires, — ce qui ne doit pas trop surprendre chez un non-turcologue et non-linguiste :

« La syntaxe est réduite à sa plus simple expression :

Comment allez-vous ? *Yâkhchi mou ?* ; Quelle affaire vous amène ? *sen ich ah ?* (mot à mot : Toi affaire hein ?). »

Le premier énoncé est à interpréter comme *yaχši mu ?* (littéralement : '(vas-tu *ou* allez-vous) bien ?'), tandis que le second (*sen iš ah ?*) nous est difficile à expliquer (en tout cas il semble deffectueux ou incomplet).

Évidemment, la syntaxe du salar est loin d'être « réduite à sa plus simple expression » : v. Tenišev, p. 196–246.

7. À la différence de son contemporain V. Ladygin, qui opinait que la langue salare est de près apparentée au tarantchi et surtout au kirghiz[19], Grenard la rattache, en conclusion à son exposé linguistique (p. 550), au « dialecte moderne du Turkestan chinois », c'est-à-dire à l'ouïgour :

« Ce dialecte est évidemment postérieur au *Koudatkou bilik,* qui date de 1068. Il est en somme conforme, abstraction faite des corruptions causées par un long isolement au milieu de populations étrangères, au dialecte moderne du Turkestan chinois, sauf qu'il contient quelques termes archaïques que l'on retrouverait tous dans les auteurs de la fin du XVe et du commencement du XVIe siècle. On peut en inférer que les Turcs Salar n'ont aucun rapport direct avec les anciens Ouïgours qui occupèrent Kan-tcheou et les environs entre 700 et 1028, ni en général avec aucun des anciens peuples turcs dont la langue et le type physique diffèrent beaucoup de la langue et du type des Salar. »

La première variante contient (p. 464), à part quelques différences insignifiantes de rédaction, la phrase suivante complétant le texte que nous venons de reproduire : « De l'examen de la conformation physique et du dialecte de ceux-ci il appert avec évidence qu'ils sont originaires du Turkestan oriental et qu'ils en

[19] Voir F. Pojarkov–V. Ladygin, *op. cit.*, p. 36 : « V. F. Ladygin (...) prišel k zaključeniju, čto konstrukcija salarskogo narečija vpolne tožestvenna i shodna s konstrukciej tarančinskogo i kirgizskogo jazykov. (...) O blizkom rodstve salarskogo narečija s kirgizskim vyskazalis' zdes' i drugie lica, horošo znajuščie kak kirgizskij jazyk, tak i nekotorye drugie, rodstvennye s nim jazyki. »

sont sortis à une époque relativement récente, très probablement au XVe ou XVIe siècle, et plutôt au XVIe qu'au XVe. »[20]

8. La conclusion qui se dégage de l'analyse que nous venons de faire des matériaux linguistiques salars de F. Grenard, c'est que, bien qu'ils ne soient pas très riches, ils ont une valeur indéniable : d'une part, la plupart d'entre eux figurent parmi les premières attestations plus récentes de la langue salare[21], étant confirmées ultérieurement comme authentiques par les recherches des spécialistes en salar ; d'autre part, les matériaux de Grenard contiennent, en des notations en général très correctes, pas mal de phonétismes et d'éléments lexicaux qui ne se retrouvent ni chez ses contemporains, ni dans les recherches modernes. Même ses contributions grammaticales — si rudimentaires qu'elles soient —, lexicologiques et celles concernant l'histoire du salar méritent d'être prises en considération, ne serait-ce que grâce au fait qu'elles sont les premières tentatives de ce genre.

Élargissant notre conclusion, nous estimons nécessaire qu'on étudie profondément, sous tous leurs aspects, aussi les autres matériaux salars enregistrés à la fin du XIXe siècle, surtout ceux de Potanin (appréciés à juste raison par N. Poppe et S. Kakuk[22]) et ceux de Ladygin (considérés par Ê. R. Tenišev comme les meilleurs de ceux du siècle passé[23]), — tous étant importants pour l'étude de l'histoire de la langue salare (même s'ils ne séparent que deux-trois générations des recherches modernes sur cette langue) —, en étant pleinement d'accord en cela avec Mme Suzanne Kakuk[24].

[20] Pour la place du salar dans la familie des langues turques, voir notre article Sur la classification de la langue salare. *UAJb* 40:3–4 (1968) 200–213 et, plus récemment, Ê. R. Tenišev, *Stroj salarskogo jazyka*, 251–259.

[21] Nous faisons abstraction ici des textes littéraires turcs moyens des XVIe–XVIIe siècles, contenant des éléments de langue salare, trouvés chez les Salars par Ê. R. Tenišev et que l'illustre savant s'est engagé d'éditer (v. *Stroj salarskogo jazyka*, 30), — et dont il a, d'ailleurs, déjà publié Otryvok iz « Istorii salarov ». *UAJb* 48 (1976) 237–248 (peut-être, entre temps, aussi d'autres textes).

[22] N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, 439; S. Kakuk, Textes salars, 95 et Sur la phonétique de la langue salare, 161.

[23] Ê. R. Tenišev, *Stroj salarskogo jazyka*, 27.

[24] Cf. S. Kakuk, Textes salars, 95, note 4 : « L'édition critique du glossaire de Potanine constituerait un point de départ précieux pour les recherches ultérieures de la langue salare. »

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THE DAYS OF THE WEEK IN TURKIC: NOTES ON THE CUMANO-QIPČAQ PATTERN

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Some 71 years ago A. N. Samojlovič published his excellent study of the Turkic names for the days of the week.[1] Since then the subject has rarely been dealt with, perhaps because of Samojlovič's thoroughness.[2] There are, however, a few aspects of this theme which can be further explored.

Our seven-day week has its origins in the cosmological and astrological speculative thought of the Western Asian Semitic world. The number "seven" itself has often been invested with magical powers. Although the division of the week into a 7-day span is closely associated with Jewish religious concepts, this practice may well have been of non-Jewish origin, stemming from the culture of Ancient Mesopotamia. The Jewish system used numerals to indicate each day of the week except for the Sabbath. "Sunday," being the first day following the Sabbath, was "First Day" (*yôm ri'šôn*), "Monday" the "Second Day" (*yôm šenî*) etc. This same system is found in Arabic and was transmitted to Greek. The use in Greek of the word Παρασκευή ("day of preparation" for the Sabbath) for "Friday" points to Judaic traditions. The Christian peoples of Transcaucasia took from both the Greek and Judaic (or Syro-Aramaic) traditions (see Table 1). As the planet-based names of the days of the week in many languages indicate, these concepts derived from astrological speculation. The various notions were brought together in the syncretistic culture of Hellenistic Egypt. By the 3rd century A.D. the seven-day planetary week had become widespread in the Graeco-Roman world.[3] The Romans, taking over a Greek model, designated the days as: 1. dies Solis, 2. dies Lunae, 3. dies Martis, 4. dies Mercurii, 5. dies Iovis, 6. dies Veneris, 7. dies Saturni.[4] From Iran, knowledge of the seven-day system passed into Iranian (Soġdian) Central Asia where, by the 8th century, it was combined with the 12-year animal cycle calendar. Mention of the "seven

[1] Nazvanija dnej nedeli u tureckih narodov. *Jafetičeskij Sbornik* II (1923) 98–119.

[2] L. Bazin's magisterial *Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien*. Budapest 1991, 450 (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica XXXIV), touches on this only in passing.

[3] See E. Zerubavel, *The Seven Day Circle. The History and Meaning of the Week*. New York 1985, 6–22; J. Matuszewski, *Słowiański tydzień*. Łódź 1978, 17ff.

[4] Matuszewski, *Słowiański tydzień*, 22–34.

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planets" (*yiti paġarla*, < Soġd. *paxar* "planet") appears in a 9th century runiform Turkic text clearly taken from a Soġdian source: *tir* ("Mercury") *urmızt* ("Jupiter"), *naġıd* ("Venus"), *kiwan* ("Saturn"), *maġ* ("Moon"). Bazin, noting that their appearance follows the order of the planetary week (albeit beginning with the fourth day and minus the "Sun") views this as evidence for the spread of the planetary week to Central Asia.[5]

We have little idea what kind of system of diurnal notation, if any, may have been used among the earliest Turkic peoples. The Xiongnu (Hsiung-nu), whose linguistic affiliations are unclear, but who played an important role in shaping the culture of the early Turkic peoples, appear to have followed a ten-day week, probably of Chinese derivation. Thus, the *Shi ji* of Sima Qian reports that: "the days *wu* and *ji* of the ten-day week are regarded as most auspicious" by the Xiongnu.[6]

According to Maḥmûd al-Kâšġarî, however, writing in the last quarter of the 11th century, "the Turks do not have names for the seven days, since the week became known (only) with Islam. Also, the names of the months, in the cities, are given in Arabic. The nomads and the heathen infidels give them names according to the four seasons: every three-month period has a name by which the passing of the year is known..."[7] Although Kâšġarî does not cite examples, it was undoubtedly in this Islamicizing and Islamicized milieu that the Arabo-Persian system was transmitted to them. The date of this transmission is not clear, but by the 14th century we find this system being used in the *Codex Cumanicus*, the Rasûlid Hexaglot and the Mamlûk Qıpčaq glossaries (see table 2). These and their later Central Asian variants (see Tables 2, 4) simply use Persian translations of the Arabic numerals, e.g. Arab. *yaum al-aḥad* "day one" ("Sunday") becomes (Pers.) *yak* ("one") + *šambe* (< Heb. *šabbat* "Sabbath"). Stemming from the same era is the Nestorian Syro-Turkic week (see Table 3), employing both Syriac and Turkic numerals. Medieval Uyğur documents showing the richness of the Iranian (and Irano-Mediterranean), Indic and Chinese cultural cross-currents in their land, followed several traditions. One employed usages such as: ikinti kün ("second day"), üčünč kün ("third day"), törtünč kün ("fourth day"), as well as: yont kün ("day of the horse"), luu kün ("day of the dragon").[8] These, however, are not indicators of days of the week, but of the month, cf.: taqıqu yıl äräm ay altı yaŋıqa ("Im Huhnjahre, im Äräm Monate, am sechsten (Tage des) neuen (Mondes)") or: tavšan yıl ikinti ay iki otusqa ("Im

[5] H. N. Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları*. Ankara 1936–1941, II, 57–59; P. Pelliot, Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie Centrale. *T'oung Pao* XXVI (1929) 204; Bazin, *Les systèmes*, 123, 250–251.

[6] Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian, Han Dynasty*. Trans. (rev. ed.) B. Watson Hong Kong–New York, Columbia University Press 1993, II, 137.

[7] Maḥmûd al-Kâšγarî, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dîwân Luγât at-Turk)*. Ed. trans. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly. Cambridge, Mass. 1982–5, I, 272.

[8] Cf. L. Ju., Tuguševa (ed., trans.), *Ujgurskaja versija biografii Sjuan' Czana*. Moskva 1991, 34, 53, 126.

Hasenjahre, im zweiten Monat, den 22-sten Tag").[9] An Uyğur document from 1202 lists the planetary names in the order of the seven-day week system: aditya, soma, angärāk, bud, braxsvadi, šükür and šaničar which are based on the Sanskrit Âditya (Sun), Soma (Moon), Aṅgâraka (Mars), Budha (Mercury), Bṛhaspati (Jupiter), Śukra (Venus), Śanaiścara (Saturn).[10]

In Central Asia, then, the Mesopotamian influences brought by Iranian (Soġdian) or reshaped by Indic culture-bearers associated with the East-West trade are very much in evidence. Some of the most interesting forms of the seven-day week, however, stem from the Cumano-Qıpčaq world which in the Middle Ages had been equally open to a wide variety of religious influences, Christian, Judaic and Islamic. Here, the planet-based system is not much in evidence. In this region, Cuman Turkic was, moreover, adopted by non-Turkic Christian (Armenian) and Judaic populations (the Qaraim and the Krymčaks) in the Crimea, an important culture contact border zone. Yet other peoples in both the North Caucasus and Middle Volga were Turkicized and/or incorporated into Turkic groupings, thus making the system open to still further non-Turkic, substratal cultural influences, Iranian and Palaeo-Caucasian in the former and perhaps Finno-Ugric in the latter.

Armeno-Cuman, Qaraim and Qaračay-Balqar in denoting "Sunday" (*yix kün*, *yex kün*, *ıyıx kün* respectively, see Table 5) employ terms that derive from Turk. *iḍuq* "(heaven-)sent," i.e. "sacred, holy."[11] The word survives in a number of Turkic languages today in a very similar sense: South Siberian (Altay, Tel. Leb.) *ıyıq* "vybrannyj, naznačennyj, posvjaščënnyj dlja žertvy," *ıyıq mal* "životnoe, posvjaščënnoe v žertvu," *ıyıq tû* "svjaščennaja gora." Similar ideas are connoted by the Tel. *îk* "posvjaščënnoe Bogu, naznačennyj dlja žertvoprinošenija," Barab. Tat. *uyuq* "lošad' posvjaščënnaja Bogu," Sağ. Qoib. Qač. *ızıq* "posvjaščënnyj na žertvu,"[12] Qırğ. *ıyıq* "svjaščennyj, prinosjaščij sčast'e, svjaščennoe domašnee životnoe,"[13] Sarığ Uyğ. *yuzuq*, *yüzük* "posvjaščënnyj božestvu, napr. baran."[14] Common elements can also be seen in the designations for "Monday":

[9] W. Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*. Ed. by S. E. Malov. 1928, reprint: Osnabrück 1972, 14–5, 17–8.

[10] See Bazin, *Les systèmes*, 284–285.

[11] Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972, 46; Samojlovič, Nazvanija, 110. Cf. also Cum. yıx-öv "church," Qaraim *yex-k'un'* "holy day," see A. Zajączkowski, *Karaims in Poland*. Warsaw–The Hague–Paris 1961, 20 who views these as missionary neologisms.

[12] See V. V. Radlov (Radloff), *Opyt slovarja tjurkskih narečij*. St. Petersburg 1893–1911, I, cc. 1359–60, 1397, 1634.

[13] K. K. Juhahin, *Kirgizsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1965, 925.

[14] M. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*. Helsinki 1969, 164, who also connects it to Čuv. *ıră* (N. F. Ašmarin, *Thesaurus Linguae Tschuvaschorum*, III. Čeboksary 1929, reprint: Uralic and Altaic Series, 70/3, Bloomington, Ind., 1969, 58 "dobryj, horošij, prevoshodnyj, otličnyj") and to Hung. *egyház* "church" (lit. "holy house") and *ünnep* "holy day." Although the Hung. terms may not stem directly from Turkic (cf. *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára*. Ed. by L. Benkő et al. Budapest 1967–1976, I, 724, III, 1053, take it back to Old Hung. **id-* "holy"), they do present interesting semantic parallels.

Arm.-Com. *yix paš kün* and Qar. *yexbaškün*[15] (which Zajączkowski translates as the "day after the holy day"). A similar usage is also found in Mišar (*baškön*, see Table 7). The use of *baš* "head" is clearly in this sense of "beginning" (of the week). Curiously, in Qaraim, the language of a non-Christian people, "Sunday" is represented by the term for a "holy" day and "Monday" is marked as the "first"/"head" day after the "holy" day. Qaračay-Balqar and Mišar, whose speakers are presently Muslims, also follow this "Christian" usage with respect to "Monday." This undoubtedly points to Christian missionary influences among the Cumano-Qıpčaqs probably *before* the Qaraim community took shape in the Crimea.

Thereafter, the Cumanic pattern breaks down. While Qaraim has *orta kün* for "Tuesday" and Armeno-Cuman has *nogarikun* (?), Qaračay-Balqar has *gürge/geürge kün* "(St.) George's day." The latter undoubtedly goes back to the Christian Alanic/Osetin substratum that went into the shaping of the Qaračay-Balqars.[16] It is not unlikely, that Christianity, deriving either from Alano-As sources or coming via Georgia, was practiced by some of the ancestors of the Qaračays and Balqars. Among the ethnonyms used by the present-day Osetins to designate the Balqars we find *Asiag* and *Oesson*, both deriving from the Medieval Iranian *As* (whose name lies at the root of the Russ. Osetin). The Qaračay are termed by them *Ustur-Asi*, once again underscoring the close contacts of the Cumano-Qıpčaq ancestors of the Qaračays and Balqars with the Alano-As populations of the North Caucasus. The K'art'velian-speaking Svans and Megrelians have retained this connection, the former calling the Balqars *Musâv* and the Qaračay *Mukrčai* and *Ovsi* (the latter the standard Georgian term for As/Osetin), while the Megrelians term them *Alani*. Volkova explains these terms as simply the carrying over of the names of earlier populations to the Turkic-speaking newcomers.[17] While this may be true to some extent, the importance of substratal ethnic elements cannot be ignored. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the Qaračays and Balqars, until very modern times lacked a common designation, indicating only local notions of identity.[18] Finally, it might be observed here that "St. George's day" honoring the famous warrior, may also be connected to "Mars day"/"dies Martis" of the Graeco-Roman planetary week. Other designations for "Tuesday" present an interesting and rather problematic

[15] Var. *yixbaskin*, *yuxbaškün*.

[16] B. A. Kaloev, *M. M. Kovalevskij i ego issledovanija gorskih narodov Kavkaza*. Moskva 1979, 57, 59. See also J. Kulakovskij, Hristianstvo u alan. *Vizantijskij Vremennik* I:2 (1918) 1–18; R. A. Gabrieljan, *Armjano-alanskie otnošenija I–X vv*. Erevan 1989, 46ff. and the literature noted there. There appear to have been both Byzantine and Armenian sources for Alan Christianity. It is rather interesting that the ethnonym *alan* itself has been retained as a greeting among the Qaračays and Balqars, see Ê. R. Tenišev–H. I. Sujunčev, *Karačaevo-balkarsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1989, 48. The Qaračays and Balqars shared a number of pagan gods, elements of customary law and culture.

[17] See N. G. Volkova, *Êtnonimy i plemennye nazvanija Severnogo Kavkaza*. Moskva 1973, 86–96 and 178–181 for a listing of these ethnonyms.

[18] Even the rather minimal, general term, *Tawlu* "Mountaineer" is of relatively recent vintage, see Volkova, *Êtnonimy*, 86.

pattern as Samojlovič noted.[19] The Mišar *buš kön* (lit. "empty [free] day," perhaps influenced by the preceding *baš kön*, see Table 7) semantically appears to match the Syrian Türkmen *tadil* "Tuesday" (< Arab. *ta'ṭîl* "discontinuence, interruption, deferment, suspension of some activity,"[20] cf. Osm. *ta'til* "a making or letting be temporarily unemployed, a making or letting work or duty be temporarily suspended; hence a vacation"[21]), seemingly a sabbatical day unassociated with the Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition. Azeri has a variety of forms indicating considerable divergences in the general pattern for the Oğuz Turkic Near-Eastern/Transcaucasian pattern: *xas*, *täk*, *salı* and *čäršämbä axšamı* (see Table 8). The origins of Osm. *salı* (see Table 8, found in Osm.-generated Gagauz, Urum etc., also noted in some Azeri and Crimean Tatar dialects and probably from the latter in Stavropol Noğay) remains obscure. The semantic grouping appears to be totally unrelated to the Middle Volga–Ural forms found in Baškir dialects *atlanğan kün* (lit. "mounting/riding a horse day") which clearly is connected with Udmurt *puksyon nunal* (< *puks'ını* "to sit" *nunal* "day") and similar semantically related terms found in other Volga Finnic languages (see Table 7) and perhaps in Čuv. *ıtlar[n]i kun*.

Elements of Christian origin may also be found in the Qaračay-Balqar names for some of the months: *bašılay* (Basil Month) "January," *bayrım ay* (Mary Month) "February," *totur al ayı* (the Beginning Month of Theodore) "March"[22], *totur ekinči ayı* (the Second Month of Theodore) "April,"[23] *nikol/likkol/lukkur ay* (Nicholas Month) "June," *eliya ay* (Elijah Month) "July,"[24] *qač ay or abıstol/amıstol ay* (Cross Month or Apostle Month) "November," *endrewük/andreyig ay/abıstolnu art ayı* (Andrew Month or Later Apostle Month) "December".

While Qaraim has *kiči baraski* (Small Baraski) for "Thursday" and *baraski* (< Greek Παρασκευή) for Friday, a considerable shift has occurred in Qaračay-Balqar with *baras kün*[25] serving as "Wednesday" and *orta kün* (the "middle" day) now occupying Thursday's slot. Clearly, the original logic of the system has broken down. In Qaraim *orta kün* is used to designate "Tuesday". Orta kün ("the Middle Day"), however, misplaced, points to semantic ties with German and Slavic for "Wednesday" cf. *Mittwoch* and *Sreda*. Here too, Christian missionary influence may have been the original source. Qaračay-Balqar *bayrım kün* ("Friday," lit. "Mary day") points once again to the Alano-Christian

19 Samojlovič, Nazvanija, 103–104.

20 J. M. Cowen (ed.), *The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Ithaca, N.Y. 1976, 622).

21 Sir James Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*. Constantinople 1890, 562.

22 Also called *Auwuznu al ayı*.

23 Also called *Auwuznu art ayı*.

24 Also called *jaynı al ayı*.

25 Cf. also Adyġe: bərəskə žʾıy (žъıy), Kabard. bərəžʾey/bərıžʾey (< bərəskI'əžʾey < bərəsčIəžʾey "Wednesday" < Georg. paraskevi "Friday" is the probable source. It remains "Friday" not only in Čerkes (Adyġe and Kabarda are Čerkes languages), but in Čečen as well, see Table 6.

substratum.[26] Armeno-Cuman and Qaraim share with Baškir (dial.) and Čuvaš the peculiar usage "Blood Day" for "Wednesday" (Arm.-Cum. *xan kün*, Qar. *xan kün*, Bašk. [Perm.'] *qan kün*, Čuv. *yun kun*).[27] The Qaraim designations for "Thursday" point to both the Byzantino-Georgian tradition *kiči baraski*, the "little Paraskeuê" and an older Persian influence: *kecaynekin* < *kiči ayne kün* stemming from *ayne* < Pers. *âdîna* "Friday". The same usage is found in the Middle Volga, cf. Tat. *kiči atna kön/atnikič* and Bašk. *kisaẓna, atnakis*. *Ayne* is one of several terms (seeTtable 5) used for "Friday" in Qaraim. It also is found in Armeno-Cuman, Tatar and Čuv.

The retention throughout Cumanic, including Qumuq which has otherwise adopted an Arabic-based system, of the Hebrew-derived *šabat* (perhaps via Georgian[28] or very possibly from Khazar Turkic) is also noteworthy. The possibility of the Khazar connection is strengthened by its presence in Čuvaš (*šămat, šumat*). Since *šabat* is not found in neighboring Volga–Ural Qıpčaq, it most probably derived from the Bulğar dialects that formed the basis of Čuvaš. These would have had political and cultural contacts with Khazaria.

There is, then, no set pattern for the names of the days of the week in Turkic such as is true of many other language groupings (e.g. Romance, Slavic, Semitic etc.). As Kâšğarî noted, the Turkic nomads, prior to their encounter with the monotheistic religious tradition of the Eastern Mediterranean had no system of a seven-day week built around a sabbbath day. As the various religious traditions penetrated the Turkic nomadic world, different elements were borrowed both from peoples and cultures with which they were in immediate contact and from cultures that, ultimately, were further removed from the steppe. In the latter instances, these elements were absorbed, sometimes in changed forms, from their sedentary neighbors where they were also elements of "borrowed" culture.

[26] Cf. Oset. mayrämbon "Friday". Cf. also Kabard. mərem, A. K. Šagirov, *Zaimstvovannaja leksika abhazo-adygskih jazykov*. Moskva 1989, 115.

[27] From Middle Volga Turkic it has spread to Volga Finnic, calqued forms being found in Čeremis and Mokša Mordvin, see Samojlovič, Nazvanija, 110.

[28] Cuman ties with Georgia were quite close and that Transcaucasian kingdom was, undoubtedly, one of the sources for the spread of Christianity among some Cuman groupings, see P. B. Golden, Cumanica I: The Qıpčaqs in Georgia. *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* IV (1984) 45–87.

Table 1

	Hebrew	Arabic	Greek
S	yôm riʾšôn	yaum al-aḥad	Κυριακή
M	yôm šenî	yaum al-iṯnain	Δευτέρα
T	yôm šlîšî	yaum al-ṯalâṯâʾ	Τρίτη
W	yôm rvîʿî	yaum al-arbiʿâʾ	Τετάρτη
TH	yôm ha-xamîšî	yaum al-xamîs	Πέμπτη
F	yôm ha-šîšî	yaum al-jumʿa	Παρασκευή
SAT	yôm ha-šabbat	yaum al-sabt	Σάββατο

Transcaucasia

	Georgian	Armenian
S	ḳvira (dġe)	kiraki[29]
M	oršabat'i	yerkušabt'i[30]
T	samšabat'i	yerek'šabt'i
W	ot'xšabat'i	č'orek'šabt'i
TH	xut'šabat'i	hingšabt'i
F	paraskevi	urbat'i
SAT	šabat'i[31]	šabat'

[29] Both the Georgian and Armenian are from Greek Κυριακή "Lord's (day)".

[30] Georg. *ori* "two," Arm. *yerku* "two" etc.

[31] Cf. also Adyġe: šəmbət'/š'əbət, Kabard. šʾəbət', Ubyx: š'əbə, Abxaz-Abaza: a-sab-wa/sab-wa, see Šagirov, *Zaimstvovannaja leksika*, 169.

Table 2

The Medieval Islamo-Persian Model

	Cuman	**Rasûlid Hexaglot**[32]	**Mamlûk Qıpčaq**[33]	**Čağatay**
S	ye-šanbe	yekšenbe	yekšenbe	yek-šembe
M	tu-šanbe	düšenbe	dušenbe	du-šembe
T	se-šanbe	sehšenbe	sišenbe	se-šembe
W	čaar-šanbe	čaharšenbe	čaršenbe	čar-šembe
TH	pan-šanbe	penčšenbe	penjšenbe	penč-šembe
F	ayna	ayna gün	ayna	adina, azina, anna, arna
SAT	šabbat kün	šenbe gün	šenbe	šembe

Table 3

Nestorian Central Asian
(13th–14th century)[34]

S	xad be-šabba
M	tren be-šabba
T	
W	
TH	bešinč kün
F	ʿarubta[35]
SAT	

[32] Cf. 4vA16–22. The facsimile of the Yemeni manuscript can be found in P. B. Golden, The Byzantine Greek Elements in the Rasûlid Hexaglot. *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* V (1985) 161.

[33] A. Zajączkowski, *Słownik arabsko–kipczacki z okresu Państwa mameluckiego. Bulġat al-Muštâq fî Luġat at-Turk wa-l-Qifžâq*. Warszawa 1954, 1958, I, 48.

[34] Samojlovič, Nazvanija, 116.

[35] "eve"

Table 4

Modern Central Asian

	Uzbek	**Uyğur**	**Qazaq**	**Qırğız**
S	bâzâr	yäkšänbä, bazar küni, šiŋčä	žeksenbi	jekšembi
M	düšänbä	düšänbä	düysenbi	düyšömbü
T	sešänbä	sešänbä	seysenbi	šeyšembi
W	čâršänbä	čaršänbä/čäršänbä	särsenbi	šaršembi
TH	päyšänbä	päyšänbä	beysenbi	beyšembi
F	jumä	jümä	žuma	juma
SAT	šänbä	šänbä	sembi	išembi

	Türkmen	**Qaraqalpaq**	**Noğay**
S	yekšenbe	yekšembi	qat(t)ı kün[36]
M	düšenbe	düyšembi	düysembi
T	sîšenbe	šiyšembi	*salı[37]
W	čâršenbe	šäršembi	särsembi
TH	penšenbe	biyšenbe	biysembi
F	ânna(jumâ)	žuma	yuma
SAT	šenbe	šembi	yuma ertesi[38]

[36] Samojlovič, 109, 110: qattı < Arab. aḥad.
[37] In Stavropol Noğay, see Samojlovič, Nazvanija, 103.
[38] Samojlovič, Nazvanija, 106: juma soŋı in Stavropol Noğay.

Table 5

Cuman-derived Crimean-North Caucasian

	Armeno-Cuman	Qaraim
S	yix kün	yex kün
M	yix paš kün	yexbaškün
T	nogarikün[39]	ortakün
W	xan kün	xan kün
TH	kičayna kün	kiči baraski, kecaynekin
F	ayna kün	baraski, jumaa gün, ayne, ayna[40]
SAT	šapat kün	šabbat, šabbatkün

	Qaračay-Balqar	Qumuq
S	ıyıx kün	qattıgün
M	baš kün	itnigün
T	gürge kün[41]	talatgün
W	baras kün	arbagün
Th	orta kün	xamisgün
F	bayrım kün	jumagün
SAT	šabat kün	šabat[42]/songugün

[39] See E. Schütz, *An Armeno–Kipchak Chronicle on the Polish–Turkish Wars in 1620–1621*. Budapest 1968, 50, 76; T. I. Grunin, *Dokumenty na poloveckom jazyke XVI v.* Moskva 1967, 136 etc.

[40] eyne etc.

[41] Balq. geürge kün.

[42] Samojlovič, Nazvanija, 109. With the exception of *šabat*, the Qumuq system is entirely Arabic-based (*qattı* < Arab. *aḥad*). Arabic was widely used in the North Caucasus as a literary lingua franca. Indeed, the region was famous for its Arabic language schools whose teachers were much in demand. See A. Bennigsen, S. E. Wimbush, *Muslims of the Soviet Empire*. Bloomington 1986, 174–175; S. Akiner, *Islamic Peoples of the Soviet Union*. London 1983, 130; R. Wixman, *Language Aspects of Ethnic Patterns and Processes in the North Caucasus*. Chicago 1980, 103–104; M. B. Broxup (ed.), *The North Caucasian Barrier*. New York 1992, 120.

Table 6

The North Caucasus

	Osetin	**Čečen**[43]	**Svan**	**Čerkes**[44]
S	xuıcaubon	kIiranan de	mišladäg/mižladäg[45]	nuy-išṭ-xâ-mâf
M	quırisär[46]	oršot,[47] oršotan de	dweždiš, dešdiš	billife, billipe
T	dıccäg[48]	šinara, šinarin	taxaš	ṭxârâf
W	ärtıccäg[49]	kxaara, kxaarin de	ǯəmäš	beyresqihzî[50]
TH	cıppäräm[51]	earin de, eara	cäš	mehfoq
F	mayrämbon	pIeraska[52]	webiš	pereske kûhše
SAT	sabat	šot[de]	sapṭin	mâfîzâqâ

[43] See A.T. Karasaev–A. G. Majcev, *Russko–čečenskij slovar'*. Moskva 1978.

[44] See L. Loewe, *A Dictionary of the Circassian Language*. London 1854.

[45] miž "Sun".

[46] V. I. Abaev, *Êtimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka* I, 652 k^{ə}oyrî/k^{ə}wäre (qoyrî) "nedelja" (< Georg. k'vira < Greek κυριακή, cf. Čečen k'vire, Ing. k'irä "nedelja," Zaza kirye "voskresenie".

[47] Cf. Georg. oršabat'i.

[48] < Oset. dıkkag "second".

[49] < Oset. ärtä "three".

[50] bi^{ə}isqi^{ə}hzy.

[51] < Oset. cyppäräm "fourth".

[52] Inguš pIa'raska, see F. G. Ozdoeva–A. S. Kurkieva, *Russko–ingušskij slovar'*. Moskva 1980.

Table 7

Middle Volga–Ural Zone

	Tatar	Mišar	Baškir
S	yäkšämbi, bazar kön	urıs atna[53], bazar	bazar kön, yäkšämbi
M	düšämbi	baškön	düšämbi
T	šišämbi	buškön	šišämbi
W	čäršämbi	čar-šembi	šaršambı
TH	kiči atna kön atnikič, pänjišämbi kön	kič' atna	kisaẓna atnakis
F	atna, jumğa	juma	yoma
SAT	šimbä	atn'-aras kön[54]	šämbi

	Baškir (Perm' gub.)	Čuvaš
S	urus-atna-kün	vırsarnikun[55]
M	tuğan kün	tuntikun[56]
T	atlangan kün[57]	ıtlarikun
W	qan kün	yun kun
TH	četne kün	kěšnerikun
F	juma	erne kun[58]
SAT	quru kün	šămat, šumat

[53] Samojlovič, Nazvanija, 108 atnaras kön < atna arası "meždunedel'e". The Meščerjaki of Tambov, Simbirsk and Kazan gubernii call Sunday: ursatna "Russian Friday", cf. Bašk. (Perm' gub.): urus atna kön and Čuvaš vırəz-erni, Čeremis: ruši arnä.

[54] Samojlovič, Nazvanija, 117.

[55] vırəz < urus "Russian".

[56] Samojlovič, Nazvanija, 108, cf. Bašk. (Perm.) tuğan kün, Čeremis: šočmo (< šočam "I am born").

[57] Samojlovič, 104 "day in which one sits on a horse," cf. Čeremis: kuškužmo, Votyak: puksyon nunal "idem" = "free day" ? Cf. Mordva-Mokša Tues. šavši (lit. "pustoj den'"), see discussion above.

[58] < Pers. âdîna "Freitag" >> erne "Woche, Freitag" B. Scherner, *Arabische und neupersische Lehnwörter im Tschuwaschischen*. Wiesbaden 1977, 40. Ašmarin, III, 28–9, "pervonačal'no 'pjatnica', teper' nedelja" ernekun "pjatnica".

Table 8

Near Eastern–Transcaucasian

	Turkish	**Azeri**	**Urum**[59]
S	pazar	bazar	bazar kün
M	pazartesi	bazarertäsi	bazarerte, bazartesi
T	salı	čäršänbä-axšamı[60]	salı
W	čaršamba	čäršänbä	čaršembe, köčeyma
TH	peršembe	jümä axšamı	peršembe, pevte
F	juma	jümä	jumaa
SAT	jumartesi	šänbä	šabatkün, šenbekün, jumarte(si)

Table 9

Siberian (Russian-influenced)

	Yakut	**Šor**
S	baskırnan'ya, nedielya bıısa	voskresen
M	bedelienik	voskresenertene
T	otorniuk, oltuorniuk	iginji gün
W	čerede	üčünjü gün
TH	čeppier	četverg
F	peetinse	petniča
SAT	subuota	subat

[59] See B. Podolsky, *A Greek–Tatar–English Glossary*. Wiesbaden 1985.
[60] Also: salı, täk, xas gün.

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TÜRKISCHE PLANETENNAMEN, ENTSTANDEN DURCH LEHNÜBERSETZUNG

IMRE GYARMATI
(Miskolc)

1. Die Benennungen der auch den alten türkischen Völkern bekannten Planeten zeigen — ähnlich wie bei anderen Völkern — bei den Türken ebenfalls eine große Vielfalt; für je einen Planeten sind acht bis zehn, nicht selten sogar auch mehr Bezeichnungen zu bemerken. Unter diesen zahlreichen Planetennamen sind — neben den auf türkischem Boden entstandenen Benennungen, die wahrscheinlich frei von allerlei äußerer Einwirkung sind — auch Namen nichttürkischer Herkunft vorhanden, die von fremden Einfluß auf die türkischen Völker zeugen.

Auch die durch Lehnübersetzungen entstandenen Planetennamen zeigen eine fremde kulturelle Wirkung. Diese Namen verlangen eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit, denn ihre Tonkörper — typisch für Lehnübersetzungen — sind türkisch, und dieser Umstand kann eventuell irreführen.

Diese Planetennamen sind meistens semantisch von den endogenen Elementen zu trennen, ihre Bedeutung weicht allerdings von den Bedeutungen der ursprünglichen türkischen Benennungen ab. Einige Beispiele aus meinem Material: ujg. *Suv* 'Wasser', *Suv yultuz* 'Wasserstern' = Merkur || ujg. *Yïγač* 'Baum' = Jupiter || osm. *Uğur* 'gutes Zeichen, günstiges Zeichen, Glück' = Jupiter usw.

Es gibt aber auch auf diesem Gebiet Schwierigkeiten.

Der ujg. Name *Altun* 'Gold', *Altun yultuz* 'goldener Stern' = Venus weist scheinbar auf die typische Farbe der Venus hin und so wäre er in die auf türkischem Boden entstandenen Benennungen einzubeziehen. Vgl. z. B.: osm. *Aq yïldïz* 'weißer Stern' = Venus (Radloff III, 431, BdM) || kirg. *Sarï jïldïz* 'gelber Stern' = id. || Kāšγ *Yaruq yulduzï* 'Stern des Strahles' = id.

Dieselbe Erscheinung ist im Fall des ujg. Namens *Ōt* 'Feuer', *Ōt yultuz* 'Feuerstern' = Mars zu beobachten. Vgl. auch die die Farbe von Mars ausdrückenden, aber nicht durch Lehnübersetzung entstandenen türkischen Namen: osm. *Qïzïl yïldïz* 'roter Stern' = Mars (Radloff III, 491) || osm.Dial. *Yaldırık* 'Strahl' = id.

Diese zwei hier vorgestellten Planetennamen kamen nur in den ujgurischen Sprachdenkmälern vor.

Diese Beispiele weisen darauf hin, daß die Beachtung des geographischen Gesichtpunktes neben dem sematischen Kriterium sehr wichtig ist.

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Wir müssen bei alledem die Tatsache berücksichtigen, daß diese Namen organische Bestandteile eines der Weltanschauung der Türken fremden Systems sind. Deshalb ist es unentbehrlich, durch die Bestimmung des Musters für die Übersetzung den kulturgeschichtlichen Hintergrund festzustellen. Dieser methodische Gesichtspunkt ermöglicht es in diesem Fall, die zwei obengenannten ujgurischen Planetennamen zu den durch Lehnübersetzung entstandenen Benennungen in der türkischen astronomischen Onomastik zu zählen.

Dieses Spezifikum ist auch im Fall der anderen auf Lehnübersetzung zurückzuführenden Benennungen des türkischen gestirnten Himmels zu beobachten (Gyarmati, 55–63, Gyarmati MW, 228–229.)

2. Untersuchen wir im folgenden die durch Lehnübersetzung entstandenen Planetennamen in den türkischen Sprachen.

2.1.1. ujg. *Suv* 'Wasser' = Planet Merkur (TT VII, 116, 11.1.78), *Suv /yul/duz* (sic!) 'Wasserstern' = Merkur (TT VII, 10.1.19). Vgl. noch: Bazin, 574.3; Bazin Cal., 499; Caferoğlu, 212; DTSl., 515; Clauson EtD, 783–784. ≈ chin. *Shŭixīng* = (astr.) Merkurij (KitRSl., 329a): eig. 'Wasserstern', vgl.: *shŭi* 'voda; reka; rečnoj, vodnyj; Voda (odna iz pjati stihij kit. kosmogonii)' (*op. cit.*, 328c) und *xīng* 'zvezda' (*op. cit.*, 40b).

2.1.2. ujg. *Altun* 'Gold', *Altun yultuz* 'goldener Stern' = *Šükür* | Venus (TT VII, 101). Vgl. noch: Bazin, 575.1 *Latun* (sic!) *yultuz;* Bazin Cal., 499; Gyarmati Ven., 120–121; Caferoğlu, 13; DTSl., 40. ≈ chin. *Jīnxīng* = (astr.) Venera (KitRSl., 37b): eig. 'goldener Stern', vgl.: *jīn* 'zoloto; zolotoj, pozoločennyj' (*op. cit.*, 37b) und *xīng* 'zvezda' (*loc. cit.*).

2.1.3. ujg. *Ōt* 'Feuer', *Ōt yultuz* 'Feuerstern' = Planet Mars (TT VII, 111). Vgl. noch: Bazin, 575.3; Bazin Cal., 499; DTSl., 373. ≈ chin. *Huŏxīng* 'iskra; (astr.) Mars' (KitRSl., 326b): eig. 'Feuerstern', vgl.: *huŏ (xŏ)* 'ogon', plamja; jarkij, blestjaščij; požar; Ogon' (odna iz pjati stihij kit. kosmogonii)' (*op. cit.*, 326a) und *xīng* 'zvezda' (*loc. cit.*).

2.1.4. ujg. *Yïγač* 'Baum' = Planet Jupiter (TT VII, 122). Vgl. noch: Bazin, 571; 575.2; Bazin Cal., 499; Caferoğlu, 293; DTSl., 265; Clauson EtD, 79–80 *ιgaç*. ≈ chin. *Mùxīng* = (astr.) Jupiter (KitRSl., 311a): eig. 'Baumstern', vgl.: *mù* 'derevo; derevjannyj; drevesina, lesomaterial, brevno; drevesnyj' (*op. cit.*, 311a) und *xīng* 'zvezda' (*loc. cit.*).

2.1.5. ujg. *Topraq* 'Boden, Erde' = Planet Saturn (TT VII, 119). Vgl. noch: Bazin, 574.4; Bazin Cal., 499; Clauson, 367; DTSl., 575. ≈ chin. *Tŭxīng* = (astr.) Saturn (KitRSl., 25a): eig. 'Bodenstern', vgl.: *tŭ* 'zemlja, počva; Zemlja (odna iz stihij kit. kosmogonii)' (*op. cit.*, 25a) und *xīng* 'zvezda' (*loc. cit.*).

Die oben vorgestellten ujgurischen Planetennamen sind durch Lehnübersetzung entstanden; die zur Übersetzung nötigen Muster bot die chinesische Astronomie.

Die chinesischen Planetennamen sind eigentlich die auf den Himmel projizierten Personifikatoren der fünf Naturelemente: die des Wassers, des Feuers, des Metalls, des Baumes und der Erde. Die fünf Naturelemente sind, wie bekannt, einer der Gründe der chinesischen philosophischen Lehre und dienen dazu, daß die Mischung dieser Elemente die Verschiedenheit der Erscheinungen und Dinge erschafft.

Die fünf Urelemente konnten infolge einer alten chinesischen Anschauung auf den Himmel übertragen werden, derzufolge die Himmelserscheinungen wohl als Spiegelbilder der irdischen Welt des alten China zu deuten sind. Genaueres über dieses Problem: Ecsedy, 348–349; 348.30; 349.31; Ecsedy KÁll., 157–175.

Die erforschten ujgurischen Planetennamen bilden also ein eigenartiges System, und dieses System ist — wenn man seine inneren Zusammenhänge analysiert — ausschließlich auf dem chinesischen Sprachgebiet zu lösen.

Diese ujgurischen Benennungen kommen nur in den die astronomischen Kenntnisse präsentierenden Arbeiten der Ujguren vor, in weiteren Kreisen waren sie wahrscheinlich nie bekannt.

Diese Planetennamen werden auch von Bazin als Übersetzungen aus dem Chinesischen betrachtet (Bazin Cal., 499).

2.2. osm. *Uğur* '(gökb.) Gezegenlerin en büyüğü ve güneşe yakınlık bakımından beşincisi, Jüpiter, Müşteri' ['der größte Planet, der fünfte nach der Entfernung von der Sonne, Jupiter'] (TS).

Der in Frage stehende Planetenname wird in TS als dritte Bedeutung des Nomens *uğur* 'halkın kimi olgularda gördüğü iyilik müjdesi ya da kimi nesnelerde var olduğuna inandığı iyilik kaynağı, yom; meymenet' ['gute Nachricht über etwas Positives/Schönes, die einige Leute bei Ereignissen erleben, oder Quelle des Guten, an deren Vorhandensein in den Dingen einige Leute glauben; Glück, Zufriedenheit'] angeführt. Vgl. noch: *uğur* 'dobryj znak, horošaja primeta, horošee predznamenovanie; slučaj, prinosjaščij sčast'e' (TRSl.). Vgl. auch: Räsänen EtWb., 358; Clauson EtD, 89.

Die Bedeutung des osm. Nomens als Planetenname ist durch Lehnübersetzung des persischen *Sa'd-i akbar* '(met.) Jupiter planeta' (Vullers II, 297), 'the most fortunate of all stars, the planet Jupiter' (Steingass), 'bol'šaja sčastlivaja zvezda (o Jupitere)' (PerRSl.) entstanden.

Die persische Bezeichnung ist eine Zusammensetzung des Substantivs *sa'd* arabischer Herkunft 'sčast'e, udača; sčastlivoe predznamenovanie; blagoprijatnoe vlijanie zvezd, sčastlivoe raspoloženie zvezd (po predstavlenijam astrologov); sčastlivaja zvezda (po predstavlenijam astrologov)' und des Elativs *akbar* des Adjektivs mit der Bedeutung 'groß, ausgezeichnet, wichtig' (PerRSl.). Vgl. noch: ar. *sa'd* 'Glück' und ar. *kabir* 'groß; umfangreich; bedeutend, enorm; mächtig, angesehen; wichtig; alt'.

Der türkische Planetenname kann wohl im astrologischen Sinn gebraucht werden; diese Hypothese stützt sich neben der Grundbedeutung des türkischen Wortes auf die Bedeutung des persischen Musters, die die Übersetzung auslöste.

Der untersuchte Planetenname ist unter den türkischen Sprachen nur in der Türkei-Türkischen zu finden.

2.3. chwar. کوک دبیری *Kök däbiri* 'Pisec neba (t.e. Merkurij)' (Nadžip Muh., 203).

Die untersuchte Benennung ist eigentlich eine Teilübersetzung. Ihr erstes Element ist das Wort *kök* mit der Bedeutung 'Himmel', was aus dem Persischen übersetzt ist (siehe unten), und ihr zweites Element ist ein persisches Lehnwort mit dem türkischen Possessivsuffix. Vgl. pers. *Dabir-i naǰm, Dabir-i falak* '(met.) Mercurius planeta' (Vullers I, 810–811), '(astr.) la planète Mercure' (DPerFr.), '(poêt.) Merkurij' (PerRSl.).

Der persische Planetenname ist die Possessivstruktur der Nomina pers. *dabir* 'sekretar'; klerk; pis'movoditel'' und *naǰm* arabischer Herkunft 'zvezda; nebesnoe svetilo' (PerRSl.) (< ar. *naǰm* 'Gestirn, Himmelskörper; Stern; Glückstern; Sternbild'), bzw. *falak* 'nebo, neboskIon' (PerRSl.) (< ar. *falak* 'Himmelssphäre, Himmelskörper, Gestirn; Umlauf, Kreislauf, Bahn (der Gestirne)', ihre Bedeutung: 'Schreiber des Himmels'. Diese Benennung war in der Literatur der iranischen Sprachen der Personifikator des Merkur.

Dieser eigenartige Planetenname ist in den ogusischen Sprachen als arabisch–persisches Lehnwort nachweisbar. Vgl.: osm. *Debiri encüm, Debiri felek* '(astr.) Merkurij' (TRSl.); as. *Däbiri fäläk* 'Fäläyin katibi; Merkuri planeti' ['Schreiber des Himmels; Planet Merkur'].

Die vorgestellte Struktur ist in den türkischen Sprachen nur in der Nachbarschaft des iranischen Sprachgebietes nachweisbar, und auch dort hat sie nicht völlig Wurzel schlagen können.

Diese Tatsache erläutert die Bedeutung der Benennung als Grundbedeutung; der Aspekt, der sich auf diesem Hintergrund zeigt, ist nämlich der Weltanschauung und dem astronomischen System der türkischen Völker völlig fremd.

3. Zusammenfassend können wir festlegen, daß die obigen Lehnübersetzungen durch die Wirkung zweier Kulturen, der chinesischen und der persischen Astronomie, entstanden.

In jedem Fall ist die Beleuchtung des kulturhistorischen Hintergrundes sehr wichtig. Diese Methode ermöglicht — neben kulturhistorischen Aufschlüssen — eine sichere Trennung der Bezeichnungen, die fremden Einfluß aufweisen und im türkischen Sprachgebiet eine populäre Bedeutung haben, von den endogenen Elementen.

Die auf chinesischen Ursprung zurückzuführenden Planetennamen können wahrscheinlich nur einer engeren, sich mit den Wissenschaften und Astronomie beschäftigenden Schicht bekannt gewesen sein.

Im türkischen Namenmaterial der Planeten beanspruchen die nach persischem Muster durch Lehnübersetzung entstandenen Benennungen eine mikrolinguistische Erforschung.

Osm. *Uğur* ist heute eine der Bezeichnungen von Jupiter, aber der semantische Vergleich des türkischen Wortes mit seinem persischen Muster zeigt, daß dieses Substantiv nur im astrologischen Sinn gebraucht worden sein kann.

Über einen interessanten Hintergrund verfügt auch die chwar. Bezeichnung *Kök däbiri* 'Schreiber des Himmels; Merkur'.

Diese Struktur war im Persischen, im weiteren durch den persischen Einfluß in den chwarezmischen türkischen Literatursprachen ausschließlich in übertragenem Sinne zu gebrauchen. Der in Frage stehende Ausdruck ist ein Epitheton ornans in der persischen Literatur.

Der genannte Planetenname beansprucht also eine Annäherung von der Seite der Literatur und der Künste.

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HOW TO FORGE DOCUMENTS? (A Case of Corruption within the Ottoman Bureaucracy around 1590)

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(Budapest)

Some time in the late 1630s an anonymous Ottoman learned man wrote a short book on the crucial questions of the hour that plagued the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire most exasperatingly. The work is a notable specimen of Mirrors for Princes, a genre of time-tested tradition in the Ottoman Empire already at that time. By definition, it was written to expose various negative phenomena in the social and political life, to lay down the norms in the spirit of traditional ideas and to make recommendations how to solve actual problems. The 51st of the 52 chapters is concerned with the untenable situation in the Imperial Council (*divan-i hümayun*), which reads as follows (with some abridgement):

> "The topic of the next chapter is how Muslims can procure within a day the orders they need and return on the same day to Üsküdar. This is a crucial matter, about which Muslims complain a lot. Many of them have never seen a large city. There are Turks who are unable to find the Imperial Council without asking some forty people the way from the harbour to the *divan*. And that is still a far cry from finding the house of the *divan*'s scribes. This is what they undergo: first they go to the Imperial Council where [the pashas] give the noble order [for the issuing of the required document]. This makes them happy. Then asking the way several times, they reach the house of his excellency the head of the *divan*'s scribes (*re'isülküttâb*). It is an old custom that a Turk applying for a sultanic decree is given a scrap of paper and told: 'Go and hand this writ over to such and such a scribe in such and such a district, and he will immediately make out the order for you.' The poor soul, if he is a nomad from the pastures and has never had the chance to see an excellency or a town like this, must roam the town for two days when there is no deliberation in the *divan* without finding it, and he cannot get back to his lodgings. All sorts of things might happen to him before he comes to the *divan* again on Saturday, where he finds the scribe appointed to see to his affair. The latter, however, is unable to help him because he cannot sit down with the applicant in that narrow place, so he says: 'Come round to me, and I am going to

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draw up the order as you wish.' The miserable soul lingers around again unhappily and at a loss, unless he is a past master who has already obtained several sublime orders; ones like that get their orders in two or three days. The others must endure many a vicissitude till they get the order issued to them. For ... all that walking around consumes the money to be paid for the order. Eventually he would get to the point of receiving the order in vain, for he cannot get it without paying, and he leaves amidst a torrent of lamentations. He is most wretched. Not only did he suffer some injustice at home, but he has come here and cannot remedy his case; he sells his cloak off his shoulders and the rest of his meagre belongings ... That is why several thousand orders are heaped up in the office of the *kâğıd emini*. If there were enough scribes in the *divan* and they had ample room to sit down, and anyone who had been authorized to have an order could sit down with a clerk and have his order written at once, and the *divitdar* could have the *tuğra* drawn onto the documents continuously and hand them over to the *kâğıd emini*, then on *divan* days all Muslims could leave their donkeys to their comrades in Üsküdar, arrange their trifling matters in the Imperial Council in the morning, and they would be happy and satisfied ... and in the evening they could return to Üsküdar again."[1]

Recent works dealing with the Ottoman bureaucracy usually stress that in the 16th century the number of scribes gradually increased and parallel with this, bureaucratic procedures became considerably specialized and professionalized. On the whole, the Ottoman state made great progress from patrimonial rule towards bureaucratic rule, to borrow Max Weber's terms. As for me, I cannot agree with the spectacular advance some researchers tend to see in these developments. For one thing, the exact number of scribes employed in the bureaus of the Imperial Council is not known for any date. On the basis of data so far uncovered, toward the end of the 16th century the number of scribes in the central administration of the Empire can be estimated at 300–350 at most.[2] At first glance, it is a strikingly low number, particularly compared to the population of the Empire that amounted to around 20–25 million at that time. When, however, one considers that these officials produced thousands of orders, appointment diplomas and various other deeds every year and ensured the up-to-date running

[1] *Kitâbu mesâlihi'l–müslimîn ve menâfi'i'l–mü'minîn*. In: *Osmanlı devlet teşkilâtına dair kaynaklar*. Ed. by Yaşar Yücel. Ankara 1988, 127–128, 134–138. On the dating of the work, see *ibid.*, 59–62.

[2] İsmail H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*. Ankara 1984², 336. Cornell H. Fleischer, Preliminaries to the Study of the Ottoman Bureaucracy. *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986) 135–141. Linda T. Darling, *The Ottoman Finance Department and the Assessment and Collection of the* cizye *and* avarız *Taxes, 1560–1660*. Vol. I. PhD. Diss. Chicago, Illinois, 1990, esp. 69–70, 92. Nejat Göyünç, Tarih başlıklı muhasebe defterleri. *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 10 (1990) 29–31.

of the administration of the Empire, their number seems no longer to be so little. The passage quoted from around half a century later, however, confirms our suspicion that this bureaucracy only managed to fulfil its duties at a minimal level in a variety of fields.

This relative "shortage" of clerks (which means a shortage of "functions" rather than a scarcity of literate people) only reinforced the prestige enjoyed by learned men amidst overall illiteracy in the Ottoman Empire, similarly to European countries at that time. The "men of the pen" or scribes — or more broadly speaking, the bureaucrats — constituted a specifically privileged group in the Ottoman world. As a mainstay of the *askerî* (military) class that governed the Ottoman state, the men of letters served the Sultan not only by their daily professional work, but also by their key role in laying the theoretical foundations of the power of the Ottoman dynasty through their erudition, knowledge, competence and loyalty. To put it more poignantly, they were the most conscious supporters of Ottoman statehood.[3] This did not prevent, but contrarily, at times inspired some men of the pen to utilize their exceptional knowledge and their position in the state machinery to their own benefit, instead of the public welfare. Innumerable forms of corruption and bribery can be found in the Ottoman Empire, including one that is chiefly associated with scribes by nature: forging documents for money. Illustrated by a case from the end of the 16th century, this form of corruption will be discussed below.

Sufficient indirect data are available to prove that documents were already forged in the first two centuries of the Empire, but it cannot have been a frequent abuse. This is confirmed by the fact that the criminal code of Mehmed II (1451–1481), the first of this kind in the history of the Ottoman state, has no provisions for such cases.[4] The situation probably deteriorated by the early 16th century, for the law book of Selim I (1512–1520) includes the following passage: "Anyone bearing false witness, or issuing or using false legal documents shall be severely punished ... A person who forges a [sultanic] order or legal certificate, shall have his hand cut off. When, however, he is not a recidivist, he shall [only] be strictly punished".[5] A scandal of forgery that burst out in 1556 reveals that the regulation adopted unaltered by the legal code compiled during the reign of Sultan Süleyman[6] was applied verbatim. In the summer of that year a certain Behram was collared in Trapezunt, who was collecting Christian children upon a forged sultanic order, allegedly as recruits for the Janissary corps but in fact to

[3] Cf. Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300–1600.* London 1973, 102–103.

[4] Friedrich Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, Ḳānūnnāme Sultan Mehmed des Eroberers. Die ältesten osmanischen Straf- und Finanzgesetze. *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* 1 (1921) 19–23.

[5] A. S. Tveritinova, *Kniga zakonov Sultana Selima I.* Moskva 1969, 5a–5b. Selami Pulaha–Yaşar Yücel, Le code (ḳānūnnāme) de Selim Ier (1512–1520) et certaines autres lois de la deuxième moitié de XVIe siècle. *Belgeler* 12/16 (1988) 20.

[6] Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law.* Ed. by V. L. Menage. Oxford 1973, 83, 121.

sell them on the slave market at a high price. The investigations found that the order had been drawn up by a *divan* scribe called Kıyas, the sultanic *tuğra* having been applied by his colleague named Nasuh. The resolution of the Imperial Council on August 30, 1556 sentenced all three to having one of their hands cut off in retaliation.[7]

Forging papers had a boom in the second half of the 16th century, and particularly in the last decade no year passed without a scandal of forgery. The reason for this is obvious: the deterioration of the currency, inflation, price rise and the drastic decline in real income from the 1580s resulted in the ascendancy of the "economy of corruption" at every layer of the Ottoman state apparatus (which was, by its very nature, always responsive to such developments).[8] The scribes of the *divan* were among the first to adapt to the new state of affairs attested by a case of fraud brought to light in late September–early October, 1590. The machinations and methods of the swindlers are described by the *telhis*es submitted about the process of investigation by the Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha to Sultan Murad III.[9] The documents inform us so vividly and exhaustively that there is nothing to do but let them "talk".

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The first *telhis* in the series mentioned: "We have found orders embellished with a *tuğra* which granted *timar*s, pay raises and prebends contrary to the Sultan's orders. When his servant, the head of the *divan*'s scribes, was asked, he was profoundly shocked [having examined them] and said: 'we have not issued such orders. But the *tuğra* is authentic, and so is the confirmation clause. How is that possible?' We exhorted him strongly and warned him, saying: 'this must have some explanation. It must be carefully examined.' My Padishah, your highness, ... as we have found a clerk who has given information on the case, we have questioned him promising some benefits. Here is what he said: 'It has been going on for over fifteen years.' When we asked what method is used, he informed us: 'First of all, the ink is not the same used in the *divan*. It's another kind of ink. Then the paper is treated with some chemical. As is legally prescribed, they write sultanic decrees upon it and send it over to the *nişancı* who, the order being in harmony with law, draws the Sultan's monogram upon it unsuspectingly. Then it is received from the *kâğıd emini*, and the order is embellished with a *tuğra*. Then the text is wiped off with a wet sponge; if some traces are left, it is rubbed a few times with *raki* soap (*raki sabunu*), and when

[7] İsmail H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları*. I. Ankara 1984², 15: note 2.

[8] Cf. Ahmet Mumcu, *Tarih içindeki genel gelişimiyle birlikte Osmanlı devletinde rüşvet (özellikle adlî rüşvet)*. İstanbul 1985, 85.

[9] İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan 1943, fol. 35a–35b, 41a–41b, 27a (in the sequence of origin as I established it). Relying on the chronicle of Selânikî Mustafa, Joseph von Hammer mentions the case briefly in his *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (2. verbesserte Ausgabe. Bd. 2. 1520–1623. Pesth 1834, 569). Similarly: İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 218: note 6.

the writing has completely disappeared, they write upon it any instruction concerning prebends, *timar*s, income raises, or someone's groundless death. There are several scribes in senior posts and some junior clerks [who are involved].' Some forged orders have been found; [the confessor] washed them clean with water and produced blank sheets. A few orders have been preserved and sent to the feet of the exalted throne ..."[10]

Having reported the confession of the clerk, the Grand Vizier advised the Sultan to wipe the text with the method the scribe described to see with his own eyes that he would have pieces of paper adorned with a *tuğra* in his hands utilizable for any purpose. He added that during his governorship in Damascus and Egypt, he did meet legal certificates made out similarly and punished the culprits severely. He thought the method must have come from there as far as the capital where some 50–60 people must be involved in the forgery in the Imperial Council, the Imperial Registry (*defter-i hakanî*), the *defterdar*'s and *kadı'asker*'s offices; they inflicted substantial losses upon the treasury and granted prebends of different size to several people even from the revenues of the sultanic *vakıf* estates. Then the Grand Vizier went on to report on a scribe who had just left for Rumelia with some forged orders; he ordered a *çavuş* to follow him, bind and bring him back to Istanbul. Finally he assessed the offence committed by the clerks in the following words: "they shared the political power".[11] This judgment promised little good to the perpetrators. It is well known that in Ottoman law, the only source and practitioner of power was the Sultan. Anyone who questioned the boundless sultanic authority, hindered its exercise or arbitrarily expropriated it committed a capital (political) crime entailing the gravest punishment.

The next report reveals that the scribe who exposed the feloneous dealings was called Aç doyuran[12] who was almost immediately devoured by the power struggle in the Ottoman elite groups. Sinan remarked that certain influential persons, who feared that the fall of the scribes might drag them down, were busy with their attendants to have Aç doyuran executed as soon as possible lest he should blurt out information incriminating them. Sinan firmly condemned these efforts and pointed out that without the participation of Aç doyuran the offences could not be traced down and the illegal allocations repealed. Since the majority of fraudulent grants were made in faraway provinces and not all the beneficiaries could be summoned to the capital, Sinan recommended that the clerk and a reliable *çavuş* escort should be sent on mission to Aleppo, Damascus, Egypt and elsewhere to help the local governor-generals to clear up the instances of corruption. He would undertake the investigation in the capital. Instead of rash execution, he opined that their only legal option was to examine all the suspects before

[10] TSMK, Revan 1943, fol. 35a.

[11] *Ibid.*, fol. 35b: *saltanat müşterikleri olmuşlar.*

[12] A "talking" name: "one who feeds well the hungry". It is not far fetched to assume that he earned this sobriquet because in return for a sum he "fed" those "hungering" for offices.

the *kadı'asker* in the *divan*, submit them to a writing test and pass judgment on them on the basis of that procedure.[13]

The third and last submission on the matter reported great strides forward in the investigation: "... eight or nine of the scribes forging letters of appointment, orders and decrees have been arrested and imprisoned. Some are still at large but we hope to catch them. My felicitous Padishah, they have committed various [frauds]. Some produced letters of appointment and orders, and drew *tuğra*s, and sold them. Others wrote instructions in cases of complaint upon chemically treated paper, and the *nişancı* having applied to them the *tuğra*, they erased the text expertly and wrote orders about allocations at pleasure and sold them". Sinan Pasha planned the following legal procedure against the arrested: "... we are going to have them brought to the Imperial Council and examine their cases one by one. Should any of them deny his deed, he shall be subjected to a writing test by the *kadı'asker* so the proof will be his handwriting. The report will be submitted according to the sentence each of them deserves: cutting off a hand, the loss of the *zi'amet* and prebend, exiling to Algeria or elsewhere". In his rescript to the report, the ruler ordered all the culprits to be imprisoned and dismissed from their posts and their cases to be investigated in detail.[14]

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Although the documentary sources fall silent from this moment onward, luckily the chronicler — at that time one of the (innocent) *divan* scribes — Selânikî Mustafa also discusses the false practices of his colleagues whom he condemns as "treators". He also informs us what sentences terminated the procedures.[15] Apart from the corrupt practices known from Sinan's reports, Selânikî reveals that the scribes stole the blank *fermans* sent to the commander-in-chief of the eastern front and forged sultanic orders on them upon commission. As Selânikî stated, a "silly" scribe called Şems Ahmed was also caught and questioned together with Aç doyuran. In the end, they were convicted as ringleaders and received the strictest sentences: execution. Six scribes were punished by losing a hand, and seven were condemned to the galleys, while some of them (*bir kaç neferi*) were removed from the Imperial Council.

Although Sinan was broadly exaggerating when at first he estimated the number of swindlers at 50–60, the forgery involving some 15–20 scribes of the *divan* and lasting fifteen years was possibly the major such occurrence in 16th–17th century Ottoman history. In all the rest of cases known to me one or two persons collaborated to commit such offences (not to speak of the solitary forgers). Capital punishment shows that the leaders themselves deemed the crime, as well as its conspiratorial nature, very dangerous. Similar offenders were normal-

[13] *Ibid.*, fol. 41a–41b.

[14] *Ibid.*, fol. 27a.

[15] Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selânikî (971–1003/1563–1595)*. Published by Mehmet İpşirli. İstanbul 1989, 227.

ly sentenced to the loss of a hand in harmony with law, and after the mid-16th century, to labour at the galleys.[16] The ultimate penalty to which the perpetrators caught in 1590 were sentenced was probably meant as a deterrent — quite ineffectively, too, as the multitude of similar affairs in the subsequent decades prove. And one need not go that far: hardly a month after the announcement and execution of these sensational sentences, the Imperial Council had to send instructions to the *beylerbeyi* of Karaman on a new case of forgery.[17] This time fake orders were found on a *sipahi* called Veli. In vain did the poor warrior confess first that he had had them written properly by a clerk, and next time that he had hired some people to procure them in a lawful way. Both the text and the *tuğra* were so botched that the fraud was obvious at first sight. Comparing the two cases, separated by several hundred kilometres but exposed about the same time, shows well that towards the end of the 16th century document forgery both in the centre and in the provinces assumed a distinguished place in the "economy of corruption" that imbued the entire Ottoman world.

[16] İdris Bostan, *Osmanlı bahriye teşkilâtı: XVII. yüzyılda Tersâne-i amire.* Ankara 1992, 215–216.

[17] İstanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme Defterleri, Vol. 67. No. 80 (November 14, 1590).

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ANMERKUNGEN ZUR ETYMOLOGIE *HAJDÚ* 'HEIDUCK'

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Das Wort *hajdú* 'Heiduck' gehört zu den Wanderwörtern, die in den mittel- und südosteuropäischen, bzw. auch in den mit ihnen in Verbindung stehenden europäischen Ländern, in großem Maße verbreitet sind.[1] Es wurden schon früher Versuche unternommen, seine Etymologie neben dem Ungarischen aus den türkischen, arabischen und südslawischen Sprachen zu erklären.[2] Zur Zeit ist man sich sowohl in der ungarischen als auch in der ausländischen Fachliteratur darüber einig, daß das Wort *hajdú* aus dem ungarischen *hajtó* 'Treiber' (*hajt* 'treiben' + Suffix des Partizips Präsens *-ó*) durch die Substantivierung des Partizips und durch die Spaltung der Bedeutung ('der treibende' > 'Treiber') entstanden sein dürfte. Das Wort taucht zuerst als Personenname *Hajdo, Hajdw* in den ungarischen Quellen um 1500–10 (?) auf, bald danach erscheint es im Jahre 1514 in der Bedeutung 'Viehhirt' („bubulci wlgari sermone haydones nuncupati"). Gleichzeitig wird das Wort *hajdú* in den lateinischen Schriften des ungarischen Bauernaufstandes 1514 als Synonym für 'Fußsoldat' verwendet.[3] Ab Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts wird das Wort allgemein in letzterer Bedeutung, erweitert mit dem Begriff 'Räuber', gebraucht.

Nach den Angaben in EWUng und TESz wurde das ungarische Wort *hajdú* durch folgende Sprachen entlehnt:

1. dt. *Heiduck* (ab Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts)[4];
   fr. *haïduk, heïduque* (ab Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts);
   it. *aidoni, aiducchi* (1553 und 1559)[5];

[1] Zur Etymologie des Wortes: EWUng, Lieferung 3. 512–513. Neben der deutschen wird auch die ursprüngliche ungarische Ausgabe des etymologischen Wörterbuches (TESz II. 1970, 23–24) in Betracht gezogen, weil letzteres mehr Beispiele und reiche Hinweise auf die sprachwissenschaftliche Literatur aufweist. Eine historische und sozialgeschichtliche Zusammenfassung der Haiducken-Problematik findet man bei Adanır 1982. Eine vollständige Liste über die entsprechenden Formen des Wortes *hajdú* in der heutigen deutschen, serbischen, kroatischen, albanischen, bulgarischen, türkischen, rumänischen, polnischen, russischen, slowakischen, tschechischen, italienischen, schwedischen, dänischen, finnischen, französischen Sprache, samt den Hinweisen auf die einschlägigen Wörterbücher wurde von Dankó 1960, 176–178, zusammengestellt.

[2] Für die arabische Etymologie des Wortes siehe Škaljić 1989, 300.

[3] Szabó 1950.

[4] Kluge 1975, 289.

[5] De Bartolomeis 1974.

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2. durch die Sprachen des Balkans[6] sr-kr. *hàjdūk*, *àjdūk*; blg. *hajduq*, *hajdut*; rum. *hajdúc*.
3. pol. *hajduk* (1564) „ungarischer Fußsoldat mitgebracht mit István Báthory, König von Polen"[7];
   rus. гайдук (ab dem 18. Jahrhundert) 'služitel' područnyj'[8]
4. osm. *haydut* 'Räuber'.

Das ungarische etymologische Wörterbuch (TESz) hielt die entlehnten fremdsprachigen Formen *hajduk*, *hajdut* für die Übernahme des ungarischen Nominativs Plural (*hajdu* + das Zeichen des Plurals *-k*) bzw. für die Übernahme des ungarischen Akkusativs Singular (*hajdu* + Suffix des Akkusativs *-t*). Nach beiden Ausgaben der etymologischen Wörterbücher bestehen die Schwierigkeiten dieser Etymologie darin, daß es für das Stimmhaftwerden des inlautenden *-jt-* > *-jd-* in den Wörtern *hajtó*, *hajdú* nur wenige, unsichere Beispiele gibt.

Während der Bearbeitung des historischen Quellengutes des 16.–17. Jahrhunderts wurde die Verfasserin dieses Aufsatzes oft mit den verschiedensten Formen des Wortes *hajdú* konfrontiert. Nach ihren Beobachtungen schien ihr — wie später noch zu sehen sein wird — die ungarische Etymologie des Wortes *hajdú* aus phonetischen, morphologischen und semantischen Gründen schwer aufrecht zu erhalten sein.[9]

I. Phonetische Probleme

Das Stimmhaftwerden der Inlaute wurde von mehreren Autoren auf verschiedene Weise (als lateinische, slawische oder sogar als indoeuropäische sprachliche Eigentümlichkeit) interpretiert.[10] Von den Lösungsversuchen wird hier nur Béla Suláns Vorschlag näher unter die Lupe genommen. Sulán hielt das osmanische Wort *hayta* 1. 'an armed and mounted guard who escorts a traveler or caravan', 2. 'armed and mounted brigand' für einen unanfechtbaren Beweis dafür, daß „das Wort *hajdú* in der Tat nur eine Formvariante eines älteren ungarischen *hajtó* ist".[11] Seine Schlußfolgerungen wurden auch mit einem morphologischen Beweis, nämlich mit der Abwechslung des auslautenden Suffixes *-ó* ~ *-a* im Ungarischen, die letztendlich auf einen historischen Lautwandel *-ó* > *-a* zurückgeht, untermauert, z. B. *hintó* „Kutsche" (an Federn, d. h. eine schaukelnde Kutsche) und *hinta* „Schaukel, Hutsche"; *hulló* „fallender" und *hulla* „Leiche,

6 Kniezsa 1955, I/1–2, 834–836.
7 Wołosz 1989, 215–317.
8 Vasmer 1. 1986, 383.
9 Für die in linguistischen Fragen erteilten wertvollen Ratschläge bin ich meinem Kollegen Árpád Berta zu aufrichtigem Dank verpflichtet.
10 Siehe den Literaturhinweis im TESz.
11 Sulán 1961, 185, Kniezsa 1955, 835, Redhouse 1921, 2156.

Kadaver" usw.). Es ist aber nicht eindeutig, ob das ungarische *hajtó* mit dem osmanischen *hayta* etymologisch zusammenhängt.[12]

Erstens erscheint das osmanische *hayta* in den osmantürkischen Quellen erst relativ spät, am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts.[13] Zweitens ist die Bedeutung im Wörterbuch von Redhouse sekundär. Das Wort *hayta* bedeutete ursprünglich eine von den fünf Truppeneinheiten zu Roß (*deli*, *gönüllü*, *beşli*, *levent*, *hayta*) in den türkischen Grenzfestungen. Die *hayta*'s waren bekannt für ihren Wagemut in den Kämpfen mit den Ungläubigen, ihre Disziplin aber — gleich wie bei den Janitscharen — sank, und am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts wurde *hayta* zum Synonym von 'Räuber'.[14] Drittens ist es nicht klar, wie die osmanischen Formen *haydut* und *hayta* miteinander zusammenhängen. Es stellt sich die Frage, warum die Lautform *hayta* — wie auch Sulán zugibt — weder in ungarischen noch in den auf Ungarn bezüglichen osmantürkischen Quellen vorkommt? Die chronologischen und semantischen Probleme weisen eher darauf hin, daß *hayta* mit dem ungarischen *hajtó* nichts gemein hat und damit auch eine mögliche Erklärung des Stimmhaftwerdens der Inlaute *-jt-* > *-jd-* entfällt.

II. Morphologische Probleme

Nach der ungarischen Ausgabe des etymologischen Wörterbuches ist das ungarische Wort *hajdú* durch das Französische, das Deutsche und verschiedene slawische Sprachen in der Form *hajduk*, aber durch das Osmanische in der Form *hajdut* entlehnt worden. Wie könnte es sein, daß einige Sprachen den Plural, andere aber den Akkusativ des ungarischen Lehnwortes bevorzugten? Sehen wir uns zuerst das Osmanische an. *Haydut* ist eine synchrone Form, die in den Wörterbüchern mit lateinischer Schrift angeführt wird. In den Wörterbüchern und historischen Quellen mit arabischer Schrift wird das Wort meistens mit dem Auslaut *dal*, als *haydud* geschrieben. Man muß aber zugeben, daß das *-d* im Auslaut schon im 16. Jahrhundert als stimmloses *-t* ausgesprochen und selten auch mit dem Schriftzeichen *ta* geschrieben wurde. Vorausgesetzt, daß das osmanische *haydut* auf einen ungarischen Akkusativ Singular zurückzuführen ist, suchte ich nach parallelen Erscheinungen. Unter den etwas mehr als hundert ungarischen Lehnwörtern des Osmanischen, die von Lajos Fekete aufgrund von osmantürkischen Dokumenten zusammengestellt wurden, waren vier Wörter mit

[12] Škaljić hält übrigens *hayta* für eine griechische Entlehnung im Osmantürkischen 1989, 304.

[13] Derzeit ist mir das Wort nur aus einer Quelle bekannt, und zwar aus dem im Jahre 1839 in Ägypten erschienenen Divan von Keçecizade Izzet Molla, Bahār-i Efkār: „Rumili haytalarından bir iki yad ettim..." [Ich habe mich an einigen Hayta's von Rumelie erinnert]. Tarama Sözlüğü. 3. 1967, 1907.

[14] Pakalın 1946, 783.

Bildungssuffix, aber kein einziges Wort mit Pluralendung oder mit Akkusativsuffix zu finden.[15]

Eine genauere Untersuchung zeigt auch, daß die Formen *hayduk* und *haydut* nicht nur für eine bestimmte Sprache charakteristisch sind, sondern beide Formen in derselben Sprache, sogar in demselben Dokument vorkommen können. So trifft man im Bulgarischen neben *hayduk* und *haydut* auch *hajdutin* (mit einem slawischen Suffix).[16] Im Falle des bulgarischen *haydut* könnte man mit einer Entlehnung aus dem Osmanischen rechnen, aber osmantürkische Quellen erlauben auch eine andere Deutung.

Die ersten Protokollbücher des Divans 1559/1560 (*mühimme defterleri*), die die Anordnungen des Sultans bezüglich Ungarns enthalten, zeigen meistens eine Form mit *-q*: *hayduq*. Die ersten Vorkommen des Wortes sind ausschließlich mit auslautendem *-q* geschrieben.[17] Ähnliche sprachliche Schwankungen findet man in den osmantürkischen Urkunden bezüglich der Uskoken, die genauso vor den Türken geflüchtet sind und in den österreichischen oder venezianischen Grenzfestungen gedient haben wie die Heiducken. In den Dokumenten werden sie oft zusammen mit den Heiducken erwähnt: „**haydones** et **uskokos** tam in Sclavonia quam in Hungaria deberi prohiberi a rapinis et depraedationibus, atque articulus expresse concordatus in tractatu, quod a nostra parte **haydones** et **uskoki**, a parte vero Turcae **mortalossi** cohiberi debeant".[18] In einem aus dem Jahre 1559 in Originalausfertigung erhalten gebliebenen Friedensabkommen zwischen dem Kaiser und der Pforte werden die Uskoken in der Form *ušqod* genannt: *ve deryā ğāniblerinden dahi Sinā hisārınuñ ušqodı geregi gibi zabt olunub* ... „Am Meer sollen die Uskoken der Festung Sinā [Senj] in der notwendigen Art und Weise festgesetzt werden ..."[19] Diese Daten erlauben die vorsichtige Stellungnahme, daß es sich bei den Formen *hayduq/haydud* und *usqoq/ušqod* weder um die Pluralendung noch um das Akkusativsuffix handelt, sondern vielmehr um eine Schwankung des auslautenden *-k* ~ *-t*. Ob diese Schwankung für das Türkische (vgl. *ekmek/etmek* 'Brot', *pamuq/pamut* 'Baumwolle') charakterisch ist oder auf einen südslawischen Lautwandel zurückgeht, kann im Rahmen dieses Aufsatzes nicht weiter behandelt werden. Es steht fest, daß beide Formen Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts in den osmantürkischen Quellen gleichzeitig vorhanden waren. Das Vorhandensein der obengenannten Schwankungen weist eindeutig darauf hin, daß die Formen *hajduk/hajdut* mal als ungarischer Plural, mal als ungarischer Akkusativ Singular kaum zu deuten sind.

[15] Diese waren *diākče* 'auf lateinisch', *vāmcï* 'Zöllner', *haydūšāq* 'Heiduckentum' und *felžīğöš uram* '(mein) allergnädigster Herr'. Fekete 1930, 261–262, 263, 265.

[16] Kniezsa 1955, 835.

[17] Das Wort kommt in 21 Dokumenten vor: 14 Mal als *hayduq*, 5 Mal als *haydud*. In zwei Dokumenten findet man beide Formen. Mühimme 1993.

[18] Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Wien, Turcica Türkei I. 1547. Dezember 7. Fol. 190b zitiert von Takáts 1908, 100.

[19] Schaendlinger 1983, 62, 65.

III. Semantische Probleme

Die obengenannte Vermutung wird auch durch semantische Merkmale unterstützt. Takáts hat schon in seiner Monographie über die Entstehung der ungarischen Fußtruppen bemerkt, daß in Süd- und Westungarn sowohl in den ungarischen als auch in den lateinischen Quellen statt *hajdú* eine Form *hajduk* (Nominativ Singular) zu finden ist: „kimentek volt valami **haydukok** az terekre [Einige Heiducken sind auf die Türken losgegangen]" (Nominativ Plural 1554); „ad peditium **haydukorum** mittendorum in Zigeth" (Dativ Plural 1556); „ő tartja az **haydukokat** [Er unterhielt die Heiducken]" (Akkusativ Plural 1557).[20] Diese Formen bedeuten für das ungarische Sprachgefühl einen verdoppelten Plural (hajdú + k + o + k), was bei einem Wort ungarischen Ursprungs unvorstellbar ist. Meiner Meinung nach weist die Verwendung der Formen *hajdukok*, *hajdukokat* darauf hin, daß in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts das Wort *hajduk* im Ungarischen als fremd aufgefaßt wurde. Es läge um so mehr auf der Hand, *hajdú* aus einer der südslawischen Sprachen abzuleiten, als in den slawischen Sprachen mehr verbale und nominale Derivate aus Heiduck entstanden sind als im Ungarischen.[21]

Gegen den südslawischen Ursprung von *hajdú* führte jedoch der Slawist László Hadrovics aus chronologischen Gründen schwerwiegende Argumente an. Im Gegensatz zu den Wörtern südslawischen Ursprungs wie *huszár*, *martalóc* und *pribék*, die im Südslawischen früher als im Ungarischen erschienen sind, kommt *hajduk* erst im Jahre 1598 in kroatischen Quellen vor, also ein halbes Jahrhundert später als im Ungarischen.[22] Mit den fragmentarischen südslawischen Quellen muß aber äußerst vorsichtig umgegangen werden. Man kann nämlich nicht genau wissen, welche Wörter mit der Bedeutung 'Räuber, Straßenräuber' in übersetzter Form als *hajduk* wiedergegeben wurden. Auch solche Fälle, die mit *hajduk*, *hajdut* übersetzt werden, erweisen sich sehr oft als zweifelhaft. Nach der stichprobenartigen Überprüfung einiger bulgarischer Wiedergaben osmantürkischer Quellen stellte es sich heraus, daß das Wort Heiduck bzw. Heiduckentum von den bulgarischen Historikern als Sammelbegriff für alle Streitigkeiten und Auseinandersetzungen, die ab Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts mit dem Osmanen geführt wurden, verwendet werden, unabhängig davon, daß in türkischen Originaltexten *harami*, *voyvoda* usw. steht.[23]

Gegen das obige chronologische Argument ist auch der krimtatarische Ausdruck *haydutca* 'auf Heiducken Art' anzuführen, der mir aus einer krimtatarischen Chronik (1561) bekannt ist. In den ungarischen Quellen kommt dieselbe Wortverbindung aber erst um 1683 vor.[24] Wenn man die ungarische Ety-

[20] Takáts 1908, 8.

[21] Im Polnischen gibt es 11, im Kroatischen 10 Derivate, Angyal 1951, 461. Im Ungarischen zwei: *hajdúkodik* „Viehhirt sein", *hajdúság* „Heiduckentum" TESz. 1970, 24.

[22] Skok 1971, 699. Hadrovics' Bemerkungen zu dem Aufsatz von Dankó: Dankó 1961, 191.

[23] Cvetkova 1971, 75 ff. Ich konnte nur an einigen türksprachigen Stellen überprüfen.

[24] Gökbilgin 1973, 136. Szabó T. IV. 1984, 923.

mologie des Wortes weiter aufrechterhalten möchte, wäre es auch aus chronologischen Gründen schwer zu erklären, wie und wann das ungarische *hajdú* so früh ins Krimtatarische gelangen und sich dort noch seine Bedeutung weiterentwickeln konnte, wenn es eine unmittelbare krimtatarisch-ungarische Beziehung vor dem langen Türkenkrieg (1593–1606) nicht gab. Eine türkische Vermittlung ist zwar nicht auszuschließen, aber für die Übernahme aus dem Türkischen und für die Weiterentwicklung der Bedeutung des Wortes im Krimtatarischen würden zwanzig Jahre kaum ausreichen.

Wenn die ungarische Etymologie des Wortes *hajdú* mit linguistischen Mitteln schwer zu klären ist, wieso hält sich diese Behauptung so hartnäckig? Der Grund dafür ist ohne Zweifel die große Ähnlichkeit, die zwischen den beiden ungarischen Wörtern *hajtó* 'Treiber' und *hajdú* 'Viehhirt' besteht. Ein Vergleich der Artikel *hajtó* und *hajdú* des Etymologischen Wörterbuches zeigt aber, daß in den ungarischen Quellen sowohl in den Personennamen als auch in den Gattungsnamen der erste ständig mit *-jt-*, der andere mit *-jd-* geschrieben wird, wobei keine einzige Verwechslung zu finden ist. Dagegen trifft man aber in den deutschsprachigen Akten der österreichischen Behörden, wo die stimmhaften und stimmlosen Konsonanten in der Schrift nicht konsequent zu unterscheiden sind, die Formen *Hayto*, *Heyto*, *Heydo*, *Haytok*, *Heytok* 'Ochsenknecht, Ochsentreiber', ab Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts *Heydogg*, *Heydoggen* usw.[25] Dankó hat schon seine Vermutung geäußert, daß die Formen *Heyto*, *Hayto* nichts anderes als die deutsche Aussprache des ungarischen Wortes *hajdú* sind und ein *hajtó* in der Bedeutung 'Ochsentreiber' nur von Takáts erfunden wurde.[26] Dankós Annahme kann ich auch damit unterstützen, daß in dem ersten lateinisch-ungarischen Wörterbuch (1604) hinter dem Wort *bubulcus* die Bedeutung 'Ochsenhirt' und nicht 'Ochsentreiber' steht, obwohl die Wortzusammensetzung *ökörhajtó* 'Ochsentreiber' ab dem gleichen Jahr in den ungarischen Quellen vorhanden ist.[27]

Es ist nicht leicht, im Falle eines so weitverzweigten Wanderwortes, welches gleichzeitig linguistisch-historisches und slawistisch-turkologisches Wissen verlangt, Ergebnisse zu erzielen. Hiermit wird nun versucht, das Problem mit Hilfe des osmantürkischen Quellengutes und der Turkologie wieder aufzurollen. Kurz zusammengefaßt sind meine Ausgangspunkte die folgenden:

1. die beiden ungarischen Wörter *hajtó* und *hajdú* haben aus etymologischer Sicht nichts miteinander gemein,
2. die Entlehnungen in den verschiedenen Sprachen dürften aus morphologischen Gründen nicht aus dem Ungarischen stammen,
3. im 16.–17. Jahrhundert existierte das Wort in der ungarischen Sprache gleichzeitig in verschiedenen Formen und mit verschiedenen Bedeutungen:

[25] Takáts 1900, 348, Takáts 1903, 87.
[26] Dankó 1960, 172.
[27] Szenci Molnár 1604 *Bubulcus* 'ökörpásztor' [Ochsenhirt]. TESz *hajt*[2] 28, EWUng 515.

hajdú (Nominativ Singular) 'Viehhirt, Fußsoldat' (in den ungarischen Quellen ab 1514);
hajduk (Nominativ Singular) 'Fußsoldat, Grenzsoldat' (in den ungarischen Quellen ab 1527[28], in den auf Ungarn bezüglichen osmantürkischen Quellen ab 1559);
hajdúk (Nominativ Plural) = *hajdúság* 'Heiduckentum' als Benennung einer ungarischen ethnischen Gruppe (in den ungarischen Quellen ab 1602, in den osmantürkischen Quellen ab 1604).[29]

Diese Differenzierung der Bedeutungen könnte vielleicht darauf hindeuten, daß *hajdú* früher und aus einer anderen Sprache als *hajduk* (Nominativ Singular) ins Ungarische gelangte, welches im Zusammenhang mit der Verwendung des Fußvolkes südslawischer Abstammung geschehen zu sein scheint. Es ist auffallend, daß *hayduq/haydut* in den mir bekannten osmantürkischen Quellen niemals in einer Bedeutung 'Viehhirt' oder 'Ochsentreiber' vorkam, obwohl der türkische Fiskus durch den Zoll der aus Ungarn ausgeführten Ochsenherden jährlich bedeutendes Einkommen kassieren konnte. Die osmantürkischen Quellen kennen das Wort nur in seiner militärischen Bedeutung und erst ab Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Aus der Chronik des osmanischen Geschichtsschreibers Tālikizāde, der selbst an den Feldzügen von 1594 und 1596 teilnahm, geht hervor, daß für die Osmanen das Wort *hayduq* genauso fremd wirkte wie *hajduk* für die Ungarn. Er schrieb über die Greueltaten der Uskoken und Heiducken folgendes: *Üske[t?] deñlü serpendüsi gelür haydut gelüb* ***hay tut*** *diyince memleket alïr* „Es kommen die Hitzköpfe genannten Uskoken, es kommen die Heiducken, **hei, faß an!** riefen sie und nahmen das Land weg".[30] *Hay tut!* 'hei, faß an!' ist offensichtlich die Volksetymologie des Wortes *haydut* und beweist, daß man die Wörter *hayduq/haydut* im Osmanischen am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts als fremde unverständliche Begriffe empfand.

Wenn es um die osmanische Etymologie des *haydut* geht, dürfen die Deutungsversuche nicht außer acht gelassen werden, die das Wort *haydut* aus dem ebenso osmanischen *hayde, haydi* 'wohlan'!, los!' ableiten wollen. Zuletzt untersuchte Dankó diese Auslegung und zog in Betracht, daß beide Wörter dieselbe wortgeographische Ausdehnung haben.[31] Hadrovics lehnte aber diese Etymologie ab. Er plädierte weiterhin für die ungarische Abstammung, erkannte aber an, daß das auslautende *-k* im südslawischen *hajduk* kein ungarisches Pluralzeichen sein dürfte. Seiner Meinung nach war das auslautende *-u* des ungarischen Wortes *hajdú* im Kroatischen ungewöhnlich, und deswegen konnte das Wort dem kroatischen Deklinationssystem nicht angepaßt werden, so wurde ein *-k* dem Wort *hajdú* beigefügt (wie z. B. ungarisches *fattyú* 'Bastard' > kroatisches *faćuk* 'id.').

[28] „Ibi venerant Cibak cum numero haydukonibus non cum militionibus exerciis." Szerémi 1857, 176.

[29] EWUng 512, Fekete 1930, 261.

[30] Woodhead 1983, 155/20b.

[31] Dankó 1960, 185–186.

Zwar halte ich keine von beiden Erklärungen für akzeptabel, jedoch bin ich der Meinung, daß beide Aufsätze zu der möglichen Lösung der Etymologie des Wortes *hajdú* wesentlich beigetragen haben. Es ist Dankós Verdienst, daß er das lange Schweigen über eine mögliche türkische Etymologie des Wortes gebrochen hat, welches durch die unsicheren türkischen Daten von Vámbéry und durch die kategorische Ablehnung des Slawisten Kniezsa entstand.[32] Hadrovics dagegen lenkte die Aufmerksamkeit auf einen Zusammenhang, der im Falle des südslawischen *hajduk* eine neue Lösung ermöglichte.

Wenn das Wort *hajdú* weder ungarischen oder südslawischen noch osmanischen Ursprungs sein dürfte, aber seine wortgeographische Ausdehnung Mittel- und Südosteuropa abdeckt, dann sollte man in diesem Raum nach der Lösung suchen. Es soll eine Etymologie gefunden werden, aus der möglichst alle auf diesem Territorium vorkommenden Formen *hajdú*, *hajduk*, *hayduq/haydut*, *hajdamak*, *hajtak* usw. abgeleitet werden können.

Meiner Meinung nach handelt es sich um ein in den Türksprachen weit verbreitetes Verb *ayda-*, *hayda-*, *haydala-* 'treiben' und dessen Derivate. Diese Idee tauchte immer wieder in den wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten auf und brachte nur deswegen keinen Erfolg, weil man nur das osmanische Verb *hayda-*, *haydala-* mit dem Hauptwort *haydut* in Verbindung bringen wollte. Ein anderer Grund könnte sein, daß den Linguisten nur ungenügendes wissenschaftliches Material zugänglich war, da die akademischen und dialektologischen Wörterbücher der Türkvölker der ehemaligen Sowjetunion erst ab Mitte unseres Jahrhunderts erschienen sind.

Das Verb *ayda-*, *hayda-* und seine Derivate sind überall zu finden, wo die geographischen Verhältnisse für die Großviehzucht geeignet waren. Obwohl es im Alttürkischen bisher nicht aufgetaucht ist, kommt es in Gerundialform *malïn aydab* 'Vieh treibend' bei Abulġazi im Mitteltürkischen vor.[33] Die heutigen Türksprachen zeigen die folgende Verbreitung des Verbs und seiner Derivate:[34]

Kiptschakische Sprachen:

	Verb **'treiben'**	Nomen agentis/actoris **'Treiben, Treiber'**
kas.tatarisch	äydä-/häydä	äydääüče (gayduk 'Räuber')
baschkirisch	äyðä-	äyðäüse (gayduk/gaydamak 'Räuber')

[32] Kniezsa hat sich folgendermaßen geäußert: „angeblich sollte im Türkischen ein Verb *hajdalamaq*, *hajdamak* 'treiben' existieren, ich finde es aber nirgendwo" (1955, I/2, 836). Seine Argumentation ist nicht begründet, weil das Verb in allen damals zugänglichen Wörterbüchern zu finden war: Redhouse (2156), Zenker (938), Budagov (II. 311).

[33] Demaisons 1871, 32.

[34] Mit der Ausnahme des Krimtatarischen habe ich die grundlegenden akademischen Wörterbuch benützt. Für das Krimtatarische: *Krymskotatarskij-russkij slovar'*. Ed. S. A. Asanov–A. N. Garkavec–S. M. Useinov. Kiev 1988.

nogaisch	ayda-	aydawšï
kasachisch	ayda-	aydaušï
kirgisisch	ayda-	aydagïč, aydōču, aydak, aydakčï
karakalpakisch	ayda-	aydaušï, aytïušï
kumükisch	gayda-	—
kar.balkarisch	χaydalat-	—
krimtatarisch	ayda-	aydaw, aydawcï (aydamak, aydut 'Räuber' aydutčasïna 'auf Heiducken Art' haydutca 'auf Heiducken Art')

Oghusische Sprachen:

	'treiben'	**'Heiduck, Fußknecht, Räuber'**
osmanisch	hayda-, haydala-	hayduq, haydut
aserbaidsch.	hayla- 'rufen'	—
türkmenisch	χayda-	—
gagausisch	χayda-	χaydamak, χaydut

Turki Sprachen:

	'treiben'	**'Treiben, Treiber'**
usbekisch	χayda-	χaydow, χaydowšï
uigurisch	haydï-	haydïgučï, haydakčï
gelbuigurisch	—	—

Das anlautende χ- ist charakteristisch für die Sprachen der oghusischen und Turki Gruppen, aber sporadisch kann man sie auch bei den kiptschakischen Sprachen finden. Aus semantischer Sicht trifft man mit Ausnahme des Aserbaidschanischen überall die Bedeutung 'treiben' an der ersten Stelle. Mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit kann behauptet werden, daß die Bedeutungen 'treiben' und 'rufen, schreien' miteinander zusammenhängen bzw. das Verb sich letztendlich aus dem Aufrufewort *ay!*, *äy!*, *hay! häy!* entwickelt hat. Es wäre schwer zu entscheiden, im welchem Verhältnis das Verb *ayda-*, *hayda-*, *xaydı-* mit den Formen *ayda!*, *äydä!*, *hayda!*, *hayde!*, *haydi!*, *hadi!* steht. Sollen sie für ein Aufrufewort (vgl. türkmenisch *hayda hay!*) oder für 2. Person Imperativ Singular gehalten werden?

Aus *ayda-*, *hayda-* abgeleitete deverbale Nomina weisen eine außerordentliche Vielfalt auf. Im Grunde genommen kann man sie um vier deverbale Suffixe gruppieren: *-ġučï*, *-mAk*, *-ġ* und *-k*. Die zwei letzteren haben mit dem Suffix des Nomen agentis *-čï*, *-šï* weitergebildete Formen: *aydak* 'Treiben' / *aydakčï* 'Treiber', **haydaġ* > *haydow* 'Treiben' / **haydaġčï* > *haydowšï* 'Treiber'. Diese Formen sind für unsere Etymologie deshalb wichtig, weil sie eine ähnliche Entwicklung wie *kam/kamčï* 'Schaman, Zauberer, geschickter Arzt', *arviš/arvišči* 'Zauberer, Arzt', aufweisen.

Das Suffix *-ġučï* ist schon aus dem Alttürkischen bekannt. Zwar ist bisher kein **aydaġučï* in den alttürkischen Quellen vorgekommen, doch konnte das uigurische *haydïġučï* auf eine solche Form zurückgeführt werden. Mit diesem Suffix haben die kiptschakischen und Turki Sprachen Nomina gebildet.

In der baschkirischen, krimtatarischen, gagausischen, ukrainischen, rumänischen und bulgarischen Sprache sind mit dem Suffix *-mAk* gebildete Formen erhalten geblieben: *haydamak/aydamak* bedeutet in den ersten fünf Sprachen 'Landstreicher, Räuber, Dieb', im Bulgarischen aber 'Hirtenstock'.[35]

Die mit den Suffixen *-ġ* und *-k* gebildeten Formen waren besonders in den kiptschakischen (vgl. kir. *aydak*, kr.tat. **aydaġ* > *aydaw*) und Turki Sprachen (vgl. usbekisch **haydaġ* > *haydow*) verbreitet. Das Auftreten des inlautenden *-yt-* im Karakalpakischen kann man mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit auf den analogischen Einfluß des Verbs *ayt-* 'sprechen' zurückführen. Ob aber das in den ostslowakischen Dialekten erhalten gebliebene Lehnwort *hajtak* 'Feldwächter, Wächter'[36], auch hierher gehörte, muß noch analysiert werden.

Im Falle der Balkansprachen wird eine Übermittlungsform **haydaġ/ *haydak* vorausgesetzt, aus der sich das Wort in zwei Richtungen weiterentwickelt hat. Das auslautende *-ġ* ist im Rumänischen spirantisiert worden und als Diphthong erhalten geblieben: **haydaġ* > **haydaw* > **haydow* > *haydău*. Im Falle der südslawischen Sprachen soll man von **haydak/*haydok* ausgehen, wobei in der zweiten Silbe der — nach Analogie der Formen **haydaw/*haydow* erscheinende inetymologische — Labial *-o-* geschlossener wurde. Bei dieser Entwicklung braucht man das auslautende *-k* nicht mit der Anpassung an das Deklinationssystem zu erklären. Das Wort wurde durch die Südslawen dort entlehnt, wo sie mit Türkvölkern zusammengelebt haben. Die Entlehnung müßte noch vor der osmanischen Eroberung des Balkans erfolgt sein. (Obwohl das Wort im Codex Cumanicus fehlt, könnte man das Kumanische als Vermittlersprache in Betracht ziehen.)

Das *hayduq/haydut* — wie die Schwankung des auslautenden *-k* ~ *-t* zeigt — dürfte durch das Zusammenleben mit slawischen Völkern in das Osmanische gelangt sein. Diese Voraussetzung kann auch dadurch untermauert werden, daß das Wort — abweichend von den in den Türksprachen verbreiteten Bedeutung 'Treiber' — nur im Osmanischen, Gagausischen und Krimtatarischen 'Räuber, Heiduck, Fußknecht' bedeutete, also nur in solchen Türksprachen, die im Rahmen des Osmanischen Reiches mit slawischen Völkern in Verbindung standen.

Die in das Ungarische gelangte Form wird wahrscheinlich **haydaġ* oder **haydow* sein, die durch die Spirantisierung des auslautenden *-ġ* und durch die Entwicklung der Diphthonge zu einem langen Vokal die Form *hajdú* ergab. Die Entlehnung sollte im 15. Jahrhundert erfolgt sein. Als Vermittlersprache wurde auch vorher das Walachische vorgeschlagen.[37] Dafür spricht, daß auch im

[35] Kniezsa 1955, 836, Tiktin 1903, 713, Gavazzi 1969, 380 (hier auch die Abbildung des krückenförmigen Hirtenstabes).

[36] Zitiert von Sulán 1961, 185.

[37] Dankó 1960, 173.

Rumänischen eine Doppelentlehnung zu finden ist: *haidău* 'Ochsentreiber, Viehknecht', aber *haiduc* 'Art ungarischer Soldat, Räuber'. Da die Gesellschaft der transhumanten Walachen aus ethnischer Sicht sehr gemischt war, ist es derzeit nicht möglich, in der Frage der Vermittlersprachen eindeutig Stellung zu nehmen. Man kann aber eine Vermittlerrolle des Walachischen nicht ausschließen. Sprachliche und kulturgeschichtliche Daten weisen darauf hin, daß möglicherweise in der Sprache der transhumanten Walachen Wörter einer frühen türkisch-slawischen Symbiose erhalten geblieben sind. In den lateinischen Quellen heißen zum Beispiel die Standplätze der Walachen *tuguria*.[38] Das könnte die metathetische Form des türkischen Wortes *turuġ* sein, die mit einem slawischen Suffix ergänzt wurde. Das aus dem Verb *tur-* 'stehen, stehenbleiben' mit dem deverbalen Suffix *-ġ* gebildete Wort findet man schon in den uigurischen Sprachdenkmälern des 8. Jahrhunderts in der Bedeutung 'Standplatz, Herberge, Schutz'.[39] Wahrscheinlich hierher gehören das schon erwähnte *haydamak* 'Hirtenstab' und der krimtatarische Ausdruck *haydutca* 'auf Heiducken Art', der ursprünglich auch mit dem Hirtenleben zusammenhängt. Man verstand darunter die Art des Einfangens und die Weise der Zähmung der Tiere.[40]

Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, daß das ungarische *hajdú* ein mit dem deverbalen Suffix *-ġ* gebildetes Hauptwort (**haydaġ* > *haydaw* > *haydau* > *hajdú*) ist, welches auf ein Verb (*hayda-*, *hayda-*, *haydï-*) zurückgeht, das aus einem in den Türksprachen weit verbreiteten Ausrufewort (*hay!*, *hayda!*, *haydï!*) abzuleiten ist. Die Frage der Vermittlersprache kann derzeit nicht entschieden werden. Linguistische, historische, kulturgeschichtliche und wortgeographische Angaben weisen eindeutig darauf hin, daß das Wort in zwei verschiedenen Phasen, aus zwei verschiedenen Richtungen ins Ungarische gelangte. *Hajdú* in der Bedeutung 'Viehhirt' wurde im 15. Jahrhundert wahrscheinlich aus Sieben-

[38] „Item statutum est quod pro pecudum aut pecorum conservacione in terris aliorum nemo rusticorum eciam liberarum vel aliarum civitatum regiarum domos seu casas de cetero campestrales sive **tuguria** communi vocabulo **Zallaas** nuncupata tenere aut conservare possit, ut per hoc malicia **Haydonum** cesset et depereat." Gesetzbuch des Jahres 1514, Paragraph 61. Zitiert von Belényesy 1961, 69.

[39] 8. Jahrhundert: „is a brief report, that some sheep and goals had dies **turuğïnta** (Sing. loc.). 11. Jahrhundert: „a place of refuge, that is a shelter in the mountain" Clauson 1972, 538. Mit einer systematischen Untersuchung der die Walachen betreffenden Quellen könnte man weitere Daten erschließen. Einige Beispiele sind noch aus der über das mittelalterlichen Serbien geschriebenen Monographie von Jireček zu nennen: „die umzäumte Hürde hießen wie heute noch *tor* (1399)", „jedes Zehnte von Schafherden heißt *torovina*" (Jireček 1912, 29). Das *torow* ist eine reguläre kiptschakische Form des alttürkischen *turuġ*. „Die Hirten der Großgrundbesitzer erhielten einen Lohn in Tieren, *bêlég* genannt." Die Bezahlung erfolgte in Naturalien am Sankt Georg Tage: von 100 Schafen ein Schaf mit einem Lamm (Jireček 1912, 30).

[40] *ardïndan kemend atub haydutca boġdïlar* „von Hinten Fangschlinge werfend wurde er auf Heiducken Art gedrosselt." Gökbilgin 1973, 136. In der Chronik geht es um die Ermordung des Sohnes des Chans, also der Ausdruck wird hier im übertragenen Sinne gebraucht. Mit der Verwendung des Ausdruckes *haydutca* wollte der Chronist vielleicht die barbarische Grausamkeit der Tat unterstreichen, weil man an der Pforte eine andere Art Erdrosselung zu üben pflegte. Nach der Darstellung in der Chronik von Sagredo wurde die Seidenschnur dem Pascha um den Hals gelegt und von zwei Sekbanen in entgegengesetzter Richtung gezogen. (Sagredo 1694, 222, 395).

bürgen[41] durch die transhumanten Hirten vermittelt, dagegen soll *hajduk* als 'Fußknecht, Räuber' einer südslawischen Sprache entstammen. Während des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts lebten beide Formen nebeneinander. Mit dem Aufhören der türkischen Feldzüge gegen Ungarn setzte sich die Form *hajdú* durch und erfuhr auch einen Bedeutungswandel. Im 18. Jahrhundert bedeutete es 'Diener, Trabant in ungarischer Tracht', noch später 'Schutzmann, Polizist'. Eine dem Ungarischen ähnliche doppelte Entlehnung findet man nur im Rumänischen und in den österreichischen deutschsprachigen Quellen. In den letzteren sind die früheren Formen (*Haydo, Heyto* usw.) sicher ungarischen Ursprungs, die späteren können auch unmittelbare Entlehnungen aus dem Südslawischen sein. Was die Formen im Rumänischen betrifft, dürften sie aus derselben Quelle stammen, aus der auch das Ungarische entlehnt hatte. In den westeuropäischen Sprachen verbreitete sich die südslawische Form *hajduk* durch die Vermittlung des Wiener Hofes. Nach Norden und Osten war die Vermittlersprache — mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit — das Polnische. Nach Polen wurde die südslawische Form *hajduk* wahrscheinlich von den Soldaten des Königs Stephan Báthori mitgebracht. Das kasantatarische *gajduk* und die baschkirischen *gajduk*, *gajdamak* sind Entlehnungen aus der russischen Sprache.

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[41] Darauf weisen auch ethnographische Beobachtungen hin. Nach den Ethnologen unterscheidet sich die Viehzucht in der Tiefebene und in Siebenbürgen von denen in Transdanubien. Belényesy 1961, 60 ff.

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A POLISH-TATAR *ZIKER**

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This paper is dedicated to Professor Susanne Kakuk, my teacher of Turkish, who taught me to pay attention to the Turkish spoken by scattered, peripheral and multilingual communities. I attempt to present a case of a Turkish *na't* through the fate of a small Muslim population that nowadays inhabits the territories of Poland, Lithuania and Byelorussia.

1. The *ziker*

The prayer, which is the subject of this study, is known to me from four copies that go back to at least two different variants. One variant is reflected in a manuscript preserved in Smilovice, the Červensk region in Byelorussia. I have no access to this. The prayer of this manuscript was first recorded on tape in 1991 in Mustafa Hasenevič Asanovič's recitation, then typewritten with Cyrillic block letters and sent to me by Ibrahim Konopacki. A draft of my transcription (henceforth ST) and an English translation with an introduction translated from English into Byelorussian by Ismail Aleksandrovič was published by Konopacki in 1992, see Jankowski et al. 1992.

Another copy of this prayer was written by hand in Arabic writing (henceforth SA) and sent to me with a Cyrillic handwritten transliteration, which marks the word stress (henceforth SC). Although these are said to be copies of the same Smilovice manuscript, they differ slightly from the previous copy (ST).

In June 1994, Andrzej Drozd, a student of Arabic at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, now one of the most eminent experts and explorers of Lithuanian–Polish–Byelorussian Tatar manuscripts, found another version of this *ziker* in a manuscript of *kitab* type copied by a renowned copyist, Mustafa Szehidewicz, in Słonim. According to Drozd, this manuscript, which is now owned by a Tatar family in Białystok, Poland, is dated 1852 and has about 600 leaves. It is neatly written. The *ziker* provided with a parallel Polish, though imprecise translation, is on fols 206a–209b. This version contains seventy-two

* I owe a debt of gratitude to all my colleagues who have contributed to this paper with their ideas of reading difficult, corrupt parts of the *ziker*.

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lines, while ST comprises eighty lines in twenty stanzas of four lines each. In the typed Cyrillic version there is a refrain *lja, illjaè illallagu, rèsulljag* "There is no god but God and Muhammad is God's messenger." SA and SC have been copied continuously into one paragraph.

The version from the 1852 manuscript analyzed in this paper, as mentioned above, reflects another variant of the *ziker,* which is different in size and layout. Further research may lead to the discovery of further copies and versions of the prayer. As a second stage of this study, I shall prepare a paper comparing all the existing copies and seek a reconstruction of the probable prototype. At this point, it must be noted that due to the popularity and early differentiation, the search for the original variant may prove difficult. Nevertheless, pattern copies must be available in Islamic literature, although that enquiry has not yet brought any results. In any event, a lot of phrases and literary figures are commonplace in Islamic religious poetry and can easily be identified.

Below I present the transliteration of the prayer with a transcription based on a likely Tatar pronunciation and another one of the Ottoman Turkish type. The 1852 manuscript is a typical Tatar *kitab* (Ar. *kitāb* "book"), i.e. a collection of religious texts of various type. It contains other Turkish texts as well. For example, immediately after the *ziker,* there is an approximately two-page long praise of the five daily *namāz.* One third of this consists of four-line rhymes preceded by the underlined word *bāb* "part, chapter" and a parallel Polish translation. Below is the transcription of the first part:

209b:

bāb her kim qïlur taŋ namāzïn
Allah qïlur qabūl sözin (Ms swufyin)
maqsūdïna erse kerek
ne isterse bolsa (or bulsa) kerek

kto by ranny namaz pel panu bogu
pan bog přime jego proz'by
jakego žondana bend'e hcal
čego žonda to to bend'e m'al

"Who performs the morning worship
Allah accepts his requests
He shall reach his goals
He shall have what he wishes."

2. *Ḏikr* in Islamic literature and in the use of Lithuanian–Polish–Byelorussian Tatars

Ḏikr means in Arabic "mentioning". It designates action of remembering, then oral mention of remembering, oratory technique; in Sufism *ḏikr* opposes *fikr*

"reflection, meditation" as a prayer form, see EI 2, 230. In Turkish, this word is used in the form *zikir* and, as a religious term, has similar denotations. As is evident from manuscripts, the Tatars use the term *ziker* to refer to any form of prayer with a recurring formula. For example, Drozd has recorded a short Friday prayer in imam Półtorzycki's recitation performed in Arabic and called *ziker*. As a recurring passage, the prayer repeats the well-known *tašhīd* "There is no god but God". It begins as follows:

Lā 'ilāha 'illā 'llahu Ğabrā'ilu 'llā
Lā 'ilāha 'illā 'llahu Mekā'ilu 'llā
Lā 'ilāha 'illā 'llahu 'Isrāfilu 'llā etc.

Another *ziker* has a refrain similar to the above, but without *lā*. This is a Turkish prayer translated into a mixed Byelorussian–Polish language. However, the Turkish text is much more garbled than that of Smilovice. Below I provide several initial lines with Slavic words transliterated and the oriental relics transcribed:

p. 106

(1) ziker odmovic [...] "to say the *ziker*..."
(2) ey zayïf (?) adam ğan gider (Ms *kidas*) senden. illā 'lahu
(3) illā 'llahu illā 'llahu "the soul quits you. not but God, not but God, not but God". niğe uzun yašarsan, (?) kečer (this passage is completely corrupt: neğe uḏum yaša-t san -sk qalmïz) "however long you live [it] passes away"
(4) qalmaz illā 'llahu [etc.] āḫir jawm nešūr (?) "[it] does not remain; not but God [etc.]; the last day (?)"

p. 109

(1) ṭūlmačene ẓikeru nedūže 'adamske človeče dūše ẓ cāle vīd'e niḫṭ ce ne poṣože ṭilqo būġ ṭilko "translation of the ziker [.oh, you] insignificant mankind, the soul quits the body, no one judges you but God, but"
(2) būġ ṭilqo būġ hocbi jāki dlūġ veq žil 'ūmerac ṭšeba [...] "God, but God, however long you live, you need to die [...]"

Yet another *ziker,* popular with the local Tatar population in Poland and known to me from a copy owned by Selim Chazbijewicz, the renowned Polish Tatar poet, is provided with comments in Polish. Apart from the Arabic script, it is also typewritten in the Latin alphabet and has the recurring refrain *Zinhar namaz kılğıl namaz* "beware, perform the worship, the worship". This *ziker* was recorded on tape by Drozd in the narration of imam Chalecki. Chalecki's interpretation differs slightly from the version in the prayer book.

In view of the fact that the prayer published here is in fact a eulogy to the prophet Muhammad, which praises his mercy, power, beauty, and goodwill, etc., it must be noted that in Turkish Islamic literature this genre is called *na't ~ nat,* see Güzel (1989, 296), Yeniterzı (1993).

3. The language of the prayer

The language of the version studied here is predominantly Turkish. However, we can neither date it nor establish the precise way of its transmission, even approximately. As it is characteristic of religious texts, the prayer reveals some archaisms, e.g. the imperative -QIL, desiderative -QAY etc., which are features Ottoman Turkish shared with other literary Middle Turkic languages. Nevertheless, the text must have appeared among the Tatars long after their mother tongue was replaced with the local languages of Poland and Lithuania.

The question of language shift requires a separate study and will not be dealt with here in detail. I shall only draw the reader's attention to the following facts. Firstly, the language shift was a process that started as early as the 16th century. The replacement was a gradual process that proceeded unevenly on various levels of linguistic practice. It can be assumed that the survival of Tatar was strongest in the field of religion, although the language of liturgy was Arabic and this is what the specialists mention about the main causes of "extinction" of the Tatar language.[1] Secondly, the Tatars were never completely isolated from the Muslim world. In particular the Ottoman Empire fostered mutual relations. There was a constant influx of material, spiritual and, therefore, linguistic assistance from that region. Thirdly, there are no arguments to prove that the Tatar language was Turkicized or replaced by Turkish. On the contrary, there are some arguments in favour of the Tatarization of Turkish texts. These are the following:

1. The Tatars read the letters *tā', kef* and *qāf* as /t/, /k/, /q/, whereas these in many cases stand for the Turkish /d/, /g/, /k/, e.g. Turkish *durur* is read *turur, görmez kurmez, kopar qopar.*
2. The Turkish participle *-An* is sometimes substituted for the Kipchak *-QAn*, e.g. *qïlγan.*
3. The Turkish genitive *-In* is replaced by the Kipchak *-nIŋ,* e.g. *dertlülerniŋ.*
4. The Turkish accusative suffix attached to the 3 SING possessive *-I* has a Kipchak form *-In,* e.g. *ğamālun.*
5. There is a Kipchak accusative suffix in *ʿāṣïlarnï*, notably *-nI.*
6. The Kipchak *b-* stands for the Turkish *v-*, as in *ber-.*
7. The Kipchak postposition *birle* appears instead of the Turkish *ile,* e.g. *niyāz birle.*

[1] For a long discussion on what may have caused the language shift, see Woronowicz (1935, 352), Kryczyński (1938, 229–30), and the most recent study by Łapicz (1986, 39–60).

I have only listed some of the obvious Kipchak features, which cannot be questioned on the basis of the ambiguity arising from the Arabic script. The origins of this Kipchakization are not clear. It may have stemmed either from the Tatar substrate or secondary Kipchak impact presumably coming from Volga Tatar. Kipchak elements in Tatar texts were analyzed by Dubiński (1988), but the literature on the subject is very scarce. Zajączkowski (1951, 311), in a paper devoted to a *hamail,* called the non-Turkish elements "Old Uighur" or "Eastern Uighur", whereas more recent elements have been termed "Old Anatolian Turkish". This question also needs a detailed study.

4. Principles of the present edition

The text of the prayer is transliterated (a) and transcribed into Kipchakized phonetic writing (b), as well as standard Modern Turkish (c). Transliteration of consonants is usual, while vowels and vocalisation are marked as follows:

ا – ’
آ – â
ٱ, اٰ – ’a
و – w
وُ – wu
ى ,ي – y
ىِ ,يِ – yi
ىٰ – à (alif maqṣūra)
ـَ ,ٰ – a
ـُ – u
ـِ ,ٖ – i
ـً – an
ـٌ – un
ـٍ – in
- – undotted, incomplete letter or diacritic

In the Tatar transcription I endeavoured to follow the pronunciation based on writing as much as possible. This is because the Tatars recite the prayers without any knowledge of the language, but with a knowledge of the writing and strictly follow the text, letter by letter.[2]

[2] Naturally, the letters *ü, ö ŋ* mark only an approximate pronunciation. Punctation sings and capital letters are used arbitrarily.

Corrupt and unidentified words and phrases are substituted for a question mark. A question mark also precedes uncertain readings. This applies to both transcriptions.

The Polish translation is provided for otherwise unclear passages. It is put in a simplified transcription. Philological comments are enclosed in footnotes. Reference to other copies is made only occasionally. A thorough comparison of all available versions will be the subject of another paper.

Ziker

1. a. dartlwularnyik ṭabyibi[1]
   b. Dertlülerniŋ ṭabībi
   c. Dertlilerin ṭabībi
   d. Healer of sufferers

2. a. 'ay tak-ryi nwuk ḥabyib[2]
   b. Ey, Tenrinüŋ ḥabībi
   c. Ey, Tanrının ḥabībi
   d. Oh, beloved of God

3. a. yrlq'γïl biz γarybat[3]
   b. Yarlïqaγïl bir garīb
   c. Yarlıkağıl bir garīb
   d. Forgive the poor one

4. a. šy 'lillahi muḥammad[4]
   b. šey 'un li-llahi Muḥammad
   c. şey 'un li-llahi Muḥammed
   d. Allah's thing Muhammad

5. a. ğumla darvišlar 'andan
   b. Gümle dervišler andan
   c. Cümle dervişler ondan
   d. All dervishes are from Him

[1] *Dertliler tabibi* occurs in Turkish *na'ts,* see Y 322.

[2] ST *xabibi.*

[3] ST *bir garibi*; SC *bir garīb.*

[4] SA *šay 'un;* Polish translation *u pana boga jest rec v'elka Muhammed* "God has a big thing: M."

6. a. 'wal muṣṭafàa[5] nwrindan
   b. Ol Muṣṭafā nūrïndan
   c. Ol Muṣṭafā nūrundan
   d. From Mustafa's light

7. a. 'wal darvišlar ṣ'afindan
   b. Ol dervišler ṣāfïndan
   c. Ol dervişler ṣāfından
   d. From the ranks of dervishes

8. a. faḥri faḥri muḥammad
   b. Faxri, faxri Muḥammad
   c. Faḫri, faḫri Muḥammed
   d. Glory, glory Muhammad

9. a. bay'an qil'an muḥammad[6]
   b. Bayān qïlan Muḥammad
   c. Beyān kılan Muḥammed
   d. Muhammad, who proclaimed the announcement

10. a. darvyislyik qilγ'n 'wal
    b. Dervišliknï qïlγan ol
    c. Dervişliğini kılan
    d. It is he who founded the Dervish order

11. a. ᶜ'aṣi larnyi yul'an 'wal[7]
    b. 'Āṣïlarnï yulan ol
    c. 'Āṣïları yolan ol
    d. It is he who rescued the sinners

12. a. furq'an kanča bwul'andah[8]
    b. ? Furqān kenğin bulanda
    c. ? Furkān genci bulanda
    d. He found the treasure of the Koran

13. a. qwup'ar âḫir ḏam'andah
    b. Qopar āxïr zamānda
    c. Kopar āḫır zamānda
    d. He will rise on the Day of Judgement

[5] One of Muhammad's names, Y 188.

[6] In SA, ST and SC this line is substituted for line 10.

[7] From Ar. ᶜāṣī (ᶜāṣᵘⁿ) "sinner"; Middle Turkic *yul-* "rescue", see Zajączkowski (1961, 85), Yüce (1988, 212) "fidye vererek esirlikten kurtarmak".

[8] Probably from Persian *genğ* "treasure" and unrelated to Tur. *genç*, Kipchak *kenğe*.

14. a. nwuryi 'yikyi ğih'andah y'aqal
    b. Nūrï eki ğihānda (continued in the line below)
    c. Nūru iki cihānda
    d. His light (shed) in both worlds

15. a. mišdarṣum 'yikyi ğih'andah[9]
    b. Yagïlmïšdïr eki ğihānda
    c. Yakılmıştır iki cihānda
    d. Lit in both worlds

16. a. ṭ'aqyi ᶜaršwuk muhammad
    b. ṭāqï ᶜaršuŋ Muḥammad
    c. ṭākı ᶜarşın Muḥammed
    d. Muhammad is the arch of your throne,

17. a. kwurankwurdyi ğam'alwundaṭ[10]
    b. Kören kördi ğamālïn ?
    c. Gören gördü cemālını
    d. Who looked saw His beauty

18. a. ham âyittyi kal'amwuk[11]
    b. Hem ayïttï kalāmïn
    c. Hem ayıttı kelāmını
    d. And pronounced His word

19. a. 'aldyilar 'isiryin sal'amwuk
    b. Aldïlar sïrrïn, salāmïn
    c. Aldılar sırrını, selāmını
    d. (and they) received his secrets (and) greeting

20. a. dawlat 'kawun muḥammad[12]
    b. Devlet ? Muḥammad
    c. Devlet ? Muḥammed
    d. ?

[9] *yagïlmišdur* is separated between two lines, it is absent from SA and SC, in ST *jad' il' mišdur*.

[10] In this copy, in some lines there are letters placed just after the main text without any meaning and connection with the prayer, e.g. *daṭ*, though they may be abbreviations or have an unknown sense.

[11] In the other copies, instead of *ayïtti* "he said" there is *ešitti* "he heard".

[12] Unclear; ST *dèvlet ali muxammed*, SC *daŭljât. Anúk anún Muxámmad*; Polish translation *nad ščenslivymi ščenslivy naš Muhammed* "our Muhammad, happy over the happies".

21. a. ṣarmarsuldur 'adwukdaṭ
    b. Ser-mürseldür adïŋ
    c. Sermürseldir adın
    d. Your name is chief messenger

22. a. 'ummat-larwuk dar y'adwuk
    b. ? Ümmetlerüŋdür yāduŋ
    c. ? Ümmetlerindir yādın
    d. ? Your communities are your memory

23. a. ḥuz'a takṯryi dar y'adwuk
    b. Xoda Teŋridür yāduŋ
    c. Ḫuda Tanrıdır yādın
    d. ? His memory is God

24. a. sart' ağumuz muḥammad
    b. Ser-tāğumuz Muḥammad
    c. Ser-tācımız Muḥammed
    d. You are our crown

25. a. 'ismu ṭâhâ va yâs-in daṭ[13]
    b. Ismi Tāhā ve Yāsin
    c. İsmü Ṭāhā ve Yāsin
    d. His name is Taha and Yasin

26. a. ğakar 'ummati yâs-in san'a[14]
    b. Ceker ümmeti Yāsin senā
    c. Çeker ümmeti Yāsin senā
    d. The community worship Yasin and glory (!)

27. a. nwuš 'idar γam dur yâs-in[15]
    b. Nūš eder ? ġam ?
    c. Nūş eder ? ġam ?
    d. He drinks ?

28. a. ğsmu 'aḥsanu muḥammad
    b. Ğismi ehsen Muḥammad
    c. Cismü ehsen Muḥammed
    d. Muhammad, his body is the best

[13] Ṭāhā and Jāsīn are the names of Koranic suras and at the same time Muhammad's names, Y 92.

[14] In the other copies *ceker ümmetler yāsin.*

[15] Unclear; if the damma above *ġ* is to be read fatḥa, probably *ġam deryāsïn* "the river ACC of sorrow", though Polish translation is *od zatrudn'en'a i frasunkov* "of annoyance and sorrow".

29. a. 'iḫl'aṣ dur 'adyi daṭ[16]
    b. Iḫlāṣdur adï
    c. Iḫlaştır adı
    d. His name is Ihlas

30. a. ḏw ''lǧal'alwuk ṣif'atyi[17]
    b. Ẕū-l-Ǧalāluŋ ṣïfatï
    c. Ẕülcelālin sıfatı
    d. His attribute is Majesty

31. a. maᶜrwuqwur b'aṭyina ṭa[18]
    b. Maᶜarūfdur bāṭïnï
    c. Maᶜrūfdur bāṭını
    d. (all is known to Him) what is not evident

32. a. kwular ywuḏlwu' muḥammad[19]
    b. Küler yüzlü Muḥammad
    c. Güler yüzlü Muḥammed
    d. Muhammad, the smiling faced

33. a. 'udyi 'lšamsu va 'ḍuhàa[20] maṭ
    b. Yüzü 'ššams ve ḍuḫāha
    c. Yüzü 'ş-şems ve ḍuḫāha
    d. His face is like Šams and Duhaha

34. a. qamar ywuḏlwu 'muṣṭafàa[21]
    b. Qamar yüzlü Muṣṭafā
    c. Kamer yüzlü Muṣṭafā
    d. Moon-like faced Mustafa

[16] In the other copies *qul: hūwa 'llahu-dur adï* "say: his name is He is God"; Iḫlāṣ is the name of Koran's 112th sura, cf. footnote 13.

[17] From Ar. *ḏū'l-ǧalāl* "magnificant, lord of majesty"; according to Woronowicz (1935, 365) *Zil Dżelal* was the Tatar word for the Paradise.

[18] Passage corrupt in all copies; from Ar. *maᶜrūf* "known" and *bāṭin* "secret, inner", as opposed to *ẓāhir* "evident, visible".

[19] *Güler yüzlü* is a popular epithet of Muhammad, invented as early as by Saᶜdi in his *Gulistan,* in Persian *besīm,* cf. Sami (1899, 293), Y 13.

[20] Aḍ-Ḍuḫā is the name of Koran's 93rd sura, see also the beginning of the 91st sura Aš-Šams: *va'š-šams va ḍuḫāha;* according to Y 231–32, the Prophet's face was compared by poets to the suras Aš-Šams, An-Nūr and Aḍ-Ḍuḫā.

[21] Muhammad's face was also commonly compared to the Moon, Y 228.

35. a. qul muḥammad 'ummati bay'anyi[22]
    b. Qul: "Muḥammad bayānï"
    c. Kul: "Muḥammed beyānı"
    d. Say: "(This is) Muhammad's announcement

36. a. yal ṣaql'aγyil 'yim'anyi
    b. Bek ṣaqlaγïl īmāni
    c. Pek ṣaklağıl īmānı
    d. Keep the faith firmly

37. a. ḥaq 'wučwun barsağ'anyi[23]
    b. Ḥaq üčün berse ğānı
    c. Ḥak için verse cānı
    d. Who gives (his) soul to the Just

38. a. kimi 'istar ᶜaizztyinyi
    b. Kimi ister ᶜizzeti
    c. Kimi ister ᶜizzeti
    d. One wants glory

39. a. dawkatyi ham za-natyi
    b. Ẓevqiyeti hem ziyneti
    c. Ẓevkiyatı hem ziyneti
    d. Pleasure and adornment

40. a. 'ummatyin 'istar muḥammad
    b. Ümmetin ister Muḥammad
       / Ümmet ister Muḥammadï
    c. Ümmeti ister Muḥammed
    d. Muhammad wants the community
       / The community wants Muhammad

41. a. raswul 'llahu muḥammad
    b. Rasūl 'llahi Muḥammad
    c. Resūl 'llahi Muḥammed
    d. Muhammad, messenger of Allah

42. a. q'ᵓynwuk tak y'aḍimiš[24]
    b. Qašï nūn tek yazïlmïš
    c. Kaşı nūn tek yazılmış
    d. His eyebrows are written like (the letter of) nun

[22] In the other copies *qul: Sulaymān bayāni* "say Salamon's announcement".
[23] In the other copies *kim ḥaq* ...
[24] Also a common comparison, sometimes referring to the Koranic sura of An-Nūn, Y 220.

43. a. dišy 'yinğinwu 'waḍu miš[25]
    b. Diši inğü dizilmiš
    c. Dişi inci dizilmiş
    d. His teeth are arranged (like) pearls

44. a. n'aẓyir hyiğ kalm'amiš[26]
    b. Naẓara hič kelmemiš
    c. Naẓara hiç gelmemiş
    d. Nothing can match his image

45. a. širyin zab'a muḥammadiš[27]
    b. Šīrīn zebā Muḥammad
    c. Šīrīn zebā Muḥammed
    d. Sweet and magnificent Muhammad

46. a. 'an'asundan twuɣ'and š
    b. Anasïndan tuvɣanda
    c. Anasından doğanda
    d. Born from his mother

47. a. 'ummatadyi walin-dan[28]
    b. ? Ümmet yād ettiɣinde / Ümmet edi delinde
    c. ? Ümmet yād ettiğinde
    d. ? When mentioning the community / Community was in his heart

48. a. 'ummtyğwun ṣ-ir'adan
    b. Ümmet ičün Ṣïraṭta
    c. Ümmet için Ṣıraṭta
    d. On behalf of the community on Sirat bridge

49. a. ṭwurṭa karaki muḥammad
    b. Tursa kerek Muḥammad
    c. Dursa gerek Muḥammed
    d. Muhammad shall stand[29]

[25] For Muhammad's teeth compared with pearls, Tur. *inci,* Ar. *durr, ṣadaf,* Persian *gawhar,* see Y 249–50.

[26] Polish translation *spojřenem takim nikt nebyl i ne może byt'.*

[27] Polish translation *penknosti takej nikt nebyl i ne bend'e* "nobody was and will as beautiful (as he)".

[28] Unclear, Polish translation *jak sę urod'il zarez ummet svuj vspomnal* "? he visited and then mentioned his community".

[29] Polish translation is slightly different *i dla ummetu čekat' bende Muhammed* "and Muhammad will wait for the community".

50. a. 'ummati 'γl'ardyi muḥammad[30]
b. Ümmettimiz aγlardï / Ümmeti aγlardï Muhammad
c. Ümmetimiz ağlardı
d. Our community wept
/ Muhammed wept over the community

51. a. nay'aḏ birle 'k'rdyi
b. Niyāz birle aŋardï
c. Niyāz birle anardı
d. Mentioned by invocation[31]

52. a. kandwu 'y'čyn quywum'aḏdyi[32]
b. Kendü ğānï qıyamazdı
c. Kendi cānı kıyamazdı or: Kendi canını ayamazdı
d. ? He did not refuse his soul

53. a. sulṭ'ana namuḏ muḥammad
b. Sulṭānumuz Muḥammad
c. Sulṭānımız Muḥammed
d. Muhammad, our King (Lord)

54. a. ğuntyi 'wul 'istmz
b. Ğenneti ol istemez
c. Cenneti ol istemez
d. He does not desire the Paradise

55. a. ğahannamdan -r hyiğ qurqmaz
b. Ğehennemden hīč qorqmaz
c. Cehennemden hīç korkmaz
d. He does not fear hell

56. a. 'ummatyin kwur ma'yinğ farḥ 'ulmuz
b. Ümmetin körmeyinğe (farḥ almaz / farḥï olmaz)
c. Ümmeti görmeyince (ferhi olmaz)
d. Until he does not see his community (he is not happy)

57. a. šafyui^{c} qilγay muḥammad 'ummati
b. Šafī^{c} qïlγay Muḥammad
c. Şafī^{c} kılgay Muḥammad
d. Oh, Muhammad, entreat for us

[30] In other copies *ümmetimiz aγlardï* "our community wept"; Polish translation *i dla ummetu bend'e plakal* "and he will cry because of the community".

[31] Polish translation *serdečne i šče̋o uprosil pana boga* "he asked God for favour frankly and honestly".

[32] Polish translation *o svojej dušy nefrasovals'e* "he did not bother with his soul".

58. a. 'llah 'llah ḫuzay'a
    b. Allah, Allah Xodaya
    c. Allah, Allah Ḫudaya
    d. For God

59. a. dwaymuz 'ummat ᶜaẓ'ay'a'[33]
    b. Doymaz ümmet ᶜaṭāya
    c. Doymaz ümmet ᶜaṭāya
    d. The community will not be satisfied with what they get

60. a. fary'ad qilγ'ay muḥammad
    b. Feryād qïlγay Muḥammad
    c. Feryād kılğay Muḥammed
    d. Muhammad, weep

61. a. 'llah 'llah d'aᶜyisad
    b. Allah, Allah deyiser
    c. Allah, Allah deyiser
    d. When saying Allah, Allah

62. a. bur'aγ 'wul binisarh
    b. Buraqqa ol biniser
    c. Burak'a ol biniser
    d. He will mount Burak

63. a. 'ummat 'lnindah ywursyiz[34]
    b. Ümmet alnïnda yüriser
    c. Ümmet önünde yüriser
    d. And walk in front of the community

64. a. ṣalnih kadar muḥammad[35]
    b. ? keter Muḥammad
    c. ? gider Muḥammed
    d. ? Muhammad walks away

65. a. hab sanwuk 'ummatwuk
    b. Hep senüŋ ümmetüŋüz
    c. Hep senin ümmetiniz
    d. We are all the time your community

[33] Unclear.

[34] Polish translation *per (před) ummetem svoim bend'e jehal* "he will go away in front of his community".

[35] *ṣalmayiñča* ? "until (he) does not leave", since the Polish translation is *ne zostavivšy žadnego pojed'e Muhammed* "Muhammad will go away, but will not leave anybody".

66. a. kiğa kandwu' 'aγladuḍ h
    b. Keğe kündüz aγlaruz
    c. Gece gündüz ağlarız
    d. We are lamenting day and night

67. a. qwuma bizyi muḥammad
    b. Qoyma bizi Muḥammad
    c. Koyma bizi Muḥammed
    d. Muhammad, do not leave us

68. a. qiy'amat kwun 'wul duqdha
    b. Qïyamāt kün olduqda
    c. Kıyāmet gün oldukta
    d. When the Last Judgement comes

69. a. maq'abirdan čiq duqdha
    b. Maqābïrdan čïqduqda
    c. Makābirden çıktıkta
    d. Rising from the tomb

70. a. ṣ'af ṣ'af 'wulwub twurduqda
    b. Ṣāf, ṣāf olub turduqda
    c. Ṣāf, ṣāf olup durdukta
    d. Standing in the ranks

71. a. niy'aḍuwa qilγ'ay muḥammad
    b. Niyāz qïlγay Muḥammad
    c. Niyāz kılğay Muḥammed
    d. Muhammad, entreat for us

72. a. 'allah, 'allah, 'allah hwmγw qilγ'ay
    b. Allah, Allah, Allahumma ᶜafw qïlγay
    c. Allah, Allah Allahumma ᶜafw kılğay
    d. Allah, Allah, Allah forgive me

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SA = Arabic copy of Smilovice version
SC = Cyrillic handwritten copy of Smilovice version
ST = Cyrillic typewritten copy of Smilovice version

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THE BUSH PROTECTS THE LITTLE BIRD

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This short note is but an essay at an idea to be proved or rejected by further investigation. It is an attempt to connect a saying well-known from medieval Mongol oral tradition with another, less known, Turkish saying as it appears in a single occurrence in an early-eighteenth-century case of Ottoman diplomacy.

The Mongol saying is mentioned first in the Secret History of Mongols (*Mongqolun niuca tobcaan = MNT*, section 85), in the episode of Temüjin's escape from the Tayichi'ut camp. That night of the "red moon" he realized he had no other way than to take refuge in the tent of Sorqan Shira, the man who had found but had not denounced him. And despite this man's warning to flee away (unarmed, with no horse and provisions) immediately, he decided to hide himself in Sorqan Shira's home where once he had been treated with sympathy by the man's children. And when Sorqan Shira reproached him endangering the family with his seeking refuge there despite the warning, there were again the children, Chimbai and Chilawun, who defended the undesired guest against their father with the saying, then obviously a commonplace: *šibawuqani turumtai butatur qorqobasu buta aburaǰu'ui* "[The] bush saved [the] little bird when [the] *turumtai*-falcon chased [it] into [the] bush."

See:

Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Vol. II. Wiesbaden 1965, 502–504, no. 896, s.v. *turumtai* with his German translation of the proverb in *MNT* § 85: "ein Vögelchen, das ein *turimtai* [read *turumtai*] in den Busch Zufluchtnahme gezwungen hat, da schützt der Busch." (502); quoting Juvaynî's version in John A. Boyle's translation: "The kite that takes refuge in a thicket from the talons of the falcon is safe from its fury" (*The History of the World-Conqueror by 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini*. Vol. I. Manchester University Press 1958, 242, also note 8, "*turumtai*, ... perhaps the Merlin", quoting Barthold and Mostaert, see below), Anonymous *Altan Tobči* parallel *siryun iregsen boljimar-i buta qoryodayuluyu* in Charles R. Bawden's rendering (*The Mongolian Chronicle Altan Tobči*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz 1955, 122–123, note 17.2): "the bush hides a lark which has entered fleeing", and his *Erdeni-yin Tobči* variant *sir<a>yura iregsen boljimar-tur buta qory-a bolun bögetele* ... "while a bush is a fortress [= refuge] to the lark which has come [to pierce into = to shelter] ..." For this latter sentence John R. Krueger

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gave an exact interpretation: "Inasmuch as a bush is a fold for a meadow-lark come to take refuge ..." (*Poetical Passages in the Erdeni-yin Tobči*. 's-Gravenhage, Mouton 1961, 48). Perhaps "lark" is enough (cf. Khalkha *bolǰimor* id.); a meadow-lark may be too big. Southern Mongolian *bolǰomor* 'sparrow' (= *boro bilǰuuqai* in Bürintegüs' orthoepic and orthographic dictionary *Mongγol kelen-ü ǰöb daγudalγ-a ǰöb bičilge-yin toli*, Jining, *Öbör Mongγol-un suryan kümüǰil-ün keblel-ün qoriy-a*. 1977, 175, *bolǰmor* = Chin. *majiao* 'house-sparrow' in Daobu = Dob, *Menggu yu jianzi*, Beijing, Minzu chubanshe 1983, 174), was the target in Inner Mongolian brochures of the time of the "Great Leap" as one of the *qoortan,* harmful animals, a winged victim of the "animal purges" in Mao's China. Cf. also Bao'an/Čen *bëlǰir* id., Santa/Böke *bunǰu* id. and 'small bird', Yugur/Bulučilaγu *xara βölǰir* 'swallow', Middle Mong. *bilda'ur, bilǰi'ur,* Mong. *bilǰuuqai,* etc., *Acta Orient. Hung.* XLIV (1990) 285;

Louis Ligeti's translation (Ligeti, Lajos, *A mongolok titkos története* [The Secret History of the Mongols]. Budapest, Gondolat Kiadó 1962, 24): "Mikor a verebet a torontál-sólyom a bokorba űzi, a bokor oltalmába fogadja." (When the *turumtai*-falcon chases the sparrow into the bush, the bush provides it with shelter.);

Igor de Rachewiltz's translation in the *Papers on Far Eastern History*, no. 4 Canberra, September 1971, 141: "When a sparrow hawk chases a sparrow into a bush, even the bush protects him." (Here "even" may correspond to Chinese *ye* in the summary following the section; see also *butaber* in Lubsangdanjin's *Altan Tobči* below.);

Antoine Mostaert in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* XIII (1950) 312 on *turumtai*; 313: "Ses deux fils, Čimbai et Čila'un [= Čilawun] dirent: 'Si un *turumtai* (= nom d'un oiseau de proie de petite taille) fait se refugier un petit oiseau dans un buisson, le buisson le sauve (m.à m.: "le sauva").'" Also Ordos proverb with praeteritum perfecti is mentioned (*MNT* has praet. imperfecti).

Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin's *Golden Chronicle (Altan tobči)* has a slightly different version: *sibaγuqan <turuγun-a> turumtay-a (turuγun-a) üldegdeǰü : buta-ṯur qoryalabasu butaber aburayu :* "Even the shrub saves the [life of the] little bird if it, pursued by the *turumtai*-falcon, seeks refuge in the bush." This version may show that the sentence in the *MNT* as it appears in Chinese transcription could have been considered later too terse and the first verb *qorqo-* 'to chase into' could seem obsolete; here *qoryala-* 'to take shelter' is used instead, changing the structure of the sentence. Middle Mong. *MNT qorqo-/qorqa-*, causative and transitive from intransitive *qor-* 'to hide oneself, to take refuge' as in *MNT* § 129; hence also *qorqa*, Mong. *qorγ-a/qoryo*, Khalkha *xorgo* 'shelter' and Mong. *qoryala-*, *qoryoda-* 'to take refuge'. (The second word of the Mongol sentence is a variant of the mostly Middle Mong. *turaγun*, *tura'un* 'crow/raven' and it may, by a scribal error, come from the interlinear glose if the older Ulaanbaatar MS. is a copy of a copy with interlinear notes. (For the insertion "the life of" see the Chinese summary in the *MNT*. For *turuγun*, see *turaγun* in James E. Bosson, *A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels: The Subhāṣita-*

ratnanidhi of Sa Skya Paṇḍita in Tibetan and Mongolian. Indiana University, Bloomington 1969, 301, note 4.)

The sentence in question was rightly transcribed and fairly interpreted by John R. Krueger (*Poetical Passages*, 49–50): "When the little crane-bird is pursued by the *turumtai*-hawk ... It is saved by the bush." But here *turuγun* is taken for *toγuraγun* (Middle Mong. *toqora'un/toqura'un,* etc.) 'crane' (cf. Ligeti: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIV (1962) 69) and *buta*[ ]*ber* translated as instrumental *butabar* — the same in Ligeti's *Histoire secrète des Mongols, Texte en écriture ouigoure incorporé dans la chronique Altan Tobči de Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1974, 48; and in Hans-Peter Vietze und Gendeng Lubsang, *Altan Tobči. Eine mongolische Chronik des XVII. Jahrhunderts von Blo bzaṅ bstan 'jin. Text und Index.* (Tokyo, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Afrika 1992, 15) — impossible if the verb is as obstinately transitive as *abura-*. The latter editors read *sibaγuγan doroquna doromtay-a*, etc. = ? Similarly helpless is C. Šagdar's reading (*Altan towč* in Cyrillic, Ulaanbaatar, Ulsîn Xewleliin Gajar 1990, 27): *šuwuun türüxünee üldegdeǰ* (*xarcagand xöögdsön šuwuu* N.T.) *butand xoroolbaas but awar'yuu.* The manuscript has *butaber* at the end of the line, what can be the reason of pasting the particle to the previous word. In the Written Mongol texts of the New Mongol period, the particle *ber* could also be read *bar* after back-vowel words as if a suffix, and there are, even in modern literary Khalkha in Cyrillic script, cases of confusing this particle with the instrumental suffix marking the subject in a pseudo-Tibetan way; the commonest form of this kind is *terbeer* < Mong. *tere ber* 'he/she'.) Cf. also Nina P. Šastina, ed., Lubsan Danzan, *Altan tobči ("Zolotoe Skazanie").* Moskva, Nauka 1973, 78, 322, notes 56–57 with Vasilij V. Bartol'd (Wilhem Barthold)'s remark on the parallel of *MNT* § 85 and a passage in Juvaynî's *History of the World-Conqueror.* Šastina's translation: "Ptaška, gonimaja hiščnikom, prjačetsja v kust, i kust spasaet ee." (The small bird pursued by the bird of prey hides itself in the shrub, and the shrub saves it.)

In Juvaynî's passage discussed by Doerfer, the proverb appears in Köten/Köden's answer to Empress Dowager Töregene/Döregene's demand of extradition of Maḥmûd Yalawach and his companions (cf. V. V. Bartol'd, *Turkestan v êpohu mongol'skogo našestvija.* In: *Sočinenija.* Vol. I, 88, note 3, also quoting Palladij Kafarov's Russian translation of the Chinese translation of the sentence in the *Secret History*; Kafarov has "thick grass" for what is "shrub/bush" in the Mongolian original, the name of the bird of prey is *lundor*, Russian transcription of the Chinese name).

The same story is retold by Rashîd ad-Dîn in his *Collection of Histories*, see *The Successors of Genghis Khan.* Translated from the Persian of Rashîd ad-Dîn by John A. Boyle (New York–London, Columbia University Press, 1971, 177): "Tell thy mother: 'The kite that takes refuge in a thicket from the talons of the falcon is safe from its enemy's fury. ...'." Also Russian translation by Jurij P. Verhovskij in *Sbornik letopisej* (ed. by I. P. Petruševskij, Moskva–Leningrad, Akademija nauk 1960, 115–116), Köden's answer to his mother demanding the

extradition of Yalawach and Chinqay: "Skažite moej materi, čto kogda vorobej ukryvaetsja v ternovnike ot kogtej sokola, to on nahodit tam spasenie ot jarosti protivnika ... = Tell my mother: when the sparrow hides in the buckthorn, it finds there refuge from the fury of the enemy ..." Instead of Boyle's "kite" (so in Steingass' *Persian–English Dictionary*), Verhovskij translated "sparrow" for Arabo-Persian *bigāṣ/bugāṣ*, which is better for the context (see also Edward W. Lane's *Arabic–English Lexicon*. Book I. London–Edinburgh, Williams and Norgate 1863, reprint of The Islamic Texts Society 1984, 229a: "A bird that does not prey, ... *or* small birds that do not prey, such as sparrows and the like, ...").

The occurrence of the saying in Juvaynî's *History* and Rashîd ad-Dîn's *Collection* affirms its being not an improvisation by the children of Temüjin's unwilling host, but an allegory commonly used among the Mongols in the 13th and 14th centuries. I have not found any living equivalent of this proverb in the modern sources.

Besides, Sorqan Shira also uttered another metaphoric image when describing the fugitive's pleasant face, *MNT* § 83: *nidündüriyen qaltu ni'urturiyan geretü* "with fire in your eyes, with light on your face." Variants of this pair of metaphors were used respectively by Dei Sechen when he first saw Temüjin, his future son-in-law, and by Yisügei, Temüjin's father, when he looked at his future daughter-in-law, *MNT* § 62: *ene kö'ün činu nidüntüriyen qaltu ni'urturiyan geretü kö'ün büi* "This son of yours is a son with fire in his eyes and with light on his face" and *MNT* § 66: *öki inu üjebesü ni'urturiyan geretei nidüntüriyen qaltai ökini üjejü* "When (Yisügei) looked at (Dei Sechen)'s daughter, he saw (that) daughter having light on her face and fire in her eyes," further, it is a part of the desperate flattery worded by the captured Tayichi'ut leader Tarqutai Kiriltuq, *MNT* § 149: *üčügen čaqtur nidündüriyen qaltu ni'urturiyan geretü büle'e* "in his youth (Temüjin) had fire in his eyes and light on his face." According to a biography in Song Lian's *Yuan Shih*, chapter 124, Chinggis Khan himself deigned to say one of the two halves of this double saying when praising an Uigur youth, Mungsuz ("The Carefree"), it was translated into Chinese: *mu zhong you huo* "having fire in (his) eyes" (about him, see also B. Ögel, *Sino–Turcica*. Taipei 1964, 92 –98).

The Turco–Mongol name (Turkic *turumtay*, Mongolian *turumtai*) of the bird of prey in the saying became the name of the county of Torontál in the south of old Hungary (place name < personal name; personal name < bird name; cf. also *torontál*, a special type of carpet, originally from the county of Torontál; place name > name of a product coming from that place). Discussing the history of the Hungarian word, Louis Ligeti listed the Turkic and Mongolian forms including the one in the Secret History, see Ligeti, Lajos, *Jövevényszavaink és a vitás etimológiák kérdése (torontayl, torontál)* [Our loan words and the problem of the doubtful etymologies]. In: *Pais-Emlékkönyv*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1956, 336–346 (reprinted in: *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai és ami körülöttük*

van [The Turkic relations of the Hungarian language and what is around them]. Vol. I. Budapest, MTA Könyvtára 1977, 171–181).

The shrub/bush defending the little bird from the *turumtai/turumtay*-falcon (perhaps sparrow hawk, merlin, etc.) was perhaps a common part of the oral tradition of the Inner Asian nomads, Mongols and Turks, of the period.

A similar, though not the same, saying is found in the account of Prince Franciscus Rákóczi II in exile in Turkey on how the Ottoman court refused the Austrian request of his extradition. His Latin-written reminiscences relate the debate that took place the year after the conclusion of the peace treaty of Passarowitz (21 July 1718), when eight years had passed after the end of the Prince's ill-fated war against the Habsburgs, in the spring of 1719, between the Ottoman Vizier İbrahim and the Count and general Damian Hugo Virmond, then new ambassador of Vienna in Constantinople/İstanbul ("Comes a Firmont, caractere Magni Legati Caesarei insignitus" in Rákóczi's *Confessions*: Principis Francisci II. Rákóczi *Confessiones* et *Aspirationes principi Christiani*. E codice Bibliothecae Nationalis Parisiensis edidit Commissio fontium historiae patriae Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapestini: Bibliopolium Academiae Hungaricae, 1876, 336). Here is the context in which the saying occurs (339–340):

> "Haec fuere praeludia propositionum Legati Caesarei, quas de me reitirare decrevit novis et urgentibus ab Aula sua acceptis mandatis et literis; occasione igitur nacta, cum ad convivium supremi Classis Praefecti cum Vezirio invitatus fuisset, praevie cum illi colloquium petiit, cui referendo pomposam et benignam Legati Turcici exceptionem Viennae subjunxit; nova se accepisse mandata, ut extradationem personae meae tanquam inimici domini sui cum ceateris Hungaris adurgeret; ad quod Vezirius respondit, jam saepe se dixisse, me esse hospitem Portae et similia in me exercere conscientiam, honorem et legem Portae vetare; petere proinde, ut desistat a similibus petendis. Sed respondit Legatus, non posse Aulam sibi persuadere sinceram esse erga se Portae amicitiam, quamdiu inimicos suos in limine suo tenet (contra) rationem status imperiorum; suadet igitur, ut pro mutua confidentia stabilienda hinc adminimum amovear, et releger in tam remota loca, et sub tam arcta custodia tenear, ut cum nemine possim correspondere; cum par sit mea erga duo Imperia secreta inimicitia, quam foveo in corde et personaliter contra Vezirium; ad haec firmius urgenda tradidit Principis Eugenii Sabaudiae, Praesidis Concilii Bellici, ex mandato Caesaris scriptas literas et petitum nomine Electorum Imperii (quamvis false), et reassumpsit dicens praeterea hoc jam occasione pacis Pasarovicensis, proxime conclusae, fuisse a plenipotentiariis Portae per rescriptum particulare promissum.
>
> Sed ad haec indignabundus respondit Vezirius: Me esse hospitem Imperatoris invitatum, et sub protectione Portae; etiamsi ini-

micus ejus essem, securum; **non esse arbustulum, quod aviculam refugientem ad se non defendat pro posse suo**; quidni tantum Imperium hoc praestare debere; quod promissum concernit ignorare se, nec [340] quid ex mandato suo factum fuisse praeter id, quod publicis tabulis pacis insertum est; inquisiturum tamen se a Legato secundario, hic existente et facti rationem petiturum. ..."

"These were the preludes of the propositions of the Caesar's ambassador that he decided to repeat concerning my person, in conformity with the new and urging instructions and letters he received from his Court. Thus, when opportunity arose, when invited to the dinner of the prefect of the highest class together with the Vizier, he strove forward to talk with him, enthralled him by bringing up the ostentatious and favourable exception of the Turkish ambassador in Vienna, to undertake the new instructions in order to pursue the extradition of my person, so harmful for his lord, and (the extradition) of the other Hungarians. At that the Vizier replied: he had already often stated that I was the guest of the Porte and to take similar (measures) against me would contradict the conscience, honour and law of the Porte, and therefore he demanded to put an end to similar demands. Nevertheless the ambassador answered: the Court can not be convinced of that the friendship of the Porte toward it be sincere as long as the Porte keeps the enemies of the Court within its boundaries, against the reason of the status of the Empires. Thus, for the sake of mutual confidence that is to be stabilized, he suggests at least to remove (these enemies) and to settle them in such a remote place and to keep them under such a severe custody that I can not correspond with anybody, since equal is my secret enmity I nurture in my heart toward the two Empires and personally against the Vizier. About these rather strongly urged (matters) he handed over the letters written by Prince Eugene of Savoy, president of the War Council, by the order of the Caesar and the request, though falsely, in the name of the Electors of the Empire, and claimed again what had already been said on the occasion of the recently concluded peace of Passarowitz, and what was promised by the plenipotentaries of the Porte in a particular rescript.

At these however the Vizier replied indignantly that I was a guest invited by the Emperor and being under the protection of the Porte, I was safe even if hostile. **There is no shrub**, *(he said),* **that would not, by all means it has, defend the little bird that flees into it.** Why should not then such a great empire be obliged to take this upon itself? As to the (alleged) promise (he said) he had no knowledge (of it), and none was made by his command before that what is inserted in the public tables of peace; nevertheless he would

inquire the second (Ottoman) ambassador here present and he would request explanation of what had been done ...".

Cf. Dr. Márki, Sándor, *II. Rákóczi Ferencz.* III. kötet, *1709–1735*. Budapest, A Magyar Történeti Társulat kiadása 1910, 64–65: the Austrian demand of extradition or deportation of R. and his companions, a topic in the Passarowitz negotiations[Turk. Pasarofča, Serb. Požarevac, Hung. Pozserovác; on this Serbian town and the Treaty of P., see Fehim Bajraktarević's article in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition.* Vol. VIII, fasc. 135–136 (Leiden etc., Brill 1993), 278–279, or, *E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam.* Vol. VI (reprint, Leiden etc., 1987), 1077–1078]; 342–343: Austrian ambassador, count and general Damian Hugo Virmond's efforts in Constantinople against R., his debate with the Vizier, [İbrâhîm Paša Nevšehirli], the latter's refusal of the Austrian claim; quotation of "the bush and the little bird" allegory, translation from the *Confessions*: "R. a császár meghívott vendége és a porta védelme alatt áll. Biztonságban van, ha ellenség volna is. Nincs olyan bokor, mely, ha lehet, a menedéket kereső madarat nem védené. Hát hogyne védené meg ekkora birodalom?" (= R. is an invited guest of the Emperor and is under the protection of the Porte. He is in security, even if he were an enemy. There is no shrub that, if possible, would not defend the bird seeking refuge. Then how would not such a great empire defend him?)

See also *Târîx-i Râšid (Raşit Tarihi)* quoted by Karácson, Imre dr., *Rákóczi a török történetírásban* [R. in the Turkish historiography]. *Katholikus Szemle. Tizenhetedik kötet.* Budapest 1903, 753–759 (the dispute on the extradition is described without "the bush and the little bird" allegory); Hopp, Lajos, ed., *Mikes Kelemen összes művei* [K. Mikes's collected works]. Vol. I. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1966, 486; Köpeczi, Béla, *A bujdosó Rákóczi* [R. in Exile]. (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1991), 367; on the *Confessions*: 489–503. On the salary of İbrahim Müteferrika, Turkish official and printer of Hungarian origin, one of R.'s interpreters and possible informers about the dispute, see Tayyib Gökbilgin, *II. Rákóczi Ferencre és a bujdosókra vonatkozó új török források* [New Turkish sources on R. and the (other) exiles]. In: *Rákóczi-tanulmányok* [Studies on R.]. Ed. by L. Hopp–B. Köpeczi–Ágnes R. Várkonyi. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1980, 711–715, on his person: see Niyazi Berkes's article in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition.* Vol. III, fasc. 55–56 (1969) 996–998; on the fee of Mustafa, another interpreter of R., see Maria M. Mravkarova's note in the *Rákóczi-tanulmányok,* 717–722. On İbrahim Paşa's Embassy in Vienna, cf. Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı sefirleri ve sefaretnameleri* (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu 1968), 26–27 (note 26, quoting *Raşit Tarihi),* 52–53 (Professor Gustav Bayerle was kind to lend me his copy of this study).

I have not yet found equivalents of this motif in the literary tradition and the living folklore of the Turkic peoples — a field too vast and I have not access but to some of its minute portions. Among the 18085 Kazan Tatar idioms, proverbs and aphorisms published in Xuǰiäxmät Š. Mäxmütov's collection (*Tatar xalïk iǰatï. Mäkal'lär häm äytemnär. Tatarskoe narodnoe tvorčestvo.*

Poslovicy i pogovorki. Kazan', Tatarskoe Knižnoe Izdatel'stvo 1987), nos 3820–4228 deal with wild birds *(košlar)* including such birds of prey as *ätälge, bayguš, börkät, karčïga, lačïn, torïmtay, šoŋkar, yabalak*, e.g., *Torïmtaydan ochkïr koš bulmas, turgay tašlap kaz almas*. "There is no swifter flyer than the red-footed falcon; throwing a lark one does not get a goose." (148, no. 4218), or, *šoŋkardan koš kurkïr, turgaydan kort kurkïr*. "The bird fears the falcon, the worm fears the sparrow." (147, no. 4194). In one of E. Kemal Eyüboğlu's Turkish proverbs (*On üçüncü yüzyıldan günümüze kadar Şiirde ve Halk Dilinde Atasözleri ve Deyimler* [Proverbs and sayings in the poetry and folk language from the 13th century to our days]. Birinci kitap, İstanbul 1973, 56, I borrowed from Professor Bayerle's library) the hare finds shelter in the bush: *Çalı dibinde tavşan yuvası*. "Hare's lair [is] at the bottom of the bush" (not in Metin Yurtbaşı's recent and excellent work, *A Dictionary of Turkish Proverbs*. Ankara, Turkish Daily News 1993, with more than 5,000 items, a book of which I learned from Professor İlhan Başgöz), but here the bush is "passive", the home of a quadruped, so this is another "story".

Anyhow, it is not quite impossible that the Ottoman allegory of the bird fleeing for refuge into the bush that protects it, as preserved in Rákóczi's account, and the medieval Mongol saying have common roots in the oral tradition of Inner Asia.

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NOTES ON THE ORIGIN OF HUNGARIAN *KÖSÖNTYŰ* 'NECKLACE'

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1. The Historical–Etymological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language (*TESz*) gives the meaning of the word *kösöntyű* as 'necklace, bracelet, clip'. It claims that the word is of uncertain origin, most probably a participle of the causative verb **kösönt* 'hang, suspend', formed the same way as several other *-ú/-ű* participial forms used as nouns like *pattantyú* (from *pattant* 'crack, snap'), and *sarkantyú* 'spur' (from a hypothetical labial form of *serkent* 'urge').[1] To support this theory the *TESz* refers to the verb *kösönködik* 'hold on, cling to' found only in dialects and considered to be a frequentative-reflexive derivation from the hypothetical stem **kösönt*.[2] Referring to Vámbéry's[3] explanation it also adds that labelling the word as a Turkic loanword in Hungarian is unacceptable.

2. On consulting the modern Hungarian dictionaries (i.e. dictionaries published since the 1860s) compiled on the basis of the available linguistic data of vocabularies, glossaries, literary works from the earliest times of Hungarian literacy, we find that the exact meaning of the word is quite obscure. The dictionaries at our disposal seem to agree only on two basic points: 1. the word is considered an archaic one, used mainly in literary works, and in some dialects; 2. *kösöntyű* means some kind of jewellery mainly worn by women, most often a pair of clasps for fastening a cloak ('Spangeband'), a necklace ('Halsband'), or in some cases, a bracelet ('Armband').[4]

[1] *TESz* Vol. 2, 623–624. For the -ú/-ű participial forms see also F. Kräuter, Adalékok a magyar történeti hangtanhoz. III. A -tyú/tyű képző eredete. *MNy* IX (1913) 119–124; L. Benkő (Ed.), *A magyar nyelv történeti nyelvtana. Vol. 1. A korai ómagyar kor és előzményei*. Budapest 1991, 325–326.

[2] The same explanation is found in Bárczy's dictionary: "vsz. egy fogódzkodik, kapaszkodik jelentésű, ismeretlen eredetű igei tő igeneve, vö. népnyelvi *kösönködik* ráakaszkodik." (G. Bárczy, *Magyar szófejtő szótár*. Budapest 1941, 177.)

[3] Vámbéry connected Hungarian *kösöntyű* with Turki *košanti* 'ready-made dress, adornment'. (Á. Vámbéry, *A magyarság bölcsőjénél*. Budapest 1914, 185.)

[4] "...Molnár A. szerént am. Nyakra való ékesség, nyaklánczy, tovább karkötő (monile, spinter, lunula; Armband, Halsband)... . calepinusnál 'spinter', mely alatt ruhaékesítő kapocs, csat értetik." (G. Czuczor–J. Fogarasi, *A magyar nyelv szótára*. Vol. III. Pest 1865, 1115).; "monile, spinter, lunula, Spangeband, Armband, Halsband, Medaillon, Brosche" (I. Szamota–Gy. Zolnai, *Magyar oklevélszótár. Pótlék a Magyar Nyelvtörténeti Szótárhoz*. Budapest 1902–1906, 542);

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2.1. Before offering a new explanation for the etymology of the word *kösöntyű*, I would like to give a short survey of the word's various meanings as they are represented by the available lexicographical, literary, and dialectal data.

Since its first occurrence in 1395 it has been included in almost every dictionary, or vocabulary either as a separate entry or in case of Latin–Hungarian, or German–Hungarian dictionaries as an explanation.

1395: "monile – *kezentheu*, olv. kösöntyű; spint' – arantheu; spinter, aranytű?"[5]; 1416: "munile – *kesente* – kösöntyű; spinter – idem."[6]; 1560: "armilla torques brachiale: *kar öltöző ekessegh. uel kőssőntyű*; armillatus qui armillas habet: *aran lanchos, kőssőntyűs fyryses*."[7]; 1577: *kösöntiű*: monile"[8]; 1585: monile – *kösöntiw*, kapots"[9]; "lunula – *Hold formaiu kösöntiw*. Hoc est quod scribit Hieronym. habere mulieres in lunae similitudinem bulles de pendants – *kösöntym*, kapots"[10]; "spinter – kapotsgombos tü, *arany kösöntyw*"[11]; 1621: "monile – nyaki drága ékeség"[12]; lunula – *holdoczka szabaso kössönytyű*"[13]; spinter – kapocz, gombos tü, *arany kössöntyű*"[14]; 1762: "*kösöntyö*: spinter, monile, vide kösöntyü; *kösöntyü*: monile, spinter, lunula"[15]; "lunula: *kösöntyü*, boglár"[16]; "spinter: arany perecz, kapots, gombos tö, arany kösöntyü, palástra vagy köpenyegre való öreg kapots"[17] (Interestingly enough at the entry *monile* kösöntyű is not given as a meaning.)[18]; 1818: "lunula: ... 2. tsat; eine Spange 3.

"Frauenschmuck, Armspange, Halskette" (Á. Vámbéry, *op. cit.*, 185); "1. melltű, mellcsat, medaillon ... 2. karperec ..." (J. Szinnyei, *Magyar Tájszótár*. Vol. I. Budapest 1893, 1218); "Nemesfémből készült, drágakövekkel, zománcos díszítéssel ékesített, változatos formájú női ékszer (kül. Karkötő, karperec, nyaklánc, násfa, mellcsat, melltű)." (*A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára*. Vol. IV. Budapest 1961); "Halsschmuck, Armband" (J. Berrár–S. Károly (Eds), *Régi magyar glosszárium. Szótárak, szójegyzékek és glosszák egyesített szótára*. Budapest 1984, 431); "ált. női ékszer, kül. 1. nyaklánc, 2. a.m. karperec, 3. a női köpeny felső részén, a nyaknál arany v. ezüst csat lánccal." (M. Ballagi, *A magyar nyelv teljes szótára*. Vol. II. Pest 1873, 122); "ékszer, karkötő, nyaklánc, nyakból függő" (J. Balassa, *A magyar nyelv szótára*. Vol. I. Budapest 1940, 453); "Spangeband, Armband, Halsband" (G. Szarvas–Zs. Simonyi (Eds), *Magyar nyelvtörténeti szótár*. Vol. II. Budapest 1891, 418).

5 H. Finály, *A beszterczei szószedet. Latin–magyar nyelvemlék a XV. századból*. Budapest 1892, 38.

6 I. Szamota, *A schlägli magyar szójegyzék. A XV. század első negyedéből*. Budapest 1894, 53.

7 J. Melich, *A gyöngyösi latin–magyar szótár-töredék*. Budapest 1898, 84.

8 M. Pálfi, Kolozsvári glosszák. *Nyelvészeti Füzetek* 45 (1907) 39.

9 J. Melich, *Calepinus latin–magyar szótára 1585-ből*. Budapest 1912, 204.

10 *Ibid.*, 192.

11 *Ibid.*, 295.

12 A. Molnár, *Dictionarium latino–hungaricum*. Heidelberg 1621, 607.

13 *Ibid.*, 566.

14 *Ibid.*, 889.

15 F. Pápai-Páriz–P. Bod, *Dictionarium latino–hungaricum*. Nagyszombat 1762, 893.

16 *Ibid.*, 421.

17 *Ibid.*, 646.

18 "monile: nyaki drága ékesség". *Ibid.*, 444.

kösöntyű; félhold forma asszonyi ékesség. Ein weiblicher Schmuck in Gestalt des halben Mondes."[19]

Though in literary works of the 15th–17th centuries the word *kösöntyű* did not occur very frequently, it seems to be a well-known word. Unfortunately our sources seldom provide us with a context that would make it possible to define the exact meaning of the word but the authors of the works quoted here seem to use *kösöntyű* in the meaning 'brooch'.

1450: "ekeseiticvala o higiuel es o kosontoievel"[20]; 1508:" ...A göngöc, A firisöc, A kösöntöc, A nasfac a gürüc kiket vyodba viseltel."[21] 1552: "A sok gyűrőket, boglárokat, kapcsokat, *kösöntyűket*, etc. ki számlálhatja meg?"[22]; 1572: Sem arany *kösentyű*, gyűrő és lánc..."[23]; 1590: "Az te tomporodnak kerületi ollyanoc mint az mester ember kezétől csináltatot *kösöntyöc*."[24]; 1591: "Draga függőkkel szepetettelek, chörchent és gaytent attam füleidre, kössönchőt melledre."[25]; 1628: "Mellyeken való kössöntyűjöket az tanácsnac attác."[26]; 1697:" Az asszonynak mellyén ékes kösöntyűk vannak."[27]

Despite the fact that from the lexicographical and literary data cited above *kösöntyű* appears to be a technical term belonging to a professional register and denoting a certain, commonly used piece of jewellery, it is not met with in such important official inventories of noble estates as the list of the treasures owned by György Rákóczy I from 1643, or the inventory of István Bocskai's belongings.[28] In earlier official documents it appears only once, in a charter from 1480, meaning 'a pair of silver clasps for fastening a cloak'.[29]

2.2. As a dialectal word *kösöntyű* occurs only in some of the Hungarian dialects spoken in various areas in Transylvania. Among the *csángós* in Hétfalu it denotes a kind of round brooch, 5–6 inches in diameter, made of silver or brass with a silver coating, decorated with pearls or glassbeads, worn by young women.[30] With all probability this piece of jewellery is a borrowing from the

19 J. Márton, *Lexicon trilingue latino–hungarico–germanicum*. Vol. I. Wien 1818, 1739.

20 G. Mészöly (Ed.), *Bécsi Kódex*. 1416u/1450k. Budapest 1916, 183.

21 Nádor-kódex. In: L. Katona (Ed.), *Nyelvemléktár*. XV. Budapest 1908, 225.

22 G. Heltai, A részegségnek és tobzódásnak veszedelmes voltáról való dialógus. In: *Heltai Gáspár és Bornemissza Péter művei*. Budapest 1980, 41.

23 G. Heltai, Ponciánus császár históriája. In: *Heltai Gáspár és Bornemissza Péter művei*. Budapest 1980, 405.

24 G. Károli (Trans.), *Szent Biblia az az Istennek Ó és Újtestamentumának próféták és apostolok által megíratott könyvei*. Vol. I. Vizsoly 1590, 634.

25 L. Pécsi, Keresztény szűzeknek tisztességes koszorúja. Quoted in G. Szarvas–Zs. Simonyi (Eds.), *Magyar nyelvtörténeti szótár*. Vol. II, 418.

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Ibid.*

28 G. Vince, I. Rákóczy György kincsei. *Történelmi Tár* 1878, 940–949.; K. Szabó, Bocskay István erdélyi fejedelem kincseinek összeírása. *Történelmi Tár* 1878, 146–153.

29 "Pallium rubei coloris cum spintere wlgo kesenthew argenteo." I. Szamota–Gy. Zolnai, *op. cit.*, 542.

30 "A gazdagabb leányok és fiatal asszonyok mellükön köszöntyűt hordanak. Ez 5–6 hüvelyk átmérőjű, dombor művel ékesített kőridomu ezüst lap. Ilyet azonban csak is azok viselnek,

traditional costume of the Transylvanian Saxons (*szász* in Hungarian) once living in the neighbouring towns and villages.[31] In the székely dialects 'a kind of bangle' is called *kösöntyű*.[32]

The diversity in the meanings of the word, and its relative paucity in our sources induces one to draw the conclusion that the kind of jewellery once called *kösöntyű* had already gone out of fashion by the 16th century. The word became old-fashioned and its meaning shifted from denoting a certain piece of jewellery used for fastening a cloak, 'a pair of ornamented clasps' to designating a piece of jewellery worn on the breast, be it a brooch, a pin, or a necklace with a pendant. This would explain why the word *kösöntyű* disappeared from the official inventories. Since it was considered to be too general in meaning it could not be used where accurate specification was essential.

3.0. As mentioned earlier, several attempts have been made so far made to account for the origin of the word. The Czuczor–Fogarasi dictionary connects the meaning with the notion of being round, and thus with the word *kör* 'circle'.[33] Vámbéry tried to prove its Turkic origin[34] while the *TESz* considers it an *-ú/ű* participle from a hypothetical verb **kösönt-* 'hang, suspend'.

Having a look at the objects it originallly designated one can see that there is nothing to do with the idea of 'hanging, suspending', as the *TESz* claims, but rather with the notion 'fastening, binding, holding together'. Moreover, beside

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kik ez ékszert öröklik, mert ujat nem igen csinálnak." (B. Orbán, *A Székelyföld leírása*. Vol. V. Pest 1871, 142); "melltű, mellyel a nagy kendőt a mellen összekötik." (A. Hermann, Tájszók. Hétfalusiak. *NyR* 21 (1892) 528); "Akkor kapta a mellén viselt kösöntyűt is. Ez a korong alakú, 10–15 cm átmérőjű, domborítással, és színes üveg-, vagy gyöngyszemekkel ékesített ezüst-, vagy arannyal futtatott rézlap." (A. Seres, *Barcasági magyar népköltészet és népszokások*. Bukarest 1984, 419); "..., mittels eines Bandes am Halse hängende silberne Buckelspanne (wie eine umgekehrte Schale; von Mädchen und jungen Leuten bei Festlichkeiten getragen)." (Y. Wichmann, *Wörterbuch des ungarischen moldauer Nordcsángó und des hétfaluer Csángódialektes*. Helsinki 1936, 84); "melltű, mellcsat, medaillon (...Brassó m. Hétfalu...)." (J. Szinnyei, *Magyar tájszótár*. I. Budapest 1893, 1218.)

[31] See Péter Apor's *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae* from 1736.: "A szásznék az mellyeken mind olyan medályformát hordoztanak, az kit kesentyűnek híttak, az városi úr szásznéknak arany-ból, drágakövekből való volt, az közönséges, kivált falusi szásznéknak kinek ezüstből, kinek ónból, kinek pléhből, de mindenkinek volt; csinált kövek vagy csinált üvegek voltak benne." (P. Apor, Metamorphosis Transilvaniae. In: *Régi magyar öltözködés. Viseletek dokumentumok és források tükrében*. Budapest 1988, 366–367); "A szászvárosok polgárnői kösöntyűket viseltek, mit bársony galanddal kötöttek nyakukra." (L. Kővári, Viseletek és szokások a nemzeti fejedelmek korából. In: *Régi magyar öltözködés*, 438.)

[32] (writing on the costumes worn in the town of Toroczkó) "Mind ezt kiegészítik a gyöngy-varrottas karpereczek, melyeket kösöntyűnek neveznek." (B. Orbán, *A Székelyföld* Vol. V, 221); "karperec (Székelyföld...)"; also as *kösöny* "karmantyú (női ékesség) ? Toroczkó" , (with a reference to Czuczor–Fogarasi, Szinnyei, *Magyar tájszótár*. Vol. I, 1218); as kösöny "Erdélyben, Toroczkó városában, Kriza J. Értesítése szerént a.m. karmantyú (női ékesség)..." (Czuczor–Fogarasi, *A magyar nyelv szótára*. Vol. III, 1115.); "Csíki szó... A székelyek közt ma is van kösöntyű, melltű, mellcsat, medaillon, karperecz." (Mészöly, G., Elhomályosult igenevek. *Mny* VII (1911) 246.)

[33] G. Czuczor–J. Fogarasi, *op. cit*. Vol. III, 1115.

[34] See footnote no. 3.

the possibility of being an *-ú/ű* participle, the form *kösöntyű/kesentyű* can also be accounted for in a different way. Among the Hungarian lexical items ending in *-tyú/tyű* there are at least three, *kesztyű* 'gloves', *lábtyú* 'a pair of socks in the form of human feet', and *karmantyú* 'cuff' that do not belong to the group of -ú-/ű- participles. According to the *TESz lábtyú* and possibly also *karmantyú* are compound words formed on the model of *kesztyű*.[35]

On the basis of the analogy provided by the word *kesztyű* 'gloves' it is possible to separate the two basic constituents of the compound *kösöntyű/kesentyű*, *kösön/kesen* and *tyű*, where *tyű* is the old form of the *-ú/-ű* participle of the verbal stem *tesz* 'do, form, put'[36] bearing the meaning 'forming, making'[37]. Thus the word would mean something, in this particular case an item of jewellery, forming, resembling a **kösön/ kesen*[38].

4.0. In my opinion **kösön/kesen* is of Turkic origin going back to a word present in most Turkic languages[39]: Türkm. *kišen* 'цель'[40]; Trk. *keşen* 'زنجيردن يولار و پايوند'[41] Alt., Tel., Leb., Ktsch. *kižän* 'путы для лошадей (состоят изь ремня которымь связывают две передния ноги лошаги сь одной задней ногою)'[42]; Sag. Koib. *kizän* 'путы для лошадей'[43]; MUig. *kišen* 'путы, канделы, оковы, цепы'[44]; Xak. *kizen* "путы, оковы; ср. тузах"[45] Tuv. *kižen* 'конские путы, тренога обы'[46]; Kar.-Balk. *kišen* 'путы'[47]; Kaz. *kisen* 'iron hobbles, fetters, schackles'[48]; Kum. *kišen* "1. путы 2. кандалы, оковы,

[35] *TESz* II/383, II/703.

[36] *A magyar nyelv történeti nyelvtana* I., 325.

[37] See the entry *kesztyű* in *TESz* (*TESz* II., 472–473). Though for the meaning of tëü in compounds several explanations are given, the *TESz* considers the meaning 'form, make' the most probable.

[38] Though an independent *kösön* form is not attested by written sources, a *kesen, keseny* form is testified. Cf. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen*. Band II. Lieferung 4. Budapest 1992, 823.

[39] G. Clauson claims that the word is missing from the south-western group of modern Turkic languages, but the Türkmen and the Turkish data make this statement rather doubtful. For Clauson's remark see G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972, 754.

[40] N. A. Baskakov, B. A. Karriev, M. Ja. Hamzaev, *Turkmensko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1968, 401.

[41] S. Sāmī, *Qāmūs-i Türkī*. Istanbul 1317, 1169. See also *Türkçe sözlük*. Vol. II. Ankara 1988, 845.: 'Zincirden yular veya ayak kösteği'.

[42] W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte*. Vol. II. SPb. 189, 1394; See also N. A. Baskakov, T. M. Toščakova, *Oirotsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1947, 81.

[43] W. Radloff, *op. cit.*, 1389.

[44] E. N. Nadžip, *Uigursko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1968, 627. See also K. Menges, *Volkskundliche Texte aus Ost-Türkistan aus dem Nachlass von N. Th. Katanov*. Berlin 1933, 110.

[45] N. A. Baskakov, A. I. Inkižekova-Grekul, *Hakassko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1953, 78.

[46] E. R. Tenišev, *Tuvinsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1968, 239.

[47] E. R. Tenišev, H. I. Suiunčev, *Karačaevo-balkarsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1989, 350. See also W. Pröhle, Karatschaisches Wörterverzeichnis. *Keleti Szemle* X (1909) 83–105. Idem, Balkarische Studien. *Keleti Szemle* XV (1914/15) 165–276.

[48] B. N. Schnitnikov, *Kazakh–English Dictionary*. London 1966, 128.

цепы."[49]; Karak. *kižen* "1. оквы, кандалы 2. железные путы (надеваемые на передние ноги лошади)."[50]; Özb. *kišän* "1. путы; 2. кандалы, оковы, цепи."[51]; Tat. *kešän* 'путы (для стреноживаня лошадей)'[52]; Kirg. *kišen* 'оковы, кандалы, железные путы (на передние ноги лошадей)'[53]; Uig. *TT VII kišän* '(Hosen-) Band/ uçkur'[54]; Qar. *MK kišän* 'Fussfessel des Pferdes'[55], *QB kişen* 'köstek'[56];Qum. *CCum. kišän* 'scutica'[57]; Qıp. *Houtsma. kišän* 'Fussfessel', Ar. 'شكال'.[58]; Xvar. *Qutb. kišän* 'pęta, kajdany'[59]; Cağ. *San. kišän* 'زنجير'[60].

Turkic *kišän* is with all probability a *nomen deverbale* of the verb *kišä-* 'hobble, fetter'[61] which was still in use in Qaraxanidic[62] but later a *verbum*

[49] Z. Z. Bammatov, *Kumyksko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1969, 168.

[50] N. A. Baskakov, *Karakalpaksko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1958, 324. See also N. A. Baskakov, *Karakalpakskij jazyk*. Moskva 1951, 112: "Бала къайыл болды, беш бакъ намазын охъуп къыздынъ къасына барса айагъына кисен мойнына богъав салынып авызынан кёбик шаашып тур жаланашъ тур экэн."

[51] A. K. Borovkov, *Uzbeksko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1959, 215. See also *Özbek sovet entsiklopediyasi*. Tom 5. Toškent 1974, 521: "**кишан**: занжир қилид бириктирилган темир ҳалқалар. Эркин ҳаракат қилишга имкон бермайди, шининг учун жазўни кучайтириш мақсадида маҳбус, тутқунларнинг қулига, оёғига солинган. Утмишда қамоқхоналарда, каторга ишларида кўп қўлланилган. Баъзи капиталистик мамлакатларда ҳазир ҳам ишлатилади. Отларнинг оёғига солиндиган хили ҳам бар."; Z.M. Magrufova, *Özbek tilining izohli lughati*. Tom I. Moskva 1981, 389.: "**кишан** 1. Отнинг икки олдинги оёғига солинадиган бўғов, занжир. 2. Оёқ, қўл, буйинга солиб кулфлаб банд қилиб қўйиладиган темир ҳақалардан ишланган махсус асбоб, занжир. 3. *кўчма* Умуман эркин харакатга йўл қуймайдиган нарса, тўсик, ғов."

[52] O. V. Golovkina, *Tatarsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1966, 250.

[53] K. K. Yudahin, *Kirgizsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1965, 390.

[54] A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*. Leipzig 1950, 315. See also G. R. Rachmati, *Türkische Turfantexte*. VII. Berlin 1939, 46.: "üm kiæänintä åråsar, suugä barγu iæ bolur". ("Wenn sie das Hosenband zernagt, so wird man in den Krieg ziehen.")

[55] C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kašgarīs Dīvān Lugāt at-Turk*. Budapest 1928, 109.; See also *Kitāb-i Dīvān al-Lugāt at-Türk*. Vol. II. Istanbul 1333, 12: و يقال: ار اتن كشن سشدى: اى حل الرجال شكال فرسه

[56] R. R. Arat, Kutadgu Bilig. Vol. III. Indeks. Indeksi ne're haz'rlayanlar: Kemal Eraslan, Osman F. Sertkaya, Nuri Yüce. Istanbul 1979, 261. See also Yusuf Hos Hojib, Kutadgu Bilig. Ed. K. Karimov. Taškent 1972, 106.: Кишән ул кишикә билиг ҳам уқуш, Кишәнлиг йарағсызқа бармас өкүш. Севүгрәк атын эр кишәнлиг тутар, Кэрәклиг атын эр көдәзлиг тутар.

[57] *Codex Cumanicus*. Ed. G. Kuun. With the Prolegomena to the Codex Cumanicus by L. Ligeti. Budapest 1981, 271. See also K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch*. København 1942, 149.: kišen 'Fussfessel des Pferdes, trauce'.

[58] Th. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar. Nach der Leidener Handschrift*. Leiden 1894, 97.

[59] A. Zajączkowski, *Najstarsza wersja turecka Husräv-u Sīrīn Quṭba*. III. Słownik. Warszawa 1961, See also idem, *Najstarsza wersja turecka Husräv-u Sīrīn Quṭba*. I. Warszawa 1958: "kišän urdy aḍaqunnγa pūlād-dyn", "kišän sürtkän aḍaqyn ol jüzi māh".

[60] M. Mahdī Xān, *Sanglax. A Persian Guide to the Turkish Language*. Facsimile Text with an Introduction and Indices by Sir G. Clauson. London 1960, 315r.

[61] J. Eckmann, Çağatayca el kitabı. Istanbul 1988, 40.; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Vol. III. Wiesbaden 1967, 664–665. See also A. von Gabain, *op. cit.*, 124.

[62] G. Clauson, *op. cit.*, 753.

denominale, kišänlä- took its place. The *-n/-in/-in* is a rarely used Turkic deverbal formant designating either the subject, or the object, or the process, or the result of the action.[63]

5.0. Having traced the supposed Turkic equivalents of Hungarian **kösön/kesen* one can go a step further having a look at the semantic and phonetic correspondences between the Hungarian and the Turkic words.

The **kösön* element of Hungarian *kösöntyű* with all probability entered the language meaning 'chain, straps for binding, fastening something' and developed a special connotation 'chain or straps for fastening a cloak' and as it is attested by the Székely dialects 'bracelet, bangle'. Beside being used in this form, similarly to the word *kesztyű*, a compound was created from **kösön* and *teű*, the old participial form of the verb *tesz,* denoting an object in the form of **kösön*. Later the once simple leather straps or metal chains became elaborately ornamented, the actual chains shortened and richly decorated brooches were attached to them.[64] The original meaning faded away and the word started to be used to designate a brooch, or any jewellery (e.g. the pendants of necklaces, decorated clasps) worn on the breast, not as a technical term, but in a general sense.

As for the phonetical criteria the *i* > *ë* > *ö* changes, where the *ë* > *ö* change is a Hungarian development, are regular in Turkic loanwords.[65] The preserved Ancient Turkic *-š-* might raise some slight doubts, because though we have a few examples, mainly proper names, for AT *-š* > Hung. *-š* ,[66] **kösön* is the sole example of a common word with a preserved Common Turkic *-š-* to have come up so far.

To sum up the results of this analysis, it can be said that despite the minor phonetical doubts, and the relatively late occurrence, the **kösön* element of Hung. *kösöntyű* is to be considered an Old Turkic loan in Hungarian.

[63] A. N. Kononov, *Grammatika jazyka tjurkskih runičeskih pamjatnikov VII–IX. vv.* Leningrad 1980, 93; B. A. Serebrennikov–N. Z. Gajieva, *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja grammatika tjurkskih jazykov.* Moskva 1986, 106.

[64] The different phases of this development are well illustrated by the pictures in A. Héjjné Détári, *Régi magyar ékszerek.* Budapest 1965.

[65] Z. Gombocz, *Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache.* Helsinki 1912, 152; L. Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban.* Budapest 1986, 195, 198.

[66] L. Ligeti, *op. cit.*, 94–95; M. Palló, *Régi török eredetű igéink.* Szeged 1982, 56–58.

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HUNGARIAN *BÁJ* 'BEAUTY, CHARM'

ANDRÁS RÓNA-TAS
(Szeged)

A "charming etymology" in honour of Professor Zsuzsa Kakuk

Considerable confusion exists about the origin of the Hungarian word *báj*. In this paper I cannot promise to solve the problem, and what is more, I am afraid I shall add new ones. Nevertheless I hope that I shall at least be able to show a way out.

The original meaning of the Hungarian word was 'superstition, magic influence, magic healing power'. The semantical field and changes are so near to English *charm* that I shall not deal with the semantical problems of the Hungarian word. It is first registered in the Glossary of Beszterce (after 1395) as an attribute of *fű* 'grass' and it occurs frequently as a member of the composition *bű-báj* with the same or similar meanings.

Leaving aside the earlier opinions about the origin of the word I would first refer to the work of István Kniezsa on the Hungarian words of Slavic origin (1955). Kniezsa listed the word among those which erroneously had been considered to be of Slavic origin (1955, 792–3). According to Kniezsa, the Slavic origin proposed among others by Miklosich has to be refuted, because the word with which it has been compared, the noun *bajka* (from *bajati* 'fabulari, incantare') occurs late and everywhere has only the meaning 'fable, tale'. Kniezsa accepted the etymology suggested by Révai, and confirmed by Munkácsi and Gombocz from Turkic *baġï* 'bond, binding'. The Hungarian Historical–Etymological Dictionary (TESz I 1967, 218) does not doubt the Turkic origin, though the authors remark: "Though the phonetic correspondence is not regular, it can be explained through the forms with personal suffixes [...]. The Slavic derivation is erroneous". Ligeti in his last work on the Turkic connections of the Hungarian language (1986) listed the word *báj* three times among the words of Turkic origin, (86, 207, 271), once with a question mark on p. 202. In the Index the word has been put into brackets which means that he did not consider the word of Turkic origin. The reason is given on pp. 272–273. After a lengthy discussion of the scanty data on the Turkic side, Ligeti returned to the Slavic verb *bajati* and wrote "... the Slavic word came into Hungarian as *bájol* and from it as secondary back derivation by inner Hungarian development a form *báj* may have been formed." This would have occurred parallel to Hungrian *varázs* 'magic' from Slavic *vražiti* as it is suggested by TESz (III, 1976, 1091). Then Ligeti added 'the Hungarian word *báj* could have got a new impulse from the

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Ottoman word". The newest etymological dictionary (EWUng 1992, 69–70) lists the word under the derivation *bájos* and notes "Wahrsch[einliches] Ausgangsw[ort] der W[ort]Familie *báj*: Lehnw[ort], vermutl[ich] aus einer türk Spr[rache] ☮ Vgl: uig *baγ* 'Band; Fessel'; osm *bağ* 'magisches Band'...". The authors add at the end of the article "In den slaw[ischen] Spr[achen] gibt es zahlreiche W[örter] mit ähnl[icher] Lautform und Bed[eutung] (vgl: sbkr *baj* 'Zauberei, Zauber usw', ukr (v[er]a[ltet] *бай* 'Zauberer'; usw), deren Ursp[rung] nicht klar ist; so ist die Herleitung des ung[arischen] W[ortes] aus diesen kaum wahrsch[einlich]".

All authors have more or less seen the problem of the derivation from Turkic. A supposed Turkic *baġ* 'bound, magic bound' would have given in Hungarian *bó* or *bú* (<**bau* < **baγ* < **baġ*). The judgement of the correctness of this statement is made difficult by the fact that the word is monosyllabic. However, we find similar changes as in Hungarian *bő* 'rich, abundant' < **beu* ← T **beγ* < *beg,* Hungarian *bú* 'sorrow, grief' ← T **buγ* < **buŋ*, Hungarian *szó* 'word' < **sau* ← T **saw* < *sab.* There is no ground to suppose that a hypothetical *baġi* would have given in Hungarian *baji* nor is it easy to suppose that the *-j-* is a Hungarian element from a unattested *bá* + personal suffix *-ja* and then from the suffixed form *bája* a back-formation *báj.* This occurred in Hungarian *száj* 'mouth' or *máj* 'liver', *fej* 'head', but all three words pertain to the inalienable category of nouns, and at least in the case of *száj* and *fej* we find the shorter forms as *szám, szád, főm, főd* beside the secondary later forms *szájam, szájad, fejem, fejed.*

All problems would be solved if the *-j-* (= *-y-*) would have been present already in the form borrowed.

The Slavic word is now better documented. It has been treated by Trubačov in the first volume of his etymological dictionary of the Slavic languages (Trubačov I, 1974) under **bajati* I, **baja/*bajь* and **bajь*. I shall not repeat what can be found there, I shall only try to sum up the most essential facts. In the Slavic languages there does exist a noun **baja/*bajь* which has a feminine gender. In the southern Slavic languages (Slovene, Serbo-Croatian) it has the meaning 'čary, sglaz, koldovstvo, zaklinanie', that is 'charm', while in the West and East Slavic languages (Czech, Czech dialects, Russian) it has the meaning 'basnja, mif, prozvišče veseloj govarlivoj ženščiny, rasskazčicy' that is 'tale, fable, nickname of women who relate the tales jolly'. The noun *bajь,* in most cases with masculine gender, has the meaning 'vorožba, koldovstvo, incantatio; očarovanie, čary; znahar, koldun' in the Southern Slavic languages (Serbo-Croatian) and in Old Ukrainian, while in all other languages (Slovak, Russian dial., Ukrainian, Belorussian) it has the meaning 'mif, skazanie, legenda, skazočnik, zabava, razvlečenie etc.' that is 'tale, myth, legend, story teller, amusement etc.'. According to Trubačov both groups of words are derivations from the verb **bajati.* Trubačov did not group the meanings of the verb *bajati* according to word geographical distribution. The verb has in all languages the meaning 'to speak, to chat etc.', however the meaning 'to spell, to bewitch, charm, enchant

etc.' is present only in the Southern Slavic languages such as Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, and only in Old Ukrainian and in some Ukrainian dialects. In the Western and Eastern Slavic languages the meaning includes further 'to tell stories, to chat, to speak nonsense etc.'. The semantic change in the Southern Slavic languages 'to speak' > 'to cast magic spell' > 'to bewitch or heal by words' may be a spontaneous change known to other languages as well, but may be the result of a substrate influence.

The Turkic word *baġ* has the meaning 'bond, tie, belt'. Until now the meaning 'magic bond' has not been found or cited. It occurs in an Old Turkic Manichean text where the virtues are dealt with. Here we read ... *bir qamaġ yeklerke baġi bolzun* (LeCoq 1911, 15, ll. 19–20). 'one among them (i.e. the virtues) should be the bond of all demons'. In Turkish of Turkey we find the following words: *bağ-* 'to lay a spell upon, to charm', *bağı* 'spell, charm', *bağıcı* 'a sorcerer', *göz bağıcı* ' a sorcerer, who blinds the eyes'. Ottoman in Arabic script writes the word either with *gain* or with *ya.* The pronunciation of both *baği* and *bayi* are the same: */bayi/.* In Chuvash we find *kuś păv* which is rendered by Ašmarin (VII 30) as 'zastavit' videt' na javu to ego ne možet byt' v dejstvitel'nosti (gov. o fokusnikah, o spektakle)', in the new dictionary of Skvorcov (1982) simply 'gipnotizirovat'' is noted. These meanings developed from the meaning 'to cast spell, to bewitch by the eyes'. The Chuvash word goes back to a former **baġ-* 'to bind'.

In Chuvash we also find *păya* 'verëvka (korotka i tolstaja), bolezn' gorla', *păyav* 'id.'. Both forms are loanwords from Tatar. In Tatar we find side by side *bau* 'verëvka, šnur, žgut' and *bäy* 'privjaz''. The same occur in Bashkir. The form *bäy* goes back to *bay,* and in fact in some Tatar dialects the older form *bay* is preserved (see *Tatar teleneŋ dialektologik süzlege.* 1969, 65). The noun *bay* had earlier a broader distribution which can be seen from the derivation *bayla-* 'to bind, tie, tie up, attach, weave, twist, to dress (a wound), to train (horses), to fatten (cattle) /tr./, to separate (mares) for milking, to aim (rifles etc.), to create obstacles, to hinder' which can be found in Kazak (Shnitnikov 1966, 41), all secondary meanings developed from 'to tie, bind'. The verb *bayla-* with the same or similar meanings was present in Middle Turkic (Chagatai, At-Tuhfat), it is present in Kirgiz, Karaim, Kumük, Karachai-Balkar, Üzbek, New Uighur, Altai, Yakut, while the verb has the form *bäylä-* in Tatar and Bashkir. In Karaim the expression *köz bayladï* has the meaning 'on zakoldoval ego'. In some languages the form **baġ* and **bay* coexist. In Kirgiz we find *köz bayla-* 'to deceive, to deceive the eyes' and *köz booču (< baġičï)* 'the one who deceives the eyes, illusionist, juggler', in Yakut *ba:y-* 'vjazat', svjazyvat'', *bayï* 'svjaz', zavjazka, uzy, vjazka, privjazka', but. *bïa* (<**baġ*) 'verëvka'.

This means that we have three forms, *baġ, bay* and *baġï > bayï* the latter in Ottoman. The first two are derivatives from a verb **ba-* as already supposed by Clauson (1972, 310) in case of *baġ.* The noun *bay* is a deverbal noun with the suffix -I (i.e. *bai*). The suffix was dealt with by Erdal (1991, 340–41) and by me

in *Magyar Nyelv* (90, 1994, 138–146) in connection with the word *urï*. Both *baġ* and *bay* also had the meaning 'magic bond'.

Up till now we were confronted with the fact that Hungarian *báj* had no comparable equivalent in Turkic or Slavic, now we see that in both language groups there did exist a noun **bay* with the semantics near to the Hungarian word.

Returning to the Slavic word one has to ask: did the meaning 'to cast spell, to enchant, bewitch' develop spontaneously? One cannot exclude this since we find similar semantic developments in other languages. However, morphologically the "Indo-European solution" is always the use of a preverb as in Latin *cantare* > *incantare,* and this was the rule in Slavic as in **govoriti* 'to speak' > **zagovoriti* among others also 'to charm', **bavati* 'to speak' > **obavati* 'to bewitch'. And from *bajati* 'to speak etc.' the noun *obajanie* is formed with the meaning 'charm, charming'. On the other hand the derivation of Slavic *baj/bajь* from *bajati* is not usual. Trubačov (1974, 140) supposed the influence of the *-jo-* base of the nouns. He surely thought of such old pairs where *o* is in the nominal and **e* in the verbal stem as in **bojь* 'battle' and **biti* < **bei-* 'to beat', **gnojь* 'pus' and **gniti* 'to rot, foul' < **gnei-* < **ghnei-* etc. see also Bernštejn 1974, 282–288 (I owe this bibliographical data to Klára Agyagási). With the exception of a few onomatoepic words such as **grajь* 'karkanie ' from **grajati* 'karkat', there was no noun with *-a-* base in Slavic in such corresponding forms. (Trubačov 7, 1980).

Thus we can suppose that the Southern Slavic meanings of *baj/bajь* developed under the influence of Turkic languages with which early Slavs lived together among others in the Balkans and in Pannonia.

It is more difficult to answer the question: from which language did the Hungarians borrow the word? Since the Hungarian word *báj* 'charm' occurs together with the Hungarian word *bű* as in *bű-báj, bűvöl-bájol, bűbájos* etc. and *bű* is of Turkic origin (← OT *bügü* 'sage, wizard, witchcraft' see also Hungarian *bölcs* 'wise' ← OT *bügüči*) I consider more probable the Turkic origin. We cannot exclude, however, the Slavic origin and even we can suppose that the word was borrowed from Turkic people living in Pannonia who were on the way to Slavicization, people of the late Avar Empire I guess. The "Avar" origin or more precisely the Turkic origin of the word from the Late Avar Empire would not be an isolated case.

Whatever will be the final solution of the enigmatic origin of Hungarian *báj* its prototype was **bay* and not **baġ*.

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TABOO IN THE "DICTIONNAIRE ORDOS" OF A. MOSTAERT

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When taking a dictionary in hand, one supposes to read a word-list in ABC order without any special excitement. We all know that the 'Dictionnaire' of Father Mostaert is something quite different. It is a treasure-house of information for the linguist, ethnographer, and researcher of religion, etc. Here I concentrate on taboo as it can be traced back in the 'Dictionnaire'.

Taboo is a precisely worked-out system regulating the different spheres of society, a relationship between actions and their results, a condition brought about by external influence, however, most of the time having no basis in observation. In many instances, the taboo forbids things or actions for which no rational explanation is given. A great part of tabooes become established simply through long usage or custom. Special prescriptions regulated the behaviour of all the persons who were present or took part in the "great transitions of life" from one state to the other: e.g. birth, marriage, becoming an adult and death.

Women at childbirth are regarded as unclean and special restrictions are imposed on them: *ger вцdžarɒalā* "the house has become impure (because ... a woman gave birth there)" (90b). The family is supposed to indicate that a woman under taboo is in the house: they have to bind a red rope on the door: *ūɒe tš^{c}ērle-* "to defend the house from visitors (as there is a sick person in the house)", *t^{c}emt^{c}eGt^{c}ī вošχo = ene ālā eme t^{c}örös-im-jā, ūɒenɒēren ụlāā t^{c}emt^{c}eGt^{c}ī bān* "a woman gave birth in this house, there is a red sign on the door" (657a). Women after childbirth have to sleep alone for a month — as mentioned by Mostaert under the word *sara* (561a).[1]

Death tabooes. According to the beliefs of the Mongols, a dead corpse brings danger to the living: *t^{c}enɒe nège k^{c}uni k^{c}ūr t^{c}ävi^{c}tš^{ck} χilā, t^{c}ereni oɒō ɢadžart^{c}ụ вцɢ вolɒži, вéltš^{c}ērt^{c}u mū̆ вolɒži vān* "a corpse was buried there and it is bad for all the pasture land around" (91a).[2] All persons who come into contact with the dead are under taboo: *tš^{c}ērt^{c}ī ɢụmụɒalt^{c}ā* "one who is mourning, a

[1] For several tabooes of childbirth cf. S. Synkiewicz, Geburt, Hochzeit, Tod — Der menschliche Lebenszyklus im Brauchtum der Mongolen. In: *Die Mongolen.* Hrsg. W. Heissig–C. C. Müller. Innsbruck–Frankfurt/Main 1989, 196. H. Njambuu–C. Nacagdorj, *Mongolčuudyn ceerleh josny huraanguj tol'*. Ulan Bator 1993.

[2] Our Mongolian informant, Batulga of the Ölöt tribe also said that the corpse should be carried far away, as it brings danger to the living.

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tabooed person" (700a). The following expression also shows the unpleasant effect of the dead: *ɯ^{ck}χ^{u}ērīī χorlol Gɯrtš^{c}i Džowoloŋ oroDži wā̄n* "I am sick as a result of the bad influence of the dead corpse" (754b). Persons who had taken out the corpse are unclean and should be purified: *ɯ^{ck}χɯsē k^{c}ɯnīg Damnasā k^{c}ɯnī širigle-* (622b) — they have to step over fire in which *arc* and salt was thrown.[3] The dead corpses are put into a yurt specially built for this purpose. The felt-cover of the smoke hole is not opened during the mourning time in order to prevent the evil spirits from coming out: *Ǫ̨ṷmṷDaltā̄ ā̄l örö^{ck}χö Gɯ^{c}tš^{c}it Da^{c}t^{c}ak^{cu}ē* (314b). Special dresses are prescribed during the time of mourning: *malagą̄ k^{c}ɯrē Bṷ̄lgą-* "the front part of the hat is turned down" (450b), *Džūgē Džiŋse Džū^{c}k^{cu}e* "women do not wear head gear, and men a decorated hat" (314a), and *öŋgö^{c}t^{c}ī Ǫ̨ṷB^{c}tš^{c}asṷ ömösk^{cu}ē* "they do not wear colourful dresses" (314a),[4] also *ɯsɯ aB^{c}k^{cu}ē* "men do not shave their heads" (314a). This taboo can be due to the belief that the person and his hair, nails, etc., are the same and harm can be caused to him through his cut hair.[5] During mourning the relatives are exposed to the dangerous influence of the ghosts, so it is better to avoid letting cut hair get into their hands. If they get possession of hair clippings, they might work his destruction through it. After mourning the members of the family wash and shave, which must clearly be regarded as a purificatory rite. During the time of mourning it is forbidden to ask "how are you" *amṷr mönD-ɯg^{u}ē* (314a), *mori ṷrṷlDų^{c}k^{cu}ē* "they do not ride at full speed" (314a), *emēlt^{c}ī mori ṷnṷ^{c}k^{cu}ē* "they do not ride a saddled horse" (314b).[6] It is also against the rules to make a marriage at that time *χorim nā̄r k^{c}ī^{c}k^{cu}ē* (314a). To pronounce even the word "death" is tabooed, it should be replaced by other expressions: *ēlerūū Ge-* "to be mourned" (236b), *nara Bol-* "to become sun — a honorific expression" (483b), *öŋgörö-* "to pass away" (699b), *nasṷ Bol-* "his lifetime is fulfilled" (700a).[7]

Marriage tabooes. The astrologer examines the birth data of the future couple to decide whether their birth years are fitting or not. It is unfavourable if they were born in the same year, and is called: *Ǫ̨aši Džil* (297a).[8] To meet the procession taking the new bride to the house of the bridegroom is to be avoided: *DžamDṷ jawṷsā k^{c}ɯnDɯ k^{c}ū^{ck}χē k^{c}ɯrgesē k^{c}ɯn Džolgǫwol nūl geD-im.* The

[3] The purification ritual by fire was related as early as the 13th–14th centuries by Plano Carpini and Rubruk, who wrote in detail that those present at the death-bed are unclean and should be purified by walking across in between two fires (Chapter III, passage 7). Dawson, *Mongol Mission*.

[4] The informant of our Mongol expedition, Bayarmagnai of Zahchin origin, spoke about special wearing of dresses in case of death: the relatives turn the sleeves of the *deel* up, that is why it is strictly forbidden in normal circumstances.

[5] For the taboo of cutting the nail cf. B. Damdin, *Sur un trait de la culture nomade mongole : les rognures d'ongle*, 208–209.

[6] Our Zahchin informant, Batulga related that in case of death they ride a camel not a horse.

[7] For several expressions replacing "death" and "to die" cf. R. Hamayon et N. Bassanoff, *De la difficulté d'être une belle-fille*, 58, and P. Tomka, *Les termes de l'enterrement chez les peuples mongols*, 159–181, R. J̌agvaral, *Mongol helnij hündetgelijn üg*, 71–72.

[8] An informant of our expedition, Čoiǰin of Ölöt origin also related that the marriage of people born in the same year is not auspicious.

reason for this is that evil spirits walk in front of the newly-wed wife: *kᶜurgesē kᶜūᶜᵏχeni ömönö* DžÖDᶜᵏχör *jawụDži* BĀDaḳ (435a). It is also forbidden to accompany the newly weds on donkey-back: *kᶜūᶜᵏχē kᶜurgeᶜᵏχuDu elDžige ụnụwụl nūl* geD-*im* (235a). Arriving at the house of the husband, the bride has to pass between two fires and then enter the house: *suruuk alχụ-* (599b). Strict prescriptions regulate the behaviour of the bride. She observes these rules so as not to bring dishonour on her family *tšᶜi kᶜunīt iᶜtšᶜiDži sāχā* Bérele, *tšᶜi sāχā* Bérele*ᶜkᶜuī* Bolbol *mani nūr* Baraᶜtšᶜᵏχin (389b). She is forbidden to pronounce the names of her mother-in-law, father-in-law and brothers-in-law and to put questions to them (491b): *ḳālaDaḳ uge* (301b), *narā gālawụl tᶜụjā* geD-*im* "if her mother-in-law is called *Narā* she should call her *Tujā*" (301b). The daughter-in-law should back out of the yurt where her mother-in-law and father-in-law are staying: DžụχụrDžụχụrtšᶜi *ḳar-* (216b). The father-in-law does not rebuke the bride, that is the task of the mother-in-law: *χaDam eᶜtšᶜige kᶜuuū* Bérīgēē *kᶜéleᶜᵏχu argą* Bāᶜᵏᶜuẽ (436b).

Tabooes concerning the fire. Special tabooes concern fire as it was regarded as sacred from time immemorial. Even the name of fire is tabooed at certain occasions for certain persons. Instead of *ḳal* they say DžụᶜtšᶜaliDžụᶜtšᶜali "torch, firebrand" (221b). The family has to take care of the fire and not to let it go out at night: *ḳal mana-* "to guard the fire" — Mostaert explains the expression: "In the evening a small hole is deepened in the spark and a piece of dried cattle-dung is placed into it, then covered by ash. They keep the fire alive in this way" (452a). It is sinful to disturb the embers at the fireplace: *ḳụlụmtᶜan unisī kᶜöDölgöwöl nūl* geDži *kᶜéleD-im* (313b). Embers are taken out of the ayil to the North and North-East and if they are dropped on the way — it is a sin: *unisīg unisunDēr* Gurtᶜer *tšᶜụwūlkᶜuī awāᶜtšᶜiχụ jụsụᶜtᶜā̃; DžamDụ tšᶜụwūlwụl nūl* geD-*im* (759a). It is also tabooed to take out the ashes and the sweepings in the same pot: *unis* BoḲ *χojūlīg χoliDži nége sawanDu kᶜīDži ḳargawul nūl* geD-*im* (74a). Hurting the fire — or more precisely the god of fire — by kicking the wood into it, by pouring water on it,[9] by poking into it or towards it, or, to sit squatting in front of it are forbidden:[10] DžūχanlūDžūχanlū *kᶜölörön tᶜulē* Dži*ᶜᵏχewul nūl* geD-*im* (216a), *ḳallū ụsụ kᶜīwel, ḳalīg ụᶜtᶜagār šilewel ḳallū χanduDži jawụn oᶜtšᶜöwol nūl* geD-*im* (288a).[11]

Tabooes concerning the yurt. The yurt was regarded as an earthly representation of the universe, so every piece of it retains a sacred meaning beyond the everyday. That is why several tabooes regulate the behaviour of people entering or living in the yurt. The threshold is believed to be the dwelling-place of ghosts, so it is forbidden to stand up on it or to kick it: BošogọnDār DžoḲsowol

[9] D. Dumas, *Aspekte und Wandlungen der Verehrung des Herdfeuers bei den Mongolen*, 163, A. Mostaert, *Prière au feu*, p. 214, N. Poppe, *Feuerkultus*, 143.

[10] D. Dumas, *Verehrung des Herdfeuers*, 164, R. Hamayon, *Façons de s'assesoir*, 137. For fire tabooes cf. S. Jagchid–P. Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society*, 150.

[11] For fire tabooes cf. also N. L. Žukovskaja, *Kategorii i simvolika tradicionnoj kul'tury mongolov*, 87–88, A. Mostaert, *A propos d'une prière du feu*, 214, N. Poppe, *Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen*, 143.

nūl geᴅži kᶜeleᴅ-im, and *kᶜölȫrȫ ʙošogo̧ nu̧ᴅu̧rwul nūl geᴅ-im* (83a).[12] One should also avoid hitting the door with a dirty cooking pot or milking pot: *tᶜogo̧ō̃ kᶜȫ ɯᴅenᴅɯ kᶜɯrgewɯl nūl geᴅži kᶜėleᴅ-im* (423b), *mal sāᴅak̦ sawā̈g ūᴅenᴅɯ kᶜɯrgewɯl nūl geᴅži kᶜėleᴅ-im* (565b). It is also forbidden to hit the door with the dog's plate: *noχȫ iᴅūrīg ūᴅenᴅɯ kɯrgewɯl nūl geᴅži kᶜėleᴅ-im* (379a). It is a contamination to urinate facing towards the door: *ɢerīn ūᴅenlū χanᴅu̧ᴅži ševel nūl geᴅ-im* (611b). It is tabooed to put the lower part of the door-cover on top of the yurt: *ūᴅen u̧lā̈g ᴅēs χanᴅū̧lᴅži ɢerᴅēr tᶜaʙʙu̧l nūl geᴅ-im* (747b).

Names tabooed. The newly wed bride has to observe a name taboo and avoid pronouncing the name of the mother-in-law, father-in-law and brothers-in-law or words identical with their names.[13] Names of persons who are most intimately connected by blood and especially by marriage are often forbidden not only to pronounce, but even to utter ordinary words, which resemble these names. Names of relatives are tabooed for children. They use the word *amiᴅā̈* to address persons whose names are identical with the names of their father, mother, uncle and aunt (20b, 491b). This custom most probably springs from superstitious fear of the ill use that might be made of it by foes, whether human or spiritual.[14]

Certain persons at certain times are forbidden to call common things by common names, and have to designate them by special terms or phrases reserved for such occasions. Instead of *nara* "sun" and *sara* "moon" they say *tᶜu̧jā* "ray" (677b), or *ɢegē* "bright" (255b).

Names of food are forbidden: instead of *amu̧* "grain cereals" they say *tᶜarā* "grain corn" (647a), instead of *ʙōrsok̦* "pastry" they use *kᶜȫrsök* (431b), for *śɯmel* "a kind of cheese" they say *ārak̦* (27a) and for *tšᶜag̦ā* "dried buttermilk" *ɢilō* (266a), for *ᴅawu̧su̧* "salt" they say *šorwok̦* (629b, 744a).

[12] Jagchid–Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society*, also mentions this taboo, 154: "In ancient times, it was a capital crime for a common person to touch the threshold of a noble, and, while this custom has greatly moderated, it is still impolite behaviour. ... In eastern Inner Mongolia, there is a popular, though not a strong, feeling, that stepping on the threshold of a yurt or house when visiting is tantamount to stepping on the neck of the host." Travellers of the Middle Ages also emphasized the importance not to step on the threshold as it is punished by capital punishment. Plano Carpini, Chapter IX, part 11.

[13] P. Aalto wrote a study on women's speech on the basis of the material taken from the Kalmük dictionary of G. J. Ramstedt. He explains how women avoid words identical with the tabooed names. They can use synonyms, they can change the vowels in the word or add a sound to the beginning of the word. Über die kalmuckische Frauensprache. *Studia Mongolica* 1/3 (1959). For a detailed study on the tabooes concerning the daughter-in-law with special attention to the linguistic tabboes cf. R. Hamayon et N. Bassanoff, *De la difficulté d'être une belle-fille*, 7–74.

[14] Jagchid–Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society*, 159 mention an interesting example of name taboo: "... a prominent prince of the Üjümüchin Banner, who lived perhaps a century ago, was named Altan-khuyaghtu (*altan* means "gold"). Because of his prominence and the respect of the people for him, his name was avoided in conversation, and the word *altan*, commonly used throughout other parts of Mongolia, fell into disuse in this manner. Instead, the people used the word *shijir*, which means "raw gold". They also report that "there is a strong avoidance of the use of the name of one's father, mother, or teacher". 160. Cf. J̌agvaral, *op. cit.*, 72–73.

Colour names are tabooed in certain cases for certain persons, e.g. in case they form the part of the name of a relative, especially on the marriage side. Instead of *šara* "yellow" and *šarala-* "to become yellow" they say *aŋgira*, *aŋgiršï-* (25a). For *χara* "black" they use *Barān* "dark" (51b). They replace the word *Gö^{ck}χö* "blue" with *Boro* "grey" (80b), the word *nogǭn* "green" with *Buudegen* "obscure, dim" (101a), for *u̯lān* "red" they use *Džalā* "tassel, thick silk thred" (181b) and for *tš^{c}agą̄* "white" they say *Gilō* "shiny" (266a).

Names of numbers are tabooed at certain times. Then instead of *nāma* "eight" they say *jisuu dutū* "less than nine", and for *Dolō* "seven" they say *Džu̯rgą̄ ilū* "more than six" (402b, 220a).

Common words are sometimes under taboo: instead of *p^{c}ila* "plate" *tš^{c}ara* "bowl" is used (695b), the word *Dži^{c}tš^{c}ik* "flower" is replaced by *χ^{u}ār* "petals of a flower" (362b). For *lama* they use the Uighur expression *Bu̯rsaŋ χu̯waraḳ* (375a).

A special taboo concerns the names of animals, especially dangerous wild animals. The name wolf cannot be pronounced in front of the fire, instead of *tš^{c}ono* they say *Darma awagą̄* or *segelDī awagą̄* (700a) "uncle Darma" or "tailed uncle".[15]

Tabooes concerning a human figure. *k^{c}un Džu̯ru̯wul nūl geDži k^{c}eleD-im* "it is a sin to draw a human figure" (220b). The representation of a man was regarded to be the man himself, so if one could get into the possession of such a drawing (or later in time a photograph) of somebody, one had magic power over him.

It is forbidden to point with a knife or with a gun towards a person: *u̯^{c}t^{c}agą [Bu̯] k^{c}un ōdö Džāwul nūl geD-im* (744b),[16] or even to point to somebody with a finger: *χomogǭ χu̯rūgą̄ā k^{c}un ōdö Džāwu̯l nūl geDži k^{c}ëleD-im* (351a).

It is strictly forbidden to pluck out the hair of somebody (649b). The prohibition certainly roots in the belief that people may be bewitched through their hair.

Tabooed places. Certain places are defended by tabooes, e.g. it is forbidden to hunt in the environments of monasteries or obo-s: *sume k^{c}īdīī DergeDūr awalu̯lk^{cu}ē; owōō χor^{i}u̯l, sumiī χor^{i}u̯l* (36b, 359b, 514b). There is a special expression in Ordos for the protected territory: *χor^{i}u̯l, χor^{i}ō^{c}t^{c}ō ǫaDžar* "a place where it is forbidden to hunt or to cultivate the land (around a monastery, an obo, a tomb) (359b).

Earth is regarded to be the living place of spirits (*ǫaDžarīī eDžin*) so one has to avoid hurting it e.g. by beating it: *u̯^{c}tš^{c}ir-ug^{u}ī ǫaDžar DžoDowol nūl geD-im* "it is sinful to beat the earth without cause" (285b).

[15] D. Dumas, *Verehrung der Herdfeuers*, 164, E. Taube, *Schamanen und Rhapsoden*, 901. R. Hamayon says that the cause of this prohibition is the belief that if the wolf hears her name pronounced, she would come to the fire to give birth there. Cf. R. Hamayon, *L'os distinctif et la chair indifferente*, 99.

[16] Jagchid–Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society*, 155 write, "that an arrow, or in more recent times a gun, must never be pointed at a person in a careless, joking fashion, and even now parents do not allow their children to point a toy arrow or a toy gun at a person ..."

Here only some of the tabooes presented in the Dictionnaire of Father Mostaert were mentioned. There are many more to be discussed at a later time.

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STOPS IN MIDDLE ARMENIAN TESTIFIED BY FOREIGN WORDS

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In addition to the phonetic structure of the literary language and the dialects, the most important media for the reconstruction of Middle Armenian are the contemporary written sources, which are presented by two kinds of evidence:

a) "Orthographic errors", or more precisely, those cases when the scribes, instead of observing the traditional orthography spelt the words according to their own pronunciation, and thereby preserved the Middle Armenian phonetic system; such cases are rather rare and occasional.

b) Much more importannt evidence for the reconstruction of the Middle Armenian phonetic system is furnished by the foreign words embedded in Middle Armenian texts, because the scribes always reproduced the foreign word as it was pronounced, or as it was heard by the scribe.

All this is common knowledge, but in the definition of the significance of the use of simple unvoiced stops and unvoiced aspirates, the strict separation is often neglected.

In the present paper a segment of the Middle Armenian grapheme-system of foreign words in Armenian script will be analyzed; the stops in initial position: at first the Arabic and French words (from the 7th to the 13th centuries) and then of the following era, when the direct origin of the foreign words cannot be determined for sure; because Arabic words can also be adopted either through the mediation of Persian or Turkish. An attempt will be made to ascertain if there was any phono-graphematic testimony to facilitate the division of the era into different periods.

In order to find an approximately equivocal segment for such a study, the stops of middle and final position were discarded, as in most cases these examples were influenced by a different environment.

In his magistral work of "Armenian Etymology", Hübschman subjected the Armenian sources of the age of Arab domination to scrutiny; first of all the chronicles of Sebeos episcopos (7th century) and Łewond vardapet (8th century), in which very few foreign words were to be found, Arab words only. It is a remarkable feature of Armenian that during all the 200 years of Arab rule, it did not adopt Arab words into the basic word-stock, in striking contrast to Persian, which became inundated by Arab vocabulary. The background of this circum-

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stance seems to be obvious: Persians adopted Islam, and the language of the Koran penetrated into Persian literary language.

Let us quote some of Hübschmann's examples[1]:

kuṙa(y) "Coran-reader" (Łewond, Asołik) ~ *qurrā*, but some words of similar orthography had also been used by the Cilician authors of the 12th century (Nerses Šnorhali, Mattheos Uṙhayeci, Nerses Lambronaci):

kawat	"Kuppler"	–	Ar. *qavvād*
kla(y)	"fortress"	–	Ar. *qal'a*.

These examples show that during the long period of Arab rule and up to the end of the Cilician era, for Arab words Armenians used the grapheme *ken* (կ) to denote the Arabic *qaf* (ق); this is clear testimony of the phonetic similarity of the two phonemes. It denotes that Armenian stops pronounced with a sharp, abrupt plosion (the glottalised Caucasian plosives) stood nearer in the phonemic scale to Arabic stops than any other phonetic variant. This is all the more significant, as the Armenian three-fold phonemic system of stops and affricates presented a varying choice of connotation. These transcriptions demonstrate that Arabic *qaf* stood nearest to the Armenian stop (tenuis).

For the delineation of the *terminus post quem* of the second Armenian sound shift, the most appropriate evidence is furnished by approximately two dozen French words.

The appearance of French words in Armenian was the consequence of the close relationship of the Armenians to the Crusaders, the knight orders, and the matrimonial ties to the Lusignan dynasty of Cyprus. Through these connections, a type of French chancellery was adopted in the Cilician Armenian court. They translated French lawbooks (Assises d'Antioche), granted commercial privileges to the leading potentates of maritime trade in the Mediterranean: Italian, French and Catalan traders; the charter being drawn up in Latin or French[2].

The phono-graphematic image of these French words in Armenian transcription confirms the completion of the second Armenian consonant shift:

E.g.	*princ*	"prince"
	passaǰ	"passage"
	tampl	"temple"
	trayitur	"traitor"
	kumin	"commune"
	kunt	"comte"[3]

all of them written with a grapheme for unvoiced stop.

[1] Hüschmann, H., *Armenische Grammatik,* I. Teil: *Armenische Etymologie*. Leipzig 1897, 259–80, 269. (Abbrev.: *Arm. Etym.*)

[2] Langlois, V., *Le Trésor des chartes d'Arménie,* Paris 1863; Der-Nersessian, S., *The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia*. In: *A History of the Crusades*. Ed. by K. M. Setton. Philadelphia. Vol. II, 635, sqq; Mikaelian, G. G., *Istorija Kilikijskogo Armjanskogo gosudarstva*. Erevan 1952, 203, sqq.

[3] Karst, J., *Historische Grammatik des Kilikisch-Armenischen*. Strassburg 1901, 30–31.

One could enumerate not only common words, but also a dozen foreign French names in Armenian transcription[4] with the same orthography.

For the demonstration of the problematics, it should be emphasized that the French tenuis (unvoiced stop and affricate) initials were transcribed by graphemes, which in Middle Armenian represented the unvoiced stops. In the three-fold phono-graphematic system of Armenian this is important confirmation, because there would have been other solutions, if the French pronunciation of stops did not square (at least approximately) with the Armenian ones. If the French or Arabic tenuis would not have been sharp (more or less glottalised) plosives, Armenians certainly transcribed them with an aspirate. (Of course, I do not mean that I would take the Arabic and French stops to be completely equal.)

But after the fall of the Cilician Armenian Kingdom, close contact with the Western countries came to an abrupt end. After the Seljuq intrusion, Armenians, and the Armenian communities in Anatolia became surrounded and gradually intermingled with Muslim peoples from all sides. And how did this state of affairs become reflected in the vocabulary?

Hübschmann expressedly stated in his "Armenian Etymology" that he did not intend to give a comprehensive picture of the Muslim world[5] of the later centuries, because having inserted the French words as a separate chapter after the Greek words,[6] a gap would have ensued in the historical sequence, the 7th–10th centuries.

So he gave up the principle of the genealogical affiliation of the loanwords, the group of "Semitic words", he detached the Arabic words from the Syriac, and created a separate chapter: "New Persian and Arabic Words". In the title, the New-Persian came to the fore, as the chapter was appended to the Persian chapter.

Hübschmann did not want to commit himself to any obligation, so nowhere did he say "loanword", because almost all foreign words, which entered into Armenian in the Middle Ages were only foreign words of occasional use. That is why he always used the term "word" even for the ones of Median, of Pahlavi origin up to the end of the Sassanid era, and Greek and Syriac words, although in this case we are dealing with a different category; these latter words became inveterate components of the basic word stock of Armenian, so they were real "loanwords" in the basic sense of the term.

In the chapter "New Persian and Arabic Words" Arabic, Persian and even Turkish words, or one–two of Turkic and Mongolian origin were intermingled. The chapter also involved the early Arab words. Hübschmann seemingly did not include them because of their scantiness, but rather for the reason — which he mentioned several times — because he could not decide what the origin of the words was. In such ambiguous cases, generally the denoting of the direct source

[4] Hakobian, V. A., *Manr žamanakagruti'iwnner XIII–XVII dd.* Erevan 1956, vol. II. See Index.

[5] *Arm. Etym.*, 260.

[6] *Arm. Etym.*, 389–391.

of the word was not strictly observed, although the decisive criterion was not the *original* origin, but the language from which the word had been taken over by the Armenians.[7]

First of all, one must not forget that there were only very few Arabic words, which entered Armenian even during the Arab domination and even less during the following period, after the decline of the Abbasid era, when not only Arab supremacy had ceased, but Arabs withdrew to the South so far that they did not have direct contact with the Armenians, except on the northern coastline of the Van Sea.

Secondly, the Armenians had a very close connection — either through warfare or trading connections with their Eastern and Western neighbours, because the main routes of international trade and cultural contacts led through the Taurus mountain range. So from the medly of foreign words presented in this chapter, only technical terms of medicine and agriculture came directly from the Arabic (from translated texts), and were taken over for occasional use. So they cannot be called "loanwords". The other Arabic words were borrowed indirectly, from Persian and Turkish in the following centuries.

For the differentiation of these two categories there are also linguistic, graphematic criteria. As it can be seen: Arabic stops of the earlier period in an initial position were spelt by Armenian simple stops, while the Arabic words coming from the mediation of Persian and Turkish were represented by initial aspirates, like the original New-Persian and Turkish words. And this is the most important sign, on the basis of which we can differentiate between genuine Arab words and those of secondary borrowing.

Let us take a glimpse at some of such foreign words enumerated in the "Armenian Etymology" of Hübschmann:[8]

48	*tʿas*	"cup" (Movses Kałankatuaci, Vardan)
		Ar. *tās* P. *tās*
53	*tʿurinǰ*	"grape fruit" (Geoponica, Medical texts)
		New-Persian — Arabic
167	*kʿtʿan*	"linen" Ar. *qattān* P. *qatān*
170	*kʿumayt*	"tawny" (Geopon.) Ar. *qumait,* NP. *qumait*
171	*kʿurat*	"leak" (Geoponica, Medical texts) — Ar. *qurrāt.*

The initial in Armenian is always an aspirate.

Hübschmann stated that the he could amplify the number by scores of examples, but Acharian took the trouble to collect them from all possible sources. In his "History of the Armenian Language" Acharian enumerated 702 Arabic and 445 New Persian words, but he marked the ones, by an asterisk, which are not exceptional cases, but also appear in later texts, and even according to his estimate it is only three dozen.[9]

[7] So the remark Ar. = Arabic in the historical works or text editions is often misleading.

[8] *Arm. Etym.*, 266, 278–279.

[9] Acharian, Hr., *Hayocʿlezvi patmutʿiwn.* Everan 1951, vol. II, 189–207; vol. I. 218, etc.

But beside these Arabic words, which appear only once in Armenian texts, there are also some that are of more frequent use. Such kinds of words can be found in medieval codices in the colophones appended to the text copied by the scribes. The importance of the colophones for historical research has been recognized for a long time, but they also present very useful source material for linguistic purposes, as they reflect the contemporary vernacular of the scribe. During the last decades, two series of such collections of colophones were composed by Levon Khachikian and Vazgen Hakobian (3 volumes each, 15th and 17th centuries).[10]

Just a few examples taken from them:

Ar.	*tʿamam*	"complete"
	tʿamiz	"clear"
P T	*tʿufang, tʿufak*	"gun"
P T	*tʿop*	"canon"
T	*tʿepsi*	"small tray"
P	*pʿrpʿrem, pʿerpʿeran*	"Portulak" (Vullers, Heraci: Seidel 134.)
P	*pʿupʿle*	"seed of palma areca" (Amirdovlat, Heraci: Seidel 178)
A P	*pʿeγambar*	"prophet"
A P	*pʿošiman*	"regret"[11]

Aside from the common nouns, there are abundant examples of this phono-graphematic type: Arabo-Persian-Turkish personal names from the collections and the "Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names" of Hr. Acharian. The quoted names are not directly borrowed from Arabic, but mostly taken over via Persian and/or Turkish, and all of them are transcribed by an unvoiced stop aspirate. E.g.:

Tʿaza	"fresh"	*Tʿaza-gul*	"– rose"
Tʿaza-xan		*Tʿaza-melik*	
Tʿatʿar	"for men and women"	*Tʿatʿar-xan*	
Tʿatʿar-xatun		*Tʿam-aziz*	"all + dear"
Tʿamam	"complete"	*Tʿansux*	"rare, exquisite"
Tʿaǰ-melik	"crown-king"	*Taǰ-xatun*	
Tʿavrež, Tʿarvez	"Tabriz"	*Tʿavrez-melik, Tʿavrez-xatun.*[12]	

All the initials are aspirates.

The phono-graphematic correspondence of these words (in the analysis only the initials were taken into account) shows a uniform representation, the

[10] Khachikian, L., *XV dari hayerèn jeŕagreri hišatakaranner.* I–III. 1967; Hakobian, V., *Hayeren jeragreri hišatakaranner, XVII dar.* I–III. Jerevan 1974–1984.

[11] Hakobian, V., *Hišatakaranner.* XVII/1, 2.; *Arm. Etym.*, 278; Seidel, E., *Mechitar's des Meisterarztes aus Her "Trost bei Fiebern".* Leipzig 1908, 134, 178.

[12] Acharian, Hr., *Hoyc'anjnanunneri baŕaran.* Erevan 1944, vol. II; see chapter of *Tho. Hakobian, Hišatakaranner, XV. dar.* Jerevan 1958, 491–97.

initials, contrary to the direct Arabic correspondence as simple stops, always present aspirated unvoiced stops.[13]

There is only a simple exception of the stops, the case of the laryngeals. From the Middle Armenian period on the phonetic correspondence of the post-palatal or laryngeal stops split: the *kef* is spelt in Armenian transcriptions similarly to the other stops by an aspirate.

Eg.:	A T	*kʿelim*	"rug-carpet"
	P T	*kʿešiš — kʿašiš*	"Christian priest"
	P T	*kʿosk, kʿušk*	"hall, parlour"

The velar variety the *qaf* has a double representation, differring roughly taken for the Eastern and Western area. The *qaf* in Persian or Azeri words — whether of Arabic origin or genuine Persian or Azeri words — appears in Armenian script as a laryngeal voiced spirant ł ղ (غ *ghain*) and such representation is also valable in the East Anatolian Turkish dialects. But in the Western Anatolian provinces *qaf* is pronounced as the unvoiced counterpart of the *ghain* as *x* (Arm. խ *xe*).

E.g.:	*ghadi*	Ar.	*qadi*	"judge"
	ghala	Ar.	*qala*	"fortress"
	xala, xla			
	ghaymakam	Ar.	*qaimaqam*	"district official"
	ghadifa	Ar.	*qadifa*	"velvet"
	ghul	Ar.	*qul*	"servant"
	xul			
	ghapuǰi	T	*qapuǰï*	"janitor"
	xapuǰi			
	xuyumǰi	T	*quyumǰi*	"goldsmith"
	xurban	T	*qurban*	"sacrifice"[14]

To summarize the findings on this topic: alongside the historico-textological evidence, this phono-graphematic correspondence provides the clue that a good number of foreign words of Arabic were not taken over into Armenian directly from Arabic, but by the mediation of one or the other neighbouring language, Persian or Turkish.

Close scrutiny of the available sources throughout the following centuries shows that this linguistic impact continued all the time, but the orthographic symbols remained unchanged throughout the centuries. So from the phono-graphematic correspondence, we cannot detect for sure, in which century a certain word intruded into Armenian literary usage. But as can be seen, the bor-

[13] Acharean, Hr., *Turkerenè pʿoxareal baŕer: Eminean azgagŕakan žoghovacʿu.* Moskua–Vagharsapat 1902, vol. III.

[14] Hakobian, V., *Hišatakaranner, XVII d.* Jerevan 1984, vol. III, 981–82, 985–86. — Acharean, Hr., *Hayocʿlezui patmutʿivn.* Vol. II, 193–94; 197. — Acharean, Hr., *Tʿurkʿerenè pʿoxareal*, 154–197.

rowed vocabulary remained rather scanty, compared to the fashionable names of the Near East, of which ample use was also made by Armenians. Of course, this linguistic purism was not preserved by the dialects, having close contact with neighbours, or even being surrounded or intermingled by foreign communities. The contact or cohabitation of different grades is reflected in the every day word-stock of the different dialects.

Of course, the analysis of the phono-graphematic system of the later centuries has to be extended — but systematically — to the medial and final position of stops and affricates, as it can be seen even further analysis of this phenomenon on a diachronic scale will not considerably change the phono-graphematic findings, which characterize this layer or literary word-stock of Muslim origin.

But this phonetism is not restricted to the secondary foreign words, and could have had a much wider impact on the phonematic system of the local, communal vernacular or even on the Western literary and dialectal sphere. Naturally the phono-graphematic system of the foreign words must be subjected to further close scrutiny.

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ON VESSELS, BAGS, COFFINS AND MELONS MUSING OVER TURKIC *QAP*

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In a learned article, Fr. Henry Serruys (1968) has convincingly shown that the Chinese term *ho-po* [合鉢], or *ho-pao,* [合包] name of an ornamental pouch, is in fact a borrowing, or rather a transcription of a Common Turkic word *qap* "vessel, bag, leather container, wineskin; pumpkin", which entered Chinese during the Yüan period. He linked the Turkic word with Classical Mongol *qabtaγa ~ qabtaγan* which has a form with internal *r* in Ordos: *gabtarga* "sachet, bourse que l'on porte suspendue à la ceinture au côté gauche et dans laquelle on met le tabac et la pipe" (Mostaert 282b). He also referred to the information provided by the Franciscan Rubruck who, in the mid-13th century, recorded it in the forms *captargac*, and defined it as, "a square pouch which they [the Mongols] carry for storing everything".[1]

According to Serruys (137) "The Chinese *ho-po* is a transcription of [Turkic] *qab*, an abbreviation of *qabtaγa ~ qabtarγa*, or possibly for Turkic *qap* which may well have been borrowed by the Mongols from some Turkic dialect." Of course one cannot see why *qabtaγa ~ qabtarγa* should have been "abbreviated"; it is more likely that *tarγa* is some sort of suffix added to *qab*. Clark (1973, 184), who does not cite Serruys, concludes: "it is difficult to accept this word [Rubruck's *captargac*] as Mongol in origin, since its composite elements are purely Turkic. The root is surely *kap-* 'to seize, hold' found everywhere in Turkic, but not in Mongol ...". I would agree with Clark on all but one point, namely that *qap*, is a verbo-nominal stem which in nominal function means "(some sort) of a container, vessel, receptacle", as shown by Kāšγarī *qāp* "wineskin; receptacle; vessel; caul; kinsman" (Dankoff II, 127), while the verbal *qap-* carries the primary meaning "to shut, to close, to cover". In fact I adopt Ligeti's conclusion (1970, 296–98) based on an impressive array of examples. But even *qap* is a stem formed from a root, not at all hypothetical, since we find in Kāšγarī *qa* "vessel, container" (Dankoff II, 121).

[1] Rubruck III, 2. Translation in Jackson–Morgan, 80. Every translation and edition of Rubruck's text gives some explanation of *captargac*; none that I know of explains the final *-c*.

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The Mongol word corresponding to the Turkic forms is *qaγa- ~ qaγa- ~ qaba-* as exemplified by e.g. ClassMongol *qaγa-*, ModLM *xaa-* "to close", Ordos *xā-* "fermer, enfermer, couvrir, recouvrir".[2]

Ligeti views Manchu *ka-* ("à la rigueur *qā*") "1. (ab)sperren, aufhalten, stauen; 2. umzingeln, belagern" (Hauer, 571) a loanword from Mongol. With no reference to Ligeti, so does Rozycki (1994a, 131; 1994b, 75). The word is well attested in the other Tunguz languages such as Evenki: *qā-* "zakryt'; zaperet'" (Cincius, 356). It can be taken for granted that the Mongol and Tunguz words are related, a view taken also by Novikova (1972, 137–38).

We may not ever be able to disentangle the skein linking all the Turkic, Mongol, and Tunguz forms (and I have given but a small selection of them) but, essentially, what one could agree upon is that for all of them either a *qā-* or a *qaγ ~ qaγ ~ qab* root may be postulated. My preference goes to the forms with the consonantal ending, and I view the root with the long *ā* the result of a gradual wearing down of the original final explosive: *qaγ > qab > qaβ > qā*.

This root serves as a stem for a great number of derivatives. To illustrate the point, I cite for Turkish the following words (Hony, 173): *kap* "cover; envelope; vessel; receptacle"; *kapak* "cover, lid"; *kapaklı* "provided with a lid or cover; concealed, clandestine"; *kapama* "act of shutting, etc."; *kapamak* "shut; close; shut up; cover up, etc."; *kapan* "trap" or (as adjective) "who seizes or grabs"; *kapatma* "shut up, confined"; *kapı, kapu* "door, gate"; *kapıcı* "doorkeeper; porter; concierge". The latter meaning is attested *inter alia* in Old Turkic *qapïγčï*, and Ligeti (1970, 296–97) traced the word in T'o-pa **qabaqčin*.[3]

But let us now return to the semantic group of our present interest, namely that of containers.

A word *qap* "vessel, bag, leather container, (wine)skin" is well attested in Old and Middle Turkic (DTS, 420), as well as in most modern Turkic languages. As mentioned above, the three relevant meanings given by Kāšγarī are: "skin (for wine, etc.); vessel; caul". The DTS (420) translates: "sosud, meh, burdjuk". In fact, the word is Common Turkic as exemplified, among other data, by the *qap* entry in Radloff (II, 400–402). Modern Kirghiz *qap* "wide bag" has many applications listed by Judakhin 1965 (342); Uzbek *qop* "mešok"; Turkmen *gap* "sosud"; Kazakh, Karakalpak *qap* "mešok". Oirot *qap* (Baskakov, 72), has a very specific meaning: "suma kožanaja, širokij mešok s uškami po bokam". In Karachay we find *qap* "pumpkin". The number of Turkic examples could easily be increased. The word is represented also in one Tunguz language, Ude *xau* "coffin", for which Cincius (I, 464) offers no etymology.

Kāšγarī mentions the word *xafsi* "small box" (Dankoff II, 207, Brockelmann, 239) derived by Brockelmann from Syriac *qafsā*, which he considers a loan from Latin *capsa*. For Pelliot (1944, 84–85), *xafsi* is a Chinese loanword, transcribing either *ho-tzu* [盒子] < **gâp-tsi* "small box" or *hsia-tzu* [匣子] <

[2] Throughout this paper words are given in a greatly simplified transcription.

[3] A long list of cognate words belonging to the *qap(a)-* family was given by Ligeti 1934.

**gab-tsi* "box". In either case, *tzu* is a suffix.[4] It would seem to me that there is reason to believe that the process is the reverse of that suggested by Pelliot, and that the Chinese words mentioned by him (*ho* and *hsia*) were attempts to transcribe Turkic *qap*.

Since Chinese *ho* means "casket", it might even have Altaic antecedents. Pulleyblank (1963, 251), who does not refer to Pelliot's article, brings an important argument in favor of this idea. He cites from a third century A. D commentary to a passage in the *Han-shu*: "He [an official] is in charge of the milk horses. One makes a bag ... of skin with a capacity of several *tou* and fills it with mare's milk. " (251). The present transcription of the characters designating the bag are *chia-tou* [夾 兜], commented upon by Pulleyblank as follows:

> The expression *chia-tou* < M. *kaep-tu* is not found elsewhere and does not appear in any dictionary. It must be related to Mongol *xabtaγa(n)* "bag, pouch, purse, pocket" and to Turkish *qaptïrγai* "ein grosser tiefer Sack". In Rubruquis we find *captargac* "square bag for putting unconsumed food ... ".

One might justifiably conclude that we are thus faced with two different Chinese attempts to render *qap* or a related form. Bailey (1981, 24) grouped the forms cited by Pulleyblank "with various Iranian words from *kap-* 'to hold, contain'. Thus Armenian loanword *kapič-* 'container', Zor.Pahl. *kapārak*, N.Pers, *kabārah* "container", Zor.Pahl. *kafś*, N.Pers. *kafš* 'shoe' ..."

Bailey cites some other forms and remarks that "The Turk. *qatïrγai* 'sack' and Mongol *xabtaγan* 'bag' if connected will be Iranian loanwords." I see no justification for this statement.

Bailey also refers to an earlier publication of his (Bailey 1954) in which he had explored the Iranian derivatives of *kap*. It would be superfluous to analyze or reproduce here his elaboration of the question (146–153), I also lack the expertise necessary for its critical examination, but I would like to cite his conclusion, to wit that in Iranian, according to Bailey, we have to recognize four verbal bases *kap-*, one of these with the meaning "contain" (151). Bailey links this form with an Indo-European verb of the same form and the same meaning; Latin *capsa* "case" is among its derivatives.

Now it so happens that the *Codex Cumanicus* has a Cuman word *qapsa* translated "die Lade". Grønbech (1942, 193) considers it a loan from Latin (no doubt introduced by the Franciscan missionaries) and translates it "Kasten; Sarg". Pelliot (1944, 86) is reluctant to accept this direct derivation since he does not wish to abandon the link with Kāšγarī's *xafsi*. Of course, as we have seen, there is no need to do so.

Pelliot links ClassMo. *absa* "coffin" with the above-mentioned Turkic family of words. As in several other cases studied there by Pelliot, we are faced here with a *q-* > *Ø* change. The word is attested in several Mongol languages of

[4] Chinese *ho-tzu* [合子] was borrowed by ClassMong. *qosa* "square or round box" (Lessing, 970). For a *-se* rendering of *tzu*: Manchu *fase* "raft" < Chinese *fa-tzu* [筏 子].

which I shall cite here only ModLM *avs(an)* "coffin". From Mongol the word reached a number of Tunguz languages such as Evenki for which Vasilevič (1948, 15) indicates the following dialectal variants *absa, avsa, avxa, avšak, apša, auša*. The related Tunguz words are listed also by Cincius (I, 9). Instead of enumerating here all the Tunguz forms given by her, I would rather list a sampling of the meanings attached to them: "bag; box, trunk; chest; coffin; a board of a boat; plank-built boat".[5] The semantic range of the Tunguz words is easily explained by the Tunguz habit of using hollowed tree trunks both as boats and coffins.[6] Orok has kept traces of the initial occlusive: *xapsau* (Vasilevič 15). Manchu *absa* "birchbark container; boat (dugout, made of planks or bark)". The Manchu–Mongol–Chinese dictionary *San ho pien lan* translates Manchu *absa* "birch bark cask" with Mongol *üneči* (Kowalewski) "vase d'écorce de bouleau avec un couvercle; planche de laquelle on jette les filets dans l'eau". The Manchu-Mongol dictionary of Luvsanzhav gives the same translation. It is under *absa*, and with "bag (sumka)" given for the basic meaning.

As this range of meanings shows, Rozycki's (1994a, 10) misgivings that, because of semantic discrepancies the Manchu word cannot be a direct loan from Mongol is unjustified. His rhetorical question "... how did Kalmyk Ölöt *awsă* come to have the meaning 'chest, case' yet other Mongol languages denote 'coffin'?" (1994b, 75) can easily be answered with a reference to the semantic history of English *coffin* which acquired its present meaning "a box or chest in which a corpse is enclosed" only in the 16th century, evolving from < "case, casket, box" < "chest" < "basket". Elsewhere, Rozycki (1994b, 75) correctly states that there is no need to postulate a lost **h-* for Mongol *absa* but, probably because of some technical oversight, opens the paragraph with the statement: "Mongol *absa* (< **hapsa*) 'Kiste'". Following a suggestion made by Clark (1977, 148) Rozycki considers Manchu *absa* a **recent** [my emphasis] (Middle Kipchak) loan from Turkic. Against such a view would speak the ubiquitous presence of cognates all over the Tunguz area.

Ultimately, the Tunguz and Mongol words must be connected with the Turkic and even Indo-European *qap*.

A good deal has now been said about the initial *q-*, or its absence, in the Altaic words. But what about the ending *-sa*? The nearest thing to an explanation goes back to Pelliot (1944, 85) who saw in the *-si* ending of *xafsi* the transcription of Chinese **tsi*. But what about Mongol and Tunguz *-sa*? Well, — I do not know. I can trace neither in Turkic nor in Mongol or Tunguz any derivational suffix which I could validly equate with the ending in *absa*. Could it be that the solution lies with Indo European words examined by Bailey?

As already mentioned above, *qap* is the stem of a great number of derivatives. I would wish to examine briefly a number of those belonging to the semantic category we are here dealing with.

[5] On *absa* "boat", see Sinor 1961, 175.

[6] Cf. Lopatin, 82.

QABAQ general meaning: "a small container" > "pumpkin", survives in most Turkic languages. See: Clauson 582, Doerfer III, No. 1419. This word is surely a cognate of *qabuq* (see below). In Turki (Jarring, 238) *qapaγ ~ qapaq ~ qap'aq* has a very full semantic range: "lid, cover, bottle-gourd, bockey, calabash". Jarring (1964, 165) sees in Turki *kavak* "pit, hole, hollow" a Persian loanword; a distinct possibility, but it may also be connected with any of the title words listed below. And what should we do with Turki *qava* "pumpkin"?

QAΓUQ "bladder". I agree with Clauson (583) according to whom this word, attested in an Uighur document, represents the older form. Kāšγarī *qawuq* (Dankoff I, 293) is surely a later development. Hence I must disagree with Dankoff (III, 134) who derives the word from **qaw-* "squeeze, come together". Turkish (Hony) *kavuk* "a hollow thing; bladder; hollow" clearly shows the semantic links. According to Cincius (357) Evenki *kabak*, is a loan from Yakut.

QABUQ "hollow tree" but also, more generally "hollow". This word is clearly an etymological doublet of *qaγuq*. See Clauson (583) *kovuk* (Doerfer III, No. 1423). By the way, I think that in the sentence cited by Doerfer from the Oghuz legend: *bu ïγačnung qabučaqïnda bir qïz bar erdi* "there was a girl in the hollow of that tree", the stem is *qabučaq* (see below).

QABČUQ "bag". See Doerfer III, No.1420. *-čuq* is a well known, often used diminutiv suffix. Brockelmann (95–96) notes that it is often used "ohne erkennbaren deminutiven Sinn" and, among his examples he includes *qaburčuq* "Schachtel", *taγarčuq* "Sack".

QAΓUN "melon". See DTS 406. Kāšγarī *qāγūn* (Dankoff III, 124); Turkish *kavun*. Chuvash *kavin* "pumpkin". Turki *qoγun ~ qoγon* (Jarring, 250).[7] The *-γun* ending is a frequent denominal derivation suffix,[8] here added to the *qā-* root. For the semantic shift "container" > "melon/pumpkin" I refer to the above-mentioned Karachay *qap* "pumpkin". The word passed into a number of Slavic languages, e.g. Polish *kawon* "water-melon", and into Persian *qāvūn*, and Arabic (Doerfer IV, 294).

QABÏRČAQ ~ QUBURČAQ Kāšγarī "wooden case, coffin" (Dankoff III, 145). Chagatay *qoburčaq* "eine kleine Büchse" (Radloff II, 661), Kazan Tatar *køporčøk* (Radloff II, 685) "Kasten, Schachtel". The word is not listed in the modern Tatar dictionaries at my disposal. Teleut *qabïrčaq* "Schale, Hülse" (Radloff II, 451).[9] An interesting but logical derivative of this word, *qawurčaqlïq* "tortoise", is given in the zoological nomenclature of al-Qazwīnī dated 1339 (Pelliot 1931, 561).

The denominal suffix *-čaq* is very active in Turkic,[10] but not normal in Classical Mongol. It can therefore be assumed that ClassMong. *qaγurčaγ* "box;

[7] On the Turkic *a ~ o* change in the first syllable, see Ligeti 1934, 14–15.

[8] Cf. Brockelmann, 108–109.

[9] Bombaci 1963, 100–103 lists a number of Turkic words of identical form but with the meaning of "doll, puppet", and wonders "if there is a connection between the meaning 'doll, puppet' and the meaning 'case' or 'coffin'."

[10] For examples see Brockelmann, 91–92.

coffin" is a Turkic loanword which, in its turn, passed into Tuvin: *xaažak* "bag, small box, coffin".

The logic of the presentation of my material would have required that this group of words be dealt with following the remarks on *qaγur ~ qoγur*. The reason for doing otherwise is, I think, justified by the wider implications of *qaγur ~ qoγur*.

*QOΓUR ~ *QAΓUR* ought to be considered the respective stems of words of the *qaγurčaγ*-type. But there is a hitch: I can find no example for *qaγur*. Were I to trace such a form the *a > o* change of the first syllable could easily be explained with regressive assimilation caused by the second syllable vowel, e.g. Uighur *qašuq > qošuq* "spoon".[11] As a matter of fact, even *qoγur* is not well attested in Turkic. Radloff (II, 507) lists a lonely Küeri *qoγur* "coffin" which has its parallels in Tunguz: Nanay *xövur ~ xöur* "coffin" (Cincius I, 464). The monosyllabic Mongol forms, ClassMong *qor* "endroit du carquois où l'on fourre les boutons de flèches" (Kowalewski II, 950), Ordos *χur* "carquois" (Mostaert, 370), may have resulted through contraction.

Palatal counterparts were noted by Radloff (II, 1426) in the Sagay, Koibal and Sojon dialects: *kügär* "Lederflasche, Lederschlauch" and in Teleut and Kazakh *kökkör* "die Lederflasche, Schlauch" (II, 1224). The word appears in Kirghiz *köökör* "burdjuhok" (Judahin) and in Yakut *kögüör* "bol' šoj kožanyj meh dlja hranenija židkostej" (Pekarskij I, 1125). In Mongol we find ClassMong *kükür* "cruche, petite marmite" (Kowalewski III, 2631), Ordos *gugur* "vase dans lequel on trait ou baratte (en cuir de boeuf); petite bouteille servant de tabatière" (Mostaert, 276). Kalmuck *kökür* "lederner Schlauch für Kumys" (Ramstedt, 237), Buryat *xüxür* "meh (sosud)".[12] The Mongol word passed into Manchu *kukuri* "flache Kanne für Milchtee", a loan which escaped the attention of Rozycki 1994a. The aforementioned Manchu–Mongol dictionary equates Manchu *kukuri* with Mongol *kükür* (Luvsanzhav, 122).

The word occurs in Ostiak: *koker/kokker* "Lederflasche, Schlauch", according to Paasonen (124), borrowed from Turkic. Karjalainen–Toivonen (392) lists a number of dialectal variants, all names of a variety of birchbark boxes. The word was adopted by some neighboring Russian dialects in the form of *kukor* "nebol'šaja posuda iz beresty" (Steinitz, 301). With some caution I would signal the existence of a Vogul word *khuri* (< **khuriγ*) "bag, sack", very frequent in composite words such as *ńål khuri* "quiver" (lit. "arrow bag") (Munkácsi–Kálmán, 128). To make such a comparison valid, one would have to explain the final vowel or assume a **kVgVr > kVrVg* methatesis; possibilities I cannot here explore. But would it not be reasonable to link the Vogul words with e.g. the above-mentioned Ordos *χur*?

Seemingly, the Turkic, Mongol and Tunguz words could be deducted from a **qaγ* root or stem with the proviso that the *a>o* labializations of the

[11] For further example see Ščerbak 1970, 64.

[12] I cite this form after Pekarskij *loc. cit.*

vowel be considered local developments. But I must confess to some uneasiness about the palatal forms — just a trifle too far away from the *qa-* root.

Hubschmid (1955, 117), surprisingly well informed about the Altaic and Ugric forms, connects them with Medieval Greek κούκουρον "quiver", Medieval Latin *cucurum*, words which, in Onions' careful judgment (733) are "obscurely related" to English *quiver* "case for holding arrows" (< Old English *cocor*) and its relatives such as Old High German *kohhar(i)* > German *Köcher*.

Finally, in the light of all that precedes, I cannot imagine that *cucurbita* (4th century A.D. *cocur-*) "pumpkin" (> French *courge*) should not belong to this same group. The word has no accepted etymology and is generally viewed as a loanword (André, 80). Of course, it is generally accepted by scholars that *cucurbita* developed into German *Kürbis* which, surely, is linked with Turkic *qarbus* "melon". But there is no space here to explore this connection. That task will have to be performed ten years hence, to honor Zsuzsa Kakuk at her 80th birthday.

Any conclusion? I had rather close with Kafka's words in his marvelous *Der Prozeß*: "... das Urteil kommt nicht mit einemmal, das Verfahren geht allmählich ins Urteil über."

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TURZISMEN IM DUSHMANI-DIALEKT DES ALBANISCHEN

STANISŁAW STACHOWSKI
(Kraków)

Der in Dushmani gesprochene Dialekt gehört der nordgegischen Gruppe der albanischen Dialekte an. Der Ort Dushmani liegt im gebirgigen Nordalbanien, ungefähr 30 km östlich von Skutari entfernt, im Gebiet rechts vom mittleren Lauf des Drin-Flusses.

Materialien zum Dushmani-Dialekt hat im Jahre 1937 Wacław Cimochowski, Professor an der Universität Poznań (Posen), während seiner Feldforschungen in Albanien persönlich gesammelt und sie dann in seiner Monographie *Le dialecte de Dushmani. Description de l'un des parlers de l'Albanie du Nord* (Poznań 1951; 233 S.) veröffentlicht. Die Arbeit Cimochowskis besteht aus drei Hauptteilen: *Phonetique* (6–28); *Morphologie* (28–185) und *Syntaxe* (185–212). Der Verfasser beschäftigt sich hier dagegen weder mit der Lexik noch mit der Wortbildung des Dushmani-Dialektes, obgleich die Monographie besonders umfangreiches Wortmaterial anbietet. Als eine Art Ersatzvokabular kann dabei ein großes Wörterverzeichnis (217–228, mit jeweils drei Spalten pro Seite) betrachtet werden. Das fehlende Vokabular erschwert zwar die Arbeit in gewissem Grade, doch das Wortmaterial ist trotzdem dank dem Index recht leicht zugänglich. Es ist daher ziemlich erstaunlich, daß die Dushmani-Lexik in N. Boretzkys Verzeichnissen der albanischen Turzismen (= *Der türkische Einfluß auf das Albanische*. Teil 2. Wiesbaden 1976) unberücksichtigt geblieben ist.

Mein Ziel ist es hier daher, die für den albanischen Dushmani-Dialekt von W. Cimochowski belegten türkischen Lehnwörter aus seiner Monographie herauszusortieren und zu veröffentlichen, um sie dadurch sowohl den albanischen Lexikologen als auch den Forschern der türkisch-balkanischen Sprachkontakte zugänglich zu machen.

Wörterverzeichnis

agrép, hagrép 'scorpion' (22) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *akrep* 'Skorpion'.

akrebā́, -ā́i̯a 'allié' (32) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *akraba* 'der, die Verwandte; die Verwandten'.

akšám, -i 'crépuscule' (31) < osm.-tü. *akşam* 'Abend'.

ašík, -u 'amant' (31) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *aşık* 'der Verliebte; Liebhaber'.

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ạ̄t, -i, Pl. *áta, -t* 'coursier' (31) < osm.-tü. *at* 'Pferd'.

ā3, -a (31), **á3a** (20) 'oncle'. — Gekürzt (umgangssprachliche Form) aus osm.-tü. *amca* = *amuca* 'Onkel'. — Vgl. *acı* (Edir.) 'elder brother' (TDE 57); *aca* = *amica* (Flor.) 'oncle, oncle paternel' (PTF 124).

bāb, bába 'père' (31, 55) < osm.-tü. *baba* 'Vater'.

baịraktár, -i, Pl. *baịraktār, -t* 'prince, porte-drapeau' (45) < osm.-tü. *bayraktar* 'Fahnenträger'.

bákĕr', bakr'i, Pl. *bakr'a, -t* 'cuivre' (48) < osm.-tü. *bakır* 'Kupfer'.

bakláụ, -ława 'espèce de dessert' (17) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *baklava* 'türkisches Süßgebäck aus Blätterteig'.

beć̆ár, -i, Pl. *beć̆ār, -t* 'célibataire' (45) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *bekâr* 'unverheiratet, ledig; Junggeselle'.

me begenís, ind. prés. *begenísi* (< **begendis*) 'apprécier' (166) < btü. **begendi* (= aosm. *begendi*) = lit.tü. *beğendi*, 3.Sg.Perf. zu *begen-* (= lit.tü. *beğen-*) 'an etwas Gefallen haben (finden), gern haben, lieben' + Suff. *-is-*. — Vgl. *begen-* (Kum.) 'beğen-' (KTA 118); *begen-* (Gost.) 'beğen-' (TGG 280).

berećét, -i, Pl. *berećete, -t* 'blé' (35) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *bereket* 'Segen, Fruchtbarkeit; großer Reichtum und Überfluß im Lande'.

me bezdís, ind. prés. *bezdísi* 'ennuyer' (166) < osm.-tü. *bezdi*, 3.Sg.Perf. zu *bez-* 'unlustig, verdrossen werden; etwas überbekommen' + Suff. *-is-*.

bōị, boịa, Pl. *boịna, -t* 'couleur, teinte' (13, 60) < osm.-tü. *boya* 'flüssige Farbe, Ölfarbe'.

boł 'assez' (106) < osm.-tü. *bol* 'viel, reichlich, in großer Menge vorhanden'.

budă̄ł, f. **budáłe**, Pl. *budă̄ł* 'bête' (81) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *budala* 'einfältig, dumm'.

čakič, -i, Pl. *čakiča, -t* 'marteau' (48) < osm.-tü. *çekiç* 'Hammer'.

čalók 'boiteux' (79) < osm.-tü. *çalık* 'schief, krumm'?

čardák, -u (m), Pl. *čardíće, -t* (f) 'véranda' (36); 'véranda, balcon' (31); 'corridor, antichambre' (51) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *çardak* 'auf vier Säulen oder Pfosten ruhendes Dach; Laube (meist mit Wein bewachsen)'.

çerék, -u, Pl. *čerĕ́k, -t* 'un quart' (46) < btü. **çērek* = lit.tü. *çeyrek* (< npers.) 'Viertel; Viertelstunde; Fünfpiastermünze'. — Vgl. *çerek* (Dib.: TDib. 193); *çerek* (Preš.: TPreš. 175); *çerek* (Dren.: TDren. 150) '*çeyrek*; Viertel'.

činí, -îị̂a, Pl. *çinîị̂a, -t* 'assiette en porcelaine' < osm.-tü. *çini* 'Tonfliese'.

ćeft = **ćef, -i** 'plaisir' (31) < btü.dial. **kēf* = lit.tü. *key(i)f* (< ar.) 'Wohlbefinden, gute Laune, Fröhlichkeit'. — Vgl. *qef* (Preš.: TPreš. 183), *qējf, qēf* (Dren.: TDren. 164), *qef* (Zad.: TZad. 191) 'Spaß, Vergnügen'; *t'īf* (Gost.; Uštip) 'gaité' (DTMou. 149, 157); *kēf* (Kaz.) 'humeur; santé' (TTk. 307); *kăfsis* (Rhod.) 'de mauvais humeur' (TTRh. 223).

ćer·ažî, -i̯a, Pl. *ćer·ažî*, *-t* 'coucher' (32); 'charretier' (56) < osm.-tü. *kiracı* 'Mieter(in)'.

ćerpik, -u, Pl. *ćerpīk*, *-t* 'cil' (46) < osm.-tü. *kirpik* 'Wimper'.

me ćinis, ind. prés. *ćinísi* (< **ćindis*) 'broder' (166) < btü. **kiyindi* = lit.tü. *giyindi*, 3.Sg.Perf. zu *giyin-* 'sich anziehen, sich ankleiden; ein Kleidungsstück anlegen' + Suff. *-is-*.

ćor·, f. **ćor·e**, Pl. *ćōr·* 'aveugle' (81) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *kör* 'blind; der Blinde'.

ćošk, -u, Pl. *ćoške*, *-t* 'véranda' (51) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *köşk* 'Gartenhaus, Landhaus'.

ćüp, -i, Pl. *ćüpa*, *-t* 'pot' (48), 'cruche' (6) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *küp* 'großes irdenes Gefäß'.

dāi̯, dái̯a 'oncle (paternel)' (31) < osm.-tü. *dayı* 'Onkel (Bruder der Mutter)'.

dai̯î, -i̯a, Pl. *dai̯î*, *-t* 'dissipateur' (56) < btü. **dayı*; vgl. anat.-tü. *dayı* '1. güzel, iyi; 2. cesur, babayiğit [= 1. schön, gut; 2. kühn, verwegen, tapfer; kräftiger, junger Bursche oder Mann]' (DS).

dert,-i (m), Pl. *derte*, *-t* (f) 'souci' < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *dert* 'Schmerz, Kummer, Leid'.

déve 'chameau' (28) < osm.-tü. *deve* 'Kamel'.

düšék, -u 'matelas' (31) < btü. **düşek* = lit.tü. *döşek* 'Matratze, Bett'. — Vgl. *düşek* (Ohr.) 'lit' (DTO 274), *düšek* (Sk.) 'Matratze' (TMM 84), *dušek* (Gost.) 'döşek' (TGG 284).

erz, -i 'honneur' (31) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *ırz* 'Ehre, Ehrgefühl; Ehrenhaftigkeit'.

fučî, -i̯a, Pl. *fučî̯a*, *-t* 'tonneau' (66) < btü. **fuçı* (< aosm. *fuçı*, *fuçu*) = lit.tü. *fıçı* 'Faß'. — Vgl. *fuči* (Vid.) 'Faß' (TV 388), *fučı* (AK: *fučy*) 'Bottich' (TVM 23).

fukará, -i̯a, Pl. *fukará*, *-t* 'pauvre, mendiant' (57) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *fukara* 'die Armen; der, die Arme; arm, mittellos'.

füšék, -u, Pl. *füšék*, *-t* 'cartouche' (46) < btü. **füşek* = lit.tü. *fişek* 'Patrone'. — Vgl. *fishek*, *fyshek* (Preš.) 'fişek' (TPreš. 177); *fyshek* (Zad.) 'Flinte (?)' (TZad. 189).

gazépi, -i 'danger' (31) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *gazap* '(heftiger) Zorn; Grimm'.

hał, -i (m), Pl. *hałe*, *-t* (f) 'deuil, chagrin' (35) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *hal* 'Zustand, Lage, Stellung; üble Lage, Kummer'.

hamál, -i, Pl. *hamai̯*, *-t* 'porteur' (52) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *hamal* 'Lastträger'.

havá, -ái̯a 'temps' (33) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *hava* 'Luft, Wetter; Klima'.

hećim, -i, Pl. *hećima*, *-t* 'médecin' (48) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *hekim* 'Arzt, Doktor'.

hēr 'fois, temps' (103) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *her* 'jeder, -e, -es'.

hič 'ne, rien' (91) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *hiç* 'kein; durchaus nicht, überhaupt nicht'.

hōǯ, hǫ́ǯa, Pl. *hoǯałā́r*, *-t* 'prêtre musulman' (56) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *hoca* 'Lehrer, Meister; türkischer Geistlicher'.

ibrík, -u, Pl. *ibrīk*, *-t* 'théière' (46) < osm.-tü. (< ar. < npers.) *ibrik* 'Wasserkanne, Spülkanne'.

ilač, -i, Pl. *ilača*, *-t* 'remède' (48) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *ilâç* 'Arznei'.

ilaká, -ą́ja, Pl. *ilaká*, *-t* 'parent' (56) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *alâka* 'Verhältnis, Beziehungen'.

inad 'haine, rancune' (13) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *inat*, *-dı* 'Eigensinn, Hartnäckigkeit, Starrköpfigkeit; Trotz'.

jau, java 'semaine' (17) < aosm. **yavm* = osm.-tü. *yevm* (< ar.) 'Tag, Tageszeit'.

jelék, -u 'gilet' (31) < osm.-tü. *yelek* 'Weste'.

jergán 'housse' (14) < osm.-tü. *yorgan* 'Steppdecke'. — Vgl. *jorgan*, *yargan* (Dren.) 'Decke' (TDren. 158).

jerganǯí, -ji̯a 'l'homme qui coud les couvertures' (32) < osm.-tü. *yorgancı* 'Hersteller und Verkäufer von Steppdecken, Kissen, Matratzen usw.'

jesték, -u 'coussin, coussinet' (31) < osm.-tü. *yastık* 'Kissen, Polster'. — Vgl. *jestek* (Zad.) 'Polster, Kissen' (TZad. 190).

ješíl 'vert' (14) < osm.-tü. *yeşil* 'grün; frisch; unreif'.

jetik 'vif, vivant' (79) < osm.-tü. *yetik* 'fähig'.

kacabá, -ą́ja, Pl. *kacabā*, *-t* 'ville' (67) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *kasaba* 'kleine Stadt; Städtchen, Provinzstadt'.

kač 'autant' (104) < osm.-tü. *kaç* 'wieviel; so viel, einige'.

kafáz, -i, Pl. *kafaza*, *-t* 'cage' (48) < btü. **kafaz* = osm.-tü. *kafes* (< npers.) 'Käfig'. — Vgl. *kafaz* (Dib.) 'kafes' (TDib. 194).

kalá, -ą́ja, Pl. *kalā*, *-t* 'forteresse' (66) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *kale* 'Burg, Festung; Fort, Festungswerk'.

kalem, -i, Pl. *kalema*, *-t* 'plume' (48) < osm.-tü. (< ar. < gr.) *kalem* 'jedes Schreibgerät; Schreibrohr'.

kałabłék, kałabrék 'foule' (27) < osm.-tü. *kalabalık* 'Menschenmasse; große Zahl; hinderliche Menge, Masse'.

me kałaji̯tis, ind.prés. *kałaji̯tísi* 'blanchir, étamer' (166) < osm.-tü. *kalay* 'Zinn' + Suff. *-ti-s-*.

kamǯík, -u, Pl. *kamǯīk*, *-t* 'fouet' (46) < btü. **kamcık* = **kamçık* = lit.tü. *kamçı* 'Fuhrmannspeitsche'. — Zum Auslaut *-k* vgl. (aosm.) *yapınca* = (ttü.) *yapıncak* 'Umhang oder Mantel aus grobem, zottigem Stoff; grobe Pferdedecke (gegen Regen oder Kälte)'.

kapadaji̯í, -ji̯a, Pl. *kapadaji̯í*, *-t* 'avanturier [!]' (56) < osm.-tü. *kabadayı* 'Prahlhans, Renommist, Bramarbas, Aufschneider, Großmaul'.

karší 'vis-à-vis' (200) < osm.-tü. *karşı* 'Gegenseite; gegen'.

klič, -i, Pl. *kliča, -t* 'sabre, cimeterre' (48) < osm.-tü. *kılıç* 'Säbel, Schwert, Degen'.

koi̯šī, -i̯a, Pl. *koi̯šī, -t* 'voisin' (56) < btü. **komşı, *konşı* (< aosm.) = lit.tü. *komşu, konşu* 'Nachbar(in)'. — Vgl. *kojshī, -ija* (Dren.: TDren.159; Preš.: TPreš. 181) 'Nachbar; Nachbarschaft'; *komşi* (Ohr.) 'voisin' (DTO 278); *komşi* (Flor.) 'voisin' (PTF 125); *komşi* (Küst., Mih.) 'Nachbar' (TMKM 380).

i kołājt, kołāi̯t 'facile' (14, 75), **kołáć** (adv.) 'facile' (< *kołai̯*, 14, 75) < osm.-tü. *kolay* 'leicht, unschwer'.

konák, -u, Pl. *koniće, -t* 'maison' (51) < osm.-tü. *konak* 'Quartier, Herberge'.

kōv, kova, Pl. *kova, -t* 'seau' (59) < osm.-tü. *kova* 'Eimer'.

kunraǯī (< **kundraǯī*), **-i̯a**, Pl. *kunraǯī, -t* 'cordonnier' (56) < osm.-tü. *kunduracı* 'Schuster, Schuhmacher, Schuhhändler'.

küvet, -i 'force' (31) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *kuvvet* 'Kraft, Stärke'.

legem, -i, Pl. *legema, -t* 'cuvette' (48) < btü. **legen* (= aosm.) = lit.tü. *leğen* 'tragbares, metallenes Becken'. — Vgl. *legen* (Küst.) 'Waschbecken' (TMKM 381); *legen* (Vid.) 'Waschbecken' (TV 394).

lezet, -i 'plaisir' (78) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *lezzet* 'Wohlgeschmack; Genuß, Vergnügen, Freude'. — Abl.: *i lezetšëm* 'agréable' (78).

medét, -i 'aide' (31) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *medet* 'Hilfe, Beistand, Unterstützung'.

nam, -i, Pl. *nama, -t* 'gloire' (48) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *nam* 'Name; Ruf, Berühmtheit, Ehre, Ruhm'.

ołúk, -u, Pl. *ołūk, -t* 'gouttière' (46) < osm.-tü. *oluk* 'Dachrinne'.

orták, -u 'compagnon' (31) < osm.-tü. *ortak* 'Gesellschafter, Teilhaber, Partner, Kompagnon'.

oǯak, -u, Pl. *oǯake, -t* 'foyer' (20); 'cheminé' (51) < osm.-tü. *ocak* 'Feuerstelle, Herd, Kamin; Herdfeuer'.

pamúk 'coton' (26) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *pamuk* 'Baumwolle'.

pāš, páša, Pl. *pašałár, -t* 'pacha' (56) < osm.-tü. *paşa* 'osm. Titel für hohe Verwaltungsbeamte sowie für Offiziere im Generalsrang'.

pazár 'marché' (119) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *pazar* 'Markt; Marktplatz'.

pęnǯére, -eri̯a, Pl. *pęnǯére, -t* 'fenêtre' (65) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *pencere* 'Fenster; Öffnung, Schlitz, Loch'.

peščír, -i, Pl. *peščíra, -t* 'serviette, essuie-main' (48) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *peşkir* 'Serviette, Mundtuch; Handtuch'.

rahát 'doucement, tranquillement' (106) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *rahat* 'Ruhe, Annehmlichkeit; ruhig, angenehm'.

sabáh, -i 'aube' (31) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *sabah* 'Morgen(-zeit); Vormittag'.

sał 'seulement' (106) < osm.-tü. *salt* 'nur, lediglich, bloß, einzig und allein'.

séne, seni̯a, Pl. *sene, -t* 'année' (65) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *sene* 'Jahr'.

sófĕr, **sofra**, Pl. *sofra*, *-t* 'table' (60) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *sofra* 'Eßtisch bzw. mit Speisen besetztes Tablett oder andere Unterlage, Tafel'.

soi̯, **-i**, Pl. *soi̯e*, *-t* 'espèce, qualité' (49); *soi̯* 'genre, qualité' (9); *sōi̯*, *soi̯a*, Pl. *soi̯na*, *-t* 'genre, espèce' (60) < osm.-tü. *soy* 'Familie, Stamm, Geschlecht; Herkunft'.

suł, **-i** (m), Pl. *sułe*, *-t* (f) 'condition, accord' (27, 35) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *usul* 'Prinzipien; Methode, System; Form, Art'.

tenéće, **tenéći̯a**, Pl. *tenéće*, *-t* 'fer-blanc' (65) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *teneke* 'Weißblech'.

tenećeǯí, **-ỉi̯a**, Pl. *tenećeǯí*, *-t* 'ferblantier' (56) < osm.-tü. *tenekeci* 'Klempner, Blechschmied'.

tepsí, **-ỉi̯a**, Pl. *tepsỉi̯a*, *-t* 'assiette en métal' (66) < osm.-tü. *tepsi* 'Kuchen-, Pastetenblech'.

téze, **tezi̯a**, Pl. *teze*, *-t* 'tante' (65) < btü. **tēze* = lit.tü. *teyze* 'Tante (Schwester der Mutter); Anrede eines Stiefsohnes an seine Stiefmutter'. — Vgl. *teze* (Din.) 'teyze' (DTA); *tīze* (Kum.) 'teyze' (KTA 119); *tēze* (Gost.) 'teyze' (TGG 282, 292).

teǯére (< **tenǯére*), **-eri̯a**, Pl. *teǯére*, *-t* 'chaudron servant à cuire la viande' (65) < osm.-tü. *tencere* 'Kochtopf, Kochgeschirr'.

tūł, **tuła**, Pl. *tuła*, *-t* 'brique' (60) < osm.-tü. (< gr. < lat.) *tuğla* 'Ziegel(-stein)'.

ulád, Pl. *ulād* 'enfants' (27) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *evlât*, *-dı* 'Kind, Kinder; Abkömmling, Sproß'.

ułā́r, **-i**, Pl. *ułār*, *-t* 'brides en corde' (45) < osm.-tü. *yular* 'Halfter'.

ürič, **ürüč** 'droit en avant' (106) < btü. **üğriç*, **üğrüç* (< **öğriç*, **öğrüç* < **öŋ(e)riç*, **öŋ(e)rüç*) 'vorwärts' < **üğ* (< **öŋ* = lit.tü. *ön*) 'Raum vor, Vorderseite' + Direktivsuff. *-(e)ri-* ~ *-(e)rü-* + Suff. *-ç*. — Vgl. lit.tü. *önce* (< **öŋce*) 'vor (lokal oder temporal); zuerst'; dial.anat. *öğ*, *öğn*, *öy* 'ön', *öŋcek* 'önce, önceden', *öŋüç*, *önüç*, *öğüç*, *önüş* '1. önce, ilkönce, başta; 2. önceden, eskiden', *öngüç* 'önce' (DS).

vakþ, **-i** = **vakí**, **-t** 'temps' (31) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *vakit*, *-kti* 'Zeit; freie Zeit'.

zerdelí, **-ỉi̯a**, Pl. *zerdelỉi̯a*, *-t* 'abricot' (66) < btü. **zerdeli* = lit.tü. (< npers.) *zerdali* 'kleine, gelblich-rötliche Aprikose mit bitterem Kern; wilde Aprikose'. — Vgl. *zer'deli* (NO-Bulg.) 'zerdali' (KDBA 193); *ze·rdeli* (Vid.) 'Aprikose' (TV 412).

1. zümül, **-i** 'panier' (26), 'corbeille' (31) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *zembil* 'geflochtener (Trag-)Korb mit zwei Henkeln; Markt-, Einkaufstasche'.

2. zümül, **-i** 'espèce de fleur' (26, 31) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *sümbül* 'Hyazinthe'.

me u ʒezdís, ind.prés. *ʒezdísem* 'se promener' (166) < osm.-tü. *gezdi*, 3.Sg.Perf. zu *gez-* 'spazierengehen' + Suff. *-is-*.

ʒiñȳ (muslim.) = **ʒiní** (kathol.) 'fantôme, vampire' (25) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *cin*, *-nni* 'guter oder spez. böser Geist; Dämon'.

ʒügüm, -i, Pl. *ʒügüma*, *-t* 'pot metallique' (49) < btü. (< aosm. < ngr.) **gügüm* = lit.tü. *güğüm* 'Wasserkessel mit Henkel und engem Hals'. — Vgl. *gùgùm* (Vid.) 'metallener Wasserkrug' (TV 389).

ʒüks, -i, Pl. *ʒüksa*, *-t* 'poitrine' (49) < btü. (< aosm.) **gögüs*, **gögsi* = lit.tü. *göğüs*, *göğsü* 'Brust'. — Vgl. *g'üg(ü)s*, *g'üks*, Akk. *g'üksi* (Gost.) 'göğüs' (TGG 280, 287, 278); *gügüs* (Sk.) 'Brust' (TMM 84); *gũsü* (Šaš.) 'seine Brust' (TMM 93).

ʒünáh, -i, Pl. *ʒünahe*, *-t* 'pêché' (49) < osm.-tü. (< npers.) *günah* 'Sünde'.

ʒep 'poche' (20) < osm.-tü. (< ar.) *cep* 'Tasche'.

Neben den türkischen Lehnwörtern kommen in der Monographie von W. Cimochowski auch noch einige Derivate mit dem türkischen Suffix *-ʒi* von albanischen Substantiven vor. Hierzu gehören:

kotrovaʒí, -i̯a 'potier' (56) < alb. *kotrovë* = *kutrulë* 'Krug, Kanne'.

opaŋgāʒí, -i̯a, Pl. *opaŋgaʒí*, *-t* 'cordonnier qui fait des sandales' (56) < alb. *opaŋga* 'Sandalen'.

škarpaʒí, -i̯a, Pl. *škarpaʒí*, *-t* 'cordonnier qui s'occupe à faire des *shkarpa* (espèce de chaussure de femme portée à la maison, sabot)' (56) < alb. *škarpa*.

zdrugaʒí, -i̯a, Pl. *zdrugaʒí*, *-t* 'menuisier' (56) < alb. *zdruga* 'Hobel'.

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ZWÖLF LIEDER DER KAMNIGANEN

KÄTHE URAY-KŐHALMI
(Budapest)

Meiner lieben langjährigen Freundin möchte ich zu ihrem stolzen 70. Geburtstag als Festgruß einen bunten Strauß aus lyrischen Volksliedern binden. Sie hatte uns ja auch mit vielen schönen Ausgaben türkischer Volksliteratur bereichert. Mit diesen Liedern möchte ich zugleich das Tilgen einer alten Schuld beginnen, nämlich die des Publizierens des auf meiner zweiten Mongolienreise gesammelten kamniganischen Sprachmaterials. Dieses im Jahre 1959 gesammelte Material habe ich bisher noch nicht herausgegeben, ausgenommen einige Lieder, die in einer Anthologie in dichterischer ungarischer Übersetzung erschienen sind.[1] Es ist also eine liebe Pflicht für mich, auch diese Texte Schritt für Schritt zugänglich zu machen und dadurch mein in 1957 gesammeltes kamniganisches Material zu ergänzen.[2]

Zum Geleit möchte ich noch einige Worte über die Umstände des Sammelns und über den kamniganischen Dialekt der mongolischen Sprache, bzw. über die seit 1959 über ihn erschienenen Arbeiten sagen.

Ungewöhnlich starke Stürme und Überschwemmungen im Onon-Gebiet behinderten mich im Frühsommer von 1959 an der Reise nach Dadal-Sum, und so mußte ich mich damit begnügen, von in Ulan-Bator wohnenden Kamniganen Sprachmaterial zu sammeln. Sie wurden von meinem mongolischen Betreuer, Prof. Dž. Coloo, dem ich bis heute für seine selbstlose Hilfe dankbar bin, ausfindig gemacht und dazu bewogen, mir zur Verfügung zu stehen. Sie alle stammten aus Dadal-Sum und waren die folgenden Personen: Frau Dagmidma 51 Jahre, Frau Cegmed 52 Jahre, Frau Dumba 60 Jahre, Herr Gotub 50 Jahre und Herr Naitendžab 32 Jahre alt. Von ihnen bewährte sich Frau Dumba am meisten. Mit ihr konnte ich in guter Eintracht öfters zusammenarbeiten. Der größte Teil des gesammelten Materials stammt von ihr. Der Umstand, daß eine ältere Frau mir als Hauptquelle diente, hatte den Vorteil, daß sie noch verhältnismäßig viel von der traditionellen Kultur kannte und auch noch mehr von den phonetischen

[1] Bede A.–Kőhalmi K., *Sámándobok szóljatok* [Schamanentrommeln ertönet!]. Budapest 1973.

[2] Käthe U.-Kőhalmi, Der mongolisch-kamniganische Dialekt von Dadal-Sum. *AOH* IX (1959) 163–204.

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Eigenheiten des mongolisch-kamniganischen Dialektes bewahrte, da bekanntlich Frauen in sprachlicher Hinsicht konservativer sind.

Schon bei der Bearbeitung des zuerst gesammelten Materials war es klar, daß das Mongolisch-Kamniganische in seiner Phonetik altertümliche Elemente bewahrte, z. B. erfolgte die Aspiration des Klusils *k* und die Brechung des *i* in der ersten Silbe nicht, auch bewahrten die Vokale der nichtersten Silben ihre ursprüngliche Lautfarbe. Infolge dieser Eigenheiten bestimmte ich ihn in meiner oben angeführten Arbeit als einen altertümlichen Khalkha-Dialekt. Im wesentlichen vertreten die mongolischen Sprachforscher B. Rinčen und L. Mišig denselben Standpunkt.[3]

Neues Material und damit auch neue Aspekte brachten die burjätischen Forscher L. D. Šagdarov und D. G. Damdinov, die sich mit der Sprache der in Burjatien lebenden Kamniganen beschäftigten. Sie verglichen diese Mundart mit der der Kamniganen in der Mongolei und in China und kamen zu der Folgerung, daß alle mongolisch-kamniganischen Dialekte im wesentlichen dagurische Mundarten seien.[4] Diese Behauptung kann außer den sprachwissenschaftlichen auch mit historischen Argumenten bekräftigt werden. Vielsagend ist, daß Siedlungs- und Sippennamen der einstigen Daguren des Amur- und Nonni-Tales auch bei den heutigen Kamniganen der Mongolei und Burjatiens vorkommen. Sie können also für die Nachkommen der im 17. Jh. nach Transbaikalien gezogenen Daguren und Solonen gehalten werden.[5]

Hier möchte ich mich aber nicht weiter mit der Kamniganen-Frage im allgemeinen beschäftigen, sondern zur Darbietung der Texte übergehen. Der Lautbestand des Kamniganischen — wie schon angedeutet — weicht im wesentlichen nicht von dem des Khalkha ab, d. h. den stimmlosen aspirierten Tenuis stehen stimmlose Media gegenüber. Im Text werde ich nur starke Abweichungen kennzeichnen. Bei den Vokalen gebe ich die starke Labialisation an: *ă, ĕ, ů,* und die starke Geschlossenheit: *ä, ë.* Die Länge der Vokale wird durch Verdoppelung wiedergegeben. Über die Morphologie kann anhand so kurzer und weniger Texte nichts Wesentliches gesagt werden.

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[4] L. D. Šagdarov–D. G. Damdinov, O jazyke Ononskih Hamnigan (V svjazi s rabotami K. Uraj-Kehal'mi i L. Mišiga po jazyku mongol'skih Hamnigan). *Trudy instituta obščestvennyh nauk BFSO AN SSSR.* Ulan-Ude 1968, 38–60. — D. G. Damdinov, Govor Ononskih Hamnigan. *Issledovanie burjatskih govorov* 2 (1967) Ulan-Ude, 1–46.

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1.
(Dagmidma, Cegmed, Gotub)

Dsaajiŋ nawaa[6] *minäγuu*
baidaŋ nawaa minääγuu
dsaajin dsajaa dsajaada
dsajaani mini nitogda.

Oh, mein Schicksalspaß
oh, mein Baidangpaß
Schicksal, Schicksal, Schicksal mein
oh, meine Schicksalsheimat!

2.
(Dagmidma, Cegmed, Gotub)

Šiliŋ guwändä cůcara uguë
šibšiŋ barguëŋ ůnaγa juma
čini χělěndě cůcara uguë
čědžiŋ alag dzurëχaŋdee

Der Glasberg ist ohne Risse
hier reiten die Schibschin Barga
in eurer Rede gibt es keinen Riß
im bunten Herzen eurer Brust

χata guwanda cůcara uguë
χalχa numurgeŋ[7] *ůnaγa jum-a*
χamagin χělěndě χariuda uguë
χara alag dzuriχëndee

Der harte Berg ist ohne Risse
hier reiten störrig die Khalkha
in unser aller Rede ist kein Gegensatz
in unseren schwarzbunten Herzen

ůlaa guwändä cůcara uguë
ůrta numurgeŋ ůnaγa jum-a

ůlůsee χělěndě χariuda uguë

ůlaŋ alag dzuriχäŋdä.

der Berg des Gebirges ist ohne Riß
am südlichen Platz des störrischen Reitens
in der Rede der Leute gibt es keinen Gegensatz
in ihren rotbunten Herzen.

3.
(Dumba)

χarginda mori min
χamnigan kunee nuχuri min
coχorgěndä mori min
coŋolgěndä nuχuri min
boroolgěndä mori min
bureedgěnědä nuχuri min

Mein schnelles Pferd
mein kamniganischer Gefährte
mein buntgeflecktes Pferd
mein congolischer Gefährte
mein graues Pferd
mein burjätischer Gefährte

[6] Statt *dawaa* 'Paßübergang'.
[7] Vgl. eventuell mit ewk. Vas. *n'umurin* 'kitzelig, störrisch'.

4.
(Naitendžab)

χatariχ°dam χojir dältä
χadzar darumar mori jumdaa
χan'lad jaůχodăm ildamχaŋ
χarγuë dzamaar nuχur jumda

Mein trabendes doppelmähniges
trenseschüttelndes Pferd
gemeinsam reisen ist angenehm
auf schmalem Pfad mein Gefährte

džoroolχdăm dzokχidχaŋ
džiloγa darumar mori jumda
dzuugalχadăm dzooχidχaŋ
dzorig dzamaar nuχur jumda

im Paßgang sich vergnügendes
zügelschüttelndes Pferd
spazierend angenehm
an schwerem Pfad mein Gefährte

ůnaad jawχodam ildamχaŋ
ůnaγan džiroo mori jumdaa
učirad jaůχodăm ildamχaŋ
ůχaŋ dzamaar nuχur jumda

reitend reisen ist angenehm
mit meinem Paßgänger
fürs Reisen angenehmer
weiser Gefährte mein.

5.
(Dumba)

Toχaitää baldžeesaa ganzaara bi
toši min guwidži tosaaled
χabtagai baldžeesa ganzara bi
aare guwidži tosaaled.

Mit Ellbogen geborene Waise bin ich
vom Schlagen fliegt mein Staub
halb geborene Waise bin ich
mein Rücken staubt von Schlägen.

6.
(Cegmed, Dumba)

Taläin čimug tarwaga
tanarën čimug tanar širuu
burii, burii, burii,

Das Kleinod der Wiese ist der Tarbagan
euer Kleinod ist die Koralle
buri, buri, buri!

barůůn uleŋ uräd
barin činää šilus
burii, burii, burii,

Vor der westlichen Wolke
ein herrenähnlicher Luchs
buri, buri, buri!

χoit uleŋ uräd
χonine činää šilus
burii, burii, burii,

Vor der nördlichen Wolke
ein schafgroßer Luchs
buri, buri, buri!

dzuun uleŋ uräd
dzuri činää šilus
burii, burii, burii,

Vor der östlichen Wolke
ein wildziegenähnlicher Luchs
buri, buri, buri!

ůrt uleŋ urääd
bůgůëŋ činää šilus
burii, burii, burii,

Vor der südlichen Wolke
ein hirschähnlicher Luchs
buri, buri, buri!

7.
(Dumba)

Šilidě ůrgůsůn cecegni
šilwiŋ narint gaŋkon
Čitidiŋ martăsaŋ aχainar

šiltee χaraduni gaŋkon

Der dünn gewachsenen Blume
Stengel beugt sich fein
unsere in Tschita zurückgebliebenen Brüder
biegen sich über die Flaschen[8]

8.
(Dumba)

Uule burgud kojiršiŋ
urgiděg amitaŋ bäidagaguë
ěkě ěčigě kχojiršiŋ
oŋ korku amitaŋ bäidaguguë.

(Ohne) Wolken und Adler
wachsen keine Lebewesen
(ohne) Mutter und Vater
wären keine sterblichen Lebewesen.

9.
(Dumba)

Uuleŋ ůree kχaraχěděm
uuner mana tataad bäin
učirsaŋ nuχure sanaχěděm
ůlaan dzurukěm ůidad bäin.

Ich schaue den Dunst der Wolken
ihr Duft zieht zu mir her
an meinen Schicksalsgefährten denkend
wird mein rotes Herz traurig.

10.
(Dumba)

Borůůl morinee kχataarne
bůddate těŋgěre toošunšig
bějäntee idžiŋ dzarliŋne
burkane dzarligte adaliχaŋ

Der Galopp des grauen Pferdes
ist wie der Staub des grauen Himmels
der leiblichen Mutter Befehl
ist wie Buddhas Befehl.

[8] Nach Frau Dumbas Erklärung absolvieren die in Tschita zurückgebliebenen Brüder ihren Militärdienst, sind aber traurig und betrinken sich.

saral morine kχatarne
salkinee toostee adaliχaŋ
saiχan idžiŋ dzakisaŋ ugen
sansaraŋ kurduŋ adaliχaŋ

Der Galopp des braunen Pferdes
ist wie der Staub des Windes
der lieben Mutter gesprochene Worte
sind wie das Rad des Sansara.

11.
(Dumba)

Kχůduŋ[9] *nůrä χoimort*
kχolosun jund näigawě
kowi dzurukunen ăjărt
or°man jund° koγora bäi.

Hinten am Salzsee
warum schaukelt das Schilf?
in der Tiefe des stillen Herzens
warum zerbricht die Erinnerung?

12.
(Dumba)

Naranää garχain ůrdaχantaa
nabčitä dělěkein buuděŋkěě
naläiŋkee nuχure χoloχondoo
nasunda doton budělkěě

Vor dem Untergehen der Sonne
verdunkelt sich die flache Erde
(wenn) der geliebte Gefährte fern ist
verdunkelt sich die Zeit.

ůnasaŋ morinee χatariŋ
ůrotkal ůsůnä dolgäišig

Der Trab des gerittenen Pferdes
ist wie die Wellen des fließenden
Wassers

ůčirsăŋ nukurän sedkiliŋ
urdusuniŋ dzudäšig.

das Denken an den Schicksalsgefährten
ist wie ein alter Traum.

Zum Schluß möchte ich noch eine kleine Bemerkung zu den hier publizierten Liedern machen. Sicher ist es aufgefallen, wie stark die Stimmung der letzten vier Lieder von den übrigen abweichen. Die ersten acht wurden von Männern oder der ganzen Gemeinschaft gesungen, sie gehören zu dem gemeinschaftlich gesungenen Liedergut. Die letzten vier Lieder habe ich allein von meiner alten treuen Helferin, der 60jährigen Frau Dumba aufgezeichnet, sie alle kennzeichnet eine feine herbstliche Lyrik. Damals, als ich die Lieder aufzeichnete, wußte ich noch nicht — und fragte daher nicht danach —, daß in der Kultur der Mongolen jede Altersklasse ihre speziellen Lieder hat. Die oben bezeichneten gehören den älteren Frauen an. Ich hoffe, daß dieser herbstlich lyrische Liederstrauß das Gefallen meiner gefeierten Freundin gewinnen wird: ich überreichte ihn mit Liebe.

[9] Vgl. ewk.Vas. *kudu* 'Salzsee'.

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MONGOLIAN IMPACT ON THE TERMINOLOGY OF THE DOCUMENTS OF THE GOLDEN HORDE

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1. As is known, the whole chancellery practice of the Golden Horde, a Tatar state of the 13th–15th centuries, derives from Mongol origins. But unlike with the Ilkhanids of Persia who issued Mongolian documents throughout their rule, in the chancellery of the Golden Horde the Eastern Turkic literary language of the age was adapted for writing diplomas.[1] This adaptation was so successful that the Mongolian linguistic impact was practically limited only to the sphere of vocabulary and phraseology. Mongolian special terms were often taken over as loan words. Names of dignitaries such as *daruğa* 'governor', *bökevül* 'commissary', *çerbi* 'quartermaster', *tutqavul* 'police', *qaravul* 'sentry, guard' and names of taxes and services such as *yam* 'postal service' and *süsün* 'daily rations' are the commonest examples within this category.[2] It is striking, however, that most technical terms are native Turkic words and older Arabo-Persian borrowings. The only exception seems to be *daruğa*, the Turkic equivalent of which *basqaq*, has never been used in official documents, perhaps due to the fact that *daruğa* was the most prominent figure, one may even say, the symbol of Mongol domination in any conquered land,[3] hence the Turkic term could not supersede the more "prestigious" Mongolian one.

In this paper I will treat a few characteristic technical terms used in the documents of the Golden Horde, then touch upon the possible impact of the Mongolian suffix *-l* on the corresponding section of Turkic morphology.

2. A concentration of Mongolian influence can be observed in two parts of the immunity and grant charters of the Golden Horde. In the *narratio* of the

[1] For the chancellery of the Golden Horde, see Grigor'ev, *Mongol'skaja diplomatika XIII–XV vv. (čingizidskie žalovannye gramoty)*. Leningrad 1978; idem, K rekonstrukcii tekstov zolotoordynskih jarlykov XIII–XIV vv. *Istoriografija i istočnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki*. 1980, 15–38; M. A. Usmanov, *Žalovannye akty Džučieva Ulusa XIV–XVI vv.* Kazan' 1979 [henceforth: Usmanov, *Akty*]; Vásáry I., *Az Arany Horda kancelláriája*. Budapest 1987.

[2] For all these words and other Mongolian borrowings in Turkic, see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, vol. I. Wiesbaden 1963–1975 [henceforth: *TMEN*]. For *süsün*, cf. also I. Vásáry, *Susun* and *süsün* in Middle Turkic texts. *AOH* XXXI (1977) 51–59.

[3] Cf. Vásáry, The Golden Horde term *daruğa* and its survival in Russia. *AOH* XXX (1976) 187–197; idem, The origin of the institution of *basqaqs*. *AOH* XXXII (1978) 201–206.

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documents the antecedents and circumstances of the diploma's issuing are narrated, while at the end of the diplomas, in the so-called chancellery clause certain moments of the narration are referred to again and the persons in charge of the case and the scribes' names are given. Five special terms are used in these sections which evidently testify to the direct influence of Mongolian chancelleries. Before delving into them in any greater detail it seems to be sensible to make a survey of the relevant parts of the diplomas.

In Temür-Qutluğ's yarlik, 1398, lines 12–21: *Bu yarlığnı tuta turğan Mehmedniñ öbege ataları{nı} burunğı kiçken Sayın ḫân çağıdın beri bire [recte: payza] yarlığ<lığ> râst tarḫanlıq yosunıça yürüp atası Ḥâccı-Bayram ḫocanı biziñ hân ağalarımız soyurqap tarḫan qılğan cergesin añlata ötün{dür}di irse* ***ötülin yöp körüp*** *Mehmed biziñ soyurğal bolup tarḫan bolup tursun, tidimiz.* "The forefathers of Meḥmed, holder of this diploma have lived as real tarkhans, supplied with *payza* and *yarlığ*, since Sayın khan's [i.e. Batu khan] time, and his father, Ḥâccı-Bayram ḫoca was given a grant by our khan brothers. Having revealed his rank of tarkhan and submitted a petition, we endorsed it and said: «let Meḥmed [also] be granted as a tarkhan»".[4]

In Uluğ Muḥammad's yarlik, 1420, lines 5–11: *Bu Tuğlu-biy ... töresi erdi tiyü uluğ ağamızğa yergesin etine ötündi. Ḫân ağamızınñ bolup Tuğlu-biyiñ yergesin añlap* ***ötülin yöp körüp*** *cergesini ... Kerçni bildüre tüsüdürmiz* [recte: *tüşürdümiz*] *irse ol yergelerin etine yarlığın körgüze Tuğlu-biy Ḫı[dır] birle ötündiler irse yarlığın işitip* ***ötüllerin yöpsünüp*** *bizniñ taqı soyurğal b[olup] uzağı kiçegen ḫân ağalarımızınñ yosununça Tuğlu-biyni ağalayu Ḥıdırnı Kerç ilin bildüre tüsüdürümiz* [recte: *tüşürdümiz*]. "This Tuğlu-biy, saying that ... was the law of ... , submitted a petition to our uncle. Our khan uncle, having understood the case of Tuğlu-biy, endorsed his petition and ... his case, and granted him Kerç. Then Tuğlu-biy and Ḥıdır presented their diploma and submitted a petition [again]. Having heard [the text of] their diploma we endorsed their petition, gave the people of Kerç, as a grant, to Tuğlu-biy and his brother Ḥıdır, in accordance with the custom of our formerly departed brothers"[5].

In Ḥâccı-Girey's yarlik, 1459, lines 5–9: *Bu yarlığnı alıp turğan Qırq-yirniñ qartları Sayyid-Aḥmad, Ḥâccike, Ḫoca-Maḥmûd, Ḥâccı-Muḥammad, Ḥıdır-şayḫ başlığ il qartları ötündiler kim ḫân ağañız Qırq-yir ḫalqına soyurğap tarḫanlıq yarlığ birip turu[r] irdi tip yarlığın körgüze ötündiler irse biz taqı* ***ötüllerini yöpsünüp*** *biziñ taqı soyurğal bolup evvel yosunça tarḫan bolsun, tidük.* "The elders of Qırq-yir, holders of this diploma, submitted a petition under the leadership of Sayyid-Aḥmad, Ḥâccike, Ḫoca-Maḥmûd, Ḥâccı-Muḥammad

[4] V. V. Radlov, Jarlyki Toktamyša i Temir-Kutluga. *Zapiski Vostočnogo otdelenija imperatorskogo russkogo arheologičeskogo obščestva* III (1888) 19–21 [henceforth: Radlov, *Jarlyki*]. — For a detailed description of this document, see Usmanov, *Akty*, No. 2 (30).

[5] I. Berezin, Tarhannye jarlyki Krymskih hanov. *Zapiski Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej* VIII (1872), appendix [henceforth: Berezin, *Tarh. jarl.*], 17–23. — For the correct dating and the attribution of the diploma to Uluğ Muhammad, see A. P. Grigor'ev, Žalovannaja gramota Ulug-Muhammeda. *Voprosy filologii stran Azii i Afriki* I. Leningrad 1971, 170–177. — For a detailed description of this document, see Usmanov, *Akty*, No. 3 (31).

and Ḫıḍır-şayḫ and they said: «your khan brother had granted a tarkhan diploma to the people of Qırq-yir». After the presentation of the diploma we endorsed their petition and said: «let them [also] be granted as tarkhans, in accordance with the former custom».”[6]

In Meñgli-Girey's yarlik, 11 July 1468, lines 4–6: *[... barça il qartları ötündiler kim ḫân] babañız Qırq-yirniñ ḫalqına soyurğap tarḫanlıq yarlığ birip turur irdi tip yarlığın körgüze ötündi [irse* ***ötüllerin] yöpsünüp*** *biziñ taqı soyurğal bolup evvel yosunça tarḫan bolsun, tidük.*[7]

In Meñgli-Girey's yarlik, 30, September 1468, lines 6–9: *Bu yarlığnı tutup turğan Maḥmûdek, atası Ḫıdırğa soyurğal bolup bizge yarlığların körgüze ötündi irse* ***ötülin yöpsünüp*** *taqı [bizniñ] soyurğal bolup burunğı yosunça Ḫıḍırğa soyurğağannı Maḥmûdekke soyurğaduq.* “Maḥmûdek, holder of this diploma presented his documents concerning the grant of his father Ḫıḍır. We endorsed his petition and, in accordance with the former custom, gave the [same] grant that had been given to Ḫıḍır, to Maḥmûdek».[8]

There are three Mongolian special terms in these texts which I do not want to treat this time; anyway they are well known and explained in the literature. One of them is *cerge* (or in its Turkic literary form *yerge*), a special term for ‘order/degreee of rank; lawsuit, procedure’ taken over from Mong. *ǰerge*. The fact of the sovereign's favour, i.e. the ‘donation, grant’ was referred to as *soyurğal*, a Mongolian term formed of the old Turkic verbal borrowing *tsoyurqa-* ‘to have pity, to be gracious’. Finally, the ‘customary law’ of the former khans was designated by Mong. *yosun* ‘custom, habit, use, practice’ which ultimately also goes back to Turkic origins.[9] But there are two more terms (*ötül* and *yöp*), less known and often misinterpreted, which will be the subject of the following pages.

3. For ‘application, request’ the term *ötül* was used which is a nominal derivative from **ötü-*, basic stem of the OT verb *ötün-* ‘to apply, request’.[10] The

[6] The original document is inedited, it is preserved in the Manuscript Department of the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg (T. 306). — For a detailed description of the document, see Usmanov, *Akty*, No. 5 (32).

[7] The document, which is a contemporary unauthorized draft copy without seal, is inedited, it is preserved in the Manuscript Department of the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg (T. 310). — For a detailed description of the document, see Usmanov, *Akty*, No. 7 (33–34).

[8] The only edition of the by now lost original: Berezin, *Tarh. jarl.* — For a detailed description of this document, see Usmanov, *Akty*, No. 8 (34).

[9] For *cerge*, see *TMEN* i. No. 161 (291–293); for *soyurğal*, see *TMEN* i. No. 228 (351–353); for *yosun*, see *TMEN* i. No. 408 (555–557).

[10] For *ötün-*, see G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish.* Oxford 1972 [henceforth: *ED*], 62; E. V. Sevortjan, *Êtimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskih jazykov.* Vol. I–IV. Moskva 1974–1989 [henceforth: Sev.], 557–558. — The deverbal suffix *-Xl* forms nouns both in Turkic and in Mongol. In the latter it is much commoner than in Turkic. For the Turkic *-Xl*, see A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik.* Leipzig 1952 [henceforth: *ATG*], 72; C. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Litteratursprachen Mittelasiens.* Leiden

form *ötül* is not known from other sources than the Golden Horde documents, only the form *ötüg* is well documented.[11] The form *ötül* must have taken root due to the influence of the Mongolian technical term *öçil* 'application'. The basic word of Mo. *öçil* is the same Tu. **ötü-/öti-* referred to above, consequently *ötül* is nothing else but a Turkicized form of Mo. *öçil*.[12] In the documents the act of petitioning was expressed either by the verb *ötün-* or by the phrase *ötül tegür-* 'to submit an application, to place a petition'. In a yarlik of the Crimean Khan Meñgli-Girey dated 3 August 1485: *Muḥammed beg ötül tegürdi* 'M. b. placed the petition', or in Sa'âdet-Girey's yarlik of March 1524: *Aqtaçı 'Alî bey ötül tegürdi* 'the steward 'A. b. placed the petition'.[13] In the contemporary Russian translations of the khan's edicts given to the Russian priesthood this Turkic phrase was rendered by *žalobu položit'* (Taydula to Metropolitan Feognost, 1351; Taydula to Metropolitan Aleksej, 1357) or *žalobu klast'* (Berdibeg Khan to Metropolitan Aleksej, 1357).[14] In the contemporary Latin and Italian translations of the khans' edicts given to the Venetian colonies of the Crimea, we find the following phrases: Latin *gratiam impetrare* 'to obtain the grace' (Cânibek Khan, 1342); Italian *domandare la gratia* 'to request for grace' (Cânibek Khan, 1347) and *sporgere la petition* 'to place a petition' (Berdibeg Khan, 24 September 1358 and 26 September 1358).[15] In two edicts of the Crimean Khan Ṣâḥib-Girey, both issued in 1550, the application for the issuance of a document was expressed by the phrase *yarlığ ötül qıl-* 'to apply for a yarlik'.[16]

1954, 115–116; A. Zajączkowski, *Sufiksy imienne i czasownikowe w języku zachodniokaraimskim.* Kraków 1932 [henceforth: Zaj.], 86–87.

[11] For *ötüg*, see *ED*, 51; *TMEN* II. No. 574 (134). — Doerfer (*TMEN* I. 353) even "corrects" the word *ötülin*, occurring in Temür-Qutluğ's yarlik, to *ötügin*, as if *ötül* were a mistake ["*ötülin* (wohl eher *ötügin*)"]. But the occurence of *ötül* in a great number of documents makes its real existence indisputable.

[12] The first occurences of *öçil* can be found in § 197 of the *Secret History of the Mongols* (L. Ligeti, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*. Budapest 1971, 161) and in the *Hua-yi yi-yü* (B. 3b, 4b: *öçil manu* 'our application'; L. Ligeti, *Monuments en écriture 'phags-pa. Pièces de chancellerie en transcription chinoise.* Budapest 1972, 151).

[13] The first document is inedited, it is preserved in the Manuscript Department of the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg (T. 309). Sa'âdet Girey's yarlik is preserved in the same place (D-222), it was edited by V. V. Grigor'ev, Jarlyki Tohtamyša i Seadet-Geraja. *Zapiski Odesskogo Obščestva Istorii i Drevnostej* I (1844) 340–346; I. N. Berezin, *Hanskie jarlyki* II: *Tarhannye jarlyki Tohtamyša, Timur-Kutluka i Saadet Gireja.* Kazan' 1851 [henceforth: Berezin, *Jarl.* II], 18–22. — For a detailed description of both documents, see Usmanov, *Akty*, 35–36, 38.

[14] For the best critical edition of all Russian documents concerning the Tatar khans' privileges granted to the Russian Church, see *Pamjatniki russkogo prava* III, Moskva 1955, 364–491.

[15] For the editions of these and other Latin and Italian documents, see (J. von) Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde in Kiptschak, das ist: der Mongolen in Russland.* Pesth 1840, 517–522; L. de Mas Latrie, Privilèges commerciaux accordés à la république de Venise par les princes de Crimée et les empereurs mongols du Kiptchak. *Bibiliothèque de l'école des chartes* xxix, ser. 6, vol. 4 (1868) 581–595.

[16] Ṣâḥib-Girey's edict, issued on 3 May 1550 (= 15 Rabî' II 957), is inedited, the original is lost, a 19th-century copy is preserved in the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg (Arhiv vostokovedov, f. 50 [fond V. D. Smirnova], op. I, No. 6, l. 93); Ṣâḥib-Girey's other edict, issued on 10 May 1550 (= 26 Rabî' II 957), is also inedited, the original copy is preserved in the Manuscript

4. The endorsement of the application was expressed by the phrase *yöp kör-* or *yöpsün-*, the basis of which is the word *yöp*. This word again testifies to the direct influence of the Mongolian chancelleries on the Turkic chancelleries of the Golden Horde, namely it was the borrowing of Mo. *jöb* 'correct, true, right; the right or correct side'.[17] The Mongolian word has been unknown in Turkic prior to the Mongol period, and even afterwards it is attested only in the documents of the Golden Horde and in Chagatay.[18] Among the contemporary Turkic languages it is known in Altaic, Teleut, Kuerik, Shor, Sagay and Tuvan, namely in those having a long-lasting contact with Mongol; in Kazan Tatar and Nogay it survived only in its derivatives.[19] For expessing the verbal notion "to endorse" either the verbal derivatives of *yöp*, namely the different phonetic variants of *yöpsün-* and *yöple-* were used[20], or the phrase *yöp kör-* known only from the yarliks of the Golden Horde. The forms *yöp körüp*, *yöpsünüp* in the yarliks correspond to the Mongolian form *jöbsiyejü* , a well-known phrase of the Mongolian documents. E.g. in Arghun Khan's letter addressed to Philip the Fair in 1289 (lines 12–13): *öčijü ilegsen-i činu jöbsiyejü* 'approving of the message

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Department of the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg (T. 311). — For a detailed description of both documents, see Usmanov, *Akty*, 41–42.

[17] F. D. Lessing, *Mongolian–English Dictionary*. Berkeley–Los Angeles 1960 [henceforth: Lessing], 1072–1073. Mo. *jöb* has numerous derivatives, such as *jöble-, jöblegči, jöblel, jöbleldü-, jöblelgen, jöbleltü, jöbsi-, jöbsiye-, jöbsiyel-, jöbsiyemür, jöbsiyere-, jöbsiyerel, jöbsiyereltei, jöbsilge(n)* (ibid.).

[18] *Sanglaḫ* 211v 3: *çöp*; according to G. Clauson, *Sanglax. A Persian Guide to the Turkish Language by Muhammad Mahdi Xan*. London 1960, p. 56, it is the first occurence of the word in Turkic, but the frequent use of the word in the diplomas of the Golden Horde must have escaped his attention. *Abuşqa*: *çöp* 'râst ve lâyıq ve gerçek ma'nâsına der' (V. V. Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Dictionnaire djagataï–turc*, Sanktpeterburg 1869, 246–247). All the Chagatay data are direct borrowings from Mo. *jöp*.

[19] Altaic, Teleut, Lebed, Kuerik *yöp* 1. 'die Passendheit, Richtigkeit, Einigkeit, Eintracht, Schlichtung, Beilegung eines Streites, Entscheidung, Auseinandersetzung, der Rath', 2. 'passend, tauglich' (W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte* I–IV. Sanktpeterburg 1893–1911 [henceforth: *Radl.*], III. 454); Shor, Sagay *çöp* 'passend' (Radl. III. 2047–2048), Tuvan *çöp* 'spravedlivo, právil'no; spravedlívost', právda' (*Tuvinsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1968, 543). A Crimean Karaim form *yöp* (Radl. III. 454) is dubious, it cannot be attested elsewhere. — For the Kazan Tatar and Nogay data, see the following note.

[20] CC (140, 11; 137, 20) *yöpsin-* 'to endorse, approve' ("iopsinip": K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch*. Kopenhagen 1942, 127–128; cf. also N. Poppe, Die mongolischen Lehnwörter im Komanischen. *Németh Armağanı*. Ankara 1962, 340); Nog. *yöple-* 'poddérživat'', Kaz. Tat. *yüple-* 'poddákivat', poddáknut'', *cöple-* 'id.' (evidently from another dialect) (*Tatarsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1966 [henceforth: *TRS*], 696, 778); Kuerik *yöplö-*; Altaic *yöptü-*; Teleut, Koybal, Kacha *cöptö-*; Sagay, Shor *çöpte-* 'id.' (Radl. III. 454–455, 2049). — In the CC (131, 26) there is also a phrase "iob sängäncä" which was interpreted as *yöp sanganča* by G. Kuun (*Codex Cumanicus Bibliothecae ad templum divi Marci Venetiarum*. Budapestini 1880, 183), evidently connecting the second element with the verb *san-* 'to think'. Since no such structure is known from other sources, I think it must be emended to *yöpsen-*. For the denominal verbal formatives *+sAn-* (reflexive desiderative) and *+sIn-* (reflexive simulative), see I. Vásáry, *±sXn* and its related suffixes. Studies in Turkic word formation and etymology. *Journal of Turkology* I/1 (1993) 114 (with further references).

you sent me',[21] or in Şayḫ Uways's diploma in 1358 (line 12): *šilγan soyubasu jöbšigejü* 'having examined (the petition) and acquiring information (we) endorsed it'.[22]

It is noteworthy that there is a Turkic word *ep*, similar in the formal and semantic respects to *yöp*, which has become the source of much misunderstanding since the time of Berezin's first editions of the yarliks of the Golden Horde.[23] The word *ep* 'ability, suitability, aptitude; consent, peace; suitable, appropriate' is known in a number of Turkic languages.[24] In Mongolian the word is also present as *eb* (in Khalkha *ev*) meaning 'agreement, harmony, peace; coordination; system, order; inclination, ability'.[25] Since the word *ep* is not attested in Old Turkic,[26] and later it is known mainly from the Kipchak and Siberian Turkic dialects, it is presumably of Mongol origin. The formal and semantic similarity of *cöp/yöp* and *eb/ep*, both of Mongol origin in Turkic, facilitated their confusion. E.g., the Uzbeg phrase *ep kùr-/ep bil-* 'sčitat' udobnym, podhodjaščim'[27] can be considered a variant of the phrase *yöp kör-* in the Golden Horde documents.

5. A very special form of Mongolian linguistic impact can be detected in the terrain of morphology. The deverbal formative *-(X)l* has been known both in Turkic and Mongolian, but in Old Turkic (e.g. *ḫal* 'trustworthy, a title of office', *osal* 'negligence, idleness', *tükel* 'complete, entire', *yasul* 'loosened, relaxed') it was much rarer than in Mongol.[28] In the 13th–15th centuries, due to the increasing number of Mongolian borrowings in *-l*, the productivity of *-(X)l* in Turkic also increased. Thus, certain Turkic deverbal derivatives in *-Xg* or *-Xn* developed a variant of the same word in *-Xl* . E.g. in addition to *ötüg* 'request, memorial to a superior' the form *ötül* was also used (in Mong. both *öçig* and *öçil* were known; see **3.** above).

[21] A. Mostaert—F. W. Cleaves, *Les lettres de 1289 et 1305 des Ilkhans Arγun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel.* (Scripta Mongolica Monograph Series I. 1962).

[22] G. Herrmann–G. Doerfer, Ein persisch–mongolischer Erlaß des Ğalāyeriden Šeyḫ Oveys". *Central Asiatic Journal* XIX (1975) 70–71.

[23] According to Berezin, *Jarl.* ii. 34, n. 21, the word *ywb* of the yarliks means 'četa, pora' and it is identical with the word which means 'lad, priladnost'; ladnyj, prigodnyj' and the Mongolian word *jöb* 'ladno'. In his statement, Berezin confused three different words. 1. *yöp* in the yarliks comes from Mong. *jöb*; 2. Kaz. Tat. *cöp* (*TRS*, 778), Kirg. *cup* (*Kirgizsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1965, 269), Uzb. *cup*, *cuft* (*Uzbeksko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1959 [henceforth: *URS*], 160), Turk. *çift* (H. C. Hony, *A Turkish–English Dictionary*. Oxford 1957, 67), etc. are borrowings from Persian *cuft* 'pair', it is only by chance that the Tatar form *cöp* coincides with Mo. *jöb*; 3. finally, there is a Tatar word *ip* (*TRS*, 172) which goes back to *ep*.

[24] For the data, see Sev. I. 286–287; *TMEN* II. No. 631 (173).

[25] Lessing, 284.

[26] No data in *ED* and the *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'* (Leningrad 1969); an Uyghur word in Radl. i. 916 cannot be attested elsewhere.

[27] *URS*, 556.

[28] For the deverbal formative *-(X)l*, see A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*. Leipzig 1950, § 117 (72); M. Erdal, *Old Turkic word formation. A functional approach to the lexicon.* Wiesbaden 1991, 99–100.

Moreover, besides *tüşün* 'guest', derivative from *tüş-* 'to fall, settle' and synonym of *qonaq* 'id.', a form *tüşül* also came into use. The form *tüşül* is attested only in one yarlik of the Golden Horde. There, it means the same as *tüşün*, i.e. those official "guests", the khan's envoys and other state officials whose housing (quartering) was the unwelcome duty of the state's subjects. Exemption from this burdensome duty was an important item of the *tarqan*-privileges. In Temür-Qutluğ's yarlik of 1398 (lines 43–44) we read: *qonaq* ***tüşül*** *tüşürmesünler* "[official] guests should not be quartered [to them]".[29] In Ḥâccı Girey's yarlik of 1453 (lines 18–19): *éwleriñe küç birle qonaq tüşürüp qondurmasunlar* "guests should not be quartered in their houses with force".[30] In Ḥâccı-Girey's yarlik of 1459 (lines 13–14): *éwleriñe küç birle qonaq* ***tüşün*** *qondurmasunlar* "guests should not be quartered in their houses with force".[31]

Emig 'breast, udder', a derivative from *em-* 'to suck', had a variant *emil* in the formation *emildeş* 'foster-brother' (under the direct influence of the Turco–Mongolian hybrid word *kökeldeş* 'id.').[32] So the terms *ötül*, *tüşül* and *emil*(*deş*) can be attested only from documents pertaining to the Golden Horde and they owe their existence to the "Mongolizing" linguistic tendencies of the day.

[29] Radlov, *Jarlyki*.

[30] A. N. Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*. İstanbul 1940, 64–67.

[31] See note 6, above.

[32] For these terms in detail, see I. Vásáry, The institution of foster-brothers (*emildäš* and *kökeldäš*) in the Chingisid states. *AOH* XXXVI (1982) 549–562.

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PHILOLOGISCHE BEMERKUNGEN ZU EINIGEN ALTTÜRKISCHEN STOFFNAMEN

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In dem großen Werk der Jubilarin über die osmanisch-türkischen Lehn- und Kulturwörter im Ungarischen[1] gibt es selbstverständlich auch eine Vielzahl von Stoff- und Kleidungsbezeichnungen. Einige dieser Wörter lassen sich auch in anderen türkischen Sprachen nachweisen. Da deren Sammlung und turkologische Erörterung mehr als eine Monographie erfordern würde, kann hier keine vollständige Behandlung erwartet werden, vielmehr möchte ich auf einige Belege in den alttürkischen Texten eingehen, die in den gesteckten Rahmen fallen und vielleicht zu weiterer Forschung anregen.

Wie wichtig Stoffe für die allgemeine Kulturgeschichte sind, hat nicht zuletzt auch die Arbeit von S. Raschmann gezeigt, die jüngst eine detaillierte Studie über die Baumwolle und deren Verwendung für Kleider aller Art (*böz*) vorgelegt hat.[2] Auf einer im September 1994 abgehaltenen UNESCO-Tagung haben mehrere Sprecher auf die Wichtigkeit der Untersuchung von solchen Kulturwörtern hingewiesen.[3]

Stoffnamen kommen nicht nur in den Wirtschaftstexten, von denen eine beachtliche Anzahl erhalten sind, vor, sondern auch in allerlei religiösen Texten.

Die einfachste Art sich zu kleiden, bestand wohl in der Nutzung von vorgefundenen Materilien. Zum Repertoire chinesischer Anschauungen über die Nomaden Nordasiens gehört auch die Vorstellung, daß sie Kleider aus Gras trugen. Sie findet sich auch bei Xuanzang, der von den „Graskleider Tragenden" spricht: *ot tonluγ*[4] als Wiedergabe von chin. 卉左衽 *hui zuo ren*, wobei an die „barbarischen Stämme" zu denken ist, „die ihre Kleidung auf der linken Seite binden".

An den Anfang sei ein Beleg aus der berühmten *Maitrisimit* gestellt, einem nur aus Zentralasien bekannten Werk über das Erscheinen des zukünfti-

[1] S. Kakuk, *Recherces sur l'histoire de la langue osmanlie des XVIe et XVIIe siècles. Les éléments osmanlis de la langue hongroise*. Budapest 1973.

[2] S. Raschmann, *Baumwolle im türkischen Zentralasien. Philologische und wirtschaftshistorische Untersuchungen anhand der vorislamischen uigurischen Texte*. Wiesbaden 1995.

[3] Ein Band der auf dieser UNESCO-Tagung gehaltenen Vorträge befindet sich in Vorbereitung.

[4] L. Ju. Tuguševa, *Ujgurskaja versija biografii Sjuan'-Czana*. Moskau 1991, VI, 42, 12–19.

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gen Buddha Maitreya: *amarï-larïn [yuv]qa yapγut*[5] *örüm qars blgürtir " amarï-larïn torqu išgirti barčïn kädmiš blgürtir " amarï-larïn yung üzäki tölt töšäk töšänmiš " amarï-larïn taγar käviz qïlïn örmiš töšäk-lär töšänmiš*[6] „Einige läßt er (als) in [gro]be (?) Kamelwollstoffe, Gewebtes (oder) *qars* (Gekleidete) erscheinen. Einige läßt er als in *torqu*-Seide, *išgirti*-Seide (oder) Brokat Gekleidete erscheinen. Einige (läßt er) als in Matratzen und Decken aus Wolle Gehüllte, einige als in Decken, die aus Sack- und Filzhaaren gewebt sind, Gehüllte (erscheinen)."

Aus diesem kurzen Textstück lassen sich zunächst vier Reihen von Stoffnamen zusammenstellen:

a) grobe Stoffe wie *yapγut*, *örüm* und *qars*,
b) feine Stoffe wie *torqu*, *išgirti* und *barčïn*,
c) Wolle (*yung*) und
d) Filzstoffe (*käviz*).

In einem Testament[7] werden verschiedene Decken und andere aus Stoffen hergestellte Materialien aufgezählt. Einige Namen blieben lange Zeit rätselhaft. Kürzlich nun gelang es T. Moriyasu, das Wort *tarda* als mong. *darda* „Brokat" zu deuten.[8]

Hier nun möchte ich eine Erklärung für *maxmur* (mqmwr), bisherige Lesung *manmur*, in WP03.4 hinzufügen. Mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit handelt es sich hierbei um den Namen für Velvet oder Samt, den L. Ligeti als *maqmur* auch in den mingzeitlichen Dokumenten nachweist.[9] Das auf ar.-neupers. مخمل *maxmal* „Samt" zurückgehende Wort[10] ist in zahlreichen tü. Sprachen nachweisbar, neben den von Ligeti zitierten Belegen mit anlautendem *m-* lassen sich auch Formen mit anlautendem *b-* finden.[11]

e) Samt (*maxmur*).

Zu den unter d genannten feinen Stoffen gehört Brokat (*barčïn*). Als ein Beleg sei ein interessantes Textstück aus der alttürkischen Xuanzang-Biographie angeführt: *kašmir xan samtso ačari-qa utru arqï[š] ïtdï ötrü " yanga tärkiš-lig barčïn käriglig " qang[lï]üzä ayïr ayaγ qïlalïm " mu[...] yrlïqazun tip " samtso*

[5] Bisherige Lesung was *yapšut*, so zuletzt auch bei M. Erdal, *Old Turkic Word Formation*. Wiesbaden 1991, 311.

[6] Ş. Tekin, *Maitrisimit nom bitig*. Berliner Turfantexte IX. Berlin 1980, Taf. 165,12.

[7] N. Yamada, *Sammlung uigurischer Kontrakte*. Osaka 1993, WP03.

[8] T. Moriyasu, Notes on Uigur Documents (IV). In: *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* IX, Kobe 1994, 84–91.

[9] L. Ligeti, Glossaire supplementaire au vocabulaire sino-uigour du Bureau des traducteurs. *AOH* 22 (1969) 39.

[10] P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*. Paris 1959, I, 431.

[11] So z. B im Kirgisischen, vgl. K. K. Judahin, *Kirgizsko–russkij slovar'*. Moskau 1965, 512b; im Neu-Uigurischen, vgl. H. G. Schwarz, *An Uyghur–English Dictionary*. W. Washington 1992, 69a.

ača[ri] kašmir-dïn barγuγ taplamadï[12] „Der König von Kaśmīra sandte dann dem Meister Tripiṭaka eine Karawane entgegen. 'Mit dem von Elefanten gezogenen und mit Brokat behängten Wagen wollen wir große Verehrung machen! (Ihn anzunehmen) möge er geruhen!' Dem Meister Tripiṭaka gefiel das Kommen aus Kaśmīra nicht." Chin. 輜 *zī* „baggage" wurde vielleicht mißverstanden als 緇 *zī* (im selben Ton!) „black silk".[13]

Offensichtlich gab es verschiedene Brokatarten, denn in einem Text gibt es die folgende Dreierreihe: *qarqumï barčïn žüngim.*[14] Jedes dieser drei Wörter hat seine eigene Geschichte. Das erste Wort stammt, wie L. Ligeti gezeigt hat, aus dem Neupersischen: قرقومی.[15] Das zweite ist auch ein frühes Lehnwort im Ungarischen, wo es als *bársony* belegt ist.[16] Das dritte Wort nun ist mit Sicherheit aus dem Chinesischen herzuleiten, unklar ist nur, ob eher *絨 (狨) 錦 *rongjin*[17] oder 繡 錦 *xiujin*[18] in Frage kommt. Interessant an diesem Beleg ist vor allem, daß in einer Junktur drei aus unterschiedlichen Kulturkreisen stammende Termini zusammenkommen.

Das allgemeine Wort für Wolle ist *yung*. Manche nehmen chinesischen Ursprung an,[19] doch scheint dies nicht so sicher. Es gibt natürlich keine Zusammenstellung, welche Kleidungsstücke aus Wolle hergestellt wurden. Auch hier muß man Einzelheiten aus den Texten zusammentragen.

In der *Xuanzang-Biographie* findet sich der Bericht, wie Xuanzang alle Geschenke ausschlug bis auf ein Kleidungsstück, das ihm auf der Reise nützlich sein sollte: *yalnguz kumari ilig-ning sï'yun tüüsi-ning altïn tüpin-täki yinčgä yungï üzä qïl[miš] uy-ma yalmasïn altï : yolta yaγmur yaγsar kädgülük.*[20] Dies kann wie folgt übersetzt werden: „Er nahm allein vom König Kumāra den Wollregenmantel, der aus der feinen Wolle, die sich unterhalb der Körperhaare von Maralen befindet, hergestellt war. Zum Anziehen auf der Reise, wenn es regnet." Es ist dies die Wiedergabe von chin. 唯受鳩摩羅王曷剌氈帔 (即麤毛下細者於所)擬在塗防雨 *wei shou jiu mo luo wang he la li pei (ji cu mao xia xi zhe yu suo) ni zai tu fang yu*[21] „Er nahm vom König von Kaśmīra nur das *helalipei* (oder: *helali*-Kleid), (hergestellt aus den feinen Haaren unter den groben Haaren), zum Schutz gegen den Regen unterwegs." In der

12 L. Ju. Tuguševa, *Ujgurskaja versija biografii Sjuan'-Czana*. Moskau 1991, V, 44, 14–20.

13 R. H. Mathews, *Chinese–English Dictionary*. Revised American Edition, Cambridge/Mass. 1972, Nr. 6931 und Nr. 6933.

14 Ş. Tekin, *Buddhistische Uigurica aus der Yüan-Zeit*. Budapest 1980, S. 213 Z. 352.

15 L. Ligeti, Un vocabulaire sino-ouigour des Ming. *AOH* 19 (1966) 163.

16 L. Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban*. Budapest 1986, 301–302.

17 *TT* VI Anm. 391; *DTS* 640b; T. Moriyasu, *Uiguru manikyōshi no kenkyū* (A Study on the History of Uighur Manichaeism. Research on Some Manichaean Materials and their Historical Background). Osaka 1991, 90–91.

18 J. Hamilton, *Manuscrits ouïgours du IXe–Xe siècle de Touen-houang*. Paris 1986, Nr. 35.

19 Vgl. Han Woo Chi, On Some Chinese Loan Words in Uighur. *CAJ* 32 (1988),167–168.

20 L. Ju. Tuguševa, *Ujgurskaja versija biografii Sjuan'-Czana*. Moskau 1991, V, 40, 6–10.

21 *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* Bd. 50, 249a 24–25.

Übersetzung von Li lautet die Stelle so: „The Master accepted none of the offerings, except the Harali cape made of fine wool, presented by King Kumāra, to be used in case of rain during the journey."[22] Ich weiß nicht, was ein „Harali cape" ist, doch mit Sicherheit kann wohl festgestellt werden, daß der Uigure die Übersetzung dieses Wortes umgangen hat, indem er die Erklärung des indischen Wortes, nicht aber das Wort selbst wiedergegeben hat. Wenn als phonetische Wiedergabe eines ind. Wortes nur die Silben *helali* in Frage kommen, könnte man an eine Herkunft von skt. *hāridra* „coloured with turmeric, yellow (...) a kind of fever (also of animals)"[23] denken, wenn jedoch auch chin. *pei* zur Umschrift gehören sollte, wäre eventuell skt. *hariripu* „a kind of plant"[24] als Quelle anzunehmen. Klar sind allerdings beide Vorschläge nicht. Das Kleidungsstück selbst ist *yalma*. Es ist sowohl in den Inschriften als auch im Wörterbuch von Kāšγarī belegt, das G. Clauson wie folgt beschreibt: „was a quilted or padded coat worn either as body armour (...) or as a protection against rain and cold".[25]

Die Königin unter den Stoffen ist zweifellos die Seide. Die Fülle von Namen für „Seide" ist deshalb auch nicht überraschend. Hier möchte ich nur einen der vielen Termini erörtern: *mïndatu*, wie er bei Kāšγarī belegt ist.[26] In den alttürkischen Texten aus Turfan gibt es folgende Belege:

1. *bïntadu*, z. B. in der *Xuanzang-Biographie* Kap. VII 11a 4–6: *bïntadu qurtï* „Seidenwurm", Wiedergabe von chin. 蠶 *can* „id.",[27] in derselben Form auch in einer Übersetzung des *Devatāsūtra*,[28]

2. *bïndatu*, z. B. in der atü. Übersetzung des *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*: Suv 489_{21} *kök önglüg bïndatu ton* „ein blaues Seidenkleid" (= Chin. 437a11 青色野蠶衣 *qing se ye can yi* = Skt. *nīla-kauśeyasaṃvītā*),

3. *bantatu*, z. B. in der *Maitrisimit* Hami II, 1614–1615 oder XI 7a10,

4. *bntatu* oder *batatu* in KP II,4,[29] in einem Fragment in Heilk. II 22, und ein bisher unediertes Stück: T II 895 (U 5502) recto (?) Z. 5 (ohne klaren Kontext),

5. *bïtatu* nach L. Ligetis Rekonstruktion der chin. Transkription im Ming-Wörterbuch.[30]

22 Li Yung-hsi, *The Life of Hsuan-tsang, the Tripitaka-master of the Great Tzu En monastery*. Peking 1959, 184.

23 M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary*. Oxford 1899, 1292a.

24 M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary*. Oxford 1899, 1292c.

25 G. Clauson, A Late Uyğur Family Archive. In: *Iran and Islam*. Edinburgh 1971, 179.

26 G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972, 768.

27 Vgl. K. Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie*. VII. Wiesbaden 1991, 1483–1484.

28 Vgl. P. Zieme, *Alttürkische Fragmente aus dem Devatāsūtra* (in Vorbereitung).

29 So S. Tezcan in seiner Besprechung von J. Hamilton, *Le conte bouddhique du Bon et du Mauvais Prince*. Paris 1971. In: *TDAYB* 1975–1976, 241: „Tü. *mındatu* ve Mo. *mindasu* sözcüklerini söz konusu olan *batatu* ~ *bıtatu* ile ilgili olup olmadıkları sorusunu şimdilik yanıtlayamıyoruz."

Wenn man diese Belege mit der von Kāšγarī überlieferten Form vergleicht, kommt man zu dem Schluß, daß wohl die unter 2 angeführte die ursprüngliche Lautung ist.

Man vergleiche dazu auch die mongolischen Formen: chalcha-mong. *mindasu(n)* „Floss-silk" und kalm. *mindasʷn* „Watte".[31]

G. Clauson dachte, daß das Wort *mïndatu* fremden Ursprungs ist.[32] Dies könnte durchaus so sein, doch die Herleitung von skt. *maṇḍita* „ornamented, adorned" ist angesichts des innertürkischen Lautwechsels *m- ~ b-* wenig wahrscheinlich. Die Frage der Herkunft ist ein offenes Problem, nicht zuletzt auch, weil es keine Nachweise in den modernen Sprachen gibt.[33] Vielleicht kann man noch folgende Wörter ins Spiel bringen: skt. *paṭa*, *paṭṭa* etc. „a kind of cloth",[34] oder Kannaḍa *tuppaṭa*, *tubaṭa* „wool" or *tuppaṛu* „wool, fine soft hair as of cats".[35] Aber diese Frage mag weiterer Forschung vorbehalten bleiben.

Hier möchte ich jedoch einen Vorschlag zur Etymologie des europäischen Wortes „Watte" unterbreiten. Als ein möglicher Ursprung wurde arab. *bāṭin*[36] oder *biṭāna*[37] vorgeschlagen, aber W. v. Wartburg hat viele Gründe gegen diese Annahme angeführt. In seinem umfangreichen Artikel über frz. *ouate* (seit 1493) zitiert er Wortformen aus einer immensen Zahl von Dialekten, von denen ich nur zwei wiedergeben möchte, zum einen die moderne Form der Provence *vouato* „coton fin qu'on met entre deux étoffes", zum anderen die calabresische Dialektform, wo *ovatta* wie folgt ausgesprochen wird: *vattu*, *vatta*. In seinem Wörterbuch resümiert Wartburg: „eine lösung der frage nach dem ursprung von ouate ist also bis jetzt nicht geglückt."[38]

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30 L. Ligeti, Un vocabulaire sino-ouigour des Ming. *AOH* 19 (1966) 141: „*bïtatu (pi-ta-tou) « grain du coton »* I 13a (24b). [*Bidadao* «gesponnene Baumwolle», Kl. 14.] ~ ouig. *batatu* «gesponnene Baumwolle» (Rachm., *Heilk.* II, 16:2; 38)". Fußn. 31: „La graphie *bitatau* des ms B et P, ainsi que de celle de Klaproth est une variante erronée qui ne doit pas être retenue. Le leçon *bitatu* est incertaine (*t* : *d*), malgré les recoupements ouigours. Dans le *Wou-ti*, II 2192, on a: chin. *mien-tseu* « silk wadding or quilting » (Mathews); mong. *mindasu* (« espèce de filoselle ou de coton », Kow. III, 2021); tib. *srin-bal-gyi skud-pa*; ma. *yoχan* (« Watte » [!], Hauer 1022)."

31 G. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, 263a.

32 G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972, 768.

33 Wenn nicht als ein Bestandteil von neu-uig. *kalabutun*, *kalabatun*. G. Jarring, *Garments from Top to Toe*. Stockholm 1992, S. 15 Fußn. 50 plädiert für Ursprung aus dem Hindustani und zitiert Urdu *kalá battú* (oder *kalá batún*) „gold or silver thread". Unter den von S. E. Malov angeführten Varianten sind hervorzuheben: *kalavatu* und *kalavatun* „fine material".

34 M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford 1899, 479; H. Lüders, *Textilien im alten Turkistan*, 24–30.

35 T. Burrow, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. Oxford 1961, 222b.

36 K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen (germanischen, romanischen und slavischen) Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs*. Heidelberg 1927, Nr. 273.

37 N. Osman, *Kleines Lexikon deutscher Wörter arabischer Herkunft*. München 1993, 126.

38 W. v. Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bd. 21, Basel 1965, 442b–444a.

An dieser Stelle sollten auch genannt werden: ung. *vatta*, wo der Doppelkonsonant, wenn auch mit anderer Qualität, belegt ist, sowie russ. *vata*, das seinerseits ins Jakutische u. a. entlehnt wurde: *bāta*. In vielen türkischen Sprachen wird russ. *vata* durch Wörter für Baumwolle wie *pamuk* übersetzt. Das gilt übrigens auch für andere Sprachen.

Wenngleich eine gewisse Lücke zwischen atü. *batatu* und dem ersten Beleg von mlat. *wadda*, afrz. *vattu*, *ouate* etc. besteht, wage ich diese Herleitung in Erwägung zu ziehen: atü. *batatu* > **battu* (Schwund des Mittelsilbenvokals) > **vattu*.[39] Die weitere Entwicklung ist einleuchtend und gut belegt. Ob die calabresische Form mit dem finalen *-u* einen ursprünglichen Status reflektiert oder Ergebnis einer inneritalienischen Entwicklung ist, kann ich nicht entscheiden.

M. Cohens Aufsatz über den Ursprung des Wortes „Watte" enthält sehr wichtige Beobachtungen. Verblüffend ist vor allem sein Hinweis auf jap. *wata* „Watte", das in dieser Form bereits in einem Gedicht des 7. Jh. vorkommt. Das Wort ist aber auch im Japanischen etymologisch unklar. Nach Betrachtung vieler weiterer Sprachen kommt Cohen zu dem folgenden Schluß: „En définitive, j'ai pensé que pour un sens bien établi dans l'ensemble, avec la probabilité de la propagation commerciale, la constance de la physionomie labiale +*a*+occlusive dentale autorisait à présenter comme vraisemblable, en dépit de la différence d'aspect, le rapprochement *ouate-pakhta*."[40] Bei dieser Erklärung bleiben aber m. E. jedoch erhebliche Schwierigkeiten.

Welche Möglichkeiten der Herkunft gibt es weiterhin? Im neuesten Faszikel des Pāli-Wörterbuchs findet man das Lemma *kappāsa*, die Entsprechung für skt. *karpāsa* „Baumwolle", sowie zahlreiche Zusammensetzungen, von denen die folgenden relevant sein könnten: *kappāś-aṭṭhi* „a cotton seed (or cotton boll?)" und *kappāsa-vaṭṭi* „a cotton wad".[41] Für Pāli *vaṭṭi* (für skt. *varti* und *vṛtti*, es ist eine Ableitung von skt. *vṛt*) werden folgende Bedeutungen gegeben: 1. wick, 2. enclosure, lining, film, skin, 3. edge, rim, brim, circumference, 4. strip, fringe, 5. sheath, bag, pod, 6. lump, ball, 7. rolling forth or along, a gush (of water). Diese Bedeutungen weisen in die Richtung unseres Wortes für „Watte", und in phonetischer Hinsicht gäbe es überhaupt keine Probleme. Indien als eine der Ursprungsregionen der Baumwolle wäre natürlich auch prädestiniert, das entsprechende Wort mitzuliefern.

Zusammenfassend halte ich daneben aber auch die oben gebrachte Herleitung aus dem Türkischen für eine gute Möglichkeit.

[39] Zum Problem vgl. G. Doerfer, Die „vier Wörter" mit b- > v-, Null. In: *Hungaro–Turcica. Studies in Honour of Julius Németh*. Budapest 1976, 135–147. Ein gutes Beispiel ist auch *dulwend* „tülbent" bei Dernschwam, vgl. Zs. Kakuk, Türkisches aus Hans Dernschwams Tagebuch I. *AOH* 32 (1978) 144.

[40] M. Cohen, Ouate. *Journal Asiatique* 255 (1967) 163–168, bes. 168.

[41] *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* begun by V. Trenckner. Vol. III. Kopenhagen 1994, 180.

Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī übersetzte atü. *mïndatu* durch arab. *al-qazzīna*, ein Wort, das auf arab. قز *qazz* „Seide" zurückgeht. Aber dieses Wort entstammt pers. *qaz*, *kaz* „raw silk",[42] *kaž* „coarse silk of little value".[43] Dieses pers. Wort fand seinen Weg auch ins Atü., wie bereits G. Clauson bei seinem Kommentar über Kāšγarīs *käz* feststellte: „the name of a kind of Chinese brocade".[44] In seiner Abhandlung über die persischen Lehnwörter in anatolischen Dialekten nennt A. Tietze außerdem MP (Pahl) *kač* „coarse silk", das auch als np. *kaj*[45] und kurd. *käž* weiterlebt.[46]

Daneben gibt es ein weiteres Wort, das mit letzterem in Beziehung zu setzen ist: گزی *gazī* „coarse kind of (cotton) cloth".[47] Das Neupersische hat ferner *kajī* „raw silk from the cones"[48] und das Kurdische *käži* „band, ribbon".[49] Dieses Wort wurde ins Osmanische als *gezi* entlehnt: „Çözgüsü ipek, atkısı ipek ve iplik karışığı sık dokunmuş hâreli kumaş. Çözgüye nazaran atkı birkaç kat ipek ve iplikle karışık ve bir arada dokunduğundan atkılar, ince çözgüler arasında kalın olarak fark edilmektedir. Hâresi dokunduktan sonra, iki kızgın mengene arasında ezmek ve sürtmek suretiyle yapılmaktadır."[50] In den anatolischen Dialekten gibt es noch weitere Wörter, die hierher gehören: *keci*[51] etc. Auch türkmen. *keǰi* „otchod kokonov"[52] und chwarezm. *kcynyk* „Seidenstoff"[53] sind einzubeziehen.[54]

Dieses Wort nun wurde ein Kulturwort, und als solches ist es über das Arabische in viele europäische Sprachen gelangt: span. *gasa*, frz. *gaze*, engl. *gauze* und dt. *Gaze*. K. Lokotsch sprach sich für diese Herleitung aus, während er zugleich die Etymologie aus dem Namen Ġazza in Palästina (hebr. ʿAzzāh, gr. Γάζα) ablehnte, mit Berufung darauf, daß es in der Stadt ja keine Textilindustrie gegeben hat, die einen solchen Impetus ausgelöst haben könnte.[55] Wie der Fall von Damast etc. zeigt, gehen ja bekanntlich sehr viele Textilbezeichnungen auf Herkunftsorte zurück.

[42] F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian–English Dictionary*. New Delhi 1973, 968a, 1027a.

[43] F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian–English Dictionary*. New Delhi 1973, 1027b.

[44] G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972, 756a.

[45] F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian–English Dictionary*. New Delhi 1973, 1016b.

[46] A. Tietze, Persian Loanwords in Anatolian Turkish. *Oriens* 20 (1967) 147.

[47] F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian–English Dictionary*. New Delhi 1973, 1088b.

[48] F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian–English Dictionary*. New Delhi 1973, 1017b.

[49] A. Tietze, Persian Loanwords in Anatolian Turkish. *Oriens* 20 (1967) 147.

[50] M. S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda narh müessesi ve 1640 tarihli narh defteri*. Istanbul 1983, 348.

[51] *Derleme Sözlüğü*, 2714.

[52] *Turkmensko–russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1968, 387a.

[53] J. Benzing, *Chwaresmischer Wortindex*. Wiesbaden 1983, 351.

[54] Für die letzteren Hinweise danke ich S. Tezcan.

[55] Vgl. auch J. Ibrahim, *Kulturgeschichtliche Wortforschung. Persisches Lehngut in europäischen Sprachen*. Wiesbaden 1991, 103–104.

Erwähnenswert ist, daß pers. *gazī* auch und möglicherweise über das Uigurische ins Chinesische entlehnt wurde: 緙絲 *kesi*, ein Terminus für eine Art von Seidenstickerei: „The fact remains that the first appearance of the word *k'o-ssŭ* in China dates from the twelfth century, during the Sung Dynasty, when we find it used to describe the Uighur name for their silk tapestry robes."[56]

chin. *kesi*

↑

skt. *kāśi* (?) → ? → mp., np. *kaz*, *gaz* → atü. *käz*

gazī → osm., ttü. *gezi*

↓

ar. *qazz* → span. *gasa*, frz. *gaze*, engl. *gauze*, dt. *Gaze*, russ. *gaz* etc.

[56] Schuyler Cammann, Notes on the Origin of Chinese K'o-ssu Tapestry. *Artibus Asiae* 11 (1948), 98.

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