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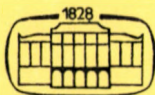
K. CZEGLÉDY, B. CSONGOR, I. ECSEDY, G. KARA, A. RÓNA-TAS, A. SÁRKÖZI,
G. URAY, I. VÁSÁRY

REDIGIT

F. TÓKEI

TOMUS XI,

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INDEX

I. BASKI, A Crimean Turcic-Tatar Glossary from the 17th Century	107
L. BESE, The Shanian Term <i>jukeki</i> in the <i>Secret History of the Mongols</i>	241
L. ECCLES, The Grief of the Bronze Sparrow	179
P. FODOR, State and Society, Crisis and Reform in 15—17th Century Ottoman Mirror for Princes	217
F. S. HAKIMZJANOV, New Volga Bulgarian Inscriptions	173
Zs. KAKUK—C. ÖZTÜRK, Lisân-i ezhâr	3
B. LE CALLOC'H, Un témoignage capital sur la vie d'Alexander Csoma de Kőrös. Le Journal de Victor Jacquemont	249
I. MÁNDOKY KONGUR, <i>Börtü</i> : a Hungarian Word of Old Turkic Origin Belonging to the Vocabulary of Goldsmiths' Art	39
I. ORMOS, A Key Factor in Avicenna's Theory of Phonation	283
R. K. SHARMĀ, Military System of the Kötā State	301
I. SCHÜTZ, Les contacts albano-comans reflétés par l'onomastique de Kosovo ..	293

Miscellanea:

B. Z. KEDAR, Ungarische Muslime in Jerusalem im Jahre 1217	325
--	-----

In memoriam:

Joseph F. Fletcher Jr. (1934—1984) (A. Róna-Tas)	329
Timoteus Pokora (1928—1985) (F. Tókei)	199

Chronica:

The Twenty-Eighth Meeting of the PIAC in Venice (Á. Molnár)	331
---	-----

Critica:

L'Afrique et l'Asie Modernes No. 142, 143, 145 (T. Iványi)	352
Qazaq qoljazbalariniñ giliimiy siypattaması. <i>Ahmetov Z., Ahmetov Š., Böžeev M.,</i> <i>Ğumarova M.,</i> (Žawaptı redaktor), <i>Nurmagametova O., Šaripov A.,</i> (I. Mándoky Kongur)	205
A. Anacker, Seven Works of Vasubandhu (Gy. Wojtilla)	346
H. W. Bailey, The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan (G. Kara)	350
Die Welt des Buddhismus mit Beiträgen von <i>Heinz Bechert, Jane Bunnag, Michael B. Carrithers, Richard Gombrich, Robert K. Heinemann, Oskar von Hinüber, Lal Mani Joshi, Per Kvaerne, Etienne Lamotte, Siegfried Leinhard und Erik Zürcher.</i> Hrsg. von <i>Heinz Bechert und Richard Gombrich</i> (I. Ecsedy) ...	209
<i>Žiyaš Bektenov—Yunus Musin, Qirgizdin eldik oyundarı</i> (I. Mándoky Kongur)	204

<i>G. Bethlenfalvy</i> , A hand-list of the Ulan Bator manuscript of the Kanjur Rgyal-rtse Them-spañs-ma (Z. Horváth)	342
<i>R. Bielmeier</i> , Das Märchen von Prinzen Čobzañ (A. Róna-Tas)	342
Bulletin d'Études Karaïtes I. (T. Iványi)	353
<i>Mahmūd al Kāšgarī</i> , Compendium of the Turkic dialects. Ed. and translated with introduction by <i>R. Dankoff</i> in collaboration with <i>J. Kelly</i> (A. Róna-Tas)	335
<i>A. Egyed</i> , The Eighty-Four Siddhas (Gy. Somlai)	344
<i>H. Gerber</i> , Ottoman Rule in Jerusalem 1890—1914 (T. Iványi)	356
<i>H. Gerber—J. Barnai</i> , The Jews in Izmir in the 19th Century (T. Iványi)	355
<i>Ch. O. Hucker</i> , A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China (I. Ecsedy) ..	208
<i>Moojam Momen</i> , An Introduction to Shi'ī Islam (T. Iványi)	353
<i>M. S. Mukanov</i> , Kazachskie domašnie chudožestvennye remesla (I. Mándoky Kongur)	206
Die vier edlen Wahrheiten: Teste des ursprünglichen Buddhismus. Hrsg. <i>Klaus Mylius</i> (Gy. Wojtilla)	213
<i>S. Ju. Nekljudov—Ž. Tumorceren</i> , Mongol'skie skazanija o Gesere (G. Kara) ...	339
<i>D. O. Omurzakov—M. K. Saraljev</i> , Kirgizskie nacional'nye vidy sporta i narodnye igry (I. Mándoky Kongur)	201
<i>V. Stojanow</i> , Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der osmanisch-türkischen Paläographie un Diplomatie mit einer Bibliographie (G. Dávid)	211
Bhutan: A kingdom of the Eastern Himalayas. Photographs <i>Guy van Strydonck</i> . Texts <i>Francoise Pammaret-Imaeda, Yoshiro Imaeda</i> (G. Uray)	212
Collected Works of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös. Ed. by <i>J. Terjék</i> (A. Sárközi)	341
<i>Fr. de Vaux de Foletier</i> , Le monde des Tsiganes (J. Vekerdi)	214
<i>Fumimaro Watanabe</i> , Philosophy and its Development in the Nikāyas and Abhidhamma (J. Fehér)	347
Éthnografija karakalpakov. XIX—načalo XX veka. Otv. red. <i>T. A. Ždanko, S. K. Kamalov</i> (I. Mándoky Kongur)	202
<i>Bibliographia</i>	359

INDEX

Zs. KAKUK—C. ÖZTÜRK (İstanbul), Lisân-i ezhâr	3
I. MÁNDOKY KONGUR, <i>Börtü</i> : a Hungarian Word of Old Turkic Origin Belonging to the Vocabulary of Goldsmiths' Art	39
I. GYARMATI, Die Gestirnnamen des Zodiakus in den türkischen Sprachen	53
I. BASKI, A Crimean Turkic-Tatar Glossary from the 17th Century	107
F. S. HAKIMZJANOV (Kazan), New Volga Bulgarian Inscriptions	173
L. ECCLES (Haberfield), The Grief of the Bronze Sparrow	179

In Memoriam:

Timoteus Pokora (1928—1985) (Ferenc Tókei)	199
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Critica:

D. O. Omurzakov—M. K. Saralaeu, <i>Kirgizskie nacional'nye vidy sporta i narodnye igry</i> (I. Mándoky Kongur) — <i>Étnografija karakalpakov. XIX—načalo XX veka</i> . Otv. red. T. A. Ždanko, S. K. Kamalov (I. Mándoky Kongur) — Ziyaš Bektenov—Yunus Musin, <i>Qirgizdin eldik oyundari</i> (I. Mándoky Kongur) — <i>Qazaq qolžazbalarinıń gılimiy sıypattaması</i> . Ahmetov Z., Ahmetov Š., Böžeev M., Ğumarova M., (Zawaptı redaktor), Nurmağambetova O., Šarıpov A. (I. Mándoky Kongur) — M. S. Mukanov, <i>Kazachskie domašnie chudožestvennye remesla</i> (I. Mándoky Kongur) — Ch. O. Hucker, <i>A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China</i> (I. Ecsedy) — <i>Die Welt des Buddhismus mit Beiträgen</i> von Heinz Bechert, Jane Bunnag, Michael B. Carrithers, Richard Gombrich, Robert K. Heinemann, Oskar von Hinüber, Lal Mani Joshi, Per Kvaerne, Etienne Lamotte, Siegfried Lienhard und Erik Zürcher. Hrsg. von Heinz Bechert und Richard Gombrich (I. Ecsedy) — V. Stojanow, <i>Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der osmanisch-türkischen Paläographie und Diplomatie mit einer Bibliographie</i> (G. Dávid) — <i>Bhutan: A kingdom of the Eastern Himalayas</i> . Photographs Guy van Strydonck. Texts Françoise Pomaret-Imaeda, Yoshiro Imaeda (G. Uray) — Klaus Mylius (Hrsg.) <i>Die vier edlen Wahrheiten. Texte des ursprünglichen Buddhismus</i> (Gy. Wojtilla) — Fr. de Vaux de Foletier, <i>Le monde des Tsiganes</i> (J. Vekerdi)	201
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LİSÂN-İ EZHÂR

ZSUZSA KAKUK — CEMİL ÖZTÜRK (Istanbul)

Unsere türkischen Freunde und Kollegen, Herr Hamit Zübeyr Koşay und Frau Sabiha Tansuğ, lenkten meine Aufmerksamkeit auf ein interessantes Manuskript der Istanbuler Bibliothek »Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi«, das ein Material enthält, das den in meiner früheren Arbeit besprochenen Beispielen aus der Blumensprache in der türkischen Volkstracht und in den Volksbräuchen ähnlich ist. Mit Hilfe von Frau Sabiha Tansuğ erhielten wir eine Fotokopie des Manuskripts. Für ihre Hilfe sagen wir ihnen auch auf diesem Wege herzlichen Dank.

Das aus 36 nummerierten Blättern bestehende Manuskript war als ein Geschenk von Herrn Süheyl Ünver 1979 in die Bibliothek *Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi* gelangt. Auf der ersten Seite, hinter der eigenhändigen Eintragung des Donators,¹ ist der Originaltitel in arabischen Buchstaben zu lesen: *Lisân-i ezhâr*, d. h. »Blumensprache«.

Zeit und Ort der Entstehung des Manuskripts sind bekannt, der Name des Schreibers, der die Texte aufgezeichnet hat, ist aber unsicher. Die letzte Zeile des auf der vierten Manuskriptseite endenden einleitenden Teils lautet: *sâ'at [= die Zeit:] rebî-ül-âhir sene-i 303 koska*. Der Text wurde also im Monat rebî-ül-âhir des Jahres [1] 303 [= 7. 1. 1886–4. 2. 1886] niedergeschrieben, im Koska genannten Stadtteil von Istanbul.

Über den Aufzeichner des Textes könnte man von dem einleitenden Teil auf den vier ersten Manuskriptseiten weitere Information erwarten. Leider erfahren wir aber auch daraus nicht viel mehr, als daß der Autor vermutlich mit Münif Pascha, einer führenden Persönlichkeit des öffentlichen Lebens, in Verbindung stand. Ferner, daß er auch selbst eine Zeitlang in Westeuropa, wahrscheinlich in Frankreich und Deutschland lebte. Der dortige Gebrauch der Blumensprache, von der man auch in Europa annimmt, daß sie aus der Türkei stammt, veranlaßte ihn wohl zur Sammlung der ursprünglichen türkischen Beispiele. Wer seine Gewährleute waren, wo und wie er das Material gesammelt hat, das können wir leider nicht mehr ausfindig machen.

¹ »Süleymaniye Kütüphanesinde Dr. Süheyl Ünver arşivine armağanmdır. Dr. Süheyl Ünver. 22. VIII. 1979. *Lisânül Ezhar (Çiçeklerin dili)*«.

Schauen wir uns nun diese Einleitung auch genauer an! Wie bereits erwähnt, steht auf der ersten Seite nur der Titel *Lisân-i ezhâr* mit kalligraphisch gezeichneten, gleichsam gedruckt wirkenden arabischen Buchstaben. Die übrigen Manuskriptseiten sind dagegen in eilig hingeworfener, kurrenter Schrift abgefaßt (s. die Beilagen).

Auf der zweiten Seite steht ein Vers in drei Strophen. Nach dem fragmentarischen Text von wenigen Zeilen vor dem Vers wird letzterer von den Töchtern des Münif Pascha, einer gewissen Leyla hanım, der Gattin von Sirri-Pascha zugeschrieben.²

Erst auf der dritten Seite kommt der Autor auf sein eigentliches Thema zu sprechen. In freier — nicht wörtlicher — Übersetzung sagt er darin folgendes:

»Das Mittel der gegenseitigen Verständigung ist weltweit die Sprache. Neben der gesprochenen und geschriebenen Sprache existiert die Zeichensprache. Deshalb darf man die Blumensprache nicht vergessen.

² Der Vollständigkeit halber wird auch das Leyla hanım zugeschriebene Gedicht publiziert:

*O kız leylâ değil mîhr-i felek-tir
gülistan-i edepten bir çiçek-tir
melek-haslet peri-râ bir bebek-tir*

Nakarat:

Gülistan-i edepten bir çiçek-tir

*Güzeldir reng-i çeşmâni semâdan
nigâhı pür-ziyâ şems-i zekâdan
sözi hoştur hezâr-i bi-nevâdan*

Ayten

*Dağıldıkça o gîsu-yı zerrîni
ne hoş tezyin eder ol meh-cebîni
sever elbet görenler nâzenîni*

Ayten

Übersetzung

Jenes Mädchen ist nicht die Nacht, Mond der Erdkugel ist sie
Eine Blume aus dem Rosengarten der Zierlichkeit ist sie
Eine Puppe mit Engelsnatur, mit Feenantlitz ist sie

Refrain:

Eine Blume aus dem Rosengarten der Zierlichkeit ist sie

Die Farbe ihrer Augen ist schöner als das Himmelsgewölbe
Ihr Blick leuchtender als die reine Sonne
Ihre Worte sind süßer als der Gesang der einsamen Nachtigall
Genauso

Ihre goldenen zerzausten Locken
wie schön schmücken sie ihre Mond-Stirn
alle lieben sie, die sie sehen, diese Zierpuppe
Genauso

Die Blumensprache ist bei allen Völkern anzutreffen, und man nimmt an, daß sie von den Türken stammt. Diese Sprache existiert bei uns auch heute, manche unserer Frauen kennen sie noch. Auch europäische Frauen machen von ihr Gebrauch, und anders als unsere Frauen, nicht nur insgeheim. In Europa schenken die einander liebenden Frauen und Männer, um ihren Gefühlen Ausdruck zu verleihen, sich Blumensträuße, und sie nennen dies einen »Gruß« (*selâm*). Auch bei uns senden die Liebenden einander »Grüße« (*selâm* oder *mâni*). In dieser Form stammt dieser Brauch von den Türken.

Da diese Sprache auch heute existiert, sollten wir sie verloren gehen lassen? Anstatt die von uns übernommene Sprache, nachdem sie gewisse Änderungen erfahren hat, neu zu übersetzen, war ich so frei, sie — da sie ja von unseren Frauen auch heute noch gebraucht wird — aufzufrischen und meine auf diesem Gebiet erworbenen Kenntnisse zu veröffentlichen.

Es muß noch gesagt werden, daß obwohl der Titel *Lisân-i ezhâr* nur auf die Blumen hinweist, im Laufe der Zeit auch verschiedene Pflanzen und leblose Gegenstände einbezogen worden sind.

Auf Seite 4 der Einleitung stellt der Autor einen *selâm* vor:

Tırşı kâğıda sarılan ve yarısına kadar su-ile dolmuş çiçeklik içine mevzu bir demet sünbül manası:

*Şişe beyaz suyu az — sünbüller eder niyaz
küskünlüğün ne-ise — üstündeki kâğıda yaz!*

yâhud:

*Sevdiğim lutf ederek — âşıkâ rahm eyleyiniz
sebeb ve hikmeti ne — kızmanızın söyleyiniz!*

*Şu gelen sünbül-i dilbeste eder böyle niyaz:
Küsmenin baisi her ne-ise beyân eyleyiniz!³*

Nach diesen Beispielen steht nur noch die bereits erwähnte Endzeile, wo das Datum und der Ort der Aufzeichnung zu lesen sind.

Die eigentliche Beispielsammlung beginnt auf Seite 5 und endet auf Seite 37.

³ Der Sinn des außen mit Papier umwickelten und in eine halb mit Wasser gefüllte Vase gestellten Hyazinthenstraußes ist:

Die Vase ist weiß, das Wasser wenig — so flehen die Hyazinthen:
Warum zürnst Du, — Schreibe es auf das Papier!

oder:

Meine Liebste, gnädig — erbarme Dich des Verliebten
Was ist der Grund und die Ursache — Deines Zorns, sage es!

Die verliebte Hyazinthe, die zu Dir kommt, fleht so:
Was immer die Ursache Deines Zorn sein mag, lasse es mich wissen!

Das Manuskript *Lisân-i ezhâr* demonstriert jenen Typ der türkischen Blumensprache, bei dem nach einem Leitwort — dies ist zumeist ein Blumenname — ein Spruch folgt, der darauf reimt. Das Material ist aufgrund der letzten Buchstaben der Leitwörter in der Reihenfolge des arabischen Alphabets geordnet. Das heißt, es beginnt mit den auf *elif* endenden und schließt mit den auf *ye* endenden Wörtern. Das Material eines jeden neuen Buchstabens fängt jeweils auf einer neuen Seite an. Die mit dem gleichen Buchstaben endenden Leitwörter — manchmal sind es nur zwei, in anderen Fällen können es auch 20 bis 30 sein — kommen hintereinander in der Reihenfolge ihrer Anfangsbuchstaben, doch gerät diese Anordnung bisweilen durcheinander. Die Leitwörter stehen am rechten Rand der Manuskriptblätter, die Antworten sind von ihnen deutlich abgesondert. Gehören zu einem Leitwort mehrere Antworten, so stehen diese stets in separaten Zeilen. Die zweizeiligen beyt-artigen Antworten sind dagegen fortlaufend geschrieben. (S. Beispiele 5.4 oder 27.2.)

Die Sammlung enthält 218 Leitwörter und 357 Antworten, die auf diese reimen.

Daß in der alten türkischen Gesellschaft, in der die völlige Trennung der Männer von den Frauen zwingendes Gebot war, die Geheimsprache der Liebenden, das *kuş dili* allgemein gebraucht wurde, ist bekannt. Die Verliebten, die einander weder sehen, noch miteinander sprechen oder Briefe wechseln durften, gaben ihren Gefühlen durch Blumensendungen Ausdruck. Mit dem Umstand, daß dieses Zeichensystem geheim war, steht sicherlich in Zusammenhang, daß im Schrifttum über die türkische Folklore — zumindest nach unseren heutigen Kenntnissen — wenige, dem *Lisân-i ezhâr* ähnliche Textsammlung zu finden ist. Andererseits gibt es bisweilen Wort für Wort übereinstimmende Aufzeichnungen ähnlicher Art in den Werken europäischer Autoren, die früher gelebt hatten.

Die erste Aufzeichnung stammt von Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, deren berühmte Arbeit, die *Letters* 1763 in London erschienen war.

Lady Montagu (1689—1762) verbrachte mit ihrem Gatten, dem damaligen englischen Gesandten in der Türkei, 1717 und 1718 zwei Jahre in Istanbul. Die hochgebildete, vornehme Frau beobachtete mit regem Interesse das farbige Leben im Orient. Neben religiösen, sozialen, politischen, architekturgeschichtlichen Fragen interessierte sie besonders das Leben der hinter dicken Mauern eingeschlossenen türkischen Frauen. In ihren Briefen an ihre englischen Freundinnen berichtete sie über ihre Eindrücke.⁴

⁴ Die «Briefe» der Lady Montagu, die auch die vor und nach den in der Türkei verbrachten zwei Jahren entstandenen Briefe umfassen, waren zuerst 1763, im Jahr nach ihrem Tod erschienen. Seitdem erreichten die «Letters» zahlreiche Auflagen. Die vollständigste Ausgabe ist: *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*. Edited by Robert Halsband. Clarendon Press Oxford, 1965. — Ihre in der Türkei geschriebenen

Den uns interessierenden Abschnitt finden wir in der Reihe sämtlicher Briefe von Lady Montagu im Brief Nr. 40. Diesen Brief schrieb sie am 1. März 1718 in Pera. An die namentlich nicht genannte Lady schreibt sie folgendes:

»I have got for you, as you desire, a Turkish Love-letter, which I have put into a little Box, and order'd the Captain of the Smyrniote to deliver it to you with this letter. The Translation of it is litterally as follows. The first piece you should pull out of the purse, is a little Pearl, which is in Turkish call'd *ingi*, and should be understood in this manner:

Ingi . . . Sensin Uzellerin gingi

Pearl — Fairest of the young.«

Danach folgen noch 16 ähnliche Beispiele. Weiter führt der Brief fort:

»You see this letter is all in verses, and I can assure you there is as much fancy shewn in the choice of them as in the most study'd expressions of our Letters, there being (I beleive) a million of verses design'd for this use. There is no colour, no flower, no weed, no fruit, herb, pebble, or feather that has not a verse belonging to it; and you may quarrel, reproach, or send Letters of passion, friendship, or Civillity, or even of news, without ever inking your fingers« (*Complete Letters* pp. 388—389).

Der andere Aufzeichner ist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, der namhafter Wiener Orientalist, dessen Sammlung von 42 Sprüchen der türkischen Blumensprache, das *Wörterbuch der Blumensprache*⁵ wurde von mehreren europäischen Autoren in ihre Werke übernommen. Der eine dieser Autoren ist der polnische Reisende Eduard Raczyński, der andere ein ungarischer Honvéd-offizier namens Josef Hutter.

E. Raczyński gab in polnischer Sprache eine Schilderung der fesselnden Geschichte seiner Reisen durch die Türkei (erschieden 1814), die 1825 auch in die deutsche Sprache übersetzt wurde⁶. Im Anhang zu seinem Buch behandelt der Autor die türkische Blumensprache. Zunächst zieht er, unter Berufung auf Hammer, die Behauptung von Lady Montagu in Zweifel, wonach der Gebrauch der türkischen Blumensprache in den Serails sehr verbreitet war, daß die türkischen Frauen zu Hunderten ähnliche Sprüche kannten. Zur Motivierung seiner gegenteiligen Meinung führt er das niedrige Niveau der allge-

Briefe wurden auch ins Türkische übersetzt: Ahmed Refik, *Şark Mektupları*. Hilmi Kitaphanesi, Genç Türk Kütüphanesi Tarih Serisi. 1912. (Diese Übersetzung wurde wahrscheinlich aufgrund der französischen Ausgabe angefertigt.); *Lady Montagu, Türkiye Mektupları. 1717—1718*. Çeviren: Aysel Kurutluoğlu. Tercüman. 1001 Temel Eser. No. 12. (Aufgrund der Oxford Ausgabe angefertigte Übersetzung.)

⁵ In: *Fundgruben des Oriens*. Band 2—4, Wien, 1811—14, S. 206.

⁶ *Malerische Reise in einigen Provinzen des Osmanischen Reichs*. Aus dem Polnischen des Herrn Grafen Eduard Raczyński übersetzt. Herausgegeben von Friedr. Heinr. von der Hagen. Breslau, 1825.

meinen Bildung der damaligen türkischen Frauen an. Dann bringt er in unveränderter Zusammenstellung das *Wörterbuch* von Hammer (Anhang S. III—VI).

Der andere Autor, der das Material von Hammer übernommen hat, ist J. Hutter, ein ungarischer Honvédoffizier, der im Herbst 1849, nach der Niederwerfung des ungarischen Freiheitskampfes, in die Türkei geflohen war. Seine Memoiren, die auch im Hinblick auf die Geschichte der ungarischen Emigration eine wertvolle Quelle darstellen, waren in Braunschweig in deutscher Sprache bereits 1851 erschienen.⁷ Wie jeder in den Orient verschlagene Europäer beobachtete auch er mit großem Interesse das eigenartige, abgeschlossene Leben der mohammedanischen türkischen Frauen. In seinem Werk widmet er diesem Thema ein Kapitel (Kapitel XIV), das den Titel *Das weibliche Geschlecht im Orient* trägt. Er spricht darin auch über die Blumensprache der türkischen Frauen, und in einem Anhang zu seinem Buch *Kurzes Wörterbuch der türkischen Blumensprache* publiziert er die von J. Hammer gesammelten 42 Sprüche mit geringfügigen stilistischen Änderungen.⁸

Beachtenswert sind die mit der Anwendung der Blumensprache — oder der auch seiner Meinung nach zutreffenderen *Zeichensprache* — verbundenen Hinweise Hutters, wonach: wenn der Mann oder die Frau der oder dem Auserwählten eine Blume oder einen kleinen Gegenstand sendet bzw. beim Vorübergehen überreicht, muß die oder der Beschenkte den Namen des Geschenks aussprechen und den sich darauf reimenden, zur jeweiligen Situation passenden Spruch suchen. Angesichts dessen, daß das türkische Volk sämtlichen Gegenständen und Erscheinungen der Welt eine besondere Bedeutung beimißt, daß es mit außerordentlicher Leichtigkeit mit den Reimen spielt und in jedem Augenblick bereit ist Rätsel aufzugeben und zu erraten, ist dies durchaus glaubhaft.⁹

Die *Blumensprache* blühte nicht nur einst in der abgeschlossenen Welt der Serails, sie ist in der türkischen Folklore auch heute noch bekannt. Ferhat Silacı verwies darauf daß in der Folklore-Sammlung aus Diyarbakır von B. Ş. Beysanoğlu sich Beispiele der Blumensprache finden, deren Typ mit dem Material von Lady Montagu, J. Hammer und E. Raczyński völlig übereinstimmt (die Arbeit von J. Hutter war ihm nicht bekannt).¹⁰

Die systematische Forschung, — die auszuführen wir gegenwärtig nicht die Absicht hatten, — könnte sicherlich weit mehr Material in den in der Türkei oder über die Türkei geschriebenen Werken aufdecken.

⁷ *Von Orsova bis Kiutahia*. Von J. Hutter vorm. Hauptmann in der ungarischen Armee. Braunschweig. Verlag von Georg Jeger. 1851.

⁸ S. Kakuk, Über die türkische Blumensprache. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXIII (1970), pp. 285—295. In ungarischer Sprache: *Keletkutatás* 1973. Budapest, 1974, pp. 55—63.

⁹ J. Hutter, *op. cit.* pp. 182—185; S. Kakuk, *op. cit.* pp. 286—287.

¹⁰ Ferhat Silacı, Seyahatnamelerin ışığında. *Türk Dili* Cilt IV. 1955, Sayı 44. — B. Şevket Beysanoğlu, *Diyarbakır Folkloru*. Cilt 1—2. Diyarbakır, 1943, 1946.

Das Manuskript *Lisân-i ezhâr* ist auch in der Fachliteratur nicht mehr ganz unbekannt. Zuerst schrieb darüber der frühere Besitzer des Manuskripts Süheyl Ünver selbst, ganz kurz in seinem Buch über die zur Zeit des Sultans Fatih üblichen Speisen, und er führte auch einige Beispiele an, in denen das Leitwort mit dem Essen zusammenhängt, d. h., der Name einer Obstart, einer Gemüseart, eines Gewürzes oder eines Gerichts ist (*bakla, biber, bürülce, ekmek, elma, enginar, kereviz, maydanoz, nohut, piring, piyaz, vişne, yoğurt*).¹¹ Später Sabiha Tansuğ, Forscher und hervorragende Kenner der Bedeutung von Blumen in der türkischen Volkstracht und im türkischen Volksbrauch, hat darüber berichtet und auch einen kleinen Teil daraus veröffentlicht.¹² Die Verfasserin dieses Artikels hat die stylistische Eigentümlichkeiten der Sprüche geforscht.¹³ Der vollständige Text wird aber erst nachstehend dargeboten.

In unserer Textpublikation hielten wir uns an die heutige türkische Rechtschreibung. Dem Reim zuliebe haben wir aber in einigen Fällen die altertümliche Schreibart beibehalten. In einzelnen Fällen berufen wir uns auf das Material von Lady Montagu und J. Hutter, ferner auf die entsprechenden Sprüche aus Diyarbakır. Die Zahlen vor dem Leitwort bezeichnen die Seitenzahl des Manuskripts sowie die laufende Nummer der auf der gleichen Seite befindlichen Sprüche.

Harf-i elif

- 5.1. *Elma* oder *Alma* Apfel (*Pirus malus*)
Beni sevdaya salma Entfache nicht Liebe in mir!
Gönlüm alıp beni ferdaya salma Da Du mein Herz nimmst, versäume mich nicht! Vgl. *ferda* der (darauf) folgende Tag (HŞ); *erte*; *gelecek zaman, yarın* (TS)
İster al ister alma Nimm mich oder lasse mich! [= liebe mich oder liebe mich nicht, mir ist es gleich]. Vgl. Diyarb. No. 54
Ahımı alma Fordere nicht meinen Fluch heraus! Vgl. *ah almak* birinin *ilenmesini üstüne çekmek* (TS)
Yadları yanına alma Laß keine Fremden zu Dir!
 Vgl. Diyarb. No. 16: *Alma — Akşama kalma*
- 5.2. *Balıba* Taubnessel (*Lamium*)
Giydim aba Ich habe einen Aba-Pelz angelegt. Vgl. *aba* der mantelartige

¹¹ Prof. Dr. A. Süheyl Ünver, *Türkiye Gıda Hijyeni Tarihinde Fatih Devri Yemekleri*. Istanbul, 1952 (Istanbul Üniversitesi Tıp Tarihi Enstitüsü. 42.), S. 97—98.

¹² Sabiha Tansuğ, *Anadolu baş süslemelerinde çiçeklerin dili. Türk Kültürü Yılı XIX, 1981, sayı 221, pp. 398—401 und II. Milletlerarası Türk Folklor Kongresi Bildirileri*. V. Cilt. Ankara, 1983, pp. 239—241.

¹³ Zs. Kakuk, *Lisân-i ezhâr (1886). Beşinci Milletler arası Türkoloji Kongresi. İstanbul, 23—28 Eylül 1985. Tebliğler. I. Türk Dili, cilt 1. S. 149—156.*

Überwurf aus grobem Filztuch (HŞ); bir çeşit kaba ve kalın şayak; bu kumaştan yapılmış yakasız ve uzun üstlük (TS). In übertragendem Sinn dürfte *aba giymek* folgendes bedeuten: zum Heimatlosen, Verfehmten werden.

Derdinden giydim aba Deinetwegen habe ich einen Aba-Schafpelz angelegt
Uzaktan uzağa merhaba Gruß aus der Ferne in die Ferne

5.3. *Hurma* Dattel

Karşımda durma Stehe nicht hier vor mir! *oder* Bleibe ja nicht stehen vor mir!

Buralarda durma Stehe nicht hier! *oder* Bleibe ja nicht hier stehen!
Bıyığını burma Zwirbele nicht den Schnurrbart!

5.4. *Fulya* Narzisse (Narcissus)

Kurduğum hulya: rakipler ölsün bize kalsın dünya Ich phantasierte dies:
Die Rivalen sollen sterben und die Welt sei unser!

Kurma efendim hulya Phantasie nicht mein Herr!

Ettiğim hulya gördüğüm rüya: sensiz dar olmuş başıma dünya Ich phantasierte, träumte dies: Ohne dich ist die Welt zu eng für mich geworden

Dün gece gördüğüm rüya bugün başıma döndü dünya Vorige Nacht hatte ich einen Traum, heute wandte sich die ganze Welt gegen mich

5.5. *Marsama* Minze. Vgl. *barsama, marsama* Yaprakları yemeklere konulan güzel kokulu bitkilerin ortak adı (Mentha pulegium ve Thymus serpyllum) (TS)

Halimden anlarsan a Wenn Du doch meine Lage verstehen würdest!

Gönlümün sebebine eyvallahım var sana Wegen meines Herzens habe ich »eyvallah« zu Dir [= Weil ich Dich liebe, ertrage ich Dich so wie Du bist]; Vgl. *eyvallah* evet, öyle olsun! (TS)

Harfu 'l-bā

6.1. *Ünnap* Brustbeere (Zizyphus; Jujuba). Vgl. *hünnap, ünnap* id. (HŞ); *hünnap* çiğde (TS)

Gönlüme bağladın kınnap Du hast mein Herz gefesselt. Vgl. *kınnap, kınnap* Bindfaden; Schnur; *kınnap* sicim, kalınca iplik (TS)

Çevirebilirsen iyi dolap Wenn Du doch das Rad gut drehen könntest!
[= Wenn du doch gut intrigieren, Ranke schmieden könntest!].
Vgl. *dolap* (mec.) düzen, hile (TS)

6.2. *Şarap* Wein

Halim harap Mein Zustand ist zerstört

Harfu 'l-tâ

- 7.1. *İğne*, iki kat Nadeln, zwei Briefe
Sizde yok hakikat Es ist kein wahres Gefühl (Treue) in Dir
- 7.2. *Para*, iki kat Münzen, zwei Reihen
Sizde yok hakikat Es ist kein wahres Gefühl (Treue) in Dir
- 7.3. *Saat* Uhr
Ağlarım saat saat Ich weine, stundenlang!
Aranızdan çıkayım oturun rahat rahat Ich möchte weggehen von Euch,
bleibt nur ruhig!
Duramam sensiz bir saat Ich kann keine Stunde ohne Dich sein!
- 7.4. *Sepet* Korb
Rakip-ile etme nisbet Zum Rivalen unterhalte keine Beziehungen!
- 7.5. *Dut* Maulbeere (Morus)
Sen beni tut Ergreife mich (für Dich)!
Vgl. Diyarb. No. 22: *Dut — Gel beni unut*
- 7.6. *Kibrîr* Schwefel; Zündholz
Oldum ifrit Ich wurde sehr zornig. Vgl. *ifrit olmak* pek çok öfkelenmek
(TS)
- 7.7. *Kiremit* Dachziegel
Kerem eyle gel git Sei so gütig und komme oft zu mir!
- 7.8. *Yoğurt* Joghurt
Gönlünü benden soğut Laß dein Herz zu mir erkalten!
Bizi avut Beruhige mich!
- S. noch 9.2. *İssi ot*

Harfû 'l-cim ve 'l-çim

- 8.1. *Üç* (*sayı*) Drei (Zahl)
Sizi almak güç Schwer ist es, Dich zu erlangen!
- 8.2. *Pirinç* Reis (Oryza)
Yanında gezme geç Laß sie, steige ihr nicht nach!
Âleme ettin bizi gülünç Du hast mich vor der Welt lächerlich gemacht!
Sabah kahvesini bizde iç Trinke bei uns den Morgenkaffee!
- 8.3. *Turunç* Pomeranze (Citrus aurantium)
Şahin ol bana uç Sei ein Falke und fliege zu mir!
Yârimle kavuşursam üç gün tutarım oruç Wenn ich mit meiner (meinem)
Liebsten zusammenkomme, werde ich drei Tage fasten!

- 8.4. *S a ç* Haar
Al beni kaç Nimm mich und laufe fort! Vgl. Diyarb. No. 33
- 8.5. *K a r a n f i l*, *ü ç* Nelken, drei (*Dianthus caryophyllus*)
Görüşmemiz oldu güç Uns zu treffen ist schwer geworden [= Wir können
 uns schwer treffen]
Kavuşmamız güç Unsere Vereinigung ist behindert
- 8.6. *K i r e ç* Kalk
Yârin ikiyse birinden geç Hast Du zwei Liebsten, verzichte auf den einen
 (die eine) !
Ya sev ya geç Liebe mich oder verlasse mich !
 Bei Hutter: *Kireç* — *İki ise birinden geç* Hast du zwei, so verzichte auf
 einen !

Harfu 'l-dal

- 9.1. *A r m u t* Birne (*Pirus communis*)
Al beni yut Nimm und verschlinge mich (liebe mich) !
 Bei Lady Montagu: *Ermüt* — *Ver bize bir umut* Pear — Give me some
 hope. Vgl. Diyarb. No. 56: *Armut* — *Gel beni unut*
- 9.2. *İ s s i o t* (*zencefil*) Ingwer. Vgl. *issi ot*, *issot*, *isot*; *ıssı ot*, *ıssot*, *ıso* t biber;
 yeşil biber; dolmalık yeşil biber; kırmızı biber; havuç (DS)
Koydun can evime ot Du hast Feuer in mein Herz gelegt !
 Nachträgliche Eintragung des Autors: (t) *harfine yazılacak*
- 9.3. *Z ü m r ü t* Smaragd
Nüfuzun yürüt Bringe deine Kraft (dein Ansehen) zur Geltung! Vgl.
nüfuz Einfluß (HŞ); söz geçirme, erk (TS)
Şah ol da hükümün yürüt Sei ein Schah und übe deine Macht aus !
- 9.4. *N o h u t* Kichererbse (*Cicer*)
Derdinden oldum bî-hud Deinetwegen habe ich meinen Verstand ver-
 loren! Vgl. *bî-hod* kendinden geçmiş olan, çılğın; bayılmış (Dev.)
Al beni sinende uyut Nimm mich und wiege mich an deiner Brust in
 Schlaf!
 Vgl. Diyarb. No. 23: *Nohut* — *Gel beni okut*

Harfu 'l-râ

- 10.1. *E k s e r* Langer Nagel; Zimmermannsnagel
Yolumuzu kim keser Wer steht uns im Weg?

- 10.2. *Al ile mor* Rot und violett (veilchenblau)
Sarması zor Sie (ihn) zu umarmen, ist schwierig
- 10.3. *Enginar* Artischocke (Cynara)
Gönül otağın kurmuş efendisiyle cengi var Das Zelt seines (ihres) Herzens
ist aufgeschlagen, doch mit seinem (ihrem) Herrn kämpft er (sie)
noch
- 10.4. *İncir* Feige (Ficus carica)
Boynuna tak zincir Lege eine Kette um deinen Hals!
Senin için sallardım zincir Deinetwegen schwinge ich die Kette!
Kâr etmez demir zincir Auch die Eisenkette zählt nicht!
Vgl. Diyarb. No. 21: *İncir — Badem ile hoş yenir*
- 10.5. *Büber* Pfeffer (Piper)
Çiğirim yanar tüter Mein Inneres (Herz) brennt und raucht!
Bei Lady Montagu: *Biber — Bize bir dogru haber* Pepper — Send me an
answer. In der türkischen Ausgabe: *Biber: Bize yok-mu bir haber*
- 10.6. *Çayır* Wiese
Yoktur sizden bana hayır Für mich kommt nichts gutes von Dir!
- 10.7. *Hasır* Matte
Ben oldum esir Zum Sklaven wurde ich!
Bei Lady Montagu: *Hazır — Olîm sana Yazır* A straw — Suffer me to
be your slave. Bei J. Hutter: *Hasır — Olayım yesir* Rohrmatte —
Ich will sterben als dein Gatte [Recte: Könnte ich doch dein
Gefangener sein!]
- 10.8. *Hıyar* Gurke (Cucumis sativus)
Yüreğim size uyar Mein Herz ist Dir zugeneigt
- 10.9. *Şeker* Zucker
Canım seni pek çeker Mein Herz verlangt sehr nach Dir
Gönlüm sizi çeker Mein Herz verlangt nach Dir!
Bei J. Hutter: *Şeker — Canım seni çeker*. Vgl. Diyarb. No. 45: *Şeker —
Parayı cepten çeker*
- 10.10. *Çimşir* Buchsbaum (Buxus)
Aklını başına devşir Komm zur Vernunft!
Ahım size erişir Mein Fluch wird Dich erreichen!
- 11.1. *İtir* Storchschnabel, das starkduftende Geranium, Pelargonium
Elemi dilde yatır Der Schmerz liegt in deinem Herz
Ne gönül bilir ne hatır Weder das Herz noch die Erinnerung weiß davon
- 11.2. *Karanfil, bir* Nelke, ein
Ölelim bir Sterben wir zusammen!

- 11.3. *K ö m ü r* Kohle
Ben öldüm size ömür Ich bin gestorben, das Leben sei Dein!
 Bei Lady Montagu: *Chemur* — *Ben oliyim size umur* Coal — May I die,
 and all my years be yours! Vgl. Diyarb. No. 30: *Kömür* — *Sana ömür*
- 11.4. *M ü r v e r* Holunder (*Sambucus nigra*)
Sensin gayetle dilber Du bist sehr lieb!
- 11.5. *M a n t a r* Pilz
Ettiğini çekmez kantar Was Du getan hast, geht auf keine Waage!
- 11.6. *M o r* (*renk*) Violett, veilchenblau (Farbe)
Sarması zor Ihn (sie) zu umarmen, ist schwierig [= stößt auf Hindernisse]
Küsmesi zor Schwer ist es, auf sie (ihn) böse zu sein
Ettin beni hor Du hast mich erniedrigt (entwertet). Vgl. *hor bakmak* (ya da *görmek*) değersiz saymak, değer vermemek (TS)
 Bei J. Hutter: *Mor* — *Görme bize hor* Violet — Schau mich nicht schief an!
- 11.7. *N a r* (*meyva*) Granatapfel (Frucht)
Oldu bana büyük âr Ich geriet in große Schande!
Çektiğim âr Ich geriet in Schande!
Yüreğim yanar Mein Herz brennt!
 Vgl. Diyarb. No. 55: *Nar* — *Seni sevdim etme âr*
- 11.8. *T i r f i r* (*çayır*) Klee (*Trifolium*) (Gras). Vgl. *tirfil* yabancı yonca, *çayır tirfili* baklagillerden, hayvan yemi olarak yetiştirilen bir bitki (*Trifolium pratense*) (TS)
Yeni yâri bildir Lasse mich wissen, wenn Du eine (einen) neue (neuen) Liebste(n) hast!

Harfî 'l-zâ

- 12.1. *B e z* Leintuch
Cehennemde gez Du sollst in der Hölle umherwandeln!
- 12.2. *P i y a z* Salat. Vgl. *piyaz* Salat aus gekochten weißen Bohnen mit Essig, Öl und Zwiebeln (HŞ)
Eylerim Hakka niyaz Ich flehe zu Gott!
- 12.3. *C e v i z* Walnuß
Nedir bize cevriniz Was ist diese Grausamkeit zu mir? [= warum bist Du so grausam zu mir?]

- Aramızda deniz* Zwischen uns ist das Meer !
Sen orada ben burada ne renk kaldı ne beniz Du bist dort, ich bin hier,
 weder die Farbe, noch die Gesichtsfarbe ist geblieben
Siz kapudan biz reis bakalım dümeni çevirir miyiz Du bist der Kapitän,
 ich bin die Führerin, laß uns sehen, ob wir zusammen das Steuer
 drehen können !
- 12.4. *Hacıyatmaz* Stehaufmännchen
Ay gibi yâri olan yıldıza bakmaz Wessen Liebste dem Mond ähnlich ist,
 der schaut keinen Stern an !
Hay Allah'tan korkmaz Hah, er fürchtet auch Allah nicht !
- 12.5. *Sakız* Harz, Mastix
Gönlümü aldın a kız: çiğne çiğne çürütme beni duadan unutmama Mein Herz
 hast Du geraubt, oh Mädchen: verdaue mich nicht beim Kauen,
 vergiß mich nicht beim Gebet !
Biz size müstakız: çiğneyip yutmayasınız bizleri duadan unutmayasınız
 Ich sehne mich sehr nach Dir: mögest Du mich beim Kauen ver-
 schlucken, beim Gebet vergessen! — Diese beiden Antworten
 unterscheiden sich formal von den anderen: zu den kurzen, sich
 reimenden Antworten ist noch ein Spruch hinzugefügt.
 Bei J. Hutter: *Sakız — Ben müstakız* Mastix — Ich sehne mich nach
 dir
- 12.6. *Koz* Walnuß
Dostluğu boz Kündige die Freundschaft !
- 12.7. *Kiraz* Kirsche (*Prunus avium*)
Bekle biraz Warte noch ein Weilchen !
Severim biraz Ich liebe ihn (sie) ein wenig !
Eğlenelim biraz Amüsieren wir uns ein wenig !
 Vgl. Diyarb. No. 59: *Kiraz — Biri al biri beyaz*; No. 60: *Ne kadar yesen
 gene az*
- 12.8. *Kereviz* Sellerie (*Apium graveolens*)
Daha neler görürüz Was wird nicht noch alles mit uns geschehen ! (Was
 steht uns noch alles bevor !)
Yaprağını dileriz Wir wünschen seine Blätter (des Selleries nämlich)
Ele geçse nazlı yar biz murada ereriz Wenn die sich zierende Liebe in die
 Hände gerät, kommen wir zum Ziel
- 13.1. *Maydanoz* (*mi'de-nevaz*) Petersilie (*Petroselinum*)
Tenha mıdır odanız Ist Euer Zimmer frei ?
Gelirse güzel gelsin çirkin almaz midemiz Kommt was, so komme was
 Schönes, mein Magen verträgt nichts Häßliches !

- 13.2. *C i n b i z* Pinzette. Vgl. *cimbız* Kıl gibi ince şeyleri tutmak ya da çekmek için kullanılan küçük maşa (TS)
Olamam sensiz Ich kann nicht sein ohne Dich!
Ölürüm sensiz Ich sterbe ohne Dich!

Harfü 'l-sin

- 14.1. *F e s* Fes
Alâkayn benden kes Brich die Beziehungen zu mir ab!
- 14.2. *K u r s* Scheibe, Wirtel (an der Spindel). Vgl. *kurs* yuvarlak ve yassıca şey, ağırsak, çörek (TS)
Gözüme çekildi pus Auf meine Augen hat sich Nebel gelegt!
Benden gayri yâr seversen kan kus Liebst du eine andere Liebste, so sollst Du Blut erbrechen!
- 14.3. *N e r g i s* Narzisse (Narcissus)
Yüreğimi deldiniz Mein Herz hast Du durchstoßen!
Oturalım diz-be-diz Sitzen wir Knie an Knie gegenüber!
Söyleşelim yüz-be-yüz Sprechen wir Gesicht an Gesicht!
- 14.4. *C a n f e s* Ein Atlas ähnlicher, seidener Stoff
Çıktı can kaldı nefes Die Seele entschwebte, der Atem hörte auf!
- 14.5. *A m b e r b a r i s* Berberitze (Berberis)
Rakip olsun ben olayım vâris Es sterbe der Rivale und ich sei sein Erbe!

Harfü 'l-şin

- 15.1. *B e ş* (*sayı*) Fünf (Zahl)
Gel olalım eş Komm, seien wir ein Paar!
- 15.2. *Ş i ş e, b o ş* Flasche, leer
Gönlüm senden hoş Mein Herz ist glücklich Deinetwegen!
- 15.3. *T a ş* Stein
İkimiz koyalım bir yastığa baş Legen wir unsere Köpfe beide auf ein Kissen!
Gözümnden akan: kanlı yaş Was aus meinen Augen fließt, sind blutige Tränen!
- 15.4. *K a r a n f i l, b e ş* Nelke, fünf
Olayım sana eş Ich sei Dein Paar!

- 15.5. *Merzen cûş* Majoran (*Origanum Majorana*). Vgl. *merzankûş*, *merzengûş*, *merzanköş* id. (HŞ); *merzengûş*, *mercanköşk* id. (TS)
Ben çoştum sen de çoş Ich bin aufgebracht, sei Du es auch!

Harfu 'l-fā

- 16.1. *Sedef* Perlmutter
Aşkınla oldum telef Die Liebe zu Dir hat mich vernichtet!

Harfu 'l-kaf

- 17.1. *Arşak* Wirtel. Vgl. *arşak* < *ağırşak* Wirtel (an der Spindel)
Hüsnün eyü ama kendin alçak Deine Schönheit ist entsprechend, aber
 Du selbst bist charakterlos!
- 17.2. *Otluk* Weideplatz
Bu muydu dostluk Dies war also die Freundschaft?
- 17.3. *Ok* Pfeil
Sensiz rahatım yok Ohne Dich habe ich keine Ruhe!
- 17.4. *Bardak* Glas, Becher
Arsızlığına sadak Ihre Frechheit braucht einen Köcher [= Die Pfeile
 ihrer Frechheit brauchen einen Köcher]
- 17.5. *Pamuk* Baumwolle
Görüşmenin imkânı yok Es gibt keine Möglichkeit uns zu treffen!
Riayetinden utanlık Wir schämten uns, daß Du uns so empfangen hast.
 Vgl. *riayet saygı*; *ağırlama*; *uyma* (TS)
Sevdiğinin ağzı yamuk Die Lippe seiner Liebsten ist schief
- 17.6. *Çakmak* Feuerstein
Vay gidi ahmak Ach, Du Gottloser!
- 17.7. *Zambak* [= *Zambak*] Lilie (*Lilium*)
Ben öpeyim sen bak Ich soll sie (ihn) küssen und Du sollst zusehen!
Halime bak Siehe meinen Zustand!
Dön de sen halime bak Komm zurück und nimm Rücksicht auf meinen
 Zustand!
- 17.8. *Şakayık* Pfingstrose (*Paeonia*)
Efendime lâyük Meines Herrn würdig
Sana lâyük Dies paßt zu Dir

- 17.9. *Sarmasık* Efeu (*Hedera helix*)
Görmeden oldum âşık Ich wurde verliebt, ohne sie gesehen zu haben
- 17.10. *Sarmısak* Knoblauch (*Allium sativum*)
Sarım sarım sarılısak Mögen wir doch uns umarmend-umarmend umarmt halten!
- 17.11. *Tabak* Teller
Halime bak Siehe meinen Zustand!
- 17.12. *Tirnak* Nagel
Gözümün yaşı oldu ırmak Die Tränen meiner Augen bilden einen Fluß!
- 18.1. *Toprak* Erde, Boden
Nadanlığı elden bırak Hör auf, grob zu sein!
- 18.2. *İtir (kırık)* [sic] Storchschnabel (*Geranium*) (vierzig)
Gönlüm size kırık Mein Herz ist Deinetwegen gebrochen!
- 18.3. *Akik* Achat
Şu cihanda bir yâr sevdim cümleden atık Ich liebte eine einzige Liebste auf der Welt, sie ist flinker als alle!
- 18.4. *Fistik* Pistazie, Erdnuß (*Pistacia*)
Ümidi kestik artık Die Hoffnung haben wir aufgegeben!
Biz sizin haneye kadem bastık Zu Eurem Hause wandten wir unsere Schritte
Gel bize sık sık Komm sehr oft zu uns!
Muhabeti bozduk Zerstört haben wir die Liebe (die Freundschaft)
- 18.5. *Funduk* Haselnuß (*Corylus*). Die Antworten reimen sich auf die altertümliche Form *funduk*; die heutige Form ist *fındık*
Biz sizi umduk Dich erwarten wir (wörtlich: auf Dich hofften wir)
Siz gelmeyeli yâr bulduk Seitdem Du nicht kamst, fanden wir einen neuen Liebsten
Sizlerden umduk Auf Dich hofften wir
Biz sizi umduk baktık gelmediniz gayrısın bulduk Auf Dich hofften-harrten wir, Du kamst nicht, wir fanden einen anderen
 Bei J. Hutter: *Fındık* — *Biz size sığındık* Haselnuß — Wir flüchten zu deinem Genuß
- 18.6. *Kabuk* Rinde, Schale
Söyledim abuk sabuk Ich sprach durcheinander
- 18.7. *Kaşık* Löffel
Size oldum âşık Ich habe mich verliebt in Dich
Ara yere bir fitne düştü ortalık oldu karışık Zwist trat zwischen uns, unsere Beziehungen wurden getrübt
 Vgl. Diyarb. No. 38: *Kaşık* — *Sakın koma bulaşık*; No. 39: *Ben sana âşık*

- 18.8. *Leylâk* Flieder (*Syringa vulgaris*)
Ne gezersin aylak aylak Was wanderst Du ziellos herum?
- 19.1. *Yaprak* Blatt
Ya sev ya brak Liebe mich oder laß mich in Ruh!
- 19.2. *Yaşamak* Weißer Gesichtsschleier
Canım ister sarmaşmak Mein Herz sehnt sich nach Umarmung

Harfü 'l-kef

- 20.1. *Erik* Pflaume (*Prunus domestica*)
Sinem oldu delik delik Meine Brust ist voller Löcher!
Yüreğim (ya) ciğerim delik delik Mein Herz, (oder) mein Inneres ist voller
 Löcher!
 Vgl. Diyarb. No. 17: *Erik — Yaprığı delik delik*
- 20.2. *Ekmek* Brot
Murada ermek Ich möchte ans Ziel kommen!
Kastım seni öpmek Meine Absicht ist, Dich zu küssen. Vgl. *kasıt, -tı*
amaç, erek, istek (TS). Vgl. Diyarb. No. 46: *Meramım seni öpmek*
Neden bizi terketmek Warum willst Du mich verlassen?
- 20.3. *Üzerlik* Raute, Steppenraute (*Peganum harmala*)
Mevlâm versin düzenlik Mein Gott gebe uns Frieden (Eintracht)!
- 20.5. *İpek* Seide
Kapında olayım köpek Könnte ich doch ein Hund an Deiner Pforte sein!
- 20.5. *İplik* Faden, Zwirn
Göz yaşıyla ipliği büktük Unter Tränen spann ich den Faden
Dünyadan el etek çektik Entsagt habe ich der Welt
Asayı şimdi size diktik Jetzt habe ich den Stock Dir ausgesteckt
 [= Dich habe ich mir auserkoren]
Nedir sizdeki bu yeğînlük Warum ist dieses Ungestüm in Dir?
Behan eder bir çiftlik Dein Wert beträgt eines Landgut!
- 20.6. *Tüy* Feder, Daune
Suçum varsa gel döy Habe ich eine Schuld, so komm und schlage mich!
 Vgl. *dövmek ~ döymek* schlagen
- 20.7. *Çekirdek* Kern
Görmedim böyle-dek So etwas (derart Geeignetes) habe ich noch nicht
 gesehen!
Çek benden el etek Verzichte auf mich! [= laß mich!]

- 20.8. *Ç i t l e n b i k* [= *çitlembik*] Terebinthen(baum), Zürgel(baum) (Celtis; Pistacia terebinthus)
İki idik üçlendik Zu zweit waren wir, jetzt sind wir zu dritt
Size geldik bitlendik Zu Dir kamen wir, und wir verlausten
- 21.1. *Ç i ç e k* Blume
Severim gerçek Ich liebe Dich wahrhaftig!
Sever misin beni gerçek Liebst Du mich wirklich?
- 21.2. *Ç i l e k* Erdbeere (Fragaria)
Ayrmasın bizi felek Das Schicksal trenne uns nicht!
- 21.3. *G ü n l ü k* Weihrauch (Olibanum)
Gel bugünlük Komm für den heutigen Tag!
Düşmana körlük Dem Feinde sei Blindheit!
- 21.4. *V e n e d i k* (*çiçek*) = *Venedik çiçeği*. Diese Blume konnten wir nicht näher bestimmen. Vgl. *Venedik* Venedig (Stadt und Staat); Venetianer (Zenk.). Siehe noch 33.9.: *Medine*
Biz sizi denedik Ich habe Dich erprobt
- 21.5. *Y ü n* Wolle
Unuttun mu ettiğini dün Hast Du vergessen, was Du gestern getan hast?
Ne fenadır yârsiz geçen gün Wie schlecht ist der Tag, der ohne den Liebsten vergeht!
- 21.6. *K i r p i k* Wimper
Sevdiğini bildik Ich habe erfahren, daß er (sie) mich liebt

Harfu 'l-lam

- 22.1. *A l* (*renk*) Rot (Farbe)
Sevdiğim gel beni al Komm Liebster und nimm mich!
Gönlümü aldın canımı da al Mein Herz nahmst Du, nimm auch mein Leben!
- 22.2. *B a l* Honig
Beni yanına al Nimm mich zu Dir!
 Vgl. Diyarb. No. 48: *Bal* — *Yede lezzet al*
- 22.3. *P o r t a k a l* Orange (Citrus aurantium)
Sevdiğinden artta kal Gehe etwas hinter Deinem Liebsten!
Gıtme yârim burada kal Gehe nicht fort meine Liebste (mein Liebster), bleibe hier!
 Vgl. Diyarb. No. 61: *Portakal* — *Gel bir gece bizde kal*

- 22.4. *P u l* Schmuckmünze
Olayım size kul Könnte ich doch Dein Diener sein !
 Bei Lady Montagu: *Pul — Derdime derman bul* A Jonquil — Have pity
 on my passion. Vgl. Diyarb. No. 37: *Pul — Kapında olam kul*
- 22.5. *T e l* Draht, Fiber
Tenhaya gel Komm an einen verlassenen Ort !
Bize tez gel Komm schnell zu mir !
 Bei Lady Montagu: *Tel — Uluorum tez ghel* Gold wire — I die — come
 quickly
- 22.6. *Z e n c e f i l* Ingwer (Zingiber officinale)
Aşkınızla oldum zelil ve sefil Wegen Deiner Liebe wurde ich nieder-
 trüchtig und elend
- 22.7. *Ş a l* Schal
Mezattayım beni al Ich bin auf der Versteigerung (ich werde versteigert),
 kaufe mich ! Vgl. *mezat artırma ile satış* (TS)
- 22.8. *S ü n b ü l* [= *sümbül*] Hyazinthe (Hyacinthus)
Sevmezsen de yüzüme gül Wenn Du mich auch nicht liebst, so lächle mir
 zumindest zu !
 Bei J. Hutter: *Sünbül — Ben ağlarım sen gül* Hyacinthen — Ich weine,
 du lache !
- 22.9. *T ı r t ı l* Raupe; Auszackung
Öldür de kurtul Töte mich, mach Dich frei von mir !
- 22.10. *K a r a n f i l* Nelke (Dianthus)
Kadrimi bil Lerne meinen Wert kennen !
- 23.1. *G ü l* Rose (Rosa)
Sevmezsen de bari yüzüme gül Liebst Du mich auch nicht, lächle mir
 zumindest zu !
 Bei Lady Montagu: *Gul — ben ağlarım sen gul* a Rose — May you be
 pleas'd, and all your sorrows mine ! Vgl. Diyarb. No. 34: *Gül —*
Nerde bülbül
- 23.2. *M e n d i l* Taschentuch
Gözünün yaşını sil Trockne die Tränen Deiner Augen !
Halimi sen bil Höre meine Lage !
- 23.3. *Y e ş i l* (*renk*) Grün (Farbe)
Gönlüm sana erişir Mein Herz gelangt zu Dir [= liebt Dich]

Harfü 'l-mim

- 24.1. *İbrişim* Seide
Seninle biter her işim Mit Dir enden alle meine Angelegenheiten [= Du bist in allen meinen Angelegenheiten]
Seninledir her işim Mit Dir habe ich alles zu schaffen [= Du bist in allen meinen Angelegenheiten]
 Bei J. Hutter: *İbrişim — Nedir bize bu hışım* Seide — Was kündigt uns diese Pracht und Freude [Recte: Was bedeutet uns dieser Zorn? *o d e r* Was soll uns dieser Zorn?]
- 24.2. *Alnımda ladenim* An meiner Stirn ist mein Mal (*o d e r* meine Zistrose). Vgl. *laden* Ladanum, Gummi, Harz des *cistus creticus* (Zenk.); *lavdanom* içinde afyon bulunan sulu bir ilaç (TS); *laden* Zistrose
Yoktur baş ademim Ich habe keinen ersten Mann
- 24.3. *Üzüm* Weintraube (Vitis)
Sensin benim iki gözüm Du bist meine beiden Augen [= das Licht meiner Augen]
Cihan güzeli olsa yine sizde gözüm Wäre auch die Schönste der Welt hier, ich hätte Augen nur für Dich
Gel iki gözüm Komm, Licht meiner Augen! Vgl. Diyarb. No. 50
 Bei Lady Montagu: *Uzum — Benim iki guzum* Grape — My Eyes
- 24.4. *Badem* Mandel (*Amygdalis communis*)
Sevdiğin olsa adem Wäre Dein Liebster doch ein guter Mann!
İki yüzlü adem Ein doppelgesichtiger Mann!
Görmedim sen gibi adem Ich sah noch keinen Menschen wie Dich!
 Auf das Wort *badem* 'Mandel' reimt sich die altertümliche Form von *adam* 'Mensch': *adem*. Siehe noch 24.5. *çiydem*. Vgl. Diyarb. No. 49: *Badem — Yeter cevrin hey adem*
- 24.5. *Çiydem* [= *çiydem*] Herbstzeitlose (*Colchicum*)
Almadı midem Mein Magen vertrug ihn nicht [= er gefällt mir nicht]
Ne hayırsız adem Was für ein schlechter Mensch!
Üç yüzlü adem Ein dreigesichtiger Mensch!
- 24.6. *Rahat hulkum* Türkische Süßigkeit. Vgl. *rahat-i hulkum* = *lâtîlökum* (Dev.); *lâtîlökum*, *lokum* (TS); *rahat ul-halkum*, vulg. *rahatlekum* Name einer süßen Speise von feinem Mehl mit Zucker, Mandeln und verschiedenen Gewürzen (Zenk.)
Sizden ayrı düşeli ne rahatım var ne uyukum Seitdem ich von Dir ging, finde ich weder Ruhe noch Schlaf

- 24.7. *S u s a m* (*sesam*) Sesam (*Sesamum*)
Arasam yârimî bulsam Suchte ich, fände ich meinen Liebsten !
- 24.8. *K a l e m* Schreibfeder
Çekiyorum elem Ich leide !
- 24.9. *G ü v e m* Wilde Pflaume. Vgl. *güvem* bir çeşit yabancı erik (DS)
Aşkınla oldum verem Deine Liebe machte mich schwindsüchtig

Harfu 'l-nun

- 25.1. *I s ı r g a n* Brennessel (*Urtica urens*)
Hazırla döşek yorgan Bereite Matratze und Decke vor !
Sen döşek ben yorgan Du bist die Matratze und ich bin die Decke
- 25.2. *I l g ı n* Tamariske (*Tamarix*)
Aşk haliyle gönül dalgın Im Liebeszustand ist das Herz zerstreut (ohnmächtig)
- 25.3. *P e l i n* Wermutkraut (*Artemisia absinthum*)
Ya benim ol ya elin Sei entweder mein, oder sei die des anderen !
Şimdi oldun elin Jetzt wurdest Du die des anderen !
- 25.4. *P ü l ü z g ü n* [= *pülüskün*] Minze (*Mentha pulegium*). Vgl. *pülüskün* dağlarda çıkan güzel kokulu bir ot, filiskin (SDD); *filiskin* mjata bolótnaja, blochóbnik (*Mentha pulegium*) (TRSl.)
Gönlüm size küskün Mein Herz ist Dir böse !
- 25.5. *T ü t ü n* Tabak
Bulmadım ahde [recte: *ahidde*] *bütün* Ich fand ihn nicht vollkommen im Schwur [= er hielt nicht seinen Schwur]. Vgl. *ahit*, *ahdi* ant (TS)
- 25.6. *C e v i z - i h i n d i s t a n* Kokosnuß. Vgl. *hindistancevizi* Kokosnuß (HŞ)
Ettin beni dillere destan Du machtest mich bekannt (berühmt). Vgl. (*dillere*) *destan olmak* ünü çok yayılmak (TS)
- 25.7. *Ç e m e n* Kümmel (*Carum carvi*)
Adam mısın sen Ein Mensch bist du ?
- 25.8. *D a r ç ı n* oder *T a r ç ı n* Zimt (*Cinnamomum*)
Benim harcımsın Meine Last bist Du [= Ich Sorge für Dich]
Ben öleyim sen gör harcım Ich sterbe, begleiche Du meine Ausgaben !
 Vgl. *harç* Ausgabe, Kosten, Aufwand; die zu einer Sache nötigen Materialien (Zenk.)

- Bei Lady Montagu: *Tartsin* — *Sen ghel ben chekeim senin hargin* Cinnamon — But my Fortune <Estate> is yours. Bei J. Hutter: *Tarcın* — *Çekerim harcın* Zimmt — Ich nehme auf mich, was sich geziemt
- 25.9. *D i k e n* Dorn, Stachel
Ayrılıktır belimi bükün Die Trennung ist es, die meinen Rücken beugt
- 25.10. *Z e r e n* Narzisse. Vgl. *zeren* Dichternarzisse (*Narcissus poeticus*) (HŞ)
Canın kimi isterse onunla eğlen Wen Deine Seele wünscht, mit der (dem) belustige Dich!
- 26.1. *S ü t l e y e n* [= *sütleğen*] Wolfsmilch (*Euphorbia*)
Dilerim gözü çıksın beni yâre fıleyen Ich wünsche dem, der meinen Liebsten gegen mich hetzt, daß seine Augen ausfließen!
- 26.2. *S a b u n* Seife
Derdinden oldum zebun Deinetwegen bin ich niedergeschlagen (gebrochen). Diese Zeile wiederholt sich im Manuskript.
Bei Lady Montagu: *Sabun* — *Derdinden oldum zabun* Soap — I am sick with love
- 26.3. *S a m a n* Stroh; saman çiçeği (*Helichrysum*)
Sen misin dünyada heman Bist Du vielleicht allein auf der Welt?
Görüşmemiz ne zaman Wann treffen wir uns?
Yok mu bir tenha mekân Gibt es nicht irgendwo einen einsamen Ort?
- 26.4. *T a f l a n* Lorbeer (*Prunus laurocerasus*)
Gel sinemde saklan Komm, verbirg Dich an meiner Brust!
- 26.5. *K ı l a b d a n* [= *kıllaptan*] Mit Golddraht umwundener Faden
Kimdir sizi aldatan Wer ist es, der (die) Dich betrügt?
Al beni art kapıdan Laß mich ein durch die Hinterpforte!
- 26.6. *L a d e n* Zistrose (*Cistus*)
Mailim canden Wegen meines Herzens bin ich geneigt
Nerde kaldı vaaden Was ist aus Deinem Versprechen geworden?
Sizi dilerim mevlâden Dich erbitte ich mir von Gott!
- 26.7. *L i m o n* Zitrone (*Citrus limonum*)
Şahin ol sineme kon Sei ein Falke, fliege an meine Brust!
Ağzın bir dilin on Deine Lippe ist eins, aber Deine Zunge zehn!
- 26.8. *M e r c a n* Koralle (*Corallium rubrum*); mercan çiçeği (*Kalanchoe blossfeldiana*)
Seni sever her can Dich lieben alle
İkimiz bir can Wir beide sind eins
Bei J. Hutter: *Mercan* — *Feda olsun bin can* Korallen — Tausend Seelen sollen dein Opfer werden

- 27.1. *M e r s i n* Myrte (*Myrtus communis*)
Mevlâm seni bana versin Mein Gott schenke Dich mir!
Ben dayak yerken sen ne dersin Wenn ich eine Ohrfeige bekomme, was sagst Du dann?
- 27.2. *Y a s e m i n* Jasmin (*Jasminum*)
Kulun olsun yâr senin Lasse Deinen Liebsten Dich bedienen!
Meclislerde medhîn gezer kindir ustadın senin In der Versammlung wirst Du gerühmt, wer ist Dein Meister?
Sabr edelim efendim sen benimsin ben senin Seien wir geduldig mein Herr, Du bist mein, ich bin Dein!
Ne kadar edersen yemin ben olamam senden emin Wie oft Du auch schwörst, ich kann Deiner nicht sicher sein

Harfu 'l-vav

- 28.1. *K a v* Zunder, Feuerschwamm
Yârin ikiyse birini sav Hast du zwei Liebste, schicke die eine fort!
Elime geçti bir av Ein Wild fiel in meine Hand

Harfü 'l-hâ

- 29.1. *A r p a* Gerste (*Hordeum vulgare*)
Çekme beni sarpa Bringe mich nicht in eine schwierige Lage!
Ettiğin sardı sarpa Was Du getan hast, brachte mich in die schwere Lage! — Das Wort *sarpa* [dat. von *sarp* schwere Lage] ist in beiden Fällen irrtümlich mit dem Anfangsbuchstaben dh geschrieben.
 Vgl. Diyarb. No. 27: *Arpa* — *Allah evini yapa*
- 29.2. *İ ğ n e* Nadel, Nähnadel
İnim inim inle Jammere nur, jammere! Vgl. *inim inim inlemek* sürekli olarak inlemek (TS)
Sözümü dinle Höre meine Worte!
- 29.3. *B a s m a* Bedruckter Kattun
Git yosma Geh, Du Kokette!
Her şeye kulak asma Höre nicht hin auf alles! [= laß Dich nicht von allem täuschen]
- 29.4. *B e n e f ş e* [= *menekşe*] Veilchen (*Viola*)
Yârinî kov da beni okşa Schicke Deine(n) Liebste(n) fort und streichle mich!

- Yârden geç beni okşa* Verlasse Deine(n) Liebste(n) und lieblose mich!
Nadim ol ettiğin işe Bereue, was Du getan hast!
- 29.5. *B ü b e r i y e* [= *biberiye*] Rosmarin (*Rosmarinus officinalis*)
Sen benimsin gel beriye Du bist mein, komm näher!
- 29.6. *B a k l a* Saubohne (*Vicia faba*)
Al beni sinende sakla Nimm und verbirg mich an deiner Brust!
 Bei J. Hutter: *Bakla* — *Al beni sakla* Bohne — Nimm und behalte mich
 zum Lohne [Recte: Nimm und behalte mich *o d e r* verberge
 mich!]
- 29.7. *P a r a* Münze
Ardımı ara Steige mir nach!
Benim avare Ein Heimatloser bin ich!
Yüreğim oldu yara Mein Herz ist eine Wunde geworden!
- 29.8. *P a p a t y a* Kamille (*Matricaria chamomilla*)
Sevdiğinden kötek ye Dein Liebster soll Dich prügeln!
- 30.1. *P e r d e* Vorhang
Sen uğrattın beni derde Du hast mich in Not gebracht!
- 30.2. *P e n b e* [= *pembe*] Baumwolle *o d e r* rosa. Da der Aufzeichner nicht
 vermerkt hat, daß es sich hier um eine Farbe handelt, wie im
 Falle von *mor*, *al*, *yeşil* und anderen Farbennamen, bedeutet hier
penbe wahrscheinlich keine Farbe, sondern Baumwolle
Gönlüm sende Mein Herz ist Dein *o d e r* bei Dir
 Bei J. Hutter: *Penbe* — *Gönülün kimde* Baumwolle — Wem gehört dein
 Herz?
- 30.3. *T a h t a* Brett
Durmadın ahidde Du hast Deinen Schwur nicht gehalten!
Görüşmemiz hangi hafta Welche Woche treffen wir uns?
Görüşelim bu hafta Treffen wir uns diese Woche!
Lânet olsun böyle bahta Verflucht sei ein solches Schicksal!
- 30.4. *T e r e* Kresse (*Lepidium sativum*)
Ciğirim yara bere Mein Herz ist lauter Wunde. Vgl. *yara bere yara*, ezik,
 sıyrık, çürük (TS)
- 30.5. *Ç a ğ l a* Unreifes Obst; grüne Mandeln
Ben buldum sen başına ağla Ich habe (den der zu mir paßt) gefunden,
 weine Du nur allein!
 Bei J. Hutter: *Çağla* — *Ben ağlarım sen de ağla* Frische Mandeln — Ich
 weine, wein' auch du

- 30.6. *Çekirge* Heuschrecke
Sevmezsen de esirge Wenn Du mich auch nicht liebst, nimm mich in
 Schutz!
- 30.7. *Çevre* Mit Gold besticktes Kopftuch
Dayanamam çevre Ich kann Grausamkeit nicht ertragen!
 Vgl. Diyarb. No. 32: *Çevre — Lâyık görme beni çevre*
- 30.8. *Halka* Ring; Türklopfer
Lânet olsun böyle halka Verflucht seien solche Menschen!
- 30.9. *Defne* Lorbeer (*Laurus nobilis*)
Kadir misin rakibin define Bist Du imstande, den Rivalen zu entfernen?
- 30.10. *Rezene* Fenchel (*Foeniculum vulgare*)
Yaş kan ederim seninle gezene Mit Blut und Tränen bedecke ich, der
 mit Dir (spazieren) geht
- 30.11. *Süpürge* Besen
Kendini esirge Hüte Dich!
- 31.1. *Siyah (renk)* Schwarz (Farbe)
Derdinden oldum seyyah Deinertwegen wurde ich ein Wanderer!
- 31.2. *Şeker, iki parça* Zucker, zwei Stück
Yüreğim parça parça Mein Herz ist in Stücke gebrochen!
- 31.3. *Şişe* Flasche
Nedir sendeki endişe Weshalb ist in Dir diese Unruhe?
Ne başladın beceremeyeceğin işe Warum hast Du eine Sache begonnen,
 die Du nicht vollbringen kannst?
 Bei J. Hutter: *Şişe — Elimî vermem işe* Flasche, Glas — Ich gebe nicht
 mein Jawort dazu
- 31.4. *Şahtere* Erdrauch, Ackerraute (*Fumaria officinalis*)
Ettiklerin yaz deftere Was Du getan hast, schreibe in das Heft!
- 31.5. *Sırça* Glas, Kristall
Sinem oldu parça parça Meine Brust ist in Stücke gebrochen!
- 31.6. *Sırma* Gold- oder Silberfaden
Halimi sorma Frage nicht nach meinem Zustand!
- 31.7. *Tuğla* Ziegelstein
Gelip geçtikçe uğra Auf dem Wege zu uns, komm zu uns!
Yolun düştükçe bize uğra Deinen Weg zu uns lenkend komm zu uns!
- 31.8. *İtrişah* Wohlriechende Wicke (*Zathyrus odoratus*)
İki gönül bir olunca ayıramaz padişah Zwei Herzen, die einander gehö-
 ren, kann auch der Padischah nicht trennen! Siehe noch 35.8.
tır şahî

- 31.9. *A k i d e* Bonbon
Ettiklerim latife Ein Scherz war nur, was ich tat !
- 31.10. *A y v a* Quitte (*Cydonia vulgaris*)
Ayrıldık eyvah Wir schieden voneinander, oh weh !
Yemem senden başka meyva Ich esse keine andere Frucht, nur Dich !
Vgl. Diyarb. No. 57: *Ayva — Yemem seni bedava*
- 32.1. *F u n d a* Gestrüpp, Heidekraut (*Erica*)
Sen olan [sic!] mi bunda Wirst Du hier sein ?
Ben hazırım bunda Ich bin fertig, bin hier !
Bei J. Hutter: *Funda — Ne zaman gelür sen bunda* Schleuder — Wann kommst du hieher ?
- 32.2. *K a k u l e* Kardamom (*Elettaria cardamomum*)
Geçti mi makbule Hat es Dir gefallen ?
Yolladığınız geçti pek makbule Was Du geschickt hast, hat mir sehr gefallen
Bei J. Hutter: *Kakule — Oyarmısın makule* Kardamon — Wirst du dich dareinschicken ? [Genauer: Willigst Du ein in das Vernunftgemäße ?]
- 32.3. *K a d i f e* (*çiçek*) Samtblume (Blume) (*Tagetes*)
Gönülle olur mu latife Kann man mit dem Herzen Scherz treiben ?
Bei J. Hutter: *Katife — Etme kimse ile latife* Sammt — Scherze mit Niemanden
- 32.4. *K o l a* Stärke
Kapında kul ola Wenn er doch Dein Sklave vor deiner Tür wäre !
- 32.5. *K e ç e* Filz; Kotzen
Bize buyrun bu gece Bitte, komm zu uns heute Nacht !
Bunlar da geldikçe Auch sie sind gekommen !
- 32.6. *K e s t a n e* Kastanie (*Castanea sativa*)
Gözleri mestane Ihre Augen sind berauschend ! Vgl. Diyarb. No. 18
- 32.7. *K i s e* [= *kese*] Sackchen, Beutelchen
Görüştüktü [sic!] her ne ise [oder neyse] Wir trafen uns, es komme halt, was sein muß !
Sevdim her ne ise [oder neyse] Ich liebte Dich, es komme was sein muß !
Ölüm var ayrılık yok meğer öldürürlerse Den Tod gibt es, eine Trennung gibt es nicht, es sei denn, daß man uns tötet (oder: nur dann, wenn man uns tötet) !
- 32.8. *L a b a d a* Sauerampfer (*Rumex patientia*)
Yıkanalım sobada Waschen wir uns in der Badestube. Vgl. *soba* Stube, Zimmer mit einem Ofen, Badestube (Zenk.)

- 33.1. *L ü l e* Tabakspfeife; Brunnenröhre
Gel öleyim güle güle Komm, laß mich sterben, lebe wohl
- 33.2. *L a l e* Tulpe (Tulipa)
Kodun beni bu hale In eine solche Lage brachtest Du mich!
Gönül böyle giderse meskenim tımarhane Wenn meine Herzensangelegen-
heit so weiter geht, wird mein Heim zum Irrenhaus!
Aşkınla girdim bu hale Wegen Deiner Liebe kam ich in diese Lage!
- 33.3. *M u ş m u l a* Mispel (Mespilus)
Ne bakarsın hışımla [oder *hışmıla*] Warum blickst Tu mit Zorn auf
mich?
Ne müşkülmüş bend olmak böyle bir kula Wie schwer war es einem solchen
Diener (nämlich: einem so ungebildeten Kerl) zu dienen! Vgl.
bende Diener (HŞ)
- 33.4. *Y o n g a* Späne
Gözlerim kaldı yolda Meine Augen sind auf dem Weg!
- 33.5. *N a n e, N a ' n a* Pfefferminze (Mentha piperita)
Kül oldum yana yana Zu Asche wurde ich völlig verbrannt!
- 33.6. *V i ş n e* Sauerkirsche (Prunus cerasus)
Küsüşü olduğun yârle bir daha görüşme Triff nicht wieder den Liebsten,
dem Du böse geworden bist!
Vgl. Diyarb. No. 58: *Vişne — Peşine düşme*
- 33.7. *P i l e* oder *P e l e* (*ince tahta*) Dünnes Brett
Geçireydim sizi ele Hätte ich Dich doch erwischt!
- 33.8. *B ö ğ r ü l c e* [= *börülce*] Augenbohne (Vigna sinensis)
Efendim keyfin nice Mein Herr, wie fühlst Du Dich?
- 33.9. *M e d i n e* (*çiçek*). Vgl. *medine çiçeği* kuruduğu zaman bozulmayan bir
çiçek. İlmî adı Gnaphalium (Meydan — Larousse VIII, s. 513)
Gönlüm yâre hediye Mein Herz ist ein Geschenk für den Liebsten
- 33.10. *P a s t ı r m a* Dörrfleisch
Bizi bastırma Überrasche uns nicht (unerwartet)!

Harfü 'l-yâ*

- 34.1. *O ğ u l o t u, i k i* Melisse, zwei (Melissa officinalis)
Dilber methi yâr sevmesi kala fethi Das Lob der Liebsten, das Lieben der
Liebsten ist wie die Eroberung der Burg

* Im Manuskript fehlt dieser Titel.

- Sevmem ben diki* Ich liebe nicht den Hahn!
Gönlümün ilki Der erste meines Herzens ist er!
Gücenmenize sebeb ne ki Was ist die Ursache deines Zorns?
- 34.2. *İnci* Perle
Severim dinci Ich liebe den, der stark ist!
Gemisini seven dümenci Sein Schiff liebender Steuermann ist er!
Güzellerin genci Unter den Schönen ist sie die Jüngste!
Benim yârim pek kinci Meine Liebste ist sehr nachtragend!
 Bei Lady Montagu: *İngi — Sensin Uzellerin gingi* Pearl — Fairest of the young; Bei J. Hutter: *İnci — Niçin sevmessin benim gibi kenci* Perlen — Warum liebst du nicht einen Schatz, wie mich?
- 34.3. *Balmumu* Wachs
Ummazdım sizden bunu Ich erwartete dies nicht von Dir!
- 34.4. *Buğday* Weizen (Triticum)
Görmeyeli oldu dört ay Seit vier Monaten sahen wir uns nicht!
 Vgl. Diyarb. No. 25: *Buğday — Paran varsa al her ay*
- 34.5. *Tahtabezi* Putztuch
Hanım dizi Das Knie der Frau
Severler sizi Man liebt Dich
Döverler bizi Man prügelt uns
- 34.6. *Civanperçemi* Schafgarbe (Achillea millefolium)
Neyleyim sen gibi sersemi Was soll ich tun mit einer Dummen, wie Du es bist?
Şimdi vardır bu gönlümün merhemi Jetzt habe ich den Balsam für mein Herz
- 34.7. *Darçın* [= tarçın] *çiçeği* Zimmet, Zimt (Cinnamomum)
Budur sözün gerçeği Dies ist die wahre Bedeutung des Wortes! [= dies ist die Wahrheit]
- 35.1. *Desti* [= testi] Krug
Bizden selâmi kesti Er hat mit uns die Freundschaft gebrochen
- 35.2. *Rastıktası* Antimon, Spießglanz
Gözümünden akar haset yaşı Aus meinem Auge fließt die Träne des Neides
- 35.3. *Şeftali* Pfirsich (Persica vulgaris)
Bize bildir ahvali Laß uns wissen, wie die Lage ist!
Olmuşundan tatlıdır hamı Süßer als Deine Reife ist ihre Unreife [= Jugend]
Padişah da sever ol taamı Auch der Padischah liebt jenes Essen [= die Liebe]
 Vgl. Diyarb. No. 19: *Şeftali — Derdinden oldum deli*

- 35.4. *Şebboy* Levkoje (Mathiola)
İkimiz bir boy Wir zwei sind ein Körper
- 35.5. *Sarı* Gelb
Çekerim ben ah u zarı Lang und viel seufze ich!
Ölmeden vermey yâri Ich gebe die Liebste nicht her, es sei denn, daß
ich sterbe!
Sevdiğin bir koca karı Die Du liebst, ist eine alte Frau!
- 35.6. *Samanı* Strohgelb
Onun da gelir zamanı Auch dafür kommt die Zeit!
- 35.7. *Turuncı* Orangengelb
Ben sevdim başkasına çıktı evci Ich liebte sie, aber sie wurde die Bewohne-
rin eines anderen
- 35.8. *İtrî şahî* Wohlriechende Wicke (Zathyrus odoratus)
Sensin gönlümün padişahı Du bist der Paradieschah meines Herzens.
Vgl. *ıtrî şah, ıtrî şahî* (Zathyrus odoratus) (TRSl.). S. noch 31.8.
ıtrîşah
- 35.9. *Ödağacı* Aloe-Holz (Aquillaria agallochia)
Sensin başımın tacı Du bist die Krone meines Hauptes
Bei J. Hutter: *Ud ağacı — Gönülümün ilacı* Aloe — Arznei für
mein Herzensweh
- 35.10. *Karanfil tepesi* Blumenkopf der Nelke
Yandı ciğerim köşesi Mein Inneres (Herz) hat Feuer gefangen
- 36.1. *Karanfil, yedi* Nelke, sieben
Aşkın beni yedi Die Liebe zu Dir hat mich verzehrt!
- 36.2. *Kurtbağrı* Liguster (Ligustrum vulgare)
Kırk yılda bir kere sözümü tut bari Zumindest einmal in vierzig Jahren
hör auf mein Wort!
Var git ellerin yâri Scher Dich, geh, Du Geliebte anderer!
- 36.3. *Keçiboynuzu* Johannisbrot (Ceratonia)
Terketmeyiniz kulunuzu Verlasse nicht deinen Diener!
Çırak ettiniz kulunuzu Frei gegeben hast Du Deinen Diener
Hele boyun sallayın ettiklerinizi belleyin Nicke nur, aber merke Dir gut,
was Du getan hast! Diese letzte Antwort wäre im Hinblick auf
den Reim folgenderweise richtig: . . . *belleyin ettiklerinizi*
- 36.4. *Lâciverdî* Dunkelblau, tiefblau
Cihana acı verdi Er brachte Bitternis auf die Welt

- 36.5. *Leblebi* Geröstete Kichererbse
Nedir küsmenizizin sebebi Was ist die Ursache Deines Zorns?
Öğren erkân ile edebi Lerne gutes (vornehmes) Benehmen!
Canım sizi özledi Meine Seele sehnt sich nach Dir!
- 36.6. *Mazı* Zapfen der Thuya orientalis; Gallapfel (Thuja)
Kalmadı cihanın hazzı Dahin ist die Freude der Welt!
Çekilmiyor nazı Sie hört nicht auf zu kokettieren
Ederim size niyazı Ich flehe Dich an!
 Bei J. Hutter: *Mazı — Biz ettik niyazı* Mandoleten — Wir haben dich
 darum gebeten
- 36.7. *Mavi, mai* Blau
Inadına kavi Er ist erst recht eigensinnig
Kibarvarî Vornehmtuerisch
Gel bir gececik bari Komm, für eine Nacht wenigstens!
- 37.1. *Nartanesi* Ein Granatapfel (*Punica granatum*)
Gözümün bir tanesi Du Einzige meiner Augen!
- 37.2. *Yumurta kabuğu* Eierschale
Mübarek ola yeni kapu Gesegnet sei die neue Pforte!
- 37.3. *Deri* Leder
Sinemeddir yeri An meiner Brust ist ihr (sein) Platz!
- 37.4. *Hanımiğnesi* Sicherheitsnadel. Vgl. *hanımığnesi = çengelli-iğne*
 (DS)
Gönlümün eğlencesi Du Lust meines Herzens!

Abkürzungen

- Dev. = Ferit Devellioglu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat. Eski ve yeni harflerle*. Ankara, 1970.
- Diyarbakır. = B. Ş. Beysanoğlu, *Diyarbakır Folkloru*. Cilt I., Diyarbakır, 1943. S. 238—240.
- DS = *Türkiye'de Halk Ağzından Derleme Sözlüğü*. I—XII. Ankara, 1963—1982. Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları 211.
- HŞ = Heuser—Şevket, *Türkisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*. Verfaßt und herausgegeben von Fritz Heuser. 6., unveränderte Auflage. Wiesbaden, 1967.
- SDD = *Türkiyede Halk Ağzından Söz Derleme Dergisi*. I—VI. Istanbul—Ankara, 1939—1952. Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.
- TRSl. = *Turecko-russkij slovar'*. Redaktery: E. M.-E. Mustafaev, L. N. Starostov. Moskva, 1977.
- TS = *Türkçe Sözlük*. Gözden geçirilmiş altıncı baskı. Ankara, 1974.
- Zenk. = J. Th. Zenker, *Dictionnaire turc-arabe-persan*. I—II. Leipzig, 1866—1876.

Index

- akide 31.9
akik 18.3
al 22.1
al ile mor 10.2
alma 5.1
alnımda lavdanomı 24.2
amberbaris 14.5
armut 9.1
arpa 29.1
arşak 17.1
ayva 31.10
badem 24.4
bakla 29.6
bal 22.2
ballıbaba 5.2
balmumu 34.3
bardak 17.4
basma 29.3
benefşe 29.4
beş 15.1, 15.4
bez 12.1
biber s. büber
biberiye s. büberkiye
bir 11.2
boş 15.2
böğrölce 33.8
buğday 34.4
büber 10.5
büberkiye 29.5
canfes 14.4
ceviz 12.3
ceviz-i hindistan 25.6
cimbız 13.2
civanperçemi 34.6
çağla 30.5
çakmak 17.6
çayır 10.6
çekirdek 20.7
çekirge 30.6
çemen 25.7
çevre 30.7
çiçek 21.1
çiğdem 24.5
çilek 21.2
çimşir 10.10
çitlenbik 20.8
darçın 25.8
darçın çiçeği 34.7
defne 30.9
deri 37.3
desti 35.1
diken 25.9
dut 7.5
ekmek 20.2
ekser 10.1
elma 5.1
enginar 10.3
erik 20.1
fes 14.1
fındık s. funduk
fıstık 18.4
fulya 5.4
funda 32.1
funduk 18.5
gül 23.1
günlük 21.3
güvem 24.9
hacıyatmaz 12.4
halka 30.8
hanımığnesi 37.4
hasır 10.7
hıyar 10.8
hurma 5.3
hünnap s. ünnap
ılgın 25.2
ısırgan 25.1
ıtır 11.1
ıtır — kırk 18.2
ıtır şahı 35.8
ıtrişah 31.8
ıbrışim 24.1
iğne 29.2
iğne — iki kat 7.1
iki 34.1
iki kat 7.1, 7.2
inci 34.2
incir 10.4
ipek 20.4
iplik 20.5
issi ot 9.2
kabuk 18.6
kadife 32.3
kakule 32.2
kalem 24.8
karanfil 22.10
karanfil — beş 15.4

karanfil — bir 11.2
 karanfil — üç 8.5
 karanfil — yedi 36.1
 karanfil tepesi 35.10
 kaşık 18.7
 kav 28.1
 keçe 32.5
 keçiboynuzu 36.3
 kereviz 12.8
 kestane 32.6
 kılabledan 26.5
 kırk 18.2
 kibrit 7.6
 kiraz 12.7
 kireç 8.6
 kiremit 7.7
 kirpik 21.6
 kise 32.7
 kola 32.4
 koz 12.6
 kömür 11.3
 kurs 14.2
 kurtbağrı 36.2
 labada 32.8
 lâciverdi 36.4
 lâden 24.2, 26.6
 lâle 33.2
 lavdanom 24.2
 leblebi 36.5
 leylâk 18.8
 limon 26.7
 lüle 33.1
 mantar 11.5
 marsama 5.5
 mavi 36.7
 maydanoz 13.1
 mazı 36.6
 medine 33.9
 mendil 23.2
 menekşe s. benefşe
 mercan 26.8
 mercanköşk s. merzencûş
 mersin 27.1
 merzencûş 15.5
 mor 10.2, 11.6
 muşmula 33.3
 mürver 11.4
 nane 33.5
 nar 11.7
 nar tanesi 37.1

nergis 14.3
 nohut 9.4
 oğulotu — iki 34.1
 ok 17.3
 otluk 17.2
 ödağacı 35.9
 pamuk 17.5
 papatya 29.8
 para 29.7
 para — iki kat 7.2
 parça 31.2
 pastırma 33.10
 pele 33.7
 pelin 25.3
 penbe 30.2
 perde 30.1
 pile 33.7
 pirinç 8.2
 piyaz 12.2
 portakal 22.3
 pul 22.4
 pülüzgün 25.4
 rahat-hulkum 24.6
 rastık taşı 35.2
 rezene 30.10
 saat 7.3
 sabun 26.2
 saç 8.4
 sakız 12.5
 saman 26.3
 samani 35.6
 sarı 35.5
 sarmaşık 17.9
 sarmısak 17.10
 sedef 16.1
 sepet 7.4
 sırça 31.5
 sırma 31.6
 siyah 31.1
 susam 24.7
 sümbül 22.8
 süpürge 30.11
 sütleğen 26.1
 şahtere 31.4
 şakayık 17.8
 şal 22.7
 şarap 6.2
 şebboy 35.4
 şeftali 35.3
 şeker 10.9

şeker — iki parça 31.2
 şişe 31.3
 şişe — boş 15.2
 tabak 17.11
 taflan 26.4
 tahta 30.3
 tahtabezi 34.5
 . . . tanesi 37.1
 tarçın s. darçın
 taş 15.3
 tel 22.5
 tere 30.4
 testi s. desti
 tırnak 17.12
 tırtıl 22.9
 tırfir 11.8
 toprak 18.1
 tuğla 31.7
 turuncı 35.7
 turunç 8.3
 tütün 25.5

tüy 20.6
 üç 8.1, 8.5
 ünnap 6.1
 üzerlik 20.3
 üzüm 24.3
 venedik 21.4
 vişne 33.6
 yaprak 19.1
 yasemin 27.2
 yaşmak 19.2
 yedi 36.1
 yeşil 23.3
 yoğurt 7.8
 yonga 33.4
 yumurta kabuğu 37.2
 yün 21.5
 zanbak 17.7
 zencefil 22.6
 zeren 25.10
 zümrüt 9.3

صفت الكاف	20
سینم اولدی دلیک دلیک بودکم (یا) حکرم دلیک دلیک	ایریک
مراد ایریک فهدم سنی اویک نوده نری نری انوک	اکله
مولام ویسونه روز نونک	اوزریک
قیوننک اوله بزم کویک	ایک
کوز با شجه ایچکی بوکده زینارده ال انیک هندیک عصایی شردی سزه دیکدک نذر سزدرکی بو بکننک برنالک ایبر بر جینلک صوچیم وارسه کلر دوک	ایچیک نونک
کویدم بوعه دک هیک بندده ال انک ایکی ایدک او هندیک سزه کلدک بنلک	بیردک جینبیره

حرف التوت	25
هفره روتك بوغانه	ابوغانه
سه روتك به بوغانه	
عنه هالده كوكى والقيه	ابقيه
يا نيم اول يا اليه	يليه
شده اولك اليه	
كوكم سزه كوكونه	بولوز كونه
بولدم عده بتونه	توتونه
اينك نى دله دانانه	جوز لهدنانه
آرميك سه	يهه
نم حريم سه	داجيه
به اوليم سه كور هاجيم	
آبريلقد بلم بوگمه	ديگه
جانك كس استرالى انك ايله اكله	زله

**BÖRTÜ: A HUNGARIAN WORD OF OLD TURKIC
ORIGIN BELONGING TO THE VOCABULARY OF
GOLDSMITHS' ART**

ISTVÁN MÁNDOKY KONGUR

The problem of the etymology of the word *börtü* (*börtü* [*börtü*], *börtő* [*börtő*], *börtü* [*börtü*], *bertü*, *bertü* [*bertü*], *bertő* [*bertő*], etc.) 'globulus; Korn' (cf.: MNY. LXXIII, p. 153), 'larger or smaller pellet, globule or small seed-shaped gold or silver grain; Korn' (cf.: MTsz. I, p. 122), 'Silber- oder Gold-kügelchen <in der Filigranarbeit>' (TESz. I, p. 286), demonstrable in the Hungarian literary monuments since the 16th century, was first addressed by B. Munkácsi, who correctly pointed out in a paper published in 1902 that the Hungarian *börtü* was of Old Turkic origin, saying: "The exact morphological and semantic correspondence between the Hungarian and the Turkic words, despite the regular deviances in their endings, suggests that it was borrowed from Old Turkic. It is highly likely that the meaning of the Hungarian word *börtü* 'Körnchen, Kügelchen' was not confined to the special language of goldsmiths, but was extensively used." (NyK. XXXII, p. 301).

Apparently, Munkácsi had no doubts about this correspondence, deeming the Turkic origin of the word unequivocal. However, the hypothesis Munkácsi put forth in the second sentence — namely, that the Hungarian word used to have a now extinct meaning, which on the basis of contemporary Turkic equivalents appears to have been more widely and commonly used — gave rise to the reservations that many etymologists voiced about the Turkic etymology, however unfounded these doubts appear to be today. Had Munkácsi left this negative aspect, which has no significant bearing on the etymology anyway unsaid, his successors might have focussed their attention, instead of this minor issue, on clarifying certain semantic questions of the basically correct etymology and could have retraced the semantic development of the word. A long time had to pass before it could be done at last, although all it needed was to have a fresh glance at the old occurrences of *börtü* to be able to confirm that the primary meaning of the word 'globulus; Korn' perfectly tallied with its Turkic equivalents.

It was Z. Gombocz whose faith in the etymology was the first to be shaken by Munkácsi's above-quoted hypothesis of a secondary problem. In both the Hungarian and the German version of his article devoted to the

Turkic elements in the Hungarian language, he put a question-mark ahead of the row of Turkic equivalents listed in place of the Turkic etymon of the word (M^{Ny}. III, p. 65; BTLw. p. 44). Giving utterance to his doubts about the Old Turkic origin of *börtü*, he wrote in the first-published Hungarian version of his paper: "The deviations in meaning render the etymology somewhat problematic." (M^{Ny}. loc. cit.). As will be seen in the following, no 'deviations in meaning' whatsoever can be detected.

There is a question-mark inserted before the Turkic equivalents of the word *bertő* too in the EtSz., whose authors go to some more detail expounding why they consider this etymology disputable. "It casts a shadow of doubt on the etymology that neither the occurrence of the Turkic *bürtük* in the vocabulary of goldsmiths, nor the wider use of the Hungarian *börtü* as 'Körnchen' can be documented by data. At any rate, it must belong to the most recent layer of our Turkic loanwords." (op. cit. I, p. 528).

Gombocz thus alleged to have found obstacles in the way of comparing *börtü* to its Turkic counterparts, whereas he could easily have pinpointed and demonstrated the correspondence or conspicuous similarity between the Hungarian word and its Turkic equivalents, even from the relatively meagre Turkic lexical material available in his days.

Over the past decades, the stock of literature devoted to the analysis and description of the vocabulary of Turkic languages (dictionaries, glossaries, and other lexicological or lexicographic works) has grown to a considerable — though still unsatisfactory — extent. The new material often successfully fills the gaps in existing knowledge with valuable data, and so it was with the inquiries into the Turkic elements of the Hungarian language. Quite regrettably, however, those writing on the Turkic loans in the latest historical-etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language (TESz.) seldom, if ever, made recourse to new findings. The word *börtü* is no exception: had they had a closer look at the recently published dictionaries and glossaries, as they apparently did not, they would hardly have summarized what was to become the officially sanctioned knowledge on the word in the following manner: "Origin unsettled, perhaps Old Turkic loanword; cf.: Tat. *börtök* 'morsel, small grain'; Bshk. *bürtük* 'grain' (Kat.); Kar. *burtuk* 'corn, grain'; Kum. *burtuk*, *burtuk* 'corn, grain' (Ném.): Chuv. *pər.ǰə* 'corn, grain'. Also existing in Cheremiss as a Chuvash loanword. — An Old Turkic **börtüy* may have been taken over by Hungarian. This etymology is, however, made disputable by semantic difficulties: its use as a technical term of goldsmiths' art typical of the Hungarian language cannot be demonstrated in Turkic, while its broader Turkic meaning 'corn, grain' does not exist in Hungarian. — A word of the goldsmiths' art." (TESz. I, p. 286).

Except for the one on the Chuvash origin of the word in Cheremiss, the above observations cannot be accepted, even if one does know that the authors

did not take into account the relevant data of more recent Turkic lexical literature. Committing the mistake of slavishly adapting Gombocz's reservations, the TESz. impugns the original and basically correct etymology offered by Munkácsi on grounds of semantics, albeit there exist no such difficulties at all if we take semantics and its regularities based on the changes and development of meanings really seriously. Many a language can be cited in which a word denoting 'corn, grain' also means 'minuscule particle, seed-like speck, granular crumbs, tiny round grain, and small spheric fragment of sg. etc.' or conversely (it is sufficient to refer to the meanings of the English noun *grain* and verb *to grain*, and their derivatives such as *grain-calf*, *graine*, *grained*, *grainer*, *graininess*, *graining*, *grainless*, *grain-tin*, etc.). On the other hand, an abundance of data can be adduced to confirm the phenomenon in that a loanword becomes naturalized in the recipient language with one of its secondary meanings. Even if we were unaware as we are not, of the more general primary meaning of *börtü*, i.e. 'globulus; Korn' which is documented in the old literary records, we would be perfectly able to unravel the word's restricted meaning 'Silber- oder Goldkügelchen (in der Filigranarbeit)' from an old Turkic **bürtük* or **bürtüg* presumed to have meant 'corn, grain'. For if we were not, how could we understand many words in the special vocabularies of medicine, and technology, etc., whose Greek or Latin roots are known to us in their 'broader' meaning; e.g. the English *granular*, *granularity*, *to granulate*, *granulation*, *granulator*, *granule*, *granuliform*, *granuloma*, *granulose*, and *granulous*, etc., are all the derivatives of the Latin root *granum* primarily meaning 'corn, grain'. But when defining the meaning of *börtü*, the writers of the TESz. entry were not averse to using the word *filigran* ('filigree', see above) simply because the second component of its etymon, the Italian *grana* 'granulation (on the surface of sg)', is also derived from a word denoting 'corn, grain'. Incidentally, a perfect morphological and semantic analogue to the Hungarian *börtü* can be quoted from Russian to illustrate this change from 'corn, grain' to 'gold or silver pellet, gold or silver grain (used in filigree work)'. The Russian word *zern'*, which among others means 'tiny gold or silver pellet (used to embellish goldsmiths' articles, jewellery)' and is used both as a technical term of goldsmiths' art and in archeology and art history, also dates back to *zerno* denoting 'corn, grain' from which *zern'* was produced by word-splitting that is, by morphological and semantic differentiation. (Cf.: M. Fasmer, *Étimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka*. Tom II (1967), p. 96.)

The authors of TESz. assert that the major deficiency of the Turkic etymology of *börtü*, *bertö* is that unlike the Turkic correlatives they quote, the Hungarian word does not have the 'broader' meaning 'corn, grain', and also that "its use as a technical term of goldsmiths' art typical of the Hungarian language cannot be demonstrated in Turkic." However, the aforesaid makes it quite clear that their worries would be ill-grounded even if the meaning

'corn; grain', 'pellet, globule' was indeed missing from the Hungarian literary monuments, and on the other hand, if the secondary meaning of the Turkic *bürtük*, etc., did not include one used in goldsmiths' language in addition to its basic meaning 'corn, grain'. But had they gone just a bit out of their way to set their doubts at rest, the elaborators of the TESz. entry could have seen for themselves that in the old written records the word *börtü* did denote 'globulus; Korn' in the first place; cf.: *börtü, bértü* in NySz. (p. 313), and "»Körner« (in Hungarian) = Bertők" (Aladár Ballagi, *Régi magyar nyelvünk és a Nyelvtörténeti Szótár I, 2*, Budapest, 1911. [The old Hungarian language and the Historical Dictionary] p. 471; they could also easily have come across this word in contemporary Turkic dictionaries as a term of goldsmiths' language too (for relevant data see below).

In my article published in Hungarian on the etymology of *börtü* (~ *bertő*, etc.) (*Bertő*: MNy. LXXII, pp. 300—307) I tried to verify on the basis of data from old Hungarian sources and an examination of the Turkic vocabulary that the doubts of the scholars about the validity of the etymology were unfounded by showing that (1) the primary meaning of the Hungarian word and its Turkic counterparts is the same; (2) that the word *bürtük* is, or can be, also used as a technical term in goldsmiths' art in certain Turkic languages. My article, however, does not seem to have convinced everyone. L. Ligeti, for instance, continued to voice his reservation about the etymology (*Börtü és a világosan török eredetű szavaink* [*Börtü* and our words of unambiguously Turkic origin]: MNy. LXXIII, pp. 146—154), his partiality driving him to self-contradiction in several points. Of the semantic change 'corn, grain' → 'globulus; Korn'; 'Silber- oder Goldkügelchen (in der Filigranarbeit)' which I assumed, he has the following comment to make: "Such semantic development is indeed possible, but in this case it is a mere hypothesis, which does not make up for the missing facts." (op. cit. pp. 148—149). Whereas, as we shall see in the below discussion, it is far from being a simple hypothetical semantic change: it is a demonstrable co-existence of two synonymous meanings, not only in the Turkic tongues I cited in my article, but also in a number of other languages, e.g. English *grain, corn*; German *Korn*, French *grain*, Italian *grana*, Russian *zerno, zern'*, etc. Obviously, this is why L. Ligeti cannot help admitting later in his above-mentioned article, after a thorough analysis of the earliest occurrences of the Hungarian word, and the incorrectly cited data of NySz. and OklSz., that "the basic meaning of the Hungarian *börtü* completely tallies with that of the Turkic *bürtük* . . ." (op. cit. p. 153).

So far so good. Let us now review the Turkic equivalents of the Hungarian word *börtü*: Kom. CC *bürtük* [. . . *rtuk*] 'eyn fantkorn' (K. Grönbech, *Cumanicus Cod. Marc. Lat. DXLIX*. Kopenhagen, 1936, facsimile page 113; W. Radloff, *Sprachmat.*, p. 76); AḦ *bürtük* 'tane' (Caferoğlu, p. 25); BM

bürtük 'grain (de céréales), blé' (Zajączkowski I, p. 15); Arm. Kipch. *burturk*, *burtuk* 'ziarno, ziarenko; petit grain, pépin' (E. Tryjarski, *Dictionnaire arméno-kiptchak I*, p. 169) || Kum. *bürtük* (*burtuk*) 'grain, granule' (Németh, p. 105), *bürtük* 'krupinka, krupica' (RKuS 1960, p. 364), 'točka; zerno, zërnyško' (KuRS 1969, p. 89); Krch. *bürtük* 'Korn, Samen' (Pröhle, p. 96), Krch.-Balk. *bürtük* 'zerno; častica' (RKarBals 1965, pp. 195; 699), *bürtükčük* 'zërnyško; krupinka' (op. cit. pp. 195; 245); Kar. *birt'uk* ~ *burt'uk* 'Korn, Körner' (Kowalski, pp. 170, 174), *birtik* ~ *birtuk* ~ *burtuk* ~ *bürtük* 'zerno, zërnyško, krupinka, chleb; ziarno, ziarenko, drobinka, zbože' (KRPS 1974, pp. 122, 144, 154); Nog. *bürtik* 'zerno, zërnyško; kroška, krupica, krupinka' (NoRS 1963, p. 93); Kkp. *bürtik* 1. 'častica, komoček; krupinka'; 2. 'zërnyško'; 3. 'počka' (KkRS 1958, p. 128); Kzk. *bürtik* 1. 'närseniŋ betindegi säl budırmaq, bužir'; 2. 'ağaštıŋ žaŋga šiğip kele žatqan türi, bürtigi' (QTTS I [1959], p. 139); 1. 'ösindik denesinde bolatın usaq tüyinšek'; 2. 'denege tüsetin usaq-usaq börtken' (QTTS² 2 [1976], p. 576); Kir. *bürtük* 'komoček; zerno' (KiRS 1965, p. 168), 'krupinka' (RKiS 1957, p. 312); Kaz. Tat. *börtök* 'krocha, kroška, zerno, zërnyško, krupica' (Trojanskij, *Slovar' tatarskogo jazyka I* (Kazan' 1833), p. 190), 'Krümchen, Körnchen' (Bálint, p. 165), 'část čego libo otdeľno vzjataja, kroška, zerno' (Ostroumov, *TaRS* (Kazan', 1892), p. 47), 'ein Stück, der Brocken; eine Einheit kleiner Dinge (Körner, Haare)' (Radloff IV, pp. 1721—22), *börtök* 'krupinka; krupica; kroška; krocha; zerno; zërnyško' (TaRS 1966, p. 93); Bshk. *börtök* 'krupinka; krupica' (BaRS 1958, p. 113) | Uzb. *bürtik* 1. 'pryšč'; 2. 'vystup, bugorok' (UzRS 1959, p. 97) | Trkm. *bürdük* 'oves' (Budagov I, p. 275); Osm. *pürtük* 'çikıntı biçiminde küçük kabarcık' (TS⁵, p. 615); 'nerovnyj, kamenistyj' (TuRS 1945, p. 495), 'bugorok, pryšč, voldyr' (TuRS 1977, p. 728), Osm. dialect *bürtek* 'tane'; *bürtük* 'tahıl tanesi' (DS II, p. 828); *bürdek* 'tomurcuk' (DS II, p. 825); *pürtük* 'pürtleyen şey; ufak parça; maddei gartanın ufak bir parçası' (*Anadilden Derlemeler*; p. 318); 'küçük parça' (SDD III, pp. 1173—4) | Yak. *burduk* 'muka; žito, zernovoj chleb (chleb na kornju, chleb v snopach, vymoločennoe zerno ego)'; 'jačmen' (Pekarskij I, p. 568); 1. 'chleb, zerno'; 2. 'muka' (JaRS 1972, p. 86) | Chuv. *pěrčĕ* 'zerno, kaplja; jagodka; kroška; krupinka; volokno; otdeľnaja nitka (pri tkan'e ili pri namatyvanii); neboľšaja část' (Ašmarin IX, pp. 236—7); *pər bĕə*, Szp. *pər bĕə* 'Korn, Körnchen' (Paasonen p. 97), *pěrčĕ* 'otdeľnaja častička (čego-l.)' (ČuRS 1961, p. 274).

Relying upon the now available stock of Turkic words, one can contend that the word *bürtük* not only denotes 'corn, grain', but also means 'minuscule part, tiny fragment, granule, and small scrap, etc.'; what is more, in most Turkic languages and dialects this is the primary meaning of the word. It is evident then that there are not only *bürtüks* of cereals, but of scores of other things. In the Codex Cumanicus (see above), for example, *bürtük* itself means 'grain of sand'. Further data are: Kumuk *buday bürtük* 'pšeničnoe zerno'

(KuRS 1969, p. 89); *nohut bürtüük* 'gorošina'; *qayir bürtüük* 'pesčinka'; *minčaq bürtüük* 'busina'; *inži bürtüük* 'zemčužina' (RKuS 1960, pp. 159; 651; 66; 210); Krch.-Balk. *arpa bürtüük* 'jačmennoe zerno'; *qum bürtüük* 'pesčinka'; *inži bürtüük* 'zemčužina' (RKarBalS 1965, pp. 195; 417; 163); Nog. *bıyday bürtiği* 'zerno pšenicy'; *buršaq bürtiği* 'gorošina' (NoRS 1963, p. 93); *inži bürtiği* 'zemčužina' (RNoS 1956, p. 176); Kzk. *bir bürtik şaş* 'a hair' (Shnitnikov, *KaEngDict.* 1966, p. 63); Kir. *bir bürtüük būday* 'odno zerno pšenicy'; *bir neče bürtüük şaş* 'neskoľko slezinok' (KiRS 1965, p. 168); *gar bürtüğü* 'snežinka'; *qumdun bir bürtüğü* 'pesčinka'; *bürtüük altın* 'zoloto v zernach'; *inži, bermettin bir bürtüğü* 'zemčužina' (RKiS 1944, pp. 805, 252; 207); *bürtüük ikra* 'zernistaja ikra' (RKiS 1957, p. 236); Kaz. Tat. *aşliq börtöge, börtök* (*ber börtök orliq*) 'zerno' (RTaS 1971, p. 214); *ariş börtöge* 'zërnyško rži'; *toz börtöge* 'krupinka soli'; *börtök çay* 'famiľnyj čaj'; *ber börtök tä* 'ni kroški, ničut, niskoľko'; *ber börtök qalmadı* 'ni kroški ne ostalos'; *altın börtöge* 'krupica zolota' (TaRS 1966, p. 93); *qom börtöge* 'pesčinka'; *čäč börtöge* 'volosinka' (RTaS 1971, p. 81); *biş börtök ikmäk walčigi* 'pjat chlebnych krošek v otdeľnosti' (Ostroumov, TaRS 1892, p. 47); Bshk. *börtök aşliq* 'chleb v zerne; zernovye' (BaRS 1958, p. 113), *aşliq börtögö* 'zerno (semja zlakov)' (RBaS 1964, p. 251); *toz börtögö* 'krupinka soli'; *qom börtögö* 'pesčinka'; *ber börtök tä* 'ni kroški, ničut, niskoľko'; *ber börtök tarinan butqa bulmay* 'iz krupinki kaši ne vyjdet (ne svariš')' (BaRS 1958, p. 113); *yön börtögö* 'šerstinka'; *altın börtögö* 'krupica zolota'; *inyi börtögö* 'zemčužina' (BaRS 1958, pp. 230; 113; 671); *ber börtögö lä dörös tügel* 'ni krupinki pravdy' (RBaS 1964, p. 330) | Chuv. *išem širli përci* 'izjumina', *pärša përci* 'gorošina', *për përcë tək* 'përyško', *šip përci* 'nitka', *šumär përci* 'kaplja doždja', *šüp përci* 'sorinka', *šärša përci* 'busina', *tulä përci* 'zërnyško rži', *yun përci* 'kapelka krovi', *yur përci* 'snežinka', (ČuRS 1961, p. 274), *aħaħ përci, ènčë përci* 'zemčužina', *ħäyär përci* 'pesčinka' (RČuS 1971, pp. 185, 506). These data conclusively verify L. Ligeti's above-quoted contention, namely that "the basic meaning of the Hungarian *börtü* completely tallies with that of the Turkic *bürtüük* . . ." (op. cit. p. 153; my italics — I.M.K.).

One of the major deficiencies of the Turkic etymology of the Hungarian word *börtü*, the TESz. claims, is that "its use as a technical term of goldsmiths' art typical of the Hungarian language cannot be demonstrated in Turkic." In my Hungarian article revising the etymology of the word, I made the assumption that out of the above cited data the Kir. *bürtüük altın*, Kaz. Tat. *altın börtöge*, Bshk. *altın börtögö* 'gold grain'; Kum., Krch.-Balk. *inži bürtüük*, Nog. *inži bürtiği*, Kir. *inži*, *bermettin bir bürtüğü*, Bshk. *inyi börtögö*, Chuv. *aħaħ përci, ènčë përci* 'pearl'; Kum. *minčaq bürtüük*, Chuv. *šärša përci* 'glass bead', etc. are in fact words or phrases of goldsmiths' art, or more precisely still, they can also be used by goldsmiths as technical terms. The addition of the word also is necessary here,

because having scanned the Turkic dictionaries I have not found any words specifically marked as goldsmiths' terms. It is quite possible that there are glossaries, research reports or dissertations devoted to the vocabulary of the goldsmiths' art in various Turkic languages, but unfortunately I have no knowledge of them, therefore, I had to be content with what the above quoted data revealed. My data made it conceivable at least that the Turkic goldsmiths and their customers — the people — use, or may use, the word *bürtük*.

With reference to my data, Ligeti remarks that "... neither gold, nor pearl is exclusively a material of filigree-work; furthermore, it is noteworthy that the quoted examples do not contain phrases that involve silver or other metals, precious or semi-precious stones." (op. cit. p. 149). There is no denying that neither gold, nor pearl is "exclusively a material of filigree-work" (my italics — I.M.K.), but the odds are for the assumption that in the language of goldsmiths it is more frequently used than in any other special jargon. The second part of Ligeti's remark (i.e. "the quoted examples do not contain phrases that involve silver or other metals, precious or semi-precious stones") may find its explanation in the well-known fact that the Turkic vocabulary of goldsmiths' art is not sufficiently elaborated or even recorded yet. As for precious and semi-precious stones, they indeed have nothing to do with filigree-work, so not too much importance need be attached to their absence.

Notwithstanding the fact that the meaning 'grain, granule' of *bürtük* is itself largely sufficient to bear out the validity of the etymology, I set out immediately after the publication of my Hungarian article to complement the close-tongued testimony of the dictionaries with on-the-spot research, and to discuss the meanings of the dictionary data with Turkic goldsmiths, art historians, archeologists, ethnographers and also linguists (lexicographers, lexicologists) in an attempt to satisfy even the most hypercritical requirements. For Ligeti asserts that the Turkic etymology of *börtü* cannot be accepted "unless somebody proves... that the Turkic *bürtük* 'grain, granule' used to be — or is — applied independently, without an accompanying material-name, as a technical term of goldsmiths' art in a Turkic language or dialect." (op. cit. p. 148). (At first glance "without an accompanying material-name" appears to be an impracticable condition, but at a closer glance it turns out to be negligible, for the material is sooner or later designated anyway, though not necessarily next to the word *bürtük*.) Thus in my above quoted paper I tried to support with as much evidence as possible that *bürtük* could also be used in goldsmiths' language, although I must admit that I did not come across a single *bürtük* occurrence in the available Turkic dictionaries "without the accompanying material-name".

This defect was to be remedied by checking the data on-the-spot. My task was to ascertain (1) whether the word *bürtük* also means 'gold, silver or other

metal pellet, globule, or grain (to adorn jewellery, horse-gear, other goldsmiths' artifacts'); (2) whether goldsmiths use the word in this meaning; who else use the word in the same meaning; (3) what other words are used to denote the same thing, either as a synonym of *bürtük* or in place of it.

I had to confine my field research to Kirghizia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Mongolia as I could not get to the Altai-Sayan region, South Siberia, the Caucasus, the Volga region, Turkey, Turkmenistan and Yakutia, or the material I could come by was insignificant. Yet I did not return empty-handed.

In Kirghizia the first man I sought out was E. Sulaymanūlu, the Kirghiz ethnographer and outstanding scholar of Kirghiz metalwork, who proved beyond doubt that *bürtük* denoting 'zern' is known and used by Kirghiz goldsmiths and their customers, the simple Kirghiz people with a good command of their mother tongue. (Subsequently I asked several Kirghiz people from all walks of life who abundantly confirmed his statement.) E. Sulaymanūlu referred me to the Kirghiz master goldsmith and blacksmith A. Baltabayūlu (Narın region, At-Başı district, Qara-Qoyun ayıl), who almost always uses *bürtük* to refer to the discussed meaning. He defined the word in the following way: "*Bürtük* degeniwiz gümüş je altın sıyaqtı asıl metaldardan eritip quyup, qızgelinder tağınūču qōzduq buyumdar menen at jabdıqtarı ğana bařqa üy mülük-törü je jō ğaraqtar betine qōzdoř üçün oturguzup salıngan giçinekey toğoloq nerseler, toğoloq bürtüktör, giçine dandar; *bürtük* dep bermet řurulardın giçinekey toğoloq türlörün da aytawız; *bürtük* is the name we give to small round things, round »bürtük«s (granules), fine grains cast in gold, silver or other similar precious metal and applied to women's jewellery, horse-harness, pieces of furniture or arms to decorate them; we also call the tiny round-shaped pearls of shell or coral beads." (It would be highly illuminating to quote all that the aged master, Aydıralı ata, said of *bürtük*, but lack of space prevents me from doing so.) It was again through my friend E. Sulaymanūlu that I became acquainted with master blacksmith, goldsmith, harness and saddle maker M. Mamıtūlu, who lives in Qara-Bař qıřtaq (Oř region, Ğaŋgı-Jol district). He also uses the word *bürtük* to denote 'gold or silver pellet to decorate jewels', but restricts its signification to 'middle-sized gold or silver pellet' as he also uses the word *zığirek* 'larger gold or silver pellet' and *sirke* 'tiny gold or silver pellet'. Master Maman ake's definition runs as follows: "*bürtük* polso, qōz buyumdardı gōrkōmdōř üçün altın menen gümüştōn, azırqı uwaqıttarda melkōrdōn da, je bařqa metaldan, jez menen qolodon quyuw ğasalğın ortoço çōŋduqtoğı toğoloq dan; *bürtük* is for adorning jewellery; it is a middle-sized round pellet made of gold or silver, or today of melchior or other metals, copper and bronze." It is worth noting that the above *zığirek* is the diminutive of the Kirghiz *zığır* 'linseed', while the primary meaning of *sirke* is 'nit' (i.e. 'egg of louse'), but the Kirghiz dictionaries know of no meanings with relevance to us here.

For an excellent survey of Kirghiz filigree work I have to refer the reader to E. Sulaymanūlū's recently published book *Tradicii obrabotki metallov u kirgizov* (Frunze, 1982; chapter "Zernenie", pp. 55—61).

My investigations in pursuit of the word *bürtük* as a goldsmiths' term were no less fruitful in Kazakhstan. Almost everywhere in the country, just like in Kirghizia, people — not only goldsmiths — are as a rule familiar with the word *bürtik* (*bürtük*) denoting 'gold or silver globule' used in the goldsmiths' language. The art historian S. Ötemisulī, who hails from the Oral region of Western Kazakhstan and lives in the city of Ūyšik, defined the word in the following way: "*bürtükter*: zergerlerding altın nemese kümüsten jasagan, äyelderding, qız-gelinšekterding жүзүк, sīrga, bilezik, tumarša jāne tađi basqa äsem zattarın äšekeylewge qoldangan kiškentay bürsükter nemese tarī sekildi usađ domalaqtarī; kiškentay mänerler: *bürtüks* are tiny bits resembling small knobs or millet-seeds; tiny little ornaments made of gold or silver, applied by goldsmiths to decorate girls' and women's rings, ear-rings, bracelets, breast-pins and other jewellery."

Born in the Qızılorda region, the master goldsmith Š. Ūmbetulī declared that in his native country goldsmiths use the words *bürtük* and *tarī* to denote "altın nemese kümüs tüyürsük; gold or silver grain", and also apply the word *sirke* to signify a very fine gold or silver grain, just as in Kirghizia.

Goldsmith D. Šoqparulī of the village Esik in South Kazakhstan wrote upon my request the following about *bürtük*: "Qazaq zergerleri, zergerlik buyımdar jasagan kezde *bürtik* nemese *büršik* dep te aytila beretin tehnologiyalıq täsildi žiyi qoldangan. Al onıng *bürtik*, *büršik* atalıwı — är aymaqta ärtürli diyalekt bolgandıgınan, negizinen *bürtik* te, *büršik* te bir mađına beredi. Negizgi tübiri *bür*... Zergerlik önerinde qoldanılattın *bürtik* degen täsil, kümüsten nemese altınnan istelgen näzik buyımdar betine usaq kümis, altın *bürtikterdi* (*büršikterdi*) žüyeli kompoziciya qura otırıp, belgili tärtippen orna lastıra dänekerlewdi aytadı...; When making their artifacts, the Kazakh goldsmiths frequently applied the technique called *bürtik* or *büršik*. Well, the use of the alternatives *bürtik* and *büršik* goes back to dialectal differences in various regions, but basically both *bürtik* and *büršik* mean the same. The root of these words is *bür* 'small lump, or knot; bud'... The basis of the *bürtik* technique as used in goldsmiths' art is that onto the surface of finely wrought silver or gold articles, tiny silver or gold *bürtiks* (*büršiks*) are fastened or welded, to create a preliminarily designed pattern..."

Similarly valuable data can be gleaned from the Kazakh ethnographer and art historian S. Qasıymanulī's book entitled *Qazaq halqınıng qolöneri* (Kazakh Folk Art; Almatı, 1969): "*bürtik* — usaq, tarī sıyaqtı qolğa bilinip turattın beder; *bür*, *büršik*; minuscule, palpable element of decoration, similar to a millet-seed [in size, shape]; tiny lump, knob, pellet." (op. cit. p. 215).

In Mongolia, especially among the Kazakhs of the Bayan-Ölgiy and Qobdo aymaqs, both goldsmiths and other people are widely familiar with the word *bürtük* and its meaning 'silver or gold pellet (as ornaments on jewels, etc.)'; in their language the word *bürtük* is used as a synonym of *tüyür* also denoting 'corn, grain' in the first place. A man of a thousand skills, the noted stock-farmer and also saddler, blacksmith, goldsmith and yurt-maker, Qaraqas Qidiräliuli Töletay, defined the meaning of *bürtük* as: "*bürtük* dep köbünö kümüstön, keyde altınnan — bar bolsa, teg bolsun ğana — mınaday, tarı ülköndügüneyde nemese odan da kişkentay bolup, domalatıp ğıgarğan bittey sändik tüyürdördü aytamız; *bürtük* is the word we use for the minuscule rounded decorative pellet or grain with the size of a millet-seed or smaller, usually made of silver, sometimes of gold — if we have some — would to God that we would!"

In Karakalpakistan, the only place I managed to collect data was in the town of Qoŋrat. The writer J. Saparuli came to my help, defining the meaning of the word *bürtük* (as a goldsmiths' term) used by both goldsmiths and others as follows: "gümis yaki altınnan islengen kiškene tüyirşik; zergerlik jumislardı bezeytügün qurttay altın yaki gümis tüyiri, kişkentay nağis; a tiny bit or pellet made of silver or gold; small gold or silver grain, minute ornament for goldsmith's objects."

The Uzbeks use the word *dāna* to denote 'gold or silver pellet (applied to decorate goldsmiths' work)' but certain dialects also contain *bürtük* and *bürčük* 'id.'; cf.: *bürčük* 'bürčük' (Örgenç, Ğiwa, Ğānqa) — "üzük, isirğalarga quyiladigan tās; kamen' v perstne ili v ser'ge" (*Özbek halq şewalari luğati*. Tāškent, 1971, p. 58). According to the Uzbek philologists of Qipčaq origin, T. Rustamogli and N. Husanuli, in certain Kipchak dialects of the Uzbek language the words *bürtük*, *bürtik* also denote 'silver or gold pellet to decorate jewellery, harness, and other goldsmiths' work'.

One of Ligeti's remarks addressing my oft-quoted Hungarian article on the etymology of *börtü* reads as follows: "The Turkic *bürtük* is not a technical term of goldsmiths; it simply means 'grain, granule, corn' and as such occurs in any phrase whatever in which the notion of a 'particle', a 'bit' is to be expressed." (op. cit. p. 149), and a little later: "One need not be steeped in Turkic studies to understand that any attempt to explain the words *bürtük*, *tüyir* . . . divorced from the above phrases [meaning set phrases like *altın bürtügü*, *inşi bürtük*, etc., also included among my examples] as goldsmiths' terms is tantamount to declaring that the 'szem', 'szemcse', 'gömböcs' [corn, grain, globule] components of the Hungarian words *gyöngyszem*, *arany szemcse*, *ezüstgömböcs* [a single pearl, gold grain, silver pellet] are goldsmiths' terms." (op. cit. p. 150).

As the data I presented above verify the meaning of the Turkic word *bürtük* as used by goldsmiths was not artificially created through some arbitrary

breaking-up of phrases; on the contrary, it was the Turkic peoples themselves, both goldsmiths and their customers, who shaped this word for thousands — or at least hundreds — of years. The discussed meaning of the word is still 'alive and kicking', used by the Turkic people with gusto as it is nicer and more expressive than the normally artificial technical terms. Obviously, if the special lexical items of a craft largely coincide with the vocabulary of standard language, it testifies to the indigeneous origin of the particular craft. Displaying very few signs of external influence, the Turkic goldsmiths' art and craft commands a distinguished place among these internally developing trades.

Bürtük (*bürtik*, *börtek*, *börtök*, etc.), a widely used word in Turkic languages, belongs to the ancient stratum of the Turkic word stock as an original Turkic word: it is the derivative with the denominal nomen suffix *-tük* (*-tik*, *-tek*, *-tök*, etc.) of an assumed **bür* 'grain, speck, tiny particle, small bit, little knob' postulated on the basis of the vocabularies of old and contemporary Turkic languages and dialects; cf. Old Uigh. *bür* 'počka (rastenija)' (DTS, p. 132), Kom. *bür* 'das Blatt, die Blattknospe' (Radloff IV, p. 1886); Kir. *bür* 'molodye listočki' (KiRS 1965, p. 168), Oir. *bür* 'list drevesnyj, vetka, počka' (OjRS 1947, p. 37), Altai, Aladag *pür* 'list drevesnyj; vetočka; počka' (Verbickij, p. 247), Hakhas *pür* 'list' (ChRS 1953, p. 168), Osm. *bür* 'tomurecuk' (DS II, p. 824), etc. Other examples for this type of word formation are, for instance, the Turkic *qoltuq* 'armpit' (< *gol* 'hand, arm'), Kipchak *kindik* 'navel' (< *kin* 'id.'), or Koman *owulduq* 'fish roe' (< *owul* 'boy, child, kid, nestling, offspring'). (For the suffix *-diq*, *-dik*; *-tiq*, *-tik* see: M. Räsänen, *Materialien zur Morphologie* p. 97; A. von Gabain: PhTF I, p. 56).

A variety of suffixes joined the root **bür* in various Turkic languages to produce derivatives nearly all of which stand for 'grain, tiny particle, small bit, morsel', 'tiny knob, bud' or some synonyms thereof; cf. e.g.: Kaz. Tat. *böre* 'počka' (RTaS 1971, p. 528); Oir. *börök* 'id.' (OjRS 1947, p. 34); Hakhas *pürek* 'id.' (ChRS 1953, p. 169); Osm. *pürüz* 'nerovnyj kraj; vors; nedostatok, iz'jan; kljaksa; ostatki vina v stakane, podonki' (TuRS 1945, p. 495); *pörtül* 'küçük parça' (SDD III, p. 1164); *bürcü bürcü* 'tane tane' (DS II, p. 824); *pürbüçük* 'id.'; 'kısım kısım' (SDD III, p. 1172); *bürtmük* 'yumuşak şeylerden kopan küçük parçalar' (DS II, p. 828); Az. *pürtim-pürtim* 'didik-didik; rastrëpannyj; izodrannyj' (*Azərbaycan dilinin dialektoloji luğati* p. 352).

Yet another derivative of **bür* is *bürček* whose meaning in certain Turkic languages and dialects coincides or alternates with that of *bürtük*: e.g.: AĤ *bürčäk* 'alınm üzerine enen saç' (Caferoğlu, p. 25), İdr. haş. *bürček* 'alındaki kesme saç' (İzbudak, p. 8), ŠS *bürček* 'lüle, galule, saç, kjakül, tura — Kugel, Rolle; Haar, Locke' (Kúnos, p. 36), Osm. *bürček* ~ *birçek* 'saç, kâkül, züluf' (DS II, pp. 698, 825), *pürçek* 'kulak yanından kesilip sarkan kadın saç, kâhkül' (SDD III, p. 1172), 'tepedeki püskül; şakaklardaki saç' (*Anadilden Derle-*

meler, p. 318); cf. Kzk. *bir bürtük šaš* 'a hair', Kaz. Tat. *čäč börtege* 'volosinka' (see above).

The same can be observed in the case of *bürčik* ~ *bürčük*, etc., derived from **bür* with the help of the suffix *-čik* (*-čük*). Its meaning alternates between that of *bürtük* ~ *bürtik*, etc., and *bürček*; cf. e.g.: Kkp. *büršik* 'častica, komoček; krupinka; zërnyško; počka' (KkRS 1958, p. 128), Kzk. *büršik* 'počka rastenija; vors' (KaRS 1954, p. 111), Kaz. Tat. *börček* 'počka' (RTaS 1971, p. 716), Oir. *bürčük* 'počka drevesnaja' (OjRS 1947, p. 37), *börčök* 'počka' (op. cit. p. 34), Altai, Aladag *pürčük* ~ *pürüčik* 'počka (drevesnaja)' (Verbickij, p. 247), Hakhas *pürčük* 'raspustivšajasja počka' (ChRS 1953, p. 169), Osm. *bürçük* 'her hangi birşeyin bir parçası' (DS II, p. 825), *pürçük* 'saçak, püskül; öteberi, değersiz şeyler' (SDD III, p. 1172), 'ufak püskül, saçak' (*Anadilden Derlemeler*, p. 318), etc.

So far only M. Räsänen and V. G. Egorov have addressed the problem of the etymology of the common Turkic *bürtük*, etc., and Chuvash *pər. b̄žə* (*pěrčě*) resp., the counterparts of the Hungarian *börtü*. Of them, M. Räsänen's attempt appears to be more tenable. Though not able to formulate a definite idea of the origin of the words in question — he merely lists the data culled from the major Turkic languages —, by associating the word *bürtük* with *bürček* (~ *börčük* ~ *pirčäk*, etc.) he is apparently on the right track (*Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkisprachen*, p. 93). Egorov, on the other hand, presumes that the Chuvash *pěrčě* (dialectal *pěrčěk*) is formed from the numeral *pěr* 'one' with the diminutive suffix *-čě* (~ *čěk*) (*Étim. slov. čuv. jaz.*, p. 157). However, his hypothesis is disqualified by the above expounded etymology. Mention must also be made of Doerfer's effort to trace down the origin of *bürček*, a close relative of *bürtük*. He argues that *bürčäk*, an Uzbek loanword in Tadzhik, is derived from the verb *bürt-* 'drehen, umdrehen, verdrehen' in the following way: first, with the deverbal nomen suffix *-š* it formed **bürtüš*, to which the diminutive suffix *-äk* was added to create **bürtüšäk*; the vowel between *t* and *š* was later omitted (> **bürtšäk*) and the consonant cluster eventually merged into *č* to form *bürčäk*. Though seemingly logical, his argumentation is too complicated and laboured; Doerfer himself admits at the end of his exposition that it is neither convincing, nor clear enough (TMENp II, pp. 281—2).

By way of summing up the aforesaid, one can contend that the word *börtü* is of Turkic origin, belonging to the Turkic loanwords of the Hungarian language borrowed before the Magyar conquest of the Carpathian basin. Not only phonetical, but also culture historical evidence can be adduced to prove that the word was borrowed before the conquest. Prior to and around the time of the conquest, the Magyars had a highly advanced, mature and homogeneous art of goldsmithing of long traditions; as the archeological finds bear out, it was strongly Turkic in character, for it had evolved under the

constant and strong influence exercised upon it by the Turkic peoples, who for centuries lived in symbiosis with the Magyars, and some of whom even assimilated into them. One linguistic vestige of this impact is the word *börtü*.

In addition to culture history, the word under scrutiny also has bearings on the historical study of the Turkic languages. So far, . . . *rtuc* [o: *bürtük*] in Codex Cumanicus is the very first known occurrence of the Turkic word; but the word *börtü* of Old Turkic origin is itself a clear indication that in the Turkic languages, at least in those which were in contact with the Magyars, the word must have existed at the end of the 9th century at the latest. The whole stock of Turkic loanwords dating before the Hungarian conquest is a very precious record of the Old Turkic language of the 9th century: it is the Hungarian derivatives that provide the most authentic and unequivocal data from which one can infer that certain Turkic words, for example *bürtük*, did exist at that time.

The word the Hungarian language borrowed was an Old Turkic **bürtüg* (< **bürtüg* < **bürtük*) 'minuscule particle, tiny fragment, small bit, grain, little seed, granule; corn, grain'. The meaning 'silver or gold pellet; ball-shaped silver or gold lump' must have come about through the shortening of the phrase *ezüst törtü* 'silver pellet' or *arany törtü* 'gold pellet'. Similar or identical structures and semantic changes have also been evident in the Turkic sample given above.

Not only the semantic, but the phonological correspondence is also regular and exact: the final *-k* of the original Turkic word was first spirantized to become *ğ*, which then contracted with the preceding vowel into a diphthong or a long vowel, and the resulting word was finally shortened. The Hungarian vocabulary contains many Turkic loanwords that developed in the same way, such as: *betü* 'letter', *bütü* 'end of sg' (Székler dialect), *csimü* ~ *csimü* 'funnel' (dialect of Bihar; however, the word *csümeg* 'spout of jug, pitcher' used in the Nagykunság is of Koman origin), *gyűrű* 'ring', *gyűszű* 'thimble', *kölyü* 'mortar, pestle', *szérü* 'barn yard', *türü* 'pole' (dialect of Szatmár), *ürü* 'sheep', etc.

The meaning of Old Turkic **bürtüg* 'corn, grain' did not strike root in the Hungarian language. The possible explanation is that already possessing several words denoting 'corn, grain', the Hungarian language found it tautological to adopt this meaning of the Turkic *bürtük*. It is, however, just as possible that this meaning did exist in the Hungarian dialects of the Magyarized Turkic groups and tribal fragments who had joined the Magyars before the conquest, and it died out only later. If, on the other hand, we assume *börtü* to have been a technical term of goldsmiths ever since its borrowing — a very likely assumption, as it denotes a part of a typically Turkic goldsmithing technique — we might as well assume that this was the very meaning adopted by the Hungarian language, first of all through the mediation of goldsmiths of Turkic origin, and then there is indeed no need to worry about the missing meaning 'corn, grain'.

DIE GESTIRNNAMEN DES ZODIAKUS IN DEN TÜRKISCHEN SPRACHEN

IMRE GYARMATI

1. Nachdem man in den Staaten des antiken Ostens erkannt hatte, daß sich die einzelnen Phasen des Ackerbaus — der Zeitpunkt des Säens und der Ernte —, nach den Jahreszeiten, d. h. dem Sonnenjahr richten, schien es angebracht zu sein, den auf den Mondphasen basierenden Kalender mit der Bewegung der Sonne ein Einklang zu bringen. Um dieses Problem zu lösen, teilten die Astronomen Mesopotamiens schon im 7. Jh. v. u. Z. die scheinbare Sonnenbahn im Laufe eines Jahres, die Ekliptik, in zwölf gleiche Teile ein und legten die in ihrer Zone sichtbaren Sternbilder¹ fest. Diesen Sternbildern gaben sie in der Regel die Namen von Tieren, seltener von Gegenständen, deren Bilder in ihrer Phantasie erschienen. Auch die Bezeichnung dieses System *Tierkreis* bzw. das aus dem Griechischen stammende Wort *Zodiakus* gehen hierauf zurück.²

Die Tierkreiszeichen sind den durch den Mondkalender verursachten Schwierigkeiten gegenüber relativ zuverlässig, weil die Sonne Jahr für Jahr zur gleichen Zeit im festgelegten Sternbild »verweilt«. Die Präzessionsbewegung, durch die die Sonne alle 2200 Jahre um eine Sterngruppe mehr nach hinten »rückt«, ist praktisch nicht wahrnehmbar.³

1.1. Die auch heute gebräuchlichen Bezeichnungen der Sternbilder des Zodiakus sind babylonischer Herkunft. In den europäischen Sprachen hatten sie sich über griechische Vermittlung nach lateinischem Vorbild⁴ durch Lehnübersetzung herausgebildet.⁵

¹ Hahn I., *Naptári rendszerek és az időszámítás* [Die Kalendersysteme und die Zeitrechnung]. Budapest 1983, 33–36; Hermann, D. B., *Entdecker des Himmels*. Leipzig—Jena—Berlin 21979, 31–32.

² Vgl.: gr. ζωδιακός κύκλος »Tierkreis«

³ Kulin Gy., Róka G. (Red.), *A távcső világa* [Die Welt des Fernrohrs] Budapest 21980, 201

⁴ Hahn I., *op. cit.*, 35–36.

⁵ Vgl. z. B.: gr. καρκίνος, lat. *Cancer*, it. *Cancro*, frz. *Cancer*, *Écrevisse*, engl. *Cancer*, ung. *Rák*, russ. *Рак* »Krebs; Sternbild des Krebses«.

1.2. Bei den Türken zeigen die Namen der Tierkreiszeichen, anders als die in den europäischen Sprachen bekannten Bezeichnungen, ein sehr große Mannigfaltigkeit. Für die einzelnen Sternbilder sind mehrere, nicht selten sogar fünf oder sechs Bezeichnungen nachweisbar.

Im folgenden sollen sämtliche Faktoren, die bei der Entstehung der türkischen Namen der Tierkreiszeichen eine Rolle spielen konnten, kurz betrachtet werden.

1.2.1. Obwohl ein bedeutender Teil der Türken vor der Islamisierung eine nomadisierende Lebensweise geführt hat, lassen einige Umstände dennoch darauf schließen, daß bestimmte Sternbilder des Zodiakus auch den alten türkischen Völkern bekannt waren.

Im Gegensatz zu der entscheidenden Mehrheit der europäischen Sprachen finden sich unter den türkischen Namen der Sternbilder des Zodiakus einige Bezeichnungen, die durch innere Entwicklung und vielleicht frei von jedem fremden Einfluß entstanden waren. Vgl.: *Qučiq* »Sternbild des Krebses« (ausführlicher: **2.4.1.**); *Eren tüz* »Sternbild der Zwillinge« (mit nicht ganz klarer Etymologie) (**2.3.1.**); ferner *Arıq taq* »Sternbild der Zwillinge« unklarer Herkunft (**2.3.2.**). Diese Namen bezeichnen ausschließlich die obigen Sternbilder, ein appellativer Gebrauch läßt sich nicht nachweisen.

Außer den obigen Gestirnnamen finden sich auch solche, die in den türkischen Sprachdenkmälern in der Regel zwar einen anderen Stern bezeichnen, in einigen Fällen aber auch in der Bedeutung »Sternbild des Zodiakus« vorkommen. Von diesen Gestirnnamen bezeichnet das Nomen *qazuz* »Pflock«, das zumeist in den attributiven Konstruktionen *altın qazuz* (eigtl. »Goldpflock«) und *temür qazuz* (»Eisenpflock«) zur Bezeichnung des »Polarsterns« gebraucht wird, in der tschagataischen Literatursprache auch das Sternbild »Bock« des Tierkreises. Vgl.: PdC 405 und **2.10.2.**

Die Konstruktion *qara quş* (eigtl. »schwarzer Vogel, eine Art Adler«) ist bei den Türken auch als einer der Namen des »Jupiter« bekannt. Vgl.: Kāşy., QB *Qara quş* »Jupiter«, doch im zitierten Werk von Kāşyari wird auch die Bedeutung »Sternbild der Waage« erwähnt, obwohl dies wahrscheinlich auf einem Irrtum von Kāşyari beruht (ausführlicher s.: **2.7.2.**).

Beachtenswert ist die Beobachtung, daß im Falle anderer Gestirnnamen die vermutlich auf türkischen Boden entstandenen Bezeichnungen wesentlich häufiger vorkommen. Vgl. z. B.: *Aq ayğır* »Sirius« (eigtl. »weißer Hengst«); *Ikki boz at* »die Sterne α und β im Sternbild des Kleinen Bären« (eigtl. »zwei graue Pferde«); *Baqır soqum* »Mars« (eigtl. »Messingstück«) usw.

Aus dem Gesagten dürfen wir folgern, daß in der Kultur der von Weide zu Weide wandernden Reiternomaden die Kenntnis der Himmelskörper in erster Linie zur räumlichen Orientierung gedient haben dürfte. Auch die Kenntnis der Sternbilder des Zodiakus war dabei nützlich.

1.2.2. Einen ansehnlichen Teil der türkischen Namen der Tierkreiszeichen, etwa 45% des Materials meiner Arbeit, bilden die mit Hilfe von Lehnübersetzungen gebildeten Bezeichnungen. Die Ermittlung der Sprachen, aus denen die Vorbilder der Entlehnung genommen wurden, erfordert mitunter ziemlich breit angelegte Nachforschungen, zumal die babylonischen Gestirnnamen wahrscheinlich nicht nur über die musulmanische astronomische Kultur zu den einzelnen Zweigen der türkischen Sprachfamilie gelangt waren, obwohl die Mehrzahl der Fälle (etwa zwei Drittel) auf einen arabisch—persischen Hintergrund verweist. Die in Mesopotamien entstandenen Namen der Sternbilder des Zodiakus (etwa 17%) konnten zu einem Teil der auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion lebenden türkischen Völkerschaften auch über griechische und russische Vermittlung gelangt sein. Trotzdem geben einige, ebenfalls auf Lehnübersetzung zurückgehende türkische Gestirnnamen keinerlei Anhaltspunkte über die Richtung der Entlehnungen (etwa 17%).

Untersuchen wir nun den Hintergrund der Entwicklung der türkischen Sternbildnamen, die im Ergebnis von Lehnübersetzungen entstanden sind.

1.2.2.1. Zu Beginn der Islamisierung waren die Türken bestrebt, sich die außerordentlich hohe astronomische Kultur der arabischen und iranischen Völker anzueignen. Sie lernten zahlreiche ihnen bis dahin unbekannte Begriffe, sogar neue Gestirne kennen. Natürlich sind unter den neuen Sternbildern in erster Linie jene nicht zirkumpolaren Sternbilder zu verstehen, die vom Lebensraum der türkischen Völker, vom Gebiet zwischen 30° und 60° nördlicher Breite mit freiem Auge nicht zu sehen sind. Es ist aber anzunehmen, vor allem auf Grund kulturhistorischer Überlegungen, daß auch die babylonischen Bezeichnungen der Sternbilder des Zodiakus zu dieser Zeit in die türkischen Sprachen gelangt waren. Die Entlehnung der zodiakalen Sternbildnamen in die türkischen Sprachen geschah wohl überwiegend (zu etwa 66%) nach arabischen bzw. persischen Vorbildern. Vgl. z. B.: QB *Čadan* »Sternbild des Skorpions« = ar. *ʿaqrab*, pers. *každom*: »Skorpion; Sternbild des Skorpions« (ausführlicher: **2.8.1.**) || QB *Ülgü* »Sternbild der Waage«, *ülgü* »Messung, Maß, Maßeinheit; Waage« = ar. *mizān*, pers. *tarāzu*: »Waage; Sternbild der Waage« (vgl. noch: **2.7.1.**) || QB *Balıq* »Sternbild der Fische« = ar. *ḥūt*, pers. *māhi* »Fisch; Sternbild der Fische« (s. auch: **2.12.1.**) usw.

In einigen Fällen gebrauchten die Türken zur Bezeichnung des gleichen Sternbildes mehrere, wahrscheinlich ebenfalls durch Lehnübersetzung entstandene Namen. Die Entlehnungen kamen vermutlich nicht gleichzeitig und nicht im gleichen Sprachgebiet zustande. Bei der Entstehung der in Frage stehenden Bezeichnungen dürfte der Umstand eine Rolle gespielt haben, daß die arabischen bzw. persischen Vorbilder evtl. unabhängig voneinander zu den einzelnen Zweigen der türkischen Sprachfamilie gelangt waren. Um diese Frage entscheiden zu können, fehlen uns aber einstweilen alle linguistischen Krite-

rien. Zu dem Gesagten vgl. z. B. aus dem Material meiner Arbeit: QB *Uδ* »Sternbild des Stiers«, *uδ* »Stier, Kuh, Rind«; İbnü Mühennâ, osm. *Öküz* »Sternbild des Stiers«, *öküz* »Stier; Ochse« = ar. *saur*, pers. *gāo* (Vullers) ~ *gāw* (DPerFr.): »Ochse, Stier; Sternbild des Stiers« (vgl. noch: **2.2.1.**, **2.2.2.**) || QB *Könek* »Sternbild des Wassermanns«, *Kāšγ. künek* (Atalay) ~ *könek* (Brockelmann) »Feldflasche, Krug«; tschag. *qopqa* ~ *qobya* »Eimer; Sternbild des Wassermanns« (PdC) = ar. *dalw*, pers. *döl*, paschtu *salwāya* id. (vgl. noch: **2.11.1.**, **2.11.2.**) || QB *Buyday baši* »Sternbild der Jungfrau«, İbnü Mühennâ *buyday baši* »Weizenähre; Sternbild der Jungfrau«; osm. *başak* »Ähre; Sternbild der Jungfrau« = ar. *sunbul*, pers. *hōše* (Vullers) ~ *hūše* (PerRSL.), paschtu *wayay* »Ähre; Traube; Sternbild der Jungfrau« (ausführlicher: **2.6.1.**, **2.6.2.**, **1.2.2.2.**).

1.2.2.2. Die durch Lehnübersetzung entstandenen türkischen Namen der zodiakalen Sternbilder weisen in einigen Fällen darauf hin, daß die Übernahme, vor allem auf Grund semasiologischer und wortgeographischer Überlegungen, auch über ein russisches Vorbild erfolgt sein konnte. Die Gestirnnamen, die sich aus dem Russischen herleiten lassen, erscheinen in erster Linie im Namen-gut der kirgisischen und baschkirischen Sprachen.

In meinem Material dürften baschk. *Qid* sowie kirg. *Kiz* »Mädchen; Jungfrau, unberührtes Mädchen; Sternbild der Jungfrau« als Bezeichnungen des Sternbilds der Jungfrau nach dem Vorbild des russischen Nomens *Дева* »Jungfrau; Sternbild der Jungfrau« entstanden sein. Die in den anderen Zweigen der türkischen Sprachfamilie gebräuchlichen Bezeichnungen *Buyday baši* (eigtl. »Weizenähre«) und *Başaq* (»Ähre«) »Sternbild der Jungfrau« sind nämlich vermutlich unter dem Einfluß der bei den musulmanischen Völkern mit ähnlicher Bedeutung belegbaren Bezeichnungen entstanden (ausführlicher s.: **2.6.1.**, **2.6.2.**, **1.2.2.1.**).

Die Bezeichnungen des »Sternbildes des Wassermanns« die baschk. *Hıuqoyar* und kirg. *Su Kuyguç* (eigtl. »Wassermann«) deuten gleichfalls auf die Übernahme nach russischem Vorbild hin. Vgl.: russ. *Бодолеу* »wassergießender Arbeiter; Schüssel, um Wasser auf die Hand zu gießen; Sternbild des Wassermanns« (vgl. noch: **2.11.4.**). Die Nomina *könek* und *qova* mit der Bedeutung »Gefäß, Eimer« für »Sternbild des Wassermanns« zeugen aber vom arabisch—persischen Einfluß. Vgl.: **2.11.1.**, **2.11.2.**, **1.2.2.1.**

Auf Grund semasiologischer Kriterien läßt sich wohl auch der kirg. Name *Atkič* »Sternbild des Schützen« dieser Untergruppe zuordnen (ausführlicher s.: **2.9.3.**).

Die Bezeichnungen des »Sternbildes des Stiers« die baschk. *Buya* (**2.2.3.**) und *Täkä* »Sternbild des Widders« (**2.1.3.**) dürften vor allem auf Grund wortgeographischer und semasiologischer Kriterien auch auf den russischen Hintergrund zurückgehen.

1.2.2.3. Ein Teil (etwa 17%) der durch Lehnübersetzung entstandenen türkischen Bezeichnungen für die zodiakalen Sternbilder vermittelt keinerlei Auskunft über die Richtung der Entlehnung. Im Hintergrund dieser Gestirnnamen läßt sich zumeist der Einfluß mehrerer Sprachgebiete annehmen. Die Vorbilder zur Entlehnung der in Frage stehenden Gestirnnamen in die türkeitürkische Sprache konnten aus dem Griechischen und, dank dem Handel, der Schifffahrt und anderen Wechselbeziehungen sogar aus anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen (z. B. aus dem Italienischen, aus den slawischen Sprachen auf der Balkanhalbinsel usw.) kommen. Die zu dieser Gruppe gehörenden Bezeichnungen der Tierkreiszeichen kommen im Alttürkischen generell nicht vor. Sie bildeten sich anscheinend im Ergebnis neuerer Entlehnungen heraus, doch läßt sich die Herkunft der als Grundlage zur Übersetzung dienenden Vorbilder nicht klären. Vgl. z. B.: osm. *Koç*, as. *Goč* »Widder; Sternbild des Widders« (2.1.2.) || osm. *Boğa*, as. *Buğa* »Stier; Sternbild des Stiers« (2.2.3.), obwohl das baschk. *Buğa* id. vielleicht auf ein russisches Vorbild zurückgeht (vgl.: 2.2.3., 1.2.2.2.) || as. *Oxatan bürjü* »Sternbild des Schützen« (2.9.2.), obwohl das tat. *Ukčü* und baschk. *Uqsı* »Sternbild des Schützen« dürfte indessen nach russischem Vorbild erfolgt sein (ausführlicher: 2.9.2.) || osm. *İkizler* »Zwillinge; Sternbild der Zwillinge«, während das kirg. *Egiz*, baschk. *Igedäktür* und das tschuw. *Yəkəreşsem* id. wahrscheinlich ebenfalls auf russische Vermittlung verweist (2.3.?).

1.2.3. Obwohl auch die Gestirne nicht frei sind von den allgemeinen Gesetzmäßigkeiten, die die materielle Welt unablässig durchdringen, weicht das Himmelsgewölbe mit seiner jahrtausendealten Ruhe, seiner scheinbaren Unbeweglichkeit, dennoch scharf von den anderen Elementen der Natur ab. Diese relative Beständigkeit der Himmelskörper bedeutet aber bei weitem nicht, daß das Namenmaterial der Gestirne im Bewußtsein eines Volkes unverändert bleibt. Anstelle der alten Gestirnnamen treten häufig neue auf, die die alten Bezeichnungen evtl. definitiv verdrängen. Die Gestirnnamen, besonders aber die Namen der Planeten verbreiten sich nicht selten über ungeheuer große Gebiete, und sie zeigen auf diese Weise mit den Kulturwörtern eigentlich in vielen Beziehungen verwandte Züge. Diese Erscheinung läßt sich in der Mehrzahl der europäischen Sprachen verfolgen,⁶ und sie ist auch im Ungarischen nicht unbekannt.⁷ In dieser Beziehung bilden jedoch die Bezeichnungen der zodiakalen Sternbilder eine Ausnahme; die Entsprechungen der babylonischen Gestirnnamen dürften nämlich in den europäischen Sprachen, vermutlich als

⁶ Scherer, A., *Gestirnnamen bei den indogermanischen Völkern*. Heidelberg 1953, 15; Erdödi J., *Uráli csillagnevek és mitológiai magyarázatuk [Uralische Gestirnnamen und ihre mythologische Erklärung]*. MNyTK 124. Budapest 1970, 5.

⁷ Kulin Gy., Róka G. (Red.), *op. cit.*, 790—800.

Ergebnis persischer, griechischer und lateinischer Vermittlung, als Ergebnis einer Lehnübersetzung entstanden sein.

Zur Bezeichnung der zodiakalen Sternbilder sind auch in den türkischen Sprachen zahlreiche zu finden, die sich durch Lehnübersetzung ableiten lassen (etwa 49%), doch sind im Gegensatz zu den europäischen Sprachen in den türkischen Sprachen nahezu ebensoviele (45,3%) Namen fremder Herkunft nachweisbar. Die fremden, zum Großteil aus dem Arabischen und Persischen stammenden Bezeichnungen der zodiakalen Sternbilder lassen sich in einigen Fällen schon aus dem Alttürkischen belegen. In unseren Tagen sind sie in nahezu sämtlichen türkischen Sprachen bekannt. Manche der in der Sowjetunion lebenden türkischen Völker gebrauchen zur Bezeichnung der zodiakalen Sternbilder auch russische Entlehnungen.

Nachstehend soll kurz beschrieben werden unter welchen Umständen die in Frage stehenden Gestirnnamen entlehnt wurden.

1.2.3.1. Mit der Annahme der musulmanischen Religion begann um die Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts jener in der Kultur der Türken so tiefgreifende Vorgang, der auch dem Wortschatz der türkischen Sprachen stark seinen Stempel aufdrückte. Die türkischen Sprachdenkmäler bezeugen aber eindeutig, daß dieser ziemlich intensive fremde Einfluß auch in der Periode der Islamisierung nicht gleichmäßig zur Geltung kam. In der Sprache der aus dem 11. Jh. stammenden türkischen Denkmäler ist die Zahl der arabischen und persischen Lehnwörter noch verhältnismäßig gering während die späteren bereits deutlich die Vertiefung des fremden Einflusses zeigen. Dies geht auch aus dem astronomischen Namenmaterial der türkischen Sprachen klar hervor. In den frühen Sprachdenkmälern, im Wörterbuch von Kāşyari und im Qutađyu Bilig, kommen unter den Namen der zodiakalen Sternbilder noch in nahezu sämtlichen Fällen ausschließlich türkische Bezeichnungen vor, obwohl die Herausbildung der Bedeutung »Gestirname« der in Frage stehenden türkischen Nomina zumeist schon durch die Übernahme arabischer bzw. persischer Gestirnnamen zustande gekommen sein durfte. Aus dieser sprachlichen Tatsache können wir die Folgerung ziehen, daß die Türken in den Jahrzehnten nach der Annahme des mohammedanischen Glaubens alsbald auch mit den astronomischen Kenntnissen der arabischen und iranischen Völker vertraut wurden. Die damals vermutlich noch nicht allzu intensiven sprachlichen Kontakte machten aber die unmittelbare Übernahme der arabischen und persischen Gestirnnamen nicht möglich. Letzten Endes erklären es vielleicht gerade die erwähnten anfänglich oberflächlichen sprachlichen Beziehungen, warum die babylonischen Gestirnnamen auch bei den türkischen Völkern durch Lehnübersetzung überliefert werden und sich relativ rasch verbreiten konnten. Unsere Annahme wird auch dadurch bestätigt, daß in zahlreichen modernen türkischen Sprachen nur die arabischen bzw. persischen Bezeichnungen weiterleben, während

die alten, durch Lehnübersetzung zustande gekommenen Gestirnnamen nicht nachweisbar sind.⁸

Die Ursache dieser Erscheinung ist wahrscheinlich wiederum der Einfluß der arabischen und persischen Sprache, der nach der Islamisierung der Türken in kurzer Zeit außerordentlich stark wurde. Auch die arabischen und persischen Namen des Zodiakus dürften damals in die türkischen Sprachen gelangt sein.

Die arabischen Bezeichnungen der zodiakalen Sternbilder sind nicht nur bei den Türken, sondern auch in den iranischen Sprachen bekannt. Dieser Umstand verursacht neue Schwierigkeiten, weil wir in Ermangelung phonetischer Kriterien nicht in der Lage sind festzustellen, aus welcher Sprache diese Namen übernommen wurden. Wir können somit auch mit der iranischen Vermittlung der arabischen Gestirnnamen rechnen.

Unter den in den türkischen Sprachen gebräuchlichen Namen der zodiakalen Sternbilder kommen etwa zwei Drittel der Bezeichnungen fremder Herkunft letzten Endes aus dem Arabischen. Vgl. z. B.: osm. *Mizan*, kkalp. *Miyzan*, ösb. *Mezan* »Sternbild der Waage« < ar. *Mizān* »Sternbild der Waage« > pers., paschtu, dari *Mizān*, tadsh. *Mizān* id. (2.7.3.) || osm. *Cedi*, kkalp. *Jeddi*, mod. ujj. *Jäddi* »Sternbild des Boocks« < ar. *Ĵadi* »Sternbild des Boocks« > pers., tadsh., paschtu, dari *Ĵadi* id. (2.10.4.) || osm., tkm. kkalp., mod. ujj. Dial. *Hut* »Sternbild der Fische« < ar. *Hūt* »Sternbild der Fische« > pers., tadsh., paschtu, dari *Hut* id. (2.12.2.) usw.

Im Mitteltürkischen erscheint die aus dem Arabischen stammende Bezeichnung des zodiakalen Sternbildes ausnahmsweise sehr früh und ist schon im QB nachweisbar. Vgl.: *Serṭan* »Sternbild des Krebses« < ar. *Saraṭān* id. (2.4.3.).

Die in den türkischen Sprachen nachweisbaren, aus dem Arabischen stammenden Bezeichnungen der Tierkreiszeichen bieten auch einige Hinweise darauf, daß die Lehnübersetzung, ähnlich wie in den türkischen Sprachen, in mehreren Fällen auch auf dem arabischen Sprachgebiet stattgefunden hat. Zur Bestätigung unserer Behauptung bieten besonders die arabischen Namen

⁸ Vgl. z. B.: *Qozī* »Lamm, Widder; Sternbild des Widders« (QB, Rabγ., İbnü Mühennâ), kas., kkalp. *qozī*, mod. ujj. *qozī* ~ *qoza*, ösb. *qūzi*, tat. *kuzī* (TatRSl.) »Widder, Lamm«, aber vgl. noch: tkm., ösb. *Hamal*, tat., mod. ujj. *Hämäl*, kkalp. *Hämäl*, kas. *Qamal* »Sternbild des Widders« < ar. *Hamal* id. || *Arslan* »Löwe; Sternbild des Löwen« (QB, Rabγ., İbnü Mühennâ, Sanglaḫ), tkm. *arslan*, tat. *arslan* (Bálint) ~ *arīslan* (TatRSl.), ösb. *arslān*, as. *arslan* ~ *aslan* »Löwe«, aber vgl. noch: ösb. *Asad*, tat. *Āsād*, tkm. *Āset* »Sternbild des Löwen« < ar. *Asad* id.; as. *Šir būrfū* »Sternbild des Löwen« < pers. *Šēr* (Vullers) ~ *Šir* (PerRSl.) id. || *Ādan* (QB) ~ *Ādan* (Rabγ.) ~ *Āyan* »Sternbild des Skorpions« (İbnü Mühennâ, Veliaminof-Zernof, Sanglaḫ), tat. *čayan*, tkm. *ičyan* »Skorpion«, osm. *çayan* »Scolopendra«, aber vgl. noch: osm. *Aqrab* ~ *Aqreb* (Zenker), *Akrep* (GökbTerS), tkm. *Akrap*, tat. *Āqrāb* »Sternbild des Skorpions« < ar. *Aqrab* id.

des Sternbildes der Jungfrau hervorragende Beispiele, und da diese Bezeichnungen gleichzeitig auch türkische Beziehungen haben, unternehmen wir einen Versuch, den Hintergrund dieser Gestirnnamen zu beleuchten.

Die alte mesopotamische Bezeichnung für das Sternbild der Jungfrau war das Nomen *absin* mit der Bedeutung »Ähre«, während der auch heute gebräuchliche Name erst im 8. Jh. v. u. Z. entstand.⁹ Der frühere babylonische Name war auch zu den iranischen Völkern gelangt, die diesen Gestirnnamen auf Grund der ursprünglichen Bedeutung in ihre Sprache übernahmen. Vgl. z. B.: pers. *hōše*, tadsh. *hūša* »Ähre; Traube; Sternbild der Jungfrau«. Der babylonische Gestirnnamen oder dessen iranische Variante gelangte auch zu den arabischen Volksstämmen, worauf vor allem die wahrscheinlich von einer früheren Lehnübersetzung ableitbare Bezeichnung dieses Sternzeichens hinweist: ar. *Sunbula* »Sternbild der Jungfrau«. Vgl. noch: ar. *sunbul* »Ähre«. Die Herausbildung der Bedeutung »Sternbild der Jungfrau« der türkischen Nomina *Buyday baši* »Weizenähre« und *Başaq* »Ähre« läßt sich ebenfalls hiermit in Zusammenhang bringen. Vgl. noch: 1.2.2.1., 2.6.1. bzw. 2.6.2.

Wenn wir nun auch die europäischen Sprachen in unsere Betrachtungen einbeziehen, so sehen wir, daß der frühe babylonische Gestirnnamen in ihrer Mehrheit zwar nicht endgültig verschwand,¹⁰ doch zur Bezeichnung des Sternbildes der Jungfrau dennoch nicht dieser Name überliefert wurde. Vgl. z. B.: engl. *Virgo*, frz. *Vierge*, it. *Vergine*, ung. *Szűz*, russ. *Дева* »Jungfrau; Sternbild der Jungfrau«. Die in den obigen Sprachen aufgezeigten Namen hatten sich wohl nach dem Vorbild des lateinischen Nomens *Virgo* »die (noch unverletzte) Jungfrau, das Mädchen; ein Gestirn, die Jungfrau« herausgebildet. Die in den europäischen Sprachen gebräuchliche Bezeichnung »Jungfrau; Sternbild der Jungfrau« haben auch die arabischen Astronomen kennengelernt und sie waren bemüht den für sie neuen Namen in ihre eigene Sprache zu übernehmen. Das Vorbild zur Herausbildung des ar. Nomens 'azrā' »Jungfrau« in der Bedeutung »Gestirnnamen« kam wahrscheinlich aus irgendeiner europäischen Sprache. Zum arabischen Gestirnnamen vgl.: al 'Azrā' »Sternbild der Jungfrau«.

In die türkischen und iranischen Sprachen wurden beide arabischen Nomina auch in der Bedeutung »Gestirnnamen« übernommen. Das Vorkommen dieser beiden Gestirnnamen, die im wesentlichen durch Lehnübersetzung, doch wahrscheinlich infolge verschiedener Kultureinflüsse und nicht gleichzeitig

⁹ Hermann, J., *Das falsche Weltbild*. Stuttgart 1962, 20.

¹⁰ Das lat. Wort *spica* »Ähre« beschränkt sich auf die Bezeichnung des hellsten Sterns im Gestirn der Jungfrau. Vgl.: lat. *Spica* »die Ähre des Getreides; der hellste Stern im Gestirn der Jungfrau«. Vgl. noch: engl., frz., it., *Spica* id. Nach dem osm. Äquivalent vgl.: *Başakçı* »Başagın a yıldızı; der a Stern im Gestirn der Jungfrau« (Gökb-TerS 11.126).

entstandenen waren, zeigt in den untersuchten Sprachen augenfällige Unterschiede. Der arabische Gestirname *Sunbula* »Ähre; Sternbild der Jungfrau«, der die Merkmale einer vermutlich frühen Entlehnung aufweist, ist in nahezu sämtlichen Zweigen der türkischen Sprachfamilie bekannt und auch in den iranischen Sprachen weit verbreitet. Vgl. z. B.: ösb. *Sunbula*, mod. ujj. *Sünbülä* ~ mod. ujj. Dial. *Sunbule*, osm. *Sümbüle*, kkalp. *Sünbile* »Sternbild der Jungfrau«. Vgl. noch: pers. *Sunbula* (Vullers) ~ *Sombola* (DPerFr.), tadsh. *Sunbula*, paschtu *Sumbula*, dari *Sombola* id. (ausführlicher: 2.6.4.).

Der dem Anschein nach auf eine neuere Übersetzung verweisende arabische Gestirname 'Azrā' »Jungfrau, Sternbild der Jungfrau« hingegen ist nur im Türkischen sowie in den persischen und tadshikischen Sprachen nachweisbar. Vgl.: osm. *Azra*, pers. 'Azrā', tadsh. 'Azrā' »Sternbild der Jungfrau« (ausführlicher: 2.6.5.).

Diese Erscheinung läßt sich auch in den aus dem Arabischen stammenden Bezeichnungen für die zodiakalen Sternbilder der Zwillinge und des Schützen beobachten. Zu Bezeichnungen arabischer Herkunft des Sternbildes der Zwillinge vgl.: kkalp. *Ĵawza*, osm. *Cevza*, mod. ujj. *Ĵewze* ~ mod. ujj. Dial. *Ĵewza*, tat. *Ĵäüza* »Sternbild der Zwillinge« < ar. *Ĵawzā'* »Sternbild der Zwillinge« > pers. *Jouza* (PerRSl.) ~ *Jowzā* (DPerFr.), tadsh. *Ĵawzā*, paschtu, dari *Ĵawzā* id. Zu den vermutlich durch neuere Entlehnung entstandenen arabischen Gestirnnamen vgl.: ar. *tau'am* »Zwilling«, *Tau'amān* »Sternbild der Zwillinge« > osm. *Tev-emim*, pers. *Tau'am*, tadsh. *Tawam* »Sternbild der Zwillinge« (s. noch: 2.3.4., bzw. 2.3.5.).

Zu den aus dem Arabischen stammenden Bezeichnungen des Sternbildes des Schützen s. z. B.: osm. *Qaws* (Zenker) ~ *Kavis* (TRSl.), ösb. *Qaws*, tat. *Kaväs* (ArTatRSl.), tkm. *Kovus* »Sternbild des Schützen« < ar. *Qaws* »Sternbild des Schützen« > paschtu *Qaus*, dari *Qaws*, pers. *Qows* id.; ar. *Rāmi* »Sternbild des Schützen« > osm. *Rāmī*, pers. *Rāmi* id. (ausführlicher: 2.9.4. bzw. 2.9.5.).

Auf Grund der obigen Beispiele lassen sich folgende Schlüsse ziehen: Die in die türkischen Sprachen übernommenen arabischen Bezeichnungen der Tierkreiszeichen verweisen, wie oben bereits erwähnt wurde, in einigen Fällen darauf, daß die Lehnübersetzung auch in der arabischen Sprache mehrfach stattgefunden hat. Das Vorbild zur Herausbildung der frühen Bezeichnungen stammte aus Mesopotamien, wahrscheinlich durch persische Vermittlung, während später auch der Einfluß der europäischen Sprachen erkennbar ist. Die Gestirnnamen dieser beiden Schichten gelangten sowohl in die türkischen als auch in die iranischen Sprachen. Beachtung verdient die Tatsache, daß die persische Sprache die arabischen Bezeichnungen, die Träger einer für die Perser fremden Bedeutung waren, sowie die im Verlauf neuerer Entlehnungen entstandenen arabischen Gestirnnamen nicht übernahm. Obwohl die in Frage stehenden Bezeichnungen in einigen Fällen auch im Persischen und in der türkeitürkischen Sprache nachgewiesen werden können, waren diese Nomina

dennoch nur einer engen, sich mit den Wissenschaften, der Astronomie, beschäftigenden Schicht bekannt. Die persische Astronomie wollte somit die alten babylonischen Namen der Tierkreiszeichen bewahren, und ihre diesbezügliche Aktivität machte sich auch in den türkischen Sprachen bemerkbar.

Im türkischen Namengut der Sternbilder des Zodiakus verdient in erster Linie die Vermittlerrolle der persischen Astronomie erwähnt zu werden. Das Vorbild zur Übernahme der babylonischen Gestirname kam zum Großteil aus dem Persischen. Die nach dem vordringenden nomadisierenden türkischen Volksgruppen lernten die mesopotamischen Gestirnnamen evtl. noch vor der Islamisierung, durch die Vermittlung der am Amu-Darja lebenden iranischen Völker kennen. Ein Teil der Bezeichnungen arabischer Herkunft deutet gleichfalls auf persische Vermittlung hin. Die scheinbar als Ergebnis neuerer Lehnübersetzung entstandenen arabischen Namen fanden jedenfalls, ähnlich wie in den iranischen Sprachen, auch in den türkischen Sprachen keine Verbreitung. In der mitteltürkischen Periode trat mit der Zunahme des Einflusses der arabisch—persischen Sprachen außer diesem charakteristischen Zug der persischen Astronomie auch ihre unmittelbare Rolle in der Übergabe in den Vordergrund. Im folgenden Kapitel sei näher auf diese Vermittlerrolle eingegangen.

1.2.3.2. Die in den türkischen Sprachen für die zodiakalen Sternbilder gebräuchlichen Namen fremder Herkunft gehen häufig auf persische Vorbilder zurück (etwa 25%). Die Übernahme der persischen Lehnwörter setzte in der mitteltürkischen Periode ein, doch die Bedeutung »Gestirname« der in Betracht kommenden persischen Nomina ist nicht in allen Zweigen der türkischen Sprachfamilie bekannt. Die fraglichen fremden Gestirnnamen kommen vornehmlich in der Sprache jener türkischen Stämme vor, die in der Nachbarschaft von iranischen Völkern lebten (z. B. im Osmanli, in der aserbaidshanischen Sprache), obwohl diese Gesetzmäßigkeit in den ogusischen und Turksprachen von West-Turkestan nicht immer zur Geltung kommt.

Zu den aus dem Persischen entlehnten Bezeichnungen des Zodiakus, die in meinem Material angeführt sind, vgl. z. B.: osm. *Bere* »Sternbild des Widders« < pers. *Bare* (Vullers) ~ *Bär(r)e* (PerRSI.) id. Vgl. noch: tadsh. *Bara* ~ *Barra*, dari *Barre* »Sternbild des Widders« (s. noch: 2.1.5.) || osm. *Gāw* »Sternbild des Stiers« < pers. *Gāo* (Vullers) ~ *Gāw* (DPerFr.) id., vgl. noch: tadsh. *Gaw* ~ *Gāw* »Sternbild des Stiers« (2.2.5.) || as. *Šir bürjū* »Sternbild des Löwen« < pers. *Šēr* id., vgl. noch: tadsh. *Šer* »Sternbild des Löwen« (2.5.3.) usw.

In den türkischen Sprachen fand die aus dem Persischen kommende Bezeichnung des Sternbildes der Waage relativ weite Verbreitung. Vgl.: İbnü Mühennâ *Tarazî*, osm. *Terazî*, kirg. *Taraza*, mod. ujk. *Taraza* »Sternbild der Waage« < pers. *Tarāzu* »Sternbild der Waage«. Vgl. noch: tadsh. *Tarāzu*, vah. *Terozïw* id. (2.7.4.).

1.2.3.3. Ein Teil der auf dem Territorium der Sowjetunion lebenden türkischen Völker gebraucht zur Bezeichnung der zodiacalen Sternbilder auch Namen russischer Herkunft. Etwa 5,7% der in den türkischen Sprachen nachweisbaren Gestirnnamen des Zodiakus stammt aus dem Russischen. Zur Entlehnung der fraglichen fremden Namen kam es wahrscheinlich erst in jüngster Zeit. Die russischen Gestirnnamen kommen in erster Linie in wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten, in astronomischen Publikationen vor, in einigen Fällen lassen sie sich aber auch aus anderen Quellen belegen.

Zu den in meiner Arbeit angeführten zodiacalen Sternbildnamen russischer Herkunft s.: kirg. *Telec* »Sternbild des Stiers« < russ. *Телец* id. (2.2.6.) || kirg. *Rak* »Sternbild des Krebses« < russ. *Рак* id. (2.4.5.) || baschk., kirg. *Kozeroq* »Sternbild des Bocks« < russ. *Козерог* id. (2.10.5.).

1.3. In meiner Arbeit behandle ich die in den türkischen Sprachen gebräuchlichen Namen der Sternbilder des Zodiakus. Als Ausgangspunkt wählte ich das Werk *Qutadγu Bilig* von Yūsuf Ḥaş Ḥāḫib, denn im V. Kapitel des aus dem 11. Jh. stammenden karachanidischen Sprachdenkmals fanden wir alle zwölf Sternbilder des Zodiakus. Als Quellenwerke benutzte ich die Ausgaben von R. R. Arat (*Kutadgu Bilig*. I. *Metin*. İstanbul 1947, II. *Tercüme*. Ankara 1959, III. *İndeks*. İstanbul 1979, im weiteren: *Arat KB*) und W. Radloff (*Das Kudatku-Bilik*. I—II. St. Petersburg 1891—1910, im weiteren: *Radloff KB*). Von den Namen der zodiacalen Sternbilder führe ich zuerst die alten türkischen Bezeichnungen, ferner die Merkmale einer frühen Entlehnung aufweisenden Bezeichnungen an. Naturgemäß war ich bestrebt, außer den mittel-türkischen Epoche sowie die in den modernen türkischen Sprachen nachweisbaren Entsprechungen in Betracht zu ziehen. Nach den durch Lehnübersetzung entstandenen türkischen Gestirnnamen bespreche ich die fremden, aus dem Arabischen, Persischen und Russischen stammenden Bezeichnungen. Vor allem wollte ich in meiner Arbeit die verschiedenen Schichten der in den türkischen Sprachdenkmälern und in den modernen türkischen Sprachen vorhandenen Gestirnnamen voneinander trennen. Deshalb konnte in einigen Fällen die chronologische Reihenfolge nicht konsequent eingehalten werden.

2. Im folgenden gehe ich auf die Behandlung meines Materials über und untersuche die in den türkischen Sprachen vorhandenen Bezeichnungen für die Sternbilder des Zodiakus.

2.1. *Widder* (lat. *Aries*, astr. *Ari*)

2.1.1. *Qozi* »Koç burcu; Sternbild des Widders« (Arat KB III, 273),
yaşıq yandı bolγay yana ornıŋa
balıq qudrüqündin qozi burnıŋa (Arat KB I, 24.66),

»Güneş balık-kuyruğundan (hût),
kuzu-burnuna (hamel) kadar olan yerine tekrar döndü;
Zurückkehrte die Sonne auf ihren Platz,
Vom Schwanz des Fisches bis zur Nase des Widders« (Arat KB II, 16.66);

qozî yazqî yulduz basa ud kelir
erentir (sic!) quçiq birle sançu yorir (Arat KB I, 30.139),

»Hamel bahar yıldızdır, sonra Sevr gelir,
Cevzâ ile Seretân dürtüşerek yürür;
Der Widder ist ein Sommerzeichen, dann kommt der Stier;
Die Zwillinge und der Krebs kommen stechend« (Arat KB II, 21.139);

قوزى *Qozî* »Sternbild des Widders« (Rabγ. 66v. 4, Melioranskij ArFil. 017, Sanglaç 287r. 28). Vgl. noch: Radloff II, 630—631, Budagov II, 80, DTSL. 462; Clauson ETastrTer. 365; Clauson EtD 681.

Dieser Tiername ist in sämtlichen türkischen Sprachen bekannt. Vgl. z. B.: alttürk. *qozî* (Malov PamDTP 414) ~ *quzî* »kuzu; Lamm, Widder« (Tekin Maytr. 423); mitteltürk.: Kāşγ. قُزى *qozî* »Schaf« (Atalay III, 224, Brockelmann 162), *qozî* (Zajaczkowski HŠ III, 142), *qodî* id. (Borovkov Tefsir 210); as. *guzu*, chal. *quzî*, tat. *kuzî* (TatRSl.), ösb. *quzi*, alt. *qozî* »ягненок; Lamm« (Verbickij). Vgl. noch: Clauson EtD 681, Räsänen EtWb. 285, Doerfer TMEN III, Nr. 1559.

In der Bedeutung »Gestirnname« hat sich dieses Wort als Ergebnis einer Lehnübersetzung herausgebildet. Das Vorbild zur Übersetzung kam wahrscheinlich vom arabischen oder iranischen Sprachgebiet. Vgl. z. B.: ar. *hamal* »lamb; Aries, Ram (constellation)«; pers. *bare* »agnus«, *burj-e Bare* »signum Arietis« (Vullers), *bare* (DPerFr.) ~ *bär(r)e* »ягненок; барашек, детёныш джейрана, косули; (astr.) Овен (зодиакальное созвездие); (уст.) баре (первый месяц иранского солнечного года; соотв. марту—апрелю); Lamm; Widder, Jährling, Lämmchen, Junge der Gazelle, des Rehs; (astr.) Sternbild des Widders; (arch.) *bare* (der erste Monat des iranischen Sonnenjahres; entspricht März—April)« (PerRSl.); tadsh. *bara* ~ *barra* (Farh.), *barra* »ягненок; барашек; Овен (знак зодиака, соответствующий марту); Lamm, Widder; Jährling. Lämmchen; Sternbild des Widders (Tierkreiszeichen, das dem März entspricht)« (TadžRSl.), dari *barra* id. Vgl. noch: pahl. *warrag* »lamb; ram; (astr.) Aries« (MacKenzie 87).

Zu der korrekten Form des Gestirnnamens *Erentir* (sic!) s.: 2.3.1.

2.1.2. osm. *Koç* »Koç burcu; Sternbild des Widders« (GökbTerS 64.691); as. *Goç* id. (AzSEns. III, 220).

Der Tiername ist in nahezu sämtlichen Zweigen der türkischen Sprachfamilie bekannt. Vgl. z. B.: alttürk. *goç* »koç; Widder« (Tekin Mytr. 413);

mitteltürk. : قوچ *qoç* (Melioranskij ArFil. 0107), *qoç* »enenmiş erkek koyun; kastriertes Widder« (İbnü Mühennâ 44), *qoç* »bélier« (PdC 423); gag. *koç*, tkm. *qoç* »баран; Widder, Lamm«. Vgl. noch: Kāšγ. قچيکار *qoçngar* (Atalay III, 381—382) ~ *qoçuŋar* »Widder« (Brockelmann 157); kum. *qoçqar*, bar., kom. *qoçqar* »der Widder« (Radloff II, 621), kas. *qoşqar* id.; alt., tel. *qoçqor* »der Argali Bock; Widder« (Radloff II, 618); Clauson EtD 592, Räsänen EtWb. 274, Doerfer TMEN III, Nr. 1553.

In den türkischen Sprachen kommt dieser Gestirname in den erwähnten ogusischen Sprachen vor. In der Bedeutung »Gestirname« hat sich das Nomen durch Lehnübersetzung herausgebildet. Der Ursprung des Vorbildes läßt sich aber nicht näher bestimmen. Möglicherweise hatten daran außer den bei den moslimischen Völkern gebräuchlichen Wörtern »Widder; Sternbild des Widders« (s. : 2.1.1.) auch die in den europäischen Sprachen üblichen Namen teilgenommen. Vgl. z. B.: engl. *Ram*, *Aries*, frz. *Bélier*, it. *Ariete*, ung. *Kos*, russ. *Овен*, lat. *Aries*, gr. *εριφος* »Widder; Sternbild des Widders«.

2.1.3. baschk. *Täkä* (*yondodloq*) »Овен (созвездие); Sternbild des Widders« (RBaškTerAstr. 11).

Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung dieses Nomens lautet: »Männchen der Ziege, Ziegenbock« (vgl.: Clauson EtD 477, Räsänen EtWb. 470). Vgl. noch: Kāšγ. *teke* (Atalay III, 228), *täkä* »Bock« (Brockelmann 201); *teke* (Ettuhfet 254), *täkä* (IzyskDar 378), *teke* »keçi aygırı; Männchen der Ziege« (İbnü Mühennâ 70), as. *täkä*, gag. *tekä*, kum., kas. *teke* id.

Das Nomen *teke* läßt sich im Laufe der weiteren Bedeutungsentwicklung in einigen türkischen Sprachen auch als Bezeichnung für »anderes männliches Tier« bzw. als allgemeine Bezeichnung für »gewisse Tiere« nachweisen. Vgl. z. B.: kirg. *teke* »козёл (нехолощённый); Ziegenbock (unverschnitten)«, too *teke* »козерог, горный козёл (общее название козлов, коз, козлят); Steinbock, Bergbock (Ziegenböcke, Zicken, allgemeiner Name von Kitzen)«; baschk. *täkä* »название самцов некоторых животных; Name der Männchen gewisser Tiere«. Dieses Nomen kommt als Ergebnis der erwähnten Bedeutungsentwicklung bzw. Bedeutungserweiterung in den türkischen Sprachen der Wolgagegend auch als »männliches Schaf, Widder« vor. Vgl. z. B.: tat. *täkä* »Widder«, tshuw. *taca* »Widder, Bock« (Paasonen), *taka* »баран; Widder, Lamm« (Ašmarin). Vgl. noch: Egorov ÈtSl. 228, Doerfer TMEN II, Nr. 917.

Die Bedeutung des baschkirischen Tiernamens »Sternbild des Widders« war durch Lehnübersetzung entstanden. Die Übersetzung hatte — außer den in den europäischen Sprachen üblichen Bezeichnungen (z. B.: engl. *Aries*, frz. *Bélier*, it. *Ariete*, ung. *Kos* »Widder; Sternbild des Widders«) — möglicherweise auch das russische Wort *Овен* »Widder; Sternbild des Widders« zum Vorbild.

Das in den ogusischen Sprachen in der Bedeutung »Ziegenbock« gebräuchliche Nomen läßt sich im Türkeitürkischen auch als Name für das Sternbild des Bocks nachweisen. Vgl. : 2.10.3.

2.1.4. *Hamäl* »the sign of Aries« (Bodrogligeti Gül. 263, Karamanlioğlu 261 Form *Hamel*), *Hamal* ~ *Hamäl* id. (StUzbJaz. II, 663); tkm., ösb. *Hamal*, kkalp. *Hämäl* «(astr.) Овен; хамал (название первого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего марту); Sternbild des Widders; hamal (Name des ersten Monats des Sonnenjahres, entspricht dem Monat März)»; mod. ujj. *Hämäl* (UjgRSl.) ~ mod. ujj. Dial. *Hämäl* »the sign of Aries, the first month of the Turki solar year« (Jarring); osm. *Hamel* »Koç bureu; Sternbild des Widders« (TS, GökbTerS 64.691, unter dem Stichwort *Koç*); tat. *Hämäl bürji* »Овен (знак небесный); Sternbild des Widders« (Trojanskij), *hämäl* «название месяца, соответствующего периоду с 22 марта до 22 апреля; Name des Monats, der der Periode vom 22. März bis zum 22. April entspricht« (ArTatRSl.); kas. *Qamal* »Ram (constellation); (obs.) March (KazEngD) Vgl. noch: Budagov I, 521.

Das Nomen ist arabischer Herkunft. Vgl. : ar. *Hamal* »Aries, Ram (constellation)«.

In der Bedeutung »Gestirname« ist dieses arabische Nomen schon in den mitteltürkischen Sprachdenkmälern nachweisbar und es findet sich häufig auch in den modernen türkischen Sprachen.

Der arabische Gestirname wurde auch in die iranischen Sprachen übernommen. Vgl. z. B. : pers. *Hamal* (DPerFr.) ~ *Hämäl* «(astr.) Овен (зодиакальное созвездие); хамал (первый месяц иранского солнечного года; соотв. марту—апрелю); Sternbild des Widders; hamal (der erste Monat des iranischen Sonnenjahres; entspricht den Monaten März—April)« (PerRSl.), tadsh., dari, paschtu *Hamal*, vah. *Amal* id.

2.1.5. osm. *Bere* »constellation du Bélier; Sternbild des Widders« (Zenker, TRSl.).

Das Nomen *bere* ist iranischer Herkunft. Des Näheren dürfte es aus dem Persischen in das Türkeitürkische entlehnt worden sein. Vgl. : pers. *bare* »agnus«, *burj-e Bare* »signum Arietis« (Vullers), *bare* (DPerFr.) ~ *bär(r)* «ягнёнок; барашек, детёныш джейрана, косули; (astr.) Овен (зодиакальное созвездие); (уст.) первый месяц иранского солнечного года; соотв. марту—апрелю); Lamm; Widder, Jährling, Lämmchen, Junge der Gazelle, des Rehs; Sternbild des Widders; (arch.) *bare* (der erste Monat des iranischen Sonnenjahres; entspricht den Monaten März—April)« (PerRSl.); tadsh. *bara* ~ *barra* (Farh.), *barra* «ягнёнок; барашек; Овен (знак зодиака, соответствующий марту); Lamm; Widder, Jährling, Lämmchen; Widder (Tierkreiszeichen, das dem Monat März entspricht)« (TadžRSl.), dari

barra id. Vgl. noch: pahl. *warrag* »lamb; ram; (astr.) Aries« (MacKenzie 87).

2.2. *Stier* (lat. *Taurus*, astr. *Tau*)

2.2.1. *Uđ* »Boğa burcu; Sternbild des Stiers« (Arat KB III, 488),

gozi yazqı yulduz basa uđ kelir

erentir (sic!) *qučiq birle sanču yorir* (Arat KB I, 30.139),

»Hamel bahar yıldızıdır, sonra Sevr gelir,

Cevzâ ile Seretân dürtüşerek yürür;

Der Widder ist ein Sommerstern, dann kommt der Stier,

Die Zwillinge und der Krebs kommen stechend« (Arat KB II, 21.139);

اوی *Uy* »Sternbild des Stiers« (Rabγ. 66v. 4, PdC 84, Sanglaç 92r. 16). Vgl. noch: Budagov I, 119, DTSl. 605; Clauson ETAStrTer. 362; Clauson EtD 34, Sevortjan ÊtSl. I, 572—573.

Dieses Nomen ist in nahezu sämtlichen Zweigen der türkischen Sprachfamilie bekannt. Vgl. z. B.: alttürk. *ud* »корова, бык; Kuh, Stier« (Malov PamDTP 437), »Rind« (USp. 301); mitteltürk.: Kāšγ. *uđ* »Kuh« (Atalay I, 45, Brockelmann 227), اوی *uy* »вол; Ochse« (Borovkov Badā 93); mod. uig. *uy*, gelbujg. *už* »вол, бык; Ochse, Stier«; alt. *uy* »корова; Kuh«; tub., tar. *uy* »der Ochs« (Radloff I, 1593). Vgl. noch: Clauson EtD 34, Räsänen EtWb. 509, Sevortjan ÊtSl. I, 572—573, Doerfer TMEN II, Nr. 584.

Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung dieses Nomens dürfte »allgemeiner Name eines Tiers ohne Geschlechtsunterscheidung« gewesen sein (Clauson EtD 34), woraus später in den türkischen Sprachen die Bedeutungsentwicklung in zwei Richtungen verlief: einerseits zur Bezeichnung des »männlichen Tiers«, andererseits als Name für »Weibchen der Rinder«.

Die Bedeutung »Gestirname« des Nomens konnte durch Lehnübersetzung entstanden sein, wahrscheinlich bei den türkischen Völkern, bei denen sich im Laufe der Bedeutungsentwicklung die Bedeutung »weibliches Tier, Kuh« nicht herausgebildet hat. Die Entlehnung erfolgte vermutlich nach dem Vorbild der arabischen bzw. persischen Variante des babylonischen Gestirnamens. Vgl.: ar. *saur* »steer; ox; (astr.) Taurus«; pers. *gāo* »bos, taurus«, *Gāo falak* »Taurus, signum zodiaci« (Vullers), *gāw* »boeuf taureau; (astr.) Taureau, le deuxième signe du zodiaque« (DPerFr.).

Die arabischen und persischen Vorbilder waren möglicherweise unabhängig voneinander, in verschiedenen Perioden zu den einzelnen Zweigen der türkischen Sprachfamilie geraten. Damit läßt sich vielleicht die Herausbildung der durch eine neuere Lehnübersetzung entstandenen Bezeichnung *Öküž* »Sternbild des Stiers« erklären (vgl.: 2.2.2.).

Zu der korrekten Form des Gestirnnamens *Erentir* (sic!) s.: 2.3.1.

2.2.2. أكر *Ökküz* »Вол созвездие; Sternbild des Ochsen« (sic!) (Melioranskij ArFil. 070), *Öküz* »ükek (bürc) atlarından biri; einer der Sternbilder des Zodiakus« (İbnü Mühennâ 55); osm. *Öküz* »Boğa burcu; Sternbild des Stiers« (GökbTerS 79.850, 13.147), tkm. *Öküzgöz* id. Vgl. noch: Clauson ET AstrTer. 363; Clauson EtD 120.

Dieser Tiername ist allen Türken bekannt. Vgl. z. B.: alttürk. *öküz* »ВОЛ, БЫК; Ochse, Stier« (Malov EnP 109, Tekin Maytr. 444); mitteltürk.: Kāšγ. أكر *öküz* »Stier« (Atalay I, 59, Brockelmann 133), *ögüz* (Houtsma 51, Kuryšžanov 177), *oguz* »wól; boeuf« (Tryjarski 564); as. *öküz*, tat. *ügez* »Stier, Ochs«; gelbuig. *qus* »корова; вол, бык; Kuh; Ochs, Stier«; tschuw. *vâcâr* »Stier, Ochs«. Vgl. noch: Clauson EtD 120, Räsänen EtWb. 370, Sevortjan ÊtSl. I, 521—523, Egorov ÊtSl. 48, Doerfer TMEN II, Nr. 613.

Der türkische Gestirname dürfte durch die Entlehnung des arabischen Nomens *šaur* »bull, steer; ox; (astr.) Taurus« entstanden sein.

Von den mitteltürkischen Sprachdenkmälern bezeichnete das Nomen *öküz* »Ochse, Stier« in einem mamelukisch-kiptschakischen Wörterverzeichnis, im Wörterbuch von İbnü Mühennâ auch das Tierkreiszeichen des Stiers. Die Angabe von İbnü Mühennâ ist aus Grund semasiologischer und kulturgeschichtlicher Kriterien ohne Zweifel die durch Lehnübersetzung entstandene Bezeichnung für »Sternbild des Stiers«;¹¹ die Übersetzung von Melioranskij ist falsch.

Die türkménische Bezeichnung *Öküzgöz* »Sternbild des Stiers« (eigtl. »Stierauge, Ochsenauge«) hat sich vielleicht als Ergebnis innerer Weiterentwicklung herausgebildet.

Die Übernahme des alten babylonischen Gestirnnamens in die türkischen Sprachen ist nach unterschiedlichen Vorbildern, auf jeden Fall aber in zwei verschiedenen Sprachgebieten und nicht gleichzeitig erfolgt. Vgl. noch: *Uđ* ~ *Uy* »Rind; Stier; Sternbild des Stiers« (2.2.1.).

In einigen modernen türkischen Sprachen wird für das Sternbild des Stiers auch das Nomen *boya* ~ *buya* »Stier« gebraucht. Es ist anzunehmen, daß die Herausbildung dieses Gestirnnamens nicht mehr unter dem Einfluß der mohammedanischen astronomischen Kultur erfolgt war. (Ausführlich: s.: 2.2.3.).

2.2.3. osm. *Boğa* »Zodyak üzerinde, Koç ile İkizler burçları arasında yer alan burcun adı; Name des Sternbildes, das im Zodiakus zwischen dem Widder und den Zwillingen zu sehen ist« (TS), *Boğa* »Boğa burcu, Tau; Sternbild

¹¹ A. Battal wies im Wortschatz des Wörterbuchs von İbnü Mühennâ darauf hin, daß das Nomen *Öküz* »Sternbild des Stiers« bei Raby. dem Nomen *Uđ* id. entspricht (op. cit. 55).

des Stiers« (GökbTerS 13.147), as. *Buya* (AzSEns. III, 337), baschk. *Buya* id. (RBaškTerAstr. 14).

Dieses Nomen kommt sowohl in den alten als auch in den modernen türkischen Sprachen gleichermaßen häufig vor. Vgl. z. B.: alttürk. *buqa* (Malov PamDTP 374), *boğa* »boğa; Stier« (Tekin Maytr. 369); mitteltürk.: Kāşy. لُبَّ *boqa* (Atalay III, 226), *buqa* »Stier« (Brockelmann 43); *boğa* »Stier« (Telegdi 307), *buğa* id. (Tryjarski 166); tkm. *buga*, tat. Dial. *buga* (TatRSl.) ~ *poğa* (Tumaševa 181), ösb. *buqa*, hak. *puğa*, jak. *buğa* »бык; Stier«. Vgl. noch: Clauson EtD 312, Räsänen EtWb. 87, Sevortjan ÊtSl. II, 230—232, Doerfer TMEN II, Nr. 752.

Die Bedeutung »Gestirname« des Nomens *boğa* ~ *buya* dürfte durch Lehnübersetzung entstanden sein. Die Herkunft des Vorbildes zur Übersetzung läßt sich aber nicht in jeder Beziehung zufriedenstellend klären. Der türkische Gestirname ist in den Sprachdenkmälern nicht nachweisbar. Moderne türkische Angaben deuten in bezug auf die Herausbildung und Verbreitung dieses Namens darauf hin, daß die Lehnübersetzung im vorliegenden Fall erst in neuester Zeit stattgefunden hat, und daß in ihrem Hintergrund möglicherweise nicht in erster Linie die arabische und iranische Vermittlung, vielmehr der Einfluß der europäischen Sprachen zu erkennen ist. Vgl. z. B.: lat. *Taurus*, frz. *Taureau*, engl. *Taurus*, *Bull*, russ. *Телец* »Kalb, Stier; Sternbild des Stiers«.

2.2.4. ösb. *Savr*, kkalp. *Säwir*, mod. ujb. *Söwr* »(astr.) Телец (зодиакальное созвездие); савр (название второго месяца солнечного года, соответствующего периоду с 22 апреля—21 мая); Sternbild des Stiers; sawr (Name des zweiten Monats im Sonnenjahr, der der Periode vom 22. April bis zum 21. Mai entspricht)«; osm. *Sevr* (GökbTerS 13.147, unter dem Stichwort *Boğa*) ~ *Sevir* »Boğa burcu; Sternbild des Stiers« (TS); tkm. *sevir* »апрель; April (Aliev—Boriev) ~ *Sovur* »Телец (зодиакальное созвездие); совур (название второго месяца солнечного года, соответствующего периоду с 22 апреля по 21 мая); Sternbild des Stiers; sowur (Name des zweiten Monats im Sonnenjahr, der der Periode vom 22. April bis zum 21. Mai entspricht)« (TkmRSl.); tat. *Seür bürji* (Trojanskij) ~ tat. Dial. *Säür* »знак небесный Телец; Sternbild des Stiers« (Giganov) ~ tat. Dial. *säür* »der April« (Radloff IV, 440), kas. *säwir* (KazRSl.) ~ *säür* id. (Radloff, loc. cit.); kirg. Dial. *savir* ~ *sovur* »название второго месяца солнечного календаря, соответствующего периоду с 22 апреля по 21 мая; Name des zweiten Monats im Sonnenjahr, der der Periode vom 22. April bis zum 21. Mai entspricht« (KirgRSl.). Vgl. noch: Budagov I, 425; Räsänen EtWb. 413.

Dies ist ein arabisches Lehnwort. Vgl.: ar. *Saur* »(astr.) Taurus«. Seine Übernahme geschah vermutlich in der mitteltürkischen Epoche, doch in den türkischen Sprachdenkmälern kommt es in der Bedeutung »Gestirname« nicht vor.

Dieses Nomen ist auch in den iranischen Sprachen nachweisbar. Vgl. z. B.: pers. *Sowr* »(astr.) Taureau, le deuxième signe du zodiaque; l'ancien deuxième mois de l'année solaire (DPerFr.) tadsh., dari *Saur*, paschtu *Saur* »(astr.) Телец (созвездие); саур (второй месяц солнечного года; апрель—май); Sternbild des Stiers; saur (der zweite Monat des Sonnenjahres; April—Mai)«.

2.2.5. osm. *Gāw* »signe du Taureau; Sternbild des Stieres« (Zenker).

Das Nomen ist iranischer Herkunft. Des Näheren kann es aus dem Persischen in das Türkeitürkische geraten sein. Vgl.: pers. *gāo* »bos, taurus«, *Gāo falak* »Taurus, signum zodiaci« (Vullers) ~ *Gāw* »(astr.) Taureau, le deuxième signe du zodiaque« (DPerFr.). Vgl. noch: altir. *gaw* »Rind, Stier, Kuh« (Bartholomae 505—509); pahl. *gāw* »ox, bull, cow; (astr.) Taurus« (MacKenzie 35), tadsh. *gaw* ~ *gāw* id.

2.2.6. kirg. *Telec* (*top ĵıldız*) »Телец; Sternbild des Stiers« (RKirgSlAstrTer. 241).

Das Wort ist russischer Herkunft. Vgl.: russ. *Телец* »Sternbild des Stiers«. Zur Entlehnung kam es wahrscheinlich erst in jüngster Zeit.

Der fragliche Gestirnsname läßt sich im Kreise der türkischen Sprachen aus anderen Quellen nicht belegen.

2.3. *Zwillinge* (lat. *Gemini*, astr. *Gem*)

2.3.1. *Eren tüz* »Sternbild der Zwillinge; Orion α (Betelgeuse)«. Vgl.: Kāšy. *آرن توز* *Eren tüz* (Atalay I, 76), *Erän tüz* »Ein Sternbild, die Waage; der Jupiter« (sic!) (Brockelmann 22); *Erentir* (sic!) »Terazi burcu; Sternbild der Waage« (sic!) (Arat KB III, 157),

gozi yazqi yulduz basa ud kelir

erentir (sic!) *qučiq birle sanču yorır* (Arat KB I, 30.139),

»Hamel bahar yıldızdır, sonra Sevr gelir,

Cevzâ ile Seretân dürtüşerek yürür;

Der Widder ist ein Sommerstern, dann kommt der Stier,

Die Zwillinge und der Krebs kommen stechend« (Arat KB II, 21.139);

erendend (sic!) »Sternbild der Zwillinge« (Rabγ. 66v 4). Vgl. noch: *Erän tüz* »(astr.) созвездие Весов; Sternbild der Waage« (sic!) (DTSl. 176 [Kāšy.]); *Erän tir* (sic!) »(astr.) созвездие Близнецов; Sternbild der Zwillinge« (DTSl. 176 [QB]); Clauson ETastrTer. 363—364; Clauson EtD 237.

Im Wörterbuch von Radloff ist dieser Gestirnsname als Stichwort nicht enthalten, doch in den Artikeln zu den Stichwörtern *Qozı* »Sternbild des Widlers« und *Qučiq* »Sternbild des Krebses« zitiert auch Radloff die obigen Zeilen

(II, 630—631, 1009). Er transliteriert das Wort folgendermaßen: *üzädäs* ~ ~ *üzändäs* (KB II, 23.9). Die richtige Lesung der Bezeichnung im Herat-Manuskript des QB, das mit uigurischer Schrift geschrieben ist, lautet jedoch *eren tez* (Clauson ET AstrTer. 364).

Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um einen durch innere Entwicklung entstandenen Gestirnnamen, die Erklärung wird aber durch verschiedene Umstände erschwert.

In der Arbeit von Kāšyarī bezeichnet der Name *Eren tüz* — unter dem Stichwort *eren* »Mensch« — das »Sternbild der Waage« (Atalay I, 76, Brockelmann 22). Zugleich kommt der Name bei der Besprechung des türkischen Gestirnnamens auch als der Name des »Jupiters« vor. Vgl. *آرن توز* *Erentüz* (Atalay III, 40), *Erän tüz* »der Jupiter« (sic!) (Brockelmann 22). Die Bedeutung »Jupiter« der untersuchten attributiven Konstruktion beruht möglicherweise auf einem Irrtum Kāšyarī's (Clauson ET AstrTer. 355). Vgl. noch: *Qaraquş*, 2.7.2.

Im Wörterverzeichnis des QB gibt Arat, wohl unter dem Einfluß von Kāšyarī, dem fraglichen Gestirnnamen die Bedeutung »Sternbild der Waage«. Aus dem Kontext geht aber eindeutig hervor, daß es in diesem Fall um das Tierkreiszeichen der Zwillinge geht (s. weiter oben). Vgl. noch: Radloff KB II, 23.9.

Die Angabe im DTSl. *Erän tüz* »Sternbild der Waage« (s. oben) ist ebenfalls auf einen Irrtum von Kāšyarī zurückzuführen.

Im umfangreichen literarischen Werk von Yūsuf Ḥaş Ḥāḫib, im *Qutaḍyu Bilig*, läßt sich dieser Gestirnnamen noch zweimal nachweisen:

yarudī basa yıldırīq adyır bile
tizildi erentir (sic!) *özin belgüle* (Arat KB I, 563.5676),

»Sonra Aygır ile Yıldırık yıldızları parladı,
bunlara bir de Erentir (sic!) katıldı;
bu yıldızları kendine işâret bil;
Dann leuchtete der Sirius und der Große Hund auf,
Und es gesellte sich ihnen Eren tüz bei;
Wisse diese Zeichen« (Arat KB II, 406.5676);

erentir (sic!) *başı indi yirke yayuq*
yaşiq baş kötürdi yüz açtı yaruq (Arat KB I, 616.6221),
eren tir (sic!) *baş-i yerke indi yayuq*
yaşiq baş kötürdü yüz açtı yariq (Radloff KB Faks. 177.29),

»Erentir'in (sic!) başı yere yakın bir noktaya kadar indi;
Güneş başını kaldırdı ve parlak yüzünü açtı;
Der Kopf von Eren tüz kam der Erde nahe;
Die Sonne neigte sich darüber, und das Antlitz leuchtete auf« (Arat KB II, 445.6221).

Auf Grund des Kontextes ist anzunehmen, daß es bei diesem Namen nicht um einen alleinstehenden Stern geht, sondern um eine Sterngruppe. Infolgedessen kommt die von Kāšyari und Arat angegebene Bedeutung »Jupiter« nicht in Frage.

Auch Clauson beschäftigt sich mit diesem Gestirnnamen. Er identifiziert letzten Endes die Bezeichnung *Eren tüz* mit einigen Sternen des den Zwillingen benachbarten Sternbildes Orion (ETAstrTer. 363—364). Nach Clauson ist die richtige Form des Gestirnnamens *Eren tüz* und er bedeutete ursprünglich »men level«. Das Zeichen des Konsonanten *r* des in den Manuskripten des QB vorkommenden Ausdrucks *eren tir* läßt sich vermutlich mit dem Unterbleiben der Interpunktion in dem arabischen geschriebenen Text erklären (Clauson, op. cit. 363—364).

Dieser Gestirname kann durch eine auf äußerer Ähnlichkeit beruhenden Namensübertragung entstanden sein. Die Sterngruppe der Zwillinge konnte nämlich von der Erde gesehen im Betrachter das Bild eines liegenden, d. h. »flachen, ebenen Menschen« auslösen (Clauson, op. cit. 363—364). Auf Grund semasiologischer Überlegungen konnte aber die fragliche Bezeichnung meines Erachtens nur das »Sternbild der Zwillinge« bedeuten. Die in Frage kommenden Sterne des in der Nachbarschaft der Zwillinge stehenden Orions würden nämlich die erwähnte Formation stören (s. : CsillAtl. 76—77, GökbTerS Şek. T 2).

Obwohl die bei den verschiedenen Völkern gebräuchlichen Gestirnnamen eine sehr große Vielfalt aufweisen, und zur Bezeichnung einiger Sterne auch mehrere Namen gebraucht werden,¹² ist die umgekehrte Erscheinung, daß nämlich ein und derselbe Gestirname mehrere Himmelskörper bezeichnen würde, ziemlich selten.

Die fraglichen Sterne der Zwillinge und des Orions gehören zu den Fixsternen, d. h., sie sind im gleichen Zeitpunkt des Jahres in unveränderter Konstellation zu sehen (TermTudLex. I, 206 ; CsillAtl. 25, 60—69). Aus dieser Tatsache folgern wir, daß ihre evtl. Kontamination angesichts ihrer scheinbaren Unbeweglichkeit am Firmament unwahrscheinlich ist.

Die Zuordnung der Sterne zu Haufen ist in gewisser Hinsicht willkürlich. Der Stern θ der Nördlichen Wasserschlang (lat. *Hydra*, astr. *Hya*) und die in seiner Nachbarschaft befindlichen sechs kleineren Sterne sind beispielsweise dem Tierkreiszeichen des Krebses wesentlich näher als dem zentralen Stern des obigen Sternbildes (CsillAtl. 76—77, GökbTerS Şek. T 2), und die

¹² Scherer, A., op. cit., 15 ; Erdódi J., op. cit., 5 ; Kulin Gy., Róka G. (Red.), op. cit., 790—800.

Zahl der ähnlichen Fällen kann unendlich sein. Die einzelnen Völker wollten also nicht unbedingt die gleichen Formationen am Firmament sehen, und so konnten sie auch die Himmelskörper verschiedenen Bildern zuordnen. Auch das türkische Nomen *Eren tüz* bewahrte letztlich ebenfalls dieses eigenartige Zeichen aus längst vergangener Zeit, und gerade auf Grund seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung (»flacher, ebener Mensch«) kommen wir zu der Folgerung, daß diese Bezeichnung sich ursprünglich auf das Sternbild der Zwillinge beziehen konnte (s. auch weiter oben). Beachtung verdient dabei unbedingt der Umstand, daß die Bezeichnung *Eren tüz* bei den Türken zwar auch als Name bestimmter Sterne des mit den Zwillingen benachbarten Orions bekannt gewesen sein konnte (Clason ETAStrTer. 363—364), ursprünglich aber vermutlich dennoch nicht diese bezeichnete (s. oben). Interessant ist, daß es in den alten türkischen Sprachen keine vollkommen isolierte Erscheinung darstellt, wenn ein Gestirnsname nachweisbar auch als Bezeichnung für zwei, natürlich der modernen astronomischen Einteilung entsprechende Sterne fungiert. Außer dem Gestirnsnamen *Eren tüz* »Sternbild der Zwillinge; Orion α (Betelgeuse)« vgl. noch: *Arıq taq* »Orion α (Betelgeuse); Sternbild der Zwillinge« (und s. auch 2.3.2.).

Im weiteren stellt sich die Frage, was die Ursache dieser Zweifachheit sein kann, darüber hinaus, daß die in Frage stehenden Sternbilder einander tatsächlich benachbart sind (CsillAtl. 76—77, GökbTerS Şek. T 2).

Beide Gestirnsnamen sind wahrscheinlich auf türkischem Boden entstanden. Mehr oder weniger ist auch erkennbar, daß diese Namen ursprünglich zur Bezeichnung nur einer Sterngruppe gebräuchlich waren. In diesem Fall hat sich aber die im obigen bereits umrissene, von der heutigen abweichende Einteilung des Sternenhimmels auf Grund der fraglichen Gestirnsnamen nicht bei den Türken herausgebildet.

Den Stern Orion α , der am Firmament unmittelbar neben dem Stern γ der Zwillinge zu sehen ist (CsillAtl. 76—77, 160—161, 204—205; GökbTerS Şek. T 2) dürfte die arabische Astronomie anfangs den Sternen der Zwillinge zugeordnet haben. Vgl.: ar. *bayt al-Ĵauzā* (eigtl. »Haus der Zwillinge«) (actp.) Бетельгейзе (α Ориона); Betelgeuse (der Stern α des Sternbilds Orion) (ArRSl.). Vgl. noch: *al-Ĵauzā* »(astr.) Gemini«.

Auf Grund des Gesagten dürfen wir folgern, daß der alte türkische Gestirnsname *Eren tüz* ursprünglich wahrscheinlich nur das »Sternbild der Zwillinge« bezeichnete. Seine Bedeutung »Orion α (Betelgeuse)« kam vermutlich unter dem Einfluß der arabischen Astronomie zustande.

Der Name osm. *İkizlerevi* »Orion takımyıldızın α yıldızı; Stern α des Sternbilds Orion« (GökbTerS 55.596) (eigtl. »Haus der Zwillinge«) dürfte durch Lehnübersetzung entstanden sein (s. auch weiter oben), dennoch bewahrt er ein eigenartiges Beispiel der arabischen Sternkunde.

Vgl. noch: *Arıq taq* (2.3.2.).

2.3.2. *Arîq taq* »Orion α (Betelgeuse); Sternbild der Zwillinge«.

Vgl.: *Irgtaq* (sic!) »Cebbar denilen yıldız; Sternbild des Orions« (Cafe-roğlu LAtr. 42); *Aruqtaq* »trzy gwiazda Oriona; trois étoiles d'Orion« (Za-jačzkowski Bulg. I, 8); *Arîq taq* »bir burç adı; Çoban yıldızı; Name eines Tierkreiszeichens; Venus« (Ettuhfet 141), »созвездие Близнецов; Sternbild der Zwillinge« (IzyskDar 409). Vgl. noch: Radloff I, 293; Clauson ET AstrTer. 363.

In den zitierten mamelukisch-kiptschakischen Sprachdenkmälern bezeichnet das untersuchte Nomen den »Orion« bzw. »gewisse Sterne des Sternbildes Orion«.

Im Tuḥfat kommt *Arîq taq* sogar zweimal vor. In der Ausgabe von Atalay läßt er sich mit folgenden Bedeutungen belegen: »gökteki burçlardan birinin adı; Name des einen der zodiakalen Sternbilder (Ettuhfet 20.11a.8); »Çoban yıldızı; Venus« (58.30b.2).

Im Wörterverzeichnis des obigen Sprachdenkmals gibt Atalay bei diesem Gestirnnamen die Bedeutungen »Name des einen der zodiakalen Sternbilder; Venus« an (s. weiter oben).

Im Wörterverzeichnis der neuesten sowjetischen Ausgabe dieses Sprachdenkmals kommt der Gestirnnamen *Arîq taq* zwar nicht vor, doch im Kapitel »Personennamen, geographische und Gestirnnamen« geben die Autoren die Bedeutung »Sternbild der Zwillinge« an (s. weiter oben). In der russischen Übersetzung des Tuḥfat finden wir neben dem untersuchten Gestirnnamen folgende Bedeutungen: »созвездие Близнецов; Венера; Sternbild der Zwillinge; Venus« (IzyskDar 166.30a.2—3); »созвездие Близнецов; Sternbild der Zwillinge« (113.10b.8).

Die obigen Angaben gestatten die Annahme, daß der fragliche türkische Gestirnnamen nicht zur Bezeichnung eines »Planeten«, genauer »des zweiten Planeten des Sonnensystems, der Venus« gebräuchlich war, sondern das es sich vielmehr auf Grund der in den mamelukisch-kiptschakischen Sprachdenkmälern klar erkennbaren Bedeutungen »Stern« bzw. »Haufen gewisser Sterne« im vorliegenden Fall um ein Sternbild, d. h. um einen Fixstern handelt.

Ursprünglich bedeutete der Gestirnnamen *Arîq taq* wahrscheinlich nur das »Sternbild des Orions« bzw. »bestimmte Sterne davon«, während später dieser Name auch auf das »Sternbild der Zwillinge« bezogen wurde. Die Bedeutung »Sternbild der Zwillinge« des alten türkischen Gestirnnamens hatte sich möglicherweise unter arabischem Einfluß herausgebildet. In der arabischen Sternkunde wird nämlich zur Bezeichnung des Sterns α im Sternbild des Orions die Konstruktion *bayt al-Ĵawzā'* »Haus der Zwillinge« (astr.) Бетельгейзе (α Ориона); Betelgeuse (Stern α im Sternbild des Orions)« (ArRSl.) gebraucht. Die Herausbildung des letzteren arabischen Gestirnnamens läßt sich vermutlich damit in Zusammenhang bringen, daß die arabischen Astronomen die nahe nebeneinander stehenden Sterne des Orions und der Zwillinge als zusammengehörig betrachteten. Vgl. noch: *Eren tüz* (2.3.1.).

Die Erschließung der ursprünglichen Bedeutung der attributiven Konstruktion *Ariq taq* bedarf einer weiteren Forschung.

2.3.3. as. *Ākizlār* (AzSEns. IV, 154), kas. *Egizder* (QazTüsS III, 261), kkalp. *Egiz*, kirg. *Egiz* (*top jıldız*) (RKirgSlAstrTer. 25), osm. *Īkizler* (GökbTerS 55.595), baschk. *Igeđäktār* (*yondodloq*) »созвездие Близнецы; Sternbild der Zwillinge« (RBaškTerAstr. 6), tshaw. *Yäkärešsem* id. (RČuvSl.).

Das Nomen *ekiz* ~ *ikiz* »Zwillinge« ist die Dualform des alten türkischen Zahlwortes *eki* ~ *iki* »zwei« (Sevortjan *ĖtSl.* I, 252—254). Dieses Zahlwort kommt sowohl in den alten als auch in den modernen türkischen Sprachen häufig vor. Vgl. z. B.: mitteltürk.: Kāšγ. اکتز *ikkiz* »Zwillinge« (Atalay I, 143, Brockelmann 65), *ikiz* (*Ėttuhfet* 176, IzyskDar 295), *egiz* id. (CC 84); tkm. *ekiz*, kum. *egiz*, ösb. *egiz* ~ *egizak*, tat. *igez*, tuw. *iyis*, tshaw. *yäkřeš* (Paasonen) ~ *yäkäreš* (ČuvRSl.) »Zwillinge«. Vgl. noch: Clauson *EtD* 119, Räsänen *EtWb.* 39, Sevortjan *ĖtSl.* I, 252—254, Egorov *ĖtSl.* 77, Doerfer *TMEN* II, Nr. 651.

Als Bezeichnung für »Sternbild der Zwillinge« tritt das obige Zahlwort nur in den modernen türkischen Sprachen auf. Die Bedeutung »Gestirname« des Nomens *ikiz* entstand als Lehnübersetzung. Der Ursprung des als Vorbild dienenden Wortes ist indessen nicht bestimmbar. Das Sternbild der Zwillinge wird nämlich sowohl bei den mohammedanischen Völkern als auch in den europäischen Sprachen mit dem Nomen »Zwillinge« bezeichnet. Vgl. z. B.: ar. *tau'am* »близнец; Zwillinge«, *Tau'amān* »(astr.) Близнецы; Sternbild der Zwillinge« (ArRSl.); pers. *doḡolu* ~ *doḡoli* »близнецы, двойня; (astr.) Близнецы (зодиакальное созвездие); Zwillinge; Sternbild der Zwillinge« (PerRSl.), *dopeykar* »Gemini, signum coeleste« (Vullers), tadsh. *dupaykar*, paschtu *γbargoli* id. Vgl. noch: lat. *Gemini*, it. *Gemelli*, frz. *Gémeaux*, engl. *Gemini*, ung. *Ikrek*, russ. *Близнецы* »Zwillinge; Sternbild der Zwillinge«.

2.3.4. *Qoz* (sic!) »al-Ĵauzā' athl ükek bürc; Sternbild der Zwillinge« (İbnü Mühennâ 45—46); kkalp. *Ĵawza*, ösb. *Ĵavzâ* »(astr.) Близнецы (зодиакальное созвездие); джауза (название третьего месяца солнечного года, соответствующего периоду 22 мая—21 июня); Sternbild der Zwillinge; dschausa (Name des dritten Monats des Sonnenjahres, entspricht der Periode vom 22. Mai bis zum 21. Juni«; kirg. Dial. *ĵavza* ~ *ĵevze* »май; Mai« (KirgRSl.); tat. *Ĵeüza* (ArTatRSl.) ~ tat. Dial. *Ĵauza* (Giganov), osm. *Cevza* »Īkizler burcu; Sternbild der Zwillinge« (TS, GökbTerS 55.595, unter dem Stichwort *Īkizler*); mod. ujj. *Ĵewze* (UjjRSl.) ~ mod. ujj. Dial. *Ĵewza* »the constellation Gemini; Orion; the third month of the Turki solar year« (Jarring). Vgl. noch: Budagov I, 444, Radloff IV, 191.

Dies ist ein arabisches Lehnwort. Vgl.: ar. *al-Ĵauzā'* »(astr.) Gemini«.

Zur Übernahme des arabischen Gestirnnamens kam es vermutlich in der mitteltürkischen Epoche.

Die Angabe von İbnü Mühennâ (s. weiter oben) beruht wahrscheinlich auf der falschen Interpretation des Lautkörpers vom ar. *Ĵauzā'* »Sternbild der Zwillinge«.

Dieser Gestirnnamen wurde auch in die iranischen Sprachen übernommen. Vgl. z. B.: pers. *Ĵouza* (PerRSI.) ~ *Ĵowzā* (DPerFr.), paschtu, dari *Ĵawzā*, tadsh. *Ĵawzā*, vah. *Ĵawzō* »Близнецы; название третьего месяца солнечного календаря (май—июнь); Sternbild der Zwillinge; Name des dritten Monats im Sonnenjahr (Mai—Juni)«

2.3.5. osm. *Tev-emim* (GökbTerS 55.595, unter dem Stichwort *İkizler*) ~ *Tev'emān* »the sign Gemini« (Redhouse).

Das Wort ist arabischer Herkunft. Vgl.: ar. *Tau'amān* »(astr.) Близнецы; Sternbild der Zwillinge« (RARSl.).

Der arabische Gestirnnamen ist der Dual des Nomens ar. *tau'am* »близнец; Zwilling« (RARSl.).

In der Bedeutung »Gestirnnamen« ist dieses Nomen im Kreise der türkischen Sprachen nur im Türkei-türkischen nachweisbar.

Auch unter den iranischen Sprachen läßt sich der arabische Gestirnnamen nur im Persischen und in der tadshikischen Sprache belegen. Vgl.: pers. *Tau'am* »the sign Gemini« (Steingass), tadsh. *Tawam* id.

Die Bedeutung »Gestirnnamen« dieses arabischen Nomens hat sich in der arabischen Sprache anscheinend erst in neuerer Zeit als Ergebnis einer Lehnübersetzung herausgebildet. Damit erklärt sich vielleicht, warum dieser arabische Gestirnnamen erst spät sowohl in das Türkei-türkische als auch in das Persische und in das Tadshikische entlehnt wurde.

Diese arabische Bezeichnung des Tierkreiszeichens der Zwillinge dürfte in die obigen Sprachen auf Grund der iranischen Sprachen, im arabischen Sprachgebiet erst nach der Entlehnung des die Anzeichen früherer Entlehnung tragenden Namens *Ĵauzā'* »Sternbild der Zwillinge« übernommen worden sein. Für diese Annahme spricht, daß die arabische Bezeichnung *Ĵauzā'* »Sternbild der Zwillinge« in den türkischen und iranischen Sprachen weite Verbreitung fand (s.: **2.3.4.**). Demgegenüber ist der arabische Gestirnnamen *Tau'amān* »Sternbild der Zwillinge« nur im Osmanli bzw. in den persischen und im Tadshikischen aus einigen Quellen nachweisbar.

2.4. *Krebs* (lat. *Cancer*, astr. *Cnc*)

2.4.1. *Qučiq* »Yengeç burcu (Seretân); Sternbild des Krebses« (Arat KB III 289),

*qozî yazqî yulduz basa uđ kelir
erentir (sic!) qučiq birle sanču yorir* (Arat KB I, 30.139),

»Hamel bahar yıldızdır, Sonra Sevr gelir ;
Cevzâ ile Seretân dürtüşerek yürür ;
Der Widder ist ein Sommerstern, dann kommt der Stier ;
Die Zwillinge und der Krebs kommen stechend« (Arat KB II, 21.139) ;

قوچيق *Qučiq* »Sternbild des Krebses« (Rabγ. 66v.4). Vgl. noch : Radloff II, 1009, Budagov II, 72, DTSl. 463 ; Clauson ET AstrTer. 356, 357 ; Clauson EtD 591, Räsänen EtWb. 296.

Das Nomen *qučiq* ist vermutlich die deverbale, mit dem Nominalsuffix *-q* gebildete Ableitung des Verbs *quč-* »umarmen, umschlingen« (Clauson EtD 591) ; die ursprüngliche Bedeutung dürfte »der Umschlungene, Umarmte« gewesen sein. Dieses Nomen kommt nur im QB sowie im Werk von Rabγūzī vor, obwohl die astronomischen Angaben des letzteren wahrscheinlich unmittelbar aus dem QB stammen (ausführlicher s. : 2.5.1.).

Der türkische Gestirname dürfte durch eine auf äußerer Ähnlichkeit beruhende Namenübertragung entstanden sein. Die kleineren oder größeren Sterne umgeben im Sternbild des Krebses den auf der Sonnenbahn stehenden Stern *Canceri* (*Asellus Australis*) ungefähr symmetrisch. Die Nebensterne umfassen, umgeben den zentralen Stern.

Das Nomen *Qučiq* ist ein alter türkischer Gestirname. Herausgebildet hat er sich wahrscheinlich unabhängig von dem auf dem arabischen und iranischen Sprachgebiet und auch in den europäischen Sprachen bekannten Namen *Krebs* »Crustacea, Gliederfüßler mit Fühlern ; Sternbild des Krebses«¹³. Die Gestalt dieses Sternbildes hat somit in der Phantasie der alten türkischen Völker eine andere Assoziation erweckt.

Die aus dem Arabischen stammende Bezeichnung »Sternbild des Krebses« taucht schon sehr früh, im QB auf (s. : 2.4.3.), ungeachtet dessen, daß die arabischen und persischen Namen der Sternbilder des Zodiakus im allgemeinen erst später, bei Vertiefung des erwähnten fremden Einflusses in die türkischen Sprachen gelangt waren. Neben der frühen Entlehnung von ar. *saračān* »Krebs ; Sternbild des Krebses« spielte möglicherweise auch der Umstand eine Rolle, daß die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des alten türkischen Gestirnnamens *Qučiq* im 11. Jh. vermutlich schon verblaßt war.

Zu der korrekten Form des Gestirnnamens *Erentir* (sic!) vgl. : 2.3.1.

¹³ Vgl. : ar. *Saračān*, pers. *Harčang* (Vullers) ~ *Härčang* (PerRSl.), tadsh. *Harčang*, gr. *καρκίνος*, lat. *Cancer*, frz. *Écrevisse*, *Cancer*, it. *Cancro*, engl. *Cancer*, ung. *Rák*, russ. *Рак* »Krebs ; Sternbild des Krebses«.

2.4.2. ° لَنكَاج *Länkäĵ* (Melioranskij ArFil. 0113), *Yengeĉ* (İbnü Mühennâ 89) ~ *Lengeĉ* »Saratan büreü ; Sternbild des Krebses« (İbnü Mühennâ 50), *Yängäĉ* (StUzbJaz. I, 511), osm. *Yengeç* id. (GökbTerS 107.1135). Vgl. noch : Clauson ETAStrTer. 358 ; Clauson EtD 950.

Räsänen leitet türkische Nomen *lengeĉ* ~ *yengeĉ* aus dem lat. *locusta* und dem frz. *langouste* Formen ab, die »Languste« bedeuten (EtWb. 197, 316). Auch Clauson wirft diese Frage auf, doch ohne eine Erklärung hinzuzufügen (EtD 950).

Zweifelsohne hängt das türkische Nomen *lengeĉ* ~ *yengeĉ* mit dem französischen *langouste* »languste, ein Meereskrebs« zusammen, doch kann dieses Wort weder vom phonetischen, noch vom wortgeographischen Gesichtspunkt aus die unmittelbare Quelle des türkischen Nomens sein.

In den türkischen Sprachen läßt sich dieses Nomen erstmalig im Wörterbuch von Kāšyari nachweisen. Vgl. : *yengeĉ* (Atalay III, 384), *yängäĉ* »Krebs« (Brockelmann 85). Vgl. noch : *yänkäĉ* (Houtsma 109) ~ *lengeĉ* (PdC 493) ~ *ilengiš* (Ettuhfet 177), *ilänkiš* »пак ; Krebs« (IzyskDar 296) ; tkm. *leŋeĉ* ~ *gag. yengeĉ* »пак ; Krebs«.

In der türkischen Ausgabe des Wörterbuchs von İbnü Mühennâ finden wir die Bedeutung »Gestirnname« sowohl bei der Form *yengeĉ* als auch bei der Form *lengeĉ* (op. cit. 89, 50), während in der Arbeit von Melioranskij diese Bedeutung nur bei der Form *länkäĵ* angeführt wird (ArFil. 0113), vgl. aber noch : *yängäĉ* »пак ; Krebs« (ArFil. 0118).

Aus den Beispielen geht klar hervor, daß der Konsonant im Anlaut des untersuchten Nomens in den türkischen Sprachen den Wechsel *l* ~ *y* aufweist, im Tuḥfat erscheint vor dem Laterallaut sogar die Prothese *i*. Der Konsonatenwechsel im Anlaut sowie das prothetische *i* vor dem Laterallaut, das im gleichen Sprachdenkmal auch im Falle einen anderen Nomens fremder Herkunft nachweisbar ist,¹⁴ verweisen darauf, daß es sich tatsächlich um ein Lehnwort handelt. In den türkischen Sprachen kommt nämlich der Konsonant *l* im Wortanlaut nicht vor. Der in den europäischen Sprachen bekannte Tiername *Languste* dürfte daher durch die Vermittlung irgendeiner Sprache zu den türkischen Völkern geraten sein. Es läßt sich aber nicht ermitteln, aus welcher Sprache er entlehnt wurde.

Die Bedeutung »Gestirnname« des untersuchten Nomens hat sich durch Lehnübersetzung herausgebildet. Zu dem Vorbild der Entlehnung vgl. z. B. : ar. *saraṭān* »crayfish ; (astr.) Cancer« ; pers. *ḥarčang* (Vullers) ~ *ḥärčäng* (PerRSI.), tadsh. *ḥarčang*, paschtu *čungāḥ* »пак ; (astr.) Пак ; Krebs ; Sternbild des Krebses«. Vgl. noch : pahl. *karzang* »crab ; (astr.) Cancer« (MacKenzie 50).

¹⁴ Vgl. : *längär* (IzyskDar 349.33a.M) ~ *ilängir* »якорь ; Anker« (op. cit. 296.33a.6).

Unter den modernen türkischen Sprachen kommt dieses Nomen in der Bedeutung »Gestirname« nur im Türkei-türkischen vor.

2.4.3. *Serġan* »Seretân burcu, Yengeç burcu; Sternbild des Krebses« (Arat KB III, 392),

*bu ay burġi serġan bu ew ewrilür
ewi ewrilür hem özi ĉewrilür* (Arat KB I, 91.744),

»Ayn burcu Seretân'dır, bu ev döner,
Evi dönünce, kendisi de döner;
Das Zeichen dieses Monats ist der Krebs, das Haut wendet sich einwärts,
Sein Haus wendet sich einwärts, und auch er hält in diese Richtung« (Arat KB II, 64.744);

kkalp. *Saratan*, ösb. *Saratân* »(astr.) Рак (зодиакальное созвездие); саратан (название четвёртого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего периоду 22 июня—21 июля); Sternbild des Krebses; saratan (Name des vierten Monats im Sonnenjahr, entspricht der Periode vom 22. Juni bis zum 21. Juli)«; tat. *Saratan* »саратан (название четвёртого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего периоду 22 июня—21 июля); (astr.) Рак (зодиакальное созвездие); saratan (Name des vierten Monats im Sonnenjahr, entspricht der Periode vom 22. Juni bis zum 21. Juli); Sternbild des Krebses« (TatRSl.) ~ tat. Dial. *Sirâtan* »Рак (созвездие); Sternbild des Krebses« (Giganov) ~ *sertân* »der Juni (das Sternbild des Krebses)« (Radloff IV, 469); kas. *saratan* (KazRSl.), kirg. Dial. *saratan* »название четвёртого месяца солнечного календаря, соответствующего периоду с 22 июня по 21 июля; Name des vierten Monats im Sonnenjahr, entspricht der Periode vom 22. Juni bis zum 21. Juli« (KirgRSl.); osm. *Seretân* »Cancer (signe du zodiaque); Krebs (Himmelszeichen)« (Zenker, GökbTerS 107.1135, unter dem Stichwort *Yengeç*); tkm. *seretân* »июнь; Juni« (Aliev-Boriev) ~ *Seretân* »Рак (зодиакальное созвездие); серетан (название четвёртого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего периоду с 22 июня по 21 июля); Sternbild des Krebses; seretan (Name des vierten Monats, entspricht der Periode vom 22. Juni bis zum 21. Juli)« (TkmRSl.); mod. ujb. *Sârîtan* (UjbRSl.) ~ mod. ujb. Dial. *Seretân* »the zodiacal sign Cancer, name of the 4-th month of the Turki solar year« (Jarring). Vgl. noch: Budagov I, 625—626; Räsänen EtWb. 412.

Das Wort ist arabischer Herkunft. Vgl.: ar. *Sarâfân* »(astr.) Cancer«.

Dieser arabischer Gestirname erscheint sehr bald nach der Islamisierung der Türken und läßt sich schon im QB belegen. Die aus dem Arabischen und Persischen stammenden Namen der Tierkreiszeichen konnten aber gewöhnlich erst später, bei der Zunahme des fremden Einflusses in die türkischen Sprachen gelangt sein. Die frühe Entlehnung des arabischen Nomens *Sarâfân* wurde — außer dem Bedürfnis, Kalender zu erstellen, — vielleicht auch

dadurch begünstigt, daß die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des alten türkischen Gestirnnamens *Qučiq* »Sternbild des Krebses« im 11. Jh. bereits verblaßt war Vgl. noch: 2.4.1.

Auch in den iranischen Sprachen ist der arabische Gestirname nachweisbar. Vgl. z. B.: pers. *Saraṭān* (DPerFr.) ~ *Sārāṭān* (PerRSl.), tadsh. *Saraṭān*, paschtu *Saraṭān* »созвездие Рака; саратан (четвёртый месяц солнечного года; июнь—июль); Sternbild des Krebses; saratan (Name des vierten Monats des Sonnenjahrs; Juni—Juli)«; dari *Saraṭān* »(astr.) созвездие Рака; Sternbild des Krebses«.

2.4.4. as. *Xärčäng* »Cancer, zodiak bürjü; Sternbild des Krebses« (AzSEns. IV, 338, unter dem Stichwort *Zodiak*).

Das Wort ist persischer Herkunft. Vgl.: pers. *Harčang* (Vullers) ~ *Harčäng* »(astr.) Рак (зодиакальное созвездие); Sternbild des Krebses« (PerRSl.). Der persische Gestirname war gleichfalls durch Lehnübersetzung entstanden. Zu der appellativen Bedeutung des Nomens vgl.: »cancer« (Vullers). Vgl. noch: pahl. *karzang* »crab; (astr.) Cancer« (MacKenzie 50), tadsh. *harčang* id. (Farh.).

2.4.5. kirg. *Rak* (*top jıldız*) »Рак; Sternbild des Krebses« (RKirgSlAstrTer. 204).

Das Nomen ist russischer Herkunft. Vgl.: russ. *Рак* »Sternbild des Krebses«.

Zur Übernahme kam es wahrscheinlich erst in jüngster Zeit.

Der untersuchte Sternname läßt sich außer im zitierten kirgisischen astronomischen Werk aus anderen Quellen nicht belegen.

2.5. *Löwe* (lat. *Leo*, astr. *Leo*)

2.5.1. *Arslan* »Aslan burcu; Sternbild des Löwen« (Arat KB III, 25),

kör arslan bile qoşni buyday başi
basa ülgü boldi çadan ya işi (sic!) (Arat KB I, 30.140),

»Bak, Esed'in komşusu Sünbüle'dir,
Sonra Akreb ve Kavs'in arkadaşı Mızan gelir;
Siehe, der Löwe ist der Jungfrau Nachbar,
Dann kam die Wage, des Skorpions und des Schützen Gefährte« (Arat KB II, 21.140);

کور ارسلان *kör Arslan* »siehe! Der Löwe« (Rabγ. 66v.4); *Arslan* »Sternbild des Löwen« (Melioranskij ArFil. 067, İbnü Mühennâ 11, Sanglay 37r.6); osm. *Aslan* (GökbTerŞ 6.71), baschk. *Arıñlan* (*yondoñloq*) (RBaşkTerAstr. 9), kirg. *Arstan* (*zodiakaldik top jıldız*) »Лев; Sternbild des Löwen« (RKirgSlAstrTer.

118). Vgl. noch: Budagov I, 27; Clauson ETastrTer. 364; Clauson EtD 238; Sevortjan ÊtSl. I, 177—179.

Das untersuchte Nomen ist in sämtlichen Zweigen der türkischen Sprachfamilie bekannt. Vgl. z. B.: alttürk. *arslan* »Löwe« (Malov PamDTPMK 90, USp. 262); mitteltürk.: Kāšγ. آرسلان *arslan* »Löwe« (Atalay III, 412, Brockelmann 12); *arslan* (Houtsma 46) ~ *aslan* »Löwe« (Houtsma 48); *aslan* »lew; lion« (Tryjarski 78); tkm. *arslan*, nog. *arïslan*, tschuw. *araslan* ~ *arâslan* »Löwe«. Vgl. noch: Clauson EtD 238, Räsänen EtWb. 27, Sevortjan ÊtSl. I, 177—179, Egorov ÊtSl. 31—32, Doerfer TMEN II, Nr. 453.

Die Bedeutung »Gestirname« dieses Nomens war durch Lehnübersetzung entstanden. Das Vorbild zur Übernahme dürfte aus dem Arabischen bzw. iranischen Sprachgebiet gekommen sein. Vgl. z. B.: ar. *asad* »lion; (astr.) Leo«; pers. *šēr* »leo, aut tigris; Leo signum zodiaci« (Vullers) ~ *šīr* »лев; (астр.) Лев (зодиакальное созвездие); Löwe; Sternbild des Löwen« (PerRSl.), tadsh. *šer* id.; dari *šēr* »тигр; (астр.) созвездие Льва; Tiger; Sternbild des Löwen«.

Der Ausdruck *kör arslan* »siehe! Der Löwe« bezeichnet den »Sternbild des Löwen« im Beleg für die zodiakalen Sternbilder im Werk von Rabyūzī (66v.4). Diese Angabe verweist auf die unmittelbare und im gegebenen Fall ungenaue bzw. mechanische Übernahme der im QB enthaltenen Gestirnnamen. Vgl.: *kör arslan bile qošnī buγday bašī* (Arat KB I, 30.140) »Siehe, der Löwe ist der Jungfrau Nachbar«, und s. auch Clauson ETastrTer. 357.

Die korrekte Lesung der Form *iši* ist wahrscheinlich *eši*, obgleich in der mit arabischer Schrift geschriebenen Form die Buchstaben elif und waw zusammen auch den Lautwert *i* haben können. Im QB dürfte das letzte Wort des 140. Paarreims die mit dem possessiven Personalsuffix der 3. Person versehene Ableitung des Nomens *eš* mit der Bedeutung »Gefährte, Freund; Paar« sein.

2.5.2. ösb. *Asad*, tkm. *Āset* »Лев (зодиакальное созвездие); эсет (название пятого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего периоду с 22 июля по 21 августа); Sternbild des Löwen; eset (Name des fünften Monats im Sonnenjahr, entspricht der Periode vom 22. Juli bis zum 21. August)«; osm. *Esed* (Zenker) ~ *Eset* (TRSl.) »la constellation du Lion; Sternbild des Löwen«; tat. *Āsād būrjī* »Лев (знак небес.); Sternbild des Löwen« (Trojanskij), *āsād* »июль (по иранскому календарю); Juli (nach dem iranischen Kalender)« (ArTatRSl.) ~ tat. Dial. *asād* id. (Giganov) ~ *āsāt* »der Monat Juli, das Sternbild des Löwen« (Radloff I, 874); mod. ujj. *āsāt* (UjgRSl.) ~ mod. ujj. Dial. *Āsād* »the sign Leo, name of the fifth month of the Turki solar year« (Jarring); kas. *asat* (QazTüsS I, 371) ~ *āsāt* »июль; Juli« (Katarinskij); kirg. Dial. *asat* ~ *āsāt* »название пятого месяца солнечного года, примерно соответствующего июлю; Name des fünften Monats des Sonnenjahrs, entspricht

ungefähr dem Monat Juli« (KirgRSl.). Vgl. noch : Budagov I, 44 ; Räsänen EtWb. 30.

Dies ist ein arabisches Lehnwort. Vgl. ar. *Asad* »(astr.) Leo«.

Seine Entlehnung erfolgte in der mitteltürkischen Epoche. Die Bedeutung »Gestirnsname« ist aber nur in den modernen türkischen Sprachen nachweisbar.

Der arabische Gestirnsname wurde auch in die iranischen Sprachen übernommen. Vgl. z. B. : pers. *Assad* (DPerFr.) ~ *Āsād* (PerRSl.) tadsh., paschtu, dari *Asad* »(astr.) Лев; асад (пятый месяц солнечного года; соотв. июлю—августу); Sternbild des Löwen; asad (der fünfte Monat des Sonnenjahres; entspricht Juli—August)«.

2.5.3. as. *Šir būrjū* »(astr.) Лев; Sternbild des Löwen« (RAzSl., AzSEns. IV, 338, unter dem Stichwort *Zodiak*).

Das Nomen *šir* ist ein iranisches Lehnwort. Vgl. z. B. : pahl. *šagr* »lion; (astr.) Lion« (MacKenzie 78); pers. *šēr* »leo aut tigris; Leo, signum zodiaci« (Vullers) ~ *šir* »лев; (astr.) Лев (зодиакальное созвездие); шир (пятый месяц иранского солнечного года); Löwe; Sternbild des Löwen; schir (der fünfte Monat des iranischen Sonnenjahres)« (PerRSl.); tadsh. *šer*, dari *šēr* »лев; (astr.) созвездие Льва; Löwe; Sternbild des Löwen«; paschtu *šer* »тигр; лев; Tiger; Löwe«.

Obwohl das Nomen *šir* in den mitteltürkischen Sprachdenkmälern auch in der Bedeutung »Tiername« außerordentlich selten ist, weisen seine in den modernen türkischen Sprachen vorkommenden Entsprechungen dennoch darauf hin, daß dieses Nomen auch in den alten türkischen Sprachen möglicherweise in breiteren Kreisen bekannt war. Vgl. z. B. : osm., as., mod. ujb. *šir*, tkm. *šir*, kkalp., ösb. *šer* »лев; Löwe«. Vgl. noch : Räsänen EtWb. 447.

Als Name »Tierkreiszeichen des Löwen« findet sich dieses iranische Lehnwort bei den türkischen Völkern nur in der aserbaidshanischen Sprache. Die Lehnübersetzung kam anscheinend auf iranischem Sprachgebiet zustande, Genauer gesehen stammt der iranische Gestirnsname aus dem Persischen.

2.6. *Jungfrau* (lat. *Virgo*, astr. *Vir*)

2.6.1. *Buyday baši* »Sternbild Jungfrau«

Vgl. : *kör arslan bile gošni buyday baši*
basa ülgü boldi čadan ya iši (sic!) (Arat KB I, 30.140),

»Bak, Esed'in komşusu Sünbüle'dir,
Sonra Akreb ve Kavs'in arkadaşı Mizan gelir;
Siehe, der Löwe ist der Jungfrau Nachbar,
Dann kam die Waage, des Skorpions und des Schützen Gefährte« (Arat KB II, 21.140);

بغداى بشى *Buyday baši* »Sternbild der Jungfrau« (Rabγ. 66v.4), بغداى باشى *Buyday baši* id. (Melioranskij ArFil. 081, İbnü Mühennâ 22); tschag. بوغداى *Buyday* »blé; épi; signe du zodiaque« (PdC 172). Vgl. noch: Radloff IV. 1654—1655, Budagov I, 260—261, DTSL. 120; Clauson ETAStrTer. 356, 357; Clauson EtD 312.

Die Bedeutung der Konstruktion *buyday baši* ist »Weizenähre«. Vgl. z. B.: *buyday baši* (Ettuhfet 157, IzyskDar 285; İbnü Mühennâ 22), tkm. *bugday baši*, kkalp. *biydaydın baši*, mod.ujg. *buyday beši* »колос пшеницы; Weizenähre«.

Der türkische Gestirname dürfte sich als Ergebnis der Entlehnung von im Arabischen oder in den iranischen Sprachen gebräuchlichen Bezeichnungen für das Sternbild der Jungfrau herausgebildet haben. Vgl. z. B.: ar. *sunbul* »ear, spike (of grain)«, *al-Sunbula* »(astr.) Virgo«; pers. *hōše* »spica frumenti; signum zodiaci: Spica vel Virgo« (Vullers) ~ *hūše* »кисть, гроздь; колос; (астр.) Дева зодиакальное созвездие); Traube; Ähre; Sternbild der Jungfrau« (PerRSl.), tadsh. *hūša*, paschtu *wayay* id.

Die Bedeutung »Gestirname« des persischen Nomens *hōše* ~ *hūše* »Ähre« dürfte nach dem Vorbild der frühen babylonischen Bezeichnung *absin* »Ähre; Sternbild der Jungfrau« entstanden sein.¹⁵

Die Bezeichnung des Zodiakalzeichens Jungfrau mit dem arabischen Nomen *sunbul* »Ähre« hat sich vermutlich unter persischem Einfluß herausgebildet. Das Vorbild zur Übernahme des Gestirnnamens konnte jedoch, in erster Linie auf Grund chronologischer Kriterien, auch schon aus dem Arabischen in die türkischen Sprachen geraten sein.

Das türkische *Buyday baši* »Weizenähre; Sternbild der Jungfrau« ist nur in den alten türkischen Sprachen nachweisbar, aber vgl. noch: *Başaq* id. (sowie auch 2.6.2.).

In der tschagataischen Literatursprache kommt der fragliche Gestirname auch in der Form *Buyday* (eigtl. »Weizen«) vor (s. weiter oben).

Der erwähnte babylonische Gestirname beschränkte sich in den europäischen Sprachen auf die Bezeichnung des »hellsten Sterns im Sternbild der Jungfrau« (ausführlicher s. Fußnote 10).

2.6.2. osm. *Başak* »Sünbüle, Azra burcu; Sternbild der Jungfrau« (GökbTerS 11.125).

Das untersuchte Nomen ist die mit dem Diminutivsuffix *-q* gebildete Ableitung von *baş* »Kopf, Haupt«. Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung ist »kleiner Kopf, Spitze von etwas« (Clauson EtD 378). Spuren der Bedeutungsentwicklung »Spitze von etwas, Kopf« → »Weizenkopf: Ähre« erscheinen im 14. Jh. Vgl. z. B.: *başaq* »kłos; Ähre« (Zajaczkowski HŠ III, 28), *başaq* id. (Caferoğlu

¹⁵ Hermann, J., *Das falsche Weltbild*, 20.

LAttr. 15, Borovkov Badā 33); gag. *bašak*, tat. *bašak* (TatRSl.), ösb. *bāšaq*, kas. *masaq* »колос; Ähre«; tuw. *mazak* »колос (оставшиеся после жатвы); Ähre (die nach der Ernte nachbleibt)«; tschuw. *pu bžax* ~ *pužax* »Ähre«. Vgl. noch: Clauson EtD 378, Räsänen EtWb. 64, Sevortjan ÊtSl. II, 89—91, Egorov ÊtSl. 169—170.

Der türkische Gestirname war durch die Übernahme der im Arabischen oder in den iranischen Sprachen gebräuchlichen Bezeichnungen des Sternbildes der Jungfrau entstanden. Vgl. z. B.: ar. *sunbul* »ear, spike (of grain)«, *al-Sunbula* »(astr.) Virgo«; pers. *hōše* »spica frumenti; signum zodiaci: Spica vel Virgo« (Vullers) ~ *hūše* »кисть, гроздь; колос; (астр.) Дева (зодиакальное созвездие); Traube; Ähre; Sternbild der Jungfrau« (PerRSl.), tadsh. *hūša*, paschtu *wayay id*.

In der Bedeutung »Gestirname« kommt das untersuchte Nomen nur im Türkei-türkischen vor.

Vgl. noch: *Buyday baši* (2.6.1.).

2.6.3. baschk. *Qid* (*yondođloq*) (RBaškTerAstr. 7); kirg. *Kiz* (*zodiakaldik top jıldiz*) (RKirgSlAstrTer. 65); as. *Giz* »Virgo, zodiak bürjü« (AzSEns. IV, 338, unter dem Stichwort *Zodiak*).

Dieses Nomen ist in sämtlichen Zweigen der türkischen Sprachfamilie bekannt. Vgl. z. B.: alttürk. *qiz* »Mädchen« (Malov PamDTPMK 98, AnalInd. 495); mitteltürk.: Kāšγ. *ḡiz* »Mädchen« (Atalay I, 326, Brockelmann 157), »daughter, virgin« (Eckmann IntKorTr. 229—230, Caferoğlu LAttr. 77, Borovkov Tefsir 207). Unter den modernen türkischen Sprachen, s. z. B.: osm. *kız*, kar. *qiz*, ösb. *qiz*, hak. *hīs* »дочь; девочка, девушка; девица; jemandes Tochter; kleines Mädchen, Mädchen; Jungfrau, Jungfer«; tschuw. *xər* »Mädchen, Tochter«. Vgl. noch: Clauson EtD 679—680, Räsänen EtWb. 269, Egorov ÊtSl. 298, Doerfer TMEN III, Nr. 1601.

Die in Frage stehenden baschkirischen und kirgisischen Gestirnamen entwickelten sich aus einer Lehnübersetzung. Das Vorbild der Übersetzung wurde wahrscheinlich in neuester Zeit aus dem Russischen entnommen. Vgl.: russ. *Дева* »Jungfrau, Jungfer; Sternbild der Jungfrau«.

2.6.4. ösb. *Sunbula* »(астр.) Дева (зодиакальное созвездие); сунбула (название шестого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего периоду 22 августа—21 сентября); Sternbild der Jungfrau; sunbula (Name des sechsten Monats im Sonnenjahr, entspricht der Periode vom 22. August bis zum 21. September)«; osm. *Sünbüle* (GökbTerS 11.126, unter dem Stichwort *Başak*) ~ *Sümbüle* »la Vierge (signe du zodiaque); Sternbild oder Himmelszeichen der Jungfrau« (Zenker)« tkm. *sünbile* »август; August« (Aliiev-Boriev) ~ *Sünbüle* »Дева (зодиакальное созвездие); сунбуле (название шестого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего периоду с 22 августа по 21 сентября); Sternbild der Jung-

frau; sunbule (Name des sechsten Monats im Sonnenjahr, entspricht der Periode vom 22. August bis zum 21. September)« (TkmRSl.), kkalp. *Sünbile* id.; mod.ujg. *Sünbülä* (UjgRSl.) ~ mod.ujg.Dial. *Sunbule* »the sign Virgo, name of the sixth month of the Turki solar year« (Jarring); tat. *sönbelä* »название августа месяца; Name des Monats August (ArTatRSl.), *Sönbelä* »знак небесный Дева; Sternbild der Jungfrau« (Trojanskij) ~ tat.Dial. *Sünbülä* (Giganov) ~ *Sünbilä* »das Sternbild der Jungfrau, der August« (Radloff IV, 808); kirg.Dial. *sunbula* ~ *sümbülö* (KirgRSl.), kas. *sümbile* »август; August«. Vgl. noch: Budagov I, 637; Räsänen EtWb. 436.

Das Nomen ist arabischer Herkunft, vgl.: *al-Sunbula* »(astr.) Virgo«.

Dieses türkische Nomen dürfte in der mitteltürkischen Epoche in die türkischen Sprachen geraten sein; in der Bedeutung »Gestirnname« ist es aber nun in den modernen türkischen Sprachen nachweisbar.

Der arabische Gestirnname ist auch in den iranischen Sprachen bekannt. Vgl. z. B.: tadsh. *Sunbula* »das sechste der 12 Sternbilder des Zodiakus: das Sternbild der Jungfrau« (Farh.), »арабское название шестого месяца солнечного года, примерно соответствующего августу; der arabische Name des sechsten Monats im Sonnenjahr, der ungefähr dem Monat August entspricht« (TadžRSl.); paschtu *Sumbula*, dari *Sombola*, pers. *Sombole* »nom du sixième mois de l'année solaire; sixième signe du zodiaque, Vierge« (DPerFr.).

2.6.5. osm. *Azra* »constellation de la Vierge; Sternbild der Jungfrau« (Zenker, GökbTerS 11.126, unter dem Stichwort *Başak*).

Das Wort ist arabischer Herkunft. Vgl.: ar. *al-ʿAzrāʾ* »(astr.) Virgo«.

Dieser arabische Gestirnname ist von den türkischen Sprachen nur im Türkei-türkischen nachweisbar.

Die Bedeutung »Gestirnname« des arabischen Nomens *ʿazrāʾ* »virgin« hat sich wahrscheinlich nach dem Vorbild der in den europäischen Sprachen gebräuchlichen Bezeichnungen entwickelt. Vgl. z. B.: engl. *Virgo*, frz. *Vierge*, it. *Vergine*, ung. *Szűz*, russ. *Дева* »Jungfrau, unberührtes Mädchen; Sternbild der Jungfrau«.

Zur Bezeichnung dieses Gestirns nahm die persische Astronomie den früh-babylonischen Namen *absin* »Ähre; Sternbild der Jungfrau« zur Grundlage. Vgl.: pers. *hōše* »spica frumenti; signum zodiaci: Spica vel Virgo« (Vullers) ~ *hūše* »кисть, гроздь; колос; (astr.) Дева (зодиакальное созвездие); Traube; Ähre; Sternbild der Jungfrau« (PerRSl.). Auf Grund des erwähnten babylonischen Gestirnnamens oder dessen iranischer Übersetzung konnten die arabische Bezeichnung *al-Sunbula*, ferner die türkischen Namen *Buyday başı* und *Başaq* »Ähre; Sternbild der Jungfrau« entstanden sein.

In den iranischen Sprachen war zur Bezeichnung des Sternbildes der Jungfrau vermutlich keine neuere Lehnübersetzung mehr erfolgt. Zumindest lassen sich die in den iranischen Sprachen gebräuchlichen Nomina *dohtar*,

bakire, peyla »Jungfrau, unberührtes Mädchen« in der Bedeutung »Gestirname« nicht nachweisen.

Das arabische Nomen ist auch in die iranischen Sprachen gelangt. Als Bezeichnung für »Sternbild der Jungfrau« findet es sich aber nur im Persischen und in der tadshikischen Sprache. Vgl.: pers. 'Azrā' »the sign Virgo« (Stein-gass), tadsh. 'Azrā id. Das fragliche arabische Nomen kann in der Bedeutung »Gestirname« sowohl im Persischen als auch im Tadshikischen und in den Türkei-türkischen Sprachen nur aus sehr wenigen Quellenwerken belegt werden. In den erwähnten Sprachen war dieser arabische Gestirname wahrscheinlich nicht allgemein bekannt. Aus dem Gesagten folgt, daß die persische Astronomie den für sie eine fremde Bedeutung tragenden arabischen Gestirnamen nicht übernommen hat. Daß der arabische Gestirname *al-'Azrā'* weder in den iranischen Sprachen, noch bei den Türken Verbreitung fand, läßt sich vielleicht gerade damit in Zusammenhang bringen, daß die persische Astronomie bestrebt war, die Tradition zu wahren.

Die durch Lehnübersetzung entstandenen iranischen, arabischen und türkischen Namen des Sternbildes der Jungfrau betreffend. vgl. noch: 1.2.2.1. 1.2.2.2., 1.2.3.1., 2.6.4.

2.7. Waage (lat. *Libra*, astr. *Lib*)

2.7.1. *Ülgü* »Terazi (Mizan) burcu ; Sternbild der Waage« (Arat KB III, 505),

kör arslan bile goşni buyday başı

basa ülgü boldi çadan ya işi (sic!) (Arat KB I, 30.140),

»Bak, Esed'in komşusu Sünbüle'dir,

Sonra Akreb ve Kavs'in arkadaşı Mizan gelir ;

Siehe, der Löwe ist der Jungfrau Nachbar,

Dann kommt die Waage, des Skorpions und des Schützen Gefährte« (Arat KB II, 21.140) ;

اوگو *Ülgü* »Sternbild der Waage« (Rabγ. 66v.4, Sanglax 86r.16), *Ülgülüg* (İbnü Mühennâ 81—82), baschk. *Ülsäu* (*yondoðloq*) id. (RBaşkTerAstr. 6). Vgl. noch : Radloff I, 1254, Budagov I, 155, DTSl. 624 ; Clauson ETAAstrTer. 363 ; Clauson EtD 142, Doerfer TMEN II, Nr. 539.

Das untersuchte Nomen, das wie man annehmen darf, eine Ableitung des Verbs *ül-* »aufteilen, messen« darstellt (Clauson EtD 142), läßt sich in der Bedeutung »Maß, Maßeinheit, Waage« schon in den alttürkischen Sprachdenkmälern belegen. Ihre Entsprechungen sind sowohl in den mitteltürkischen Sprachdenkmälern als auch in den modernen türkischen Sprachen gleicherweise häufig. Vgl. z. B. : *ülgü* »Maß« (AnalInd. 510) ; Käsγ. *ألكو* *ülkü* »Bündnis« (Atalay I, 129, Brockelmann 236) ; *ülgü* »measure« (Eckmann IntKorTr. 314), »мера, образец ; Maß, Muster« (Borovkov Tefsir 338) ; osm. *ülkü*

»balance; Waage« (Zenker); kirg. *ülgü* »пример, образец; Beispiel, Muster«; sag., kojib., schor. »die Zahle« (Radloff I, 1858). Vgl. noch: Clauson EtD 142, Räsänen EtWb. 371, 520, Sevortjan ÉtSl. I, 632.

Die baschkirische Form *ülsäu* »весы; мерка; мера; Waage; Messen, Maß; Maßeinheit« dürfte die Ableitung des Verbs *ölč-* »messen, ausrechnen« sein, das etymologisch mit dem Verb *ül-* »aufteilen, messen« zusammenhängt. Ähnliche Wortbildungen sich auch in anderen türkischen Sprachen nachweisen.¹⁶

Die Bedeutung »Gestirname« des Nomens *ülgü* war auf Grund einer Lehnübersetzung entstanden. Das Vorbild zur Übernahme konnte sowohl aus dem Arabischen als auch aus den iranischen Sprachen gekommen sein. Vgl. z. B.: ar. *mizān* »весы; мерило; баланс; Waage; Maßeinheit; Schlußrechnung, Gleichgewicht«, *burj al-Mizān* »(astr.) созвездие Весов; Sternbild der Waage« (ArRSl.); pers. *tarāzu*, »libra; Libra coelistis, signum zodiaci«; tadsh. *tarāzu*, vah. *terozīw* id.; paschtu *tāla* »весы; мерило; (astr.) Весы (созвездие); Waage; Maßeinheit; Sternbild der Waage«.

Zu der Transliteration der Form *iši* (sic!) vgl.: 2.5.1.

2.7.2. Kāšγ. *Qaraquš* (Atalay III, 40), *Qara quš* »Sternbild der Wage« (sic!) (Brockelmann 166).

Die attributive Konstruktion *qara quš* »Adler« (eigtl. »schwarzer Vogel«) wird im Wörterbuch von Kāšγari unter dem Stichwort *yulduz* »Stern« als Name für »Sternbild der Waage« angeführt (s. oben), doch bezeichnet sie zugleich unter dem Stichwort *qara quš* mit der Bedeutung »Raubvogel« den Jupiter. Vgl.: قَرَا قُوشُ *Qaraquš* (Atalay III, 221), *Qara quš* »der Jupiter« (Brockelmann 166).

Dieser Gestirname ist auch im QB nachweisbar. Vgl.: *Qara quš* »Jupiter gezegeni; der Planet Jupiter« (Arat KB III, 223).

Der in Frage stehende Vogelname läßt sich aus anderen türkischen Sprachen belegen. Vgl. z. B.: *qara quš* »Adler« (CC 193; Zajaczkowski Bulg. I, 38; Houtsma 94, Kuryšžanov 157; Melioranskij ArFil. 0104, İbnü Mühennâ 37); *qara quš* »aigle noir« (PdC 397); osm. *karakuş* »kartalın bir türü; eine Art Adler«; kirg. *kara kuş* »степной орёл; Steppenadler (Aquila rapax)«; alt. *qara quš* »der Adler« (Radloff II, 134). In der Bedeutung »Gestirname« kommt jedoch die untersuchte Konstruktion nur in den angeführten Sprachdenkmälern der Karachaniden vor.

¹⁶ Vgl. z. B.: kar. *ölčü* »мера, количество; Maß, Maßeinheit, Menge«, *ölči ~ ölčü* »мера; Maß, Maßeinheit«; osm. *ölçü* »Messen; Maß, Maßeinheit; Menge«; tat. *ülčäu* »весы; Waage« (TatRSl.); kas. *ölšewiś* »measure, scales, gange« (KazEngD); tschuw. *viže* »Maß, Wage«. Vgl. noch: Räsänen EtWb. 371, Sevortjan ÉtSl. I, 529—530, Egorov ÉtSl. 55.

Die Angaben beim Vogelnamen im QB sowie im Wörterbuch von Kāşyari weisen darauf hin, daß der in Frage stehende alte türkische Gestirnsname in Wirklichkeit eine der türkischen Bezeichnungen des »Jupiters« ist. Kāşyari dürfte bei der Anführung der Gestirnnamen die Bedeutungen der einander folgenden Ausdrücke *Eren tüz* und *Qara quş* verwechselt haben (vgl. : Clauson ETastrTer. 361).

Zum Gestirnnamen *Eren tüz* vgl. : 2.3.1.

2.7.3. osm. *Mizan* »Balance (signe du zodiaque); Sternbild der Waage« (Zenker, GökbTerS 98.1046, unter dem Stichwort *Terazi*), *Mizan* »(astr.) Веса (название зодиакального созвездия); мизан (название седьмого месяца солнечного года; соотв. сентябрю—октябрю); Sternbild der Waage; misan (Name des siebenten Monats des Sonnenjahres; entspricht den Monaten September—Oktober)« (TRSl.), tat. *Mizan* (TatRSl.), kkalp. *Miżzan*, ösb. *Mezân* id.; mod.ujg. *Mizan* (UjgRSl.) ~ mod.ujg.Dial. *Mizân* »the celestial sign Libra, the name of the seventh month of the Turki solar year« (Jarring); tkm. *mizân* »сентябрь; September« (Aliev—Boriev) ~ *Mizân* »Веса (зодиакальное созвездие); мизан (название седьмого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего периоду с 22 сентября по 22 октября); Sternbild der Waage; misan (Name des siebenten Monats des Sonnenjahres) (entspricht der Periode vom 22. September bis zum 22. Oktober)« (TkmRSl.); kas. *mizan* »сентябрь; September«; kirg.Dial. *mizan* ~ *miżam* : *miżam ayı* »название месяца, примерно соответствующего сентябрю; Name eines Monats, der ungefähr dem September entspricht« (KirgRSl.). Vgl. noch : Budagov II, 273.

Das Nomen ist ein arabisches Lehnwort. Vgl. : ar. *mizân* »весы; мерило; баланс; Waage; Maßeinheit; Schlußrechnung, Gleichgewicht«, *burġ al-Mizân* »(astr.) созвездие Весов; Sternbild der Waage« (ArRSl.).

Der arabische Gestirnsname ist auch in die iranischen Sprachen gelangt. Vgl. z. B. : pers. *Mizân* »(astr.) Веса (зодиакальное созвездие); мизан (седьмой месяц солнечного года; соотв. сентябрю—октябрю); Sternbild der Waage; misan (der siebente Monat des Sonnenjahres; entspricht den Monaten September—Oktober)« (PerRSl.), tadsh. *Mizân*, paschtu, dari *Mizân* id.

2.7.4. *ترازو Tarazu* (Melioranskij ArFil. 085), *Tarazi* »Mizan bürcünün adıdır; Name für Sternbild der Waage« (İbnü Mühennâ 69); osm. *Terazi* (Zenker) ~ ~ *Terazi* (GökbTerS 98.1046), as. *Täräzi* (AzSEns. IV, 338, unter dem Stichwort *Zodiak*), kirg. *Taraza* (zodiakaldik top ĵıldız) (RKirgSlAstrTer. 31), mod.ujg. *Taraza* »(astr.) Веса (зодиакальное созвездие); Sternbild der Waage«; kas. *Tarazi* »Orion (constell.); the end of summer« (KazEngD). Vgl. noch : Budagov I, 347.

Das Nomen ist iranischer Herkunft. Vgl. : pahl. *Tarāzūg* »(astr.) Libra« (MacKenzie 82); pers. *Tarāzu* »Libra coelistis, signum zodiaci« (Vullers),

Tarāzu »(astr.) Весы (зодиакальное созвездие); таразу (седьмой месяц иранского солнечного года; соотв. сентябрю—октябрю); Sternbild der Waage; tarasu (der siebente Monat des iranischen Sonnenjahres; entspricht September—Oktober)« (PerRSl.), tadsh. *Tarāzu*, vah. *Terozūw* id.

Näher untersucht wurde das iranische Lehnwort wahrscheinlich aus dem Persischen übernommen, die Entlehnung dürfte in der mitteltürkischen Epoche stattgefunden haben.

Der fragliche Gestirnsname bezeichnet zwar im Kasakischen das »Sternbild des Orions«, doch die Bedeutung »Ende des Sommers (: Herbst)« wurde vermutlich dem Namen jener Jahreszeit entnommen, in der die Sonne im Zeichen der Waage »weilt«. Die Bedeutung des kas. Nomens *Tarazı* »Orion« bedarf einer weiteren Untersuchung. Das Sternbild der Waage befindet sich nämlich am Firmament in ansehnlicher Entfernung vom Sternbild des Orions (vgl.: GökbTerS Şek. T 2, CsillAtl. 182, 204).

2.8. *Skorpion* (lat. *Scorpius*, astr. *Sco*)

2.8.1. *Čadan* »Akrep burcu; Sternbild des Skorpions« (Arat KB III, 127),

kör arslan bile goşni buyday başı

basa ülgü boldi čadan ya işi (sic!) (Arat KB I, 30.140),

»Bak Esed'in komşusu Sünbüle'dir,

Sonra Akrep ve Kav'sin arkadaşı Mızan gelir;

Siehe, der Löwe ist der Jungfrau Nachbar,

Dann kam die Waage, des Skorpions und des Schützen Gefährte« (Arat KB II, 21.140);

yana kördi ülker sawılmış başı

toyardıñ čadan qopmış örlep tuşı (Arat KB I, 488.4889),

»Tekrar baktı, Ülker yıldızının başı ufka kaymış,

Karşısında şarktan Akrep kalkıp, yükselmişti;

Schaute wieder, das Haupt der Plejaden sank auf den Horizont,

Gegenüber ging der Skorpion auf und stieg hoch hinauf« (Arat KB II, 352.4889);

چیدان *Čidan* (Rabγ. 66v.4), چایان *Čäyän* (sic!) (Melioranskiĭ ArFil. 089) ~ ~ *Čayan* »Akrap bürcü; Sternbild des Skorpions« (İbnü Mühennâ 24—25); چایان *Čayan* (Sanglaç 210v.14), *Čayan* »burj aqrabi; Sternbild des Skorpions« (Veliaminof—Zernof 237). Vgl. noch: Radloff III, 1852, 1903, 2118, Budagov I, 503, DTSl. 135, 136; Clauson ETAsTrTer. 362; Clauson EtD 403, Räsänen EtWb. 94.

Der Tiername ist in den mitteltürkischen wie in den modernen türkischen Sprachen gleicherweise häufig. Vgl. z. B.: Kāşγ. چادان *čadan* »Skorpion« (Atalay

I, 409, Brockelmann 48); *čïyan* (Ettuhfet 162) ~ *čayan* »скорпион; Skorpion« (IzyskDar 402), *čïyan* (Houtsma 72) ~ *čayan* id. (Kuryšžanov 216); چيلان *čïlan* (sic!) »Krebs« (Thúry 236); tat. *čayan* (TatRSl.), ösb. *čayân*, tkm. *ičyan*, kas. *šayan* »скорпион; Skorpion«; nog. *šayan* »рак; Krebs«. Vgl. noch: Clauson EtD 403, Räsänen EtWb. 94.

Die Bedeutung »Gestirnname« dieses Nomens dürfte sich auf Grund einer Lehnübersetzung ausgebildet haben. Das Vorbild zur Übersetzung ist möglicherweise unter den bei den mohammedanischen Völkern gebräuchlichen Gestirnnamen zu suchen. Vgl. z. B.: ar. *‘aqrab* »scorpion«, *al-‘Aqrab* »(astr.) Scorpio«; pers. *každom* »scorpio; signum Scorpionis coeleste«, tadsh. *každum*, paschtu *laram* id.

Zur Transliteration der Form *iši* (sic!) vgl.: 2.5.1.

2.8.2. ösb. *Aqrab*, kkalp. *Aqrap* »(astr.) Skorpion; акрап (название восьмого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего октябрю); Sternbild des Skorpions; акрап (Name des achten Monats im Sonnenjahr, der dem Oktober entspricht)«; tkm. *Akrap* »Skorpion (зодиакальное созвездие); акраб (название восьмого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего периоду с 22 октября по 21 ноября); Sternbild des Skorpions; акраб (Name des achten Monats im Sonnenjahr, entspricht der Periode vom 22. Oktober bis zum 21. November)« (TkmRSl.) ~ *aqirab* »октябрь; Oktober« (Aliiev—Boriev); mod. uĵg. *Aqrap* »(astr.) Skorpion; акрап (название месяца солнечного календаря, соотв. периоду с 22 октября по 21 ноября); Sternbild des Skorpions; акрап (Name des einen Monats im Sonnenjahr, entspricht der Periode vom 22. Oktober bis zum 21. November)« (UĵgRSl.) ~ mod. uĵg. Dial. *ägreb* »aqrab, name of the 8-th month of the Turki solar year« (Jarring); kas. *aqrap* (KazRSl.) ~ *aqirap* »oktyabr’ ayinï atï; Name des Monats Oktober« (QazTüsS I, 164); osm. *Aqrab* ~ *Aqreb* (Zenker), *Akrep* (GökbTerS 3.29), as. *Ägräb* »Scorpius, zodiak bürjü; Sternbild des Skorpions« (AzSEns. IV, 135), tat. *Ägräb bürĵi* (Trojanskij) ~ tat. Dial. *Aqrap* id. (Radloff I, 111). Vgl. noch: Budagov I, 764; Räsänen EtWb. 13.

Das Wort ist arabischer Herkunft. Vgl.: ar. *‘Aqrab* »(astr.) Scorpio«.

Die Entlehnung des arabischen Wortes erfolgte in der mitteltürkischen Epoche. In der Bedeutung »Gestirnname« kommt indessen dieses Nomen in den mitteltürkischen Sprachdenkmälern nicht vor.

Dieser arabische Gestirnname war auch in die iranischen Sprachen übernommen worden. Vgl. z. B.: pers. *‘Aqrab* (DPerFr.) ~ *Ägräb* (PerRSl.), tadsh. *Aqrab* »Skorpion (знак зодиака); название месяца солнечного года, соответствующего октябрю—ноябрю; Sternbild des Skorpions; Name eines Monats vom Sonnenjahr, der Oktober—November entspricht« (TadžRSl.), paschtu, dari *‘Aqrab* id.

2.9. *Schütze* (lat. *Sagittarius*, astr. *Sgr*)**2.9.1.** *Ya* »Sternbild des Schützen«

Vgl. : *kör arslan bile goşni buyday başı*

basa ülgü boldi çadan ya işi (sic!) (Arat KB I, 30.140),

»Bak, Esed'in komşusu Sünbüle'dir,

Sonra Akreb ve Kav'sin arkadaşı Mızan gelir;

Siehe, der Löwe ist der Jungfrau Nachbar,

Dann kam die Waage, des Skorpions und des Schützen Gefährte« (Arat KB II, 21.140);

یای *Yay* »Sternbild des Schützen« (Rabγ. 66v.5); *Yay* (Melioranskij ArFil. 0116) ~ *Ya* »Ükek (bürc) atlarından biri; Name eines Sternbildes des Zodiacus (: Sternbild des Schützen)« (İbnü Mühennâ 83); osm. *Yay* »constellation de l'Arc, Sagittaire; Sternbild des Schützen« (Zenker, GökbTerS 107.1129). Vgl. noch: Radloff III, 1, 3—4, Budagov II, 346, DTSL. 221; Clauson ETAStrTer. 356, 357, 358; Clauson EtD 869, Räsänen EtWb. 186, Doerfer TMEN IV, Nr. 1821.

Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung der Bezeichnung *Ya* ~ *Yay* für das Sternbild des Schützen war »Pfeil, Bogen«. Vgl. z. B.: alttürk. *ya* »Bogen« (AnaInd. 511); mitteltürk.: *Kāşγ. یا ya* »Bogen« (Atalay III, 215, Brockelmann 70); *ya* (Nadžip Muh. 212, Eckmann Gad. 396) ~ *ıay* »luk; arc« (Tryjarski 330); alt. *ya* (Verbickij) ~ *d'a* (OjrRSL.), tkm. *yāy*, nog. *yay*, ösb. *yāy*, baschk. *yan* »лук; Bogen«.

Die Bedeutung »Gestirname« hat sich auf Grund einer Lehnübersetzung herausgebildet. Das Vorbild zur Übersetzung kam vermutlich aus dem arabischen oder iranischen Sprachgebiet. Vgl. z. B.: ar. *qaus* »bow«, *al-Qaus* »Sagitta, the Archer (sign of the zodiac)«; pers. *kamān* »arcus; signum coeleste nonum«, tadsh. *kamān* id.; paschtu *linda* »лук; Стрелец (созвездие); Bogen; Sternbild des Schützen«.

2.9.2. osm. *Oqçu* »Sagittaire, constellation« (BdM), tat. *Ukçi* (TatRSL.), baschk. *Uqsı* (*yondodloq*) (RBaşkTerAstr. 13), as. *Oçatan* id. (RAzSL, AzSens. IV, 338, unter dem Stichwort *Zodiak*).

Das Nomen *oqçu* ~ *uqçi* »Schütze, Pfeilmacher« ist die mit dem Nomen agentis Suffix *-çi* gebildete Ableitung des Nomens *oq* »Pfeil, Bogen«. Vgl. z. B.: *Kāşγ. اوچی oqçi* »Pfeilschütz« (Atalay II, 199, Brockelmann 128), »okçu; Schütze, Pfeilmacher« (Arat KB III, 335), »стрелок, лучник; Schütze, Pfeilschütz« (Nadžip HŞ I, 339, Zajaczkowski HŞ III, 117), »Pfeilmacher« (Houtsma 50, Kuryšžanov 175) ~ *oççi* id. (CC 174); kirg. *okçu*, ösb. *uqçi* »стрелок; (ист.) специалист по изготовлению стрел; Schütze; (hist.) Pfeilmachers-

spezialist«; mod.ujg. *oqči* »стрелок; Schütze«. Vgl. noch: Clauson EtD 80, Räsänen EtWb. 359, Sevortjan ÊtSl. I, 437—438, Egorov ÊtSl. 271.

Das as. Nomen *oçatan* kam wahrscheinlich durch die Verschmelzung des Nomens *oç* »Pfeil« mit der Partizipialform des Verbs *at-* »werfen, schleudern, schießen« zustande. Seine Bedeutung ist: »Pfeilschütze, der mit dem Pfeil schießt«.

In der Bedeutung »Gestirnname« lassen sich die fraglichen Ableitungen des Nomens *oç* nur in den modernen türkischen Sprachen nachweisen. Der Name »Sternbild des Schützen« war auf Grund einer Lehnübersetzung entstanden, doch läßt sich die Herkunft des Vorbildes der Übersetzung nicht ermitteln. Diese türkischen Gestirnnamen konnten sich nicht nur unter dem Einfluß der arabischen Nomina *qaus* »bow« und *al-Qaus* »Sagitta, the Archer (sign of the zodiac)« sowie des persischen Nomens *kamān* »arcus; signum coeleste nonum« herausgebildet haben, sondern sie konnten auch unter dem Einfluß der in den europäischen Sprachen gebräuchlichen Bezeichnungen entstanden sein. Vgl. z. B.: engl. *Archer*, frz. *Sagittaire*, it. *Sagittario*, ung. *Nyilas*, russ. *Стрелец* »Schütze; Sternbild des Schützen«.

2.9.3. kirg. *Atkič* (*top jıldız*) »Стрелец; Sternbild des Schützen« (RKirg-SlAstrTer. 235).

Sevortjan ordnet das Nomen *atqič* ~ *atqiš* »Schütze« den Ableitungen des Verbs *at-* »werfen, schleudern, schießen« zu (ÊtSl. I, 200). Auch das kirgisische Nomen *Atkič* »Schütze; Sternbild des Schützen« ist die mit dem deverbaleen Suffix *-qoč* gebildete Ableitung des fraglichen Verbs. In bezug auf die Wortbildung vgl. noch: Gabain § 110. Diese Ableitung findet sich in den türkischen Sprachen verhältnismäßig selten. Vgl.: kas., kkalp. *atqiš* »стрелок; Schütze«. In anderen Zweigen der türkischen Sprachfamilie sind für die Bezeichnung von »Schütze« andere Ableitungen des gleichen Verbs in Gebrauch.¹⁷

Der kirgisische Gestirnname ist durch Lehnübersetzung entstanden. Die Übernahme konnte nach dem Vorbild des russischen Nomens *Стрелец* »strelets (Schütze, Mitglied der Leibgarde); Sternbild des Schützen« zustande gekommen sein.

Die auf Grund des russischen Vorbildes erfolgte Entlehnung des kirgisischen Gestirnnamens scheint — außer der semantischen Parallele zwischen dem russischen Nomen *Стрелец* »strelets, Leibgardist«, das letztlich ebenfalls vom Verb *стрелять* »schießen, feuern«, abgeleitet werden kann, und dem kirgisischen Nomen *atkič* »стрелок; Schütze« — auch der Umstand zu bestäti-

¹⁷ Vgl. z. B.: osm. *atıcı*, as. *atıji*, tat. *atuji* (TatRSl.), ösb. *atuji* »стрелок; Schütze«; tschag. *aiquči* »der Schütze, Kömpfer« (Radloff I, 466), tat. Dial. *atyuče* »стрелец; Schütze« (Giganov).

gen, daß in den anderen Zweigen der türkischen Sprachfamilie auch zur Bezeichnung des Sternbildes des Schützen gebrauchte Nomen *oqču* »Schütze, Pfeilmacher« in der kirgisischen Sprache gleichfalls vorhanden ist. Allerdings führt Judachin dieses Nomen unter den Elementen des archaischen Wortschatzes auf. Vgl.: *okču* »мастер по отливке пуль или (раньше) по изготовлению стрел; Kugel-, Geschosßgießermeister, oder (früher) Pfeilmachermeister« (KirgRSl. 565). Vgl. noch: *ok* »стрела, пуля, снаряд; Pfeil, Kugel, Geschosß« (KirgRSl. 563—564) und s. auch: **2.9.2.** Die letzteren kirgisischen Nomina sind jedoch in der Bedeutung »Gestirname« nicht nachweisbar.

Die Bezeichnung des Tierkreiszeichens des Schützen mit dem Nomen *atkič* »Schütze« kommt unter den türkischen Sprachen nur im Kirgisischen vor.

2.9.4. osm. *Qaws* (Zenker) ~ *Kavis* »(astr.) Стрелец (название зодиакального созвездия); Sternbild des Schützen« (TRSl., GökḅTerS 107.1129, unter dem Stichwort *Yay*); ösb. *Qavs*, kkalp. *Qawıs*, mod.ujg. *Qäws*, tkm. *Kovus* »Стрелец (зодиакальное созвездие); ковус (название девятого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего периоду с 22 ноября по 21 декабря); Sternbild des Schützen; kowus (Name des neunten Monats im Sonnenjahr, entspricht der Periode vom 22. November bis zum 21. Dezember)«; tat. *Kaväs* »(astr.) Стрелец (знак зодиака, соответствующий 9-ому месяцу иранского солнечного года); Schütze (Tierkreiszeichen, das dem 9. Monat des iranischen Sonnenjahres entspricht)« (ArTatRSl.) ~ tat.Dial. *qavs* (Giganov) ~ *qaus* »der November (das Sternbild des Schützen)« (Radloff II, 53); kas. *qawıs* »ноябрь; November«. Vgl. noch: Budagov II, 80; Räsänen EtWb. 242.

Das Nomen ist arabischer Herkunft. Vgl.: ar. *al-Qaws* »Sagitta, the Archer (sign of the zodiac)«.

Obwohl anzunehmen ist, daß die Entlehnung des arabischen Gestirnamens bereits in der mitteltürkischen Epoche erfolgte, ist er dennoch nur in den modernen türkischen Sprachen nachweisbar.

Der untersuchte Name ist auch in den iranischen Sprachen bekannt. Vgl. z. B.: pers. *Qows* »(astr.) Sagittaire, neuvième signe du zodiaque; ancien mois de l'année solaire« (DPerFr.), tadsh., dari *Qaws*, paschtu *Qaws* id.

2.9.5. osm. *Rāmi* »Sagittaire (constellation); Sternbild des Schützen« (Zenker, GökḅTerS 107.1129, unter dem Stichwort *Yay*)

Das Nomen ist arabischer Herkunft. Vgl.: ar. *al-Rāmi* »(astr.) созвездие Стрельца; Sternbild des Schützen« (RARSl.). Das arabische Nomen ist eine Ableitung des Verbs *rāmi* »бросать, метать, швырять; стрелять, обстреливать; werfen, schleudern, schmeißen; schießen, feuern, mit Feuer belegen« (RARSl.).

Dieser arabische Gestirname dürfte auf Grund einer neueren Lehnübersetzung entstanden sein. In seinem Hintergrund kann man vielleicht den Einfluß der europäischen Sprachen erkennen. Vgl. z. B.: engl. *Archer*, frz. *Sa-*

gittaire, it. *Sagittario*, ung. *Nyilas*, russ. *Стрелец* »Schütze; Sternbild des Schützen«.

Der in Frage stehende Gestirnsname war auch in die türkischen und iranischen Sprachen gelangt. Von den untersuchten Sprachen ist er aber nur im Türkeitürkischen (s. oben) und im Persischen nachweisbar. Vgl.: pers. *Rāmi* »(astr.) Sagittaire; neuvième signe du zodiaque« (DPerFr.). Im Hintergrund dieser Erscheinung liegt vielleicht das Bestreben der persischen Astronomie, die Ursprüngliche Bedeutung der alten babylonischen Gestirnsnamen zu bewahren. Jedenfalls hat sich die ar. Bezeichnung *Rāmi* »Sternbild des Schützen« weder in den iranischen noch in den türkischen Sprachen verbreitet. Vgl. noch: 1.2.3.1.

2.9.6. osm. *Kemān* »Sagittaire (signe du zodiaque); Schütze (im Tierkreis)« (Zenker, TRSl.).

Das Wort ist iranischer Herkunft, des Näheren dürfte es aus dem Persischen in das Türkeitürkische geraten sein. Vgl.: pers. *Kamān* »arcus, signum coeleste nonum«. Vgl. noch: tadsh. *Kamān* id.

In der Bedeutung »Gestirnsname« kommt dieses Nomen unter den türkischen Sprachen nur im Türkeitürkischen vor.

2.10. *Steinbock* (lat. *Capricornus*, astr. *Cap*)

2.10.1. *Oyلاق* »Oğlak burcu (Cedi); Sternbild des Steinbocks« (Arat KB III, 333),

basa keldi oyلاق könek hem balıq
bular toydı erse yarudı qalıq (Arat KB I, 31.141),

»Bundan sonra Cedi, Delv ve Hût gelir,
Bunlar doğunca, gök yüzü aydınlanır;
Dann kamen der Steinbock, der Wassermann und die Fische,
Wenn diese aufsteigen, wird der Himmel hell« (Arat KB II, 21.141);

اوغلاق *Oyلاق* (Rabγ. 66v.5, Sanglay 76v.24), اغلاق *Oyلاق* (Melioranskij ArFil. 069) ~ *Oyلاق* (İbnü Mühennâ 52), osm. *Oğlak* »Zodyakta Yay ile Kova arasındaki burç, Cedi; im Tierkreis das Sternbild zwischen dem Schützen und dem Wassermann, Sternbild des Steinbocks« (TS, GökbTerS 75.813), as. *Oyلاق* id. (AzSEns. IV, 338, unter dem Stichwort *Zodiak*). Vgl. noch: Radloff I, 1022, Budagov I, 141, DTSl. 363; Clauson ETAstrTer. 362; Clauson EtD 84—85, Sevortjan ÊtSl. I, 404—405.

Der Tiername läßt sich nahezu in sämtlichen Zweigen der türkischen Sprachfamilie nachweisen. Vgl. z. B.: alttürk. *oyلاق* »oğlak; Bock« (Tekin Maytr. 436); mitteltürk.: Kāşγ. اوقلاق *oyلاق* »Lamm, Zicklein« (Atalay I, 119, Brockelmann 125), »kozlaş; chevreau« (Zajaczkowski Bulg. I, 35); *oyalاق*

(sic!) »Zicklein« (Houtsma 50, Kuryšžanov 174); tkm. *ovlak*, gag. *olak*, nog. *ulak*, ösb. *ulâq* »козлѣнок; Zicklein, Kitze«; alt., tel., kar. Dial. *ulâq* »ein neugeborenes Zicklein bis zum ersten Jahre« (Radloff I, 1678). Vgl. noch: Clauson EtD 84—85, Sevortjan ÊtSl. I, 404—405, Doerfer TMEN II, Nr. 521.

Die Bedeutung »Gestirnname« des Nomens *oylaq* war durch Lehnübersetzung entstanden. Das Vorbild der Übernahme dürfte aus der moslimischen astronomischen Kultur gekommen sein. Vgl. z. B.: ar. *šadi* »kid, young billy goat; (astr.) Capricorn«; pers. *bozğāle* »capricornus, signum coeleste viginti et octo sidera complectens«, tadsh. *buzğāla* id.

2.10.2. *Qazuz* »la constellation du Chevreau« (PdC 405).

Das untersuchte Nomen war sowohl in den alten als auch in den modernen türkischen Sprachen gleichermaßen häufig. Vgl. z. B.: alttürk. *qazuz* »Pflock« (AnalInd. 494); mitteltürk.: Kāšγ. *قازنقۇق qaznquq* (Atalay III, 383), *qazuruq* »Pflock« (Brockelmann 153) ~ *qazuz* (Eckmann IntKorTr. 226), »кол, клин, гвоздь; Pflock, Keil, Nagel« (Borovkov Badā 224—225) ~ *qaziq* »kazik; Pflock« (Caferoğlu LAtr. 75); gag. *kazik*, kas. *qaziq*, ösb. *qāziq* »кол; Pflock«; alt., leb. *qaziq* »der Pflock, Pfahl« (Radloff II, 374—375). Vgl. noch: Clauson EtD 682, Räsänen EtWb. 243.

Als Gestirnname kommt das Wort *qazuz* generell in den attributiven Konstruktionen *altun qazuz* (eigtl. »goldener Pflock«) und *temür qazuz* (eigtl. »eiserner Pflock«) als Name des »Polarsterns« vor (vgl.: Clauson EtD 682, ET AstrTer. 364—365). Im tschagataischen bedeutet es aber auch das »Tierkreiszeichen des Steinbocks« (s. oben).

Die Bedeutung »Sternbild des Steinbocks« für das Nomen *qazuz* »Pflock« beruht wahrscheinlich darauf, daß die Sterne dieses Sternbildes bei den Erdbewohnern, die sie betrachteten, die Vorstellung eines am Ende zugespitzten Pflocks auslösten. Die Bezeichnung ist wahrscheinlich ein alter türkischer Gestirnname. In den vortschagataischen türkischen Sprachdenkmälern ist sie aber nicht nachweisbar.

2.10.3. osm. *Teke* »Oğlak; Sternbild des Steinbocks« (GökbTerS 97.1036).

Das Nomen *teke* ist in der Bedeutung »Ziegenbock« in nahezu sämtlichen Zweigen der türkischen Sprachfamilie bekannt. Vgl. z. B.: Kāšγ. *تەكە teke* (Atalay III, 228), *tākā* »Bock« (Brockelmann 201); *tägä* (Houtsma 68), *tākā* (Zajaczkowski Bulg. II, 50), *täke* ~ *täkke* (PdC 217) ~ *teke* »bouc« (PdC 263); osm., kkalp., gelbujg. *teke*, as. *tākā*, kar. *tege* ~ *t'eg'a*, ösb. *taka* »козёл; Ziegenbock«. Vgl. noch: Clauson EtD 477, Räsänen EtWb. 470, Egorov ÊtSl. 228, Doerfer TMEN II, Nr. 917.

Die Bedeutung »Gestirnname« hat sich für dieses Nomen erst in der jüngsten Zeit herausgebildet. Dieser Gestirnname läßt sich außer in dem angeführten türkeitürkischen astronomischen Werk in keiner anderen Quelle belegen.

In einigen türkischen Sprachen ist das Nomen *teke* als Ergebnis weiterer Bedeutungsentwicklung bzw. Bedeutungserweiterung auch als allgemeiner Name für »anderes männliches Tier« bzw. »gewisse Tiere« nachweisbar. Vgl. z. B.: kirg. *teke* »козёл (нехолощёный); Ziegenbock (nicht kastriert)«, *too teke* »козерог, горный козёл (общее название козлов, коз, козлят); Steinbock, Bergbock (allgemeiner Name für Ziegenböcke, Ziegen und Zicklein)«; baschk. *täkä* »название самцов некоторых животных; Name der Männchen gewisser Tiere«. In den türkischen Sprachen des Wolgagebiets ist auch die Bedeutung »Männchen der Schafe, Widder« nachweisbar. Vgl.: tat. *täkä* »Widder«, tschuw. *taca* »Widder, Bock« (Paasonen), *taka* »баран; Widder, Lamm« (Ašmarin). Vgl. noch: Egorov *ÉtSl.* 228. Es ist anzunehmen, daß diese Erscheinung die Erklärung dafür ist, daß in der baschkirischen Sprache mit dem Nomen *teke* ein anderes Sternbild, das Tierkreiszeichen des Widders, bezeichnet wird (vgl.: 2.1.3.).

2.10.4. ösb. *Jadyi*, tkm. *Jedi*, kkalp. *Jeddi* »(астр.) Козерог; джедди (название десятого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего декабрю); Sternbild des Steinbocks; dscheddi (Name des zehnten Monats des Sonnenjahres, der dem Dezember entspricht)«; osm. *Cedi* »Oğlak burcu; Sternbild des Steinbocks« (TS, GökbTerS 75.813, unter dem Stichwort *Oğlak*); tat. *Jedi* »Козерог (знак зодиака, соответствующий 10-ому месяцу иранского солнечного года, от 22 декабря до 22 января); Steinbock (Tierkreiszeichen, das dem 10. Monat des iranischen Sonnenjahres entspricht, er währt vom 22. Dezember bis zum 22. Januar)« (ArTatRSl.) ~ tat.Dial. *Jüddi* »декабрь; Dezember (Giganov); mod.ujg. *Jüddi* (UjgRSl.) ~ mod.ujg.Dial. *Jedi* »the sign Capricorn; the tenth month of the Turki solar year« (Jarring); kas. *jeddi* »(obs.) December« (KazEngD). Vgl. noch: Radloff IV, 200, Budagov I, 433.

Das Wort ist arabischen Ursprungs. Vgl.: ar. *Jadi* »(astr.) Capricorn«.

Der arabische Gestirnsname ist auch in die iranischen Sprachen gelangt. Vgl. z. B.: pers. *Jadi* (DPerFr.) ~ *Jüdi* (PerRSl.), tadsh., paschtu, dari *Jadi* »Козерог (созвездие); джади (десятый месяц солнечного года, декабрь—январь); Sternbild des Steinbocks; dschadi (der zehnte Monat des Sonnenjahres, Dezember—Januar)«.

2.10.5. baschk. *Kozerog* (*yondodloq*) (RBaškTerAstr. 9), kirg. *Kozerog* (*zodiakaldik top jıldız*) »Козерог; Sternbild des Steinbocks (RKirgSlAstrTer. 96).

Das Wort ist russischer Herkunft. Vgl.: russ. *Козерог* »Sternbild des Steinbocks«.

Die Entlehnung des russischen Gestirnsnamens ist vermutlich erst in jüngster Zeit erfolgt. Diese russische Bezeichnung läßt sich außer in den angeführten baschkirischen und kirgisischen astronomischen Werken in den türkischen Sprachen in keiner anderen Quelle nachweisen.

2.11. *Wassermann* (lat. *Aquarius*, astr. *Aqr*)

2.11.1. *Könek* »Kova burcu ; Sternbild des Wassermanns« (Arat KB III, 276),

basa keldi oylaq könek hem balıq
bular toydı erse yarudı qalıq (Arat KB I, 31.141),

»Bundan sonra Cedi, Delv ve Hüt gelir,
 Bunlar doğunca, gök yüzü aydınlanır ;
 Dann kamen der Steinbock, der Wassermann und die Fische,
 Wenn diese aufsteigen, wird der Himmel hell« (Arat KB II, 21.141) ;

كوتال *Kötel* (sic!) (Melioranskij ArFil. 060), *Könek* »Delv bürcü ; Sternbild des Wassermanns« (İbnü Mühennâ 46). Vgl. noch : Radloff II, 1242—1243, DTSI. 315 ; Clauson ETAStrTer. 356, 357, 358 ; Clauson EtD 731, Räsänen EtWb. 290.

Das Nomen *könek* ist durch innere Entwicklung entstanden. Möglicherweise ist es eine Ableitung des Nomens *kön* »Leder« mit dem Diminutivsuffix *-k* (Clauson EtD 731). Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung konnte »aus Leder hergestelltes kleines Gefäß für Wasser« gewesen sein, die im Laufe der weiteren Bedeutungsentwicklung auch zur Bezeichnung von »sämtlichen Wasserbehältern, Eimern, Krügen usw.« verwendet wurde. Vgl. z. B. : alttürk. *könäk* »водосток ; Wasserabfluß, Abflußgraben« (Malov PamDTP 395) ; mitteltürk. : *Kāşγ. كُنَكْ künək* »matara, ibrik ; Schale, Feldflasche, Krug« (Atalay I, 392), *könek* »Ledereimer« (Brockelmann 112) ; tkm. *könek* »ведро из кожи ; Ledereimer« ; baschk. *künək* »ведро ; Eimer« ; ösb. *künak* »большой кожаный бурдюк для хранения кумыса ; großer Lederschlauch zur Aufbewahrung von Kumys« ; osm. *künk ~ künək ~ gönek* »conduit, égout ; unterirdischer Wassergang, Kanal (aus Lehm oder Ziegeln), Gosse« (Zenker), *könek* »деревянное ведро ; Eimer aus Holz« (TRSl.). Vgl. noch : Clauson EtD 731, Räsänen EtWb. 290.

Die Bedeutung »Gestirname« dieses Nomens war durch Lehnübersetzung entstanden. Das Vorbild zur Übernahme dürfte aus dem Arabischen bzw. aus dem iranischen Sprachgebiet gekommen sein. Vgl. : ar. *dalw* »leather bucket ; bucket ; pail ; (astr.) Aquarius« ; pers. *döl* »urna aquae hauriende ; Aquarius, signum zodiaci« (Vullers), »a bucket, milk-pail ; pitcher ; the sign Aquarius« (Steingass) ; paschtu *salwāya* »ведро ; (astr.) Водолей ; Eimer ; Sternbild des Wassermanns«.

2.11.2. *Qoqa* »Sternbild des Wassermanns« (Rabγ. 1859, 127.9)¹⁸ ; قوبقا *Qobqa* (Borovkov Badā 211), قوبغا *Qopqa* ~ قوبغه *Qobya* »seau a tirer de l'eau ; signe

¹⁸ In der Ausgabe von Gronbech entspricht *Könek* dem »Sternbild des Wassermanns« (Rabγ. 66v. 5). Vgl. noch : كوتال *Kötel* (sic!) (Melioranskij ArFil. 060), *Könek* id. (İbnü Mühennâ 46) und 2.11.1.

du zodiaque» (PdC 421); osm. *Qoγa* ~ *Qowa* ~ *Qawγa* ~ *Qoyγa* ~ *Qoyγa* (Zenker), *Kova* »Zodyakta Oğlak ile Balık burçları arasında bulunan bir burç; das im Zodiakus zwischen den Sternbildern des Steinbocks und der Fische befindliche Sternbild (: Sternbild des Wassermanns)« (TS, GökbTerS 64.698). Vgl. noch: Radloff II, 515—516, 654—655, Budagov II, 85; Räsänen EtWb. 273.

Das Nomen *gova* für »Gefäß, Eimer« ist in weiten Kreisen der türkischen Sprachfamilie bekannt. Vgl. z. B.: Kāšγ. *قوا* *gova* (Atalay III, 237), *gova* »Eimer« (Brockelmann 162); *qoγa* »koğa; Eimer« (Ettuhfet 203, IzyskDar 344); kar. *kova*, tkm. *gova*, kkalp. *qawγa* »ведро; Eimer«; tel. *qoyo* »der Eimer (mit dem man Wasser aus dem Brunnen schöpft)« (Radloff II, 516). Vgl. noch: Clauson EtD 583—584, Räsänen EtWb. 273.

Die Bedeutung »Gestirnname« dieses Nomens hat sich vermutlich durch die Entlehnung einer bei den musulmanischen Völkern gebräuchlichen Bezeichnung herausgebildet. Vgl.: ar. *dalw* »leather bucket; bucket; pail; (astr.) Aquarius«; pers. *dōl* »urna aquae hauriende; Aquarius, signum zodiaci« (Vullers), »a bucket, milk-pail; pitcher; the sign Aquarius (Steingass); paschtu *sahwāγa* »ведро; (astr.) Водолей; Eimer; Sternbild des Wassermanns«.

2.11.3. as. *Dolča* »Aquarius, zodiak bürjü; Sternbild des Wassermanns« (AzSEns. III, 500).

Aus dem as. Nomen *dolča* »Eimer, Schaff« hat sich die Bedeutung »Gestirnname« durch Lehnübersetzung entwickelt. Unter den die Vorbilder zur Übernahme liefernden Sprachen kommen in erster Linie die im Arabischen und Persischen nachweisbaren Bezeichnungen in Frage. Vgl.: ar. *dalw* »leather bucket; bucket; pail; (astr.) Aquarius«; pers. *dōl* »urna aquae hauriende; Aquarius signum zodiaci« (Vullers), »a bucket, milk-pail; pitcher; the sign Aquarius« (Steingass). Bei der Herausbildung des as. Nomens in der Bedeutung »Gestirnname« spielten vielleicht auch die wahrscheinlich auf eine frühere Lehnübersetzung zurückgehenden und in den türkischen Sprachen jedenfalls in weiteren Kreisen bekannten Nomina *kōnek* »Feldflasche, Krug, Trog; Sternbild des Wassermanns« (s. 2.11.1.), und *gova* »Gefäß, Eimer; Sternbild des Wassermanns« (2.11.2.) eine Rolle.

2.11.4. baschk. *Hīuqoyar* (*yondodloq*) (RBaškTerAstr. 6), kirk. *Su Kuyguč* (*zodiakaldik top ŷıldiz*) »Водолей; Sternbild des Wassermanns« (RKirk-SlAstrTer. 35).

Die baschkirische Bezeichnung *Hīuqoyar* kam aus der Zusammensetzung des baschkirischen Nomens *hīu* »Wasser« und der Partizipialform des Verbs *quyou* »gießen« zustande. Das erste Glied der kirgisischen attributiven Konstruktion *Su Kuyguč* ist ebenfalls das »Wasser« bedeutende Hauptwort *su*,

während das zweite Glied die deverbale Ableitung des kirgisischen Verbs *kuy-* »gießen, begießen« ist. Zum Suffix *-γυč* s. Gabain § 110.

Die Herausbildung der untersuchten Gestirnnamen geht anscheinend auf eine neuerliche Lehnübersetzung zurück. Es ist anzunehmen, daß das Vorbild zur Übernahme in erster Linie auf Grund semasiologischer und wortgeographischer Kriterien aus dem Russischen stammt. Vgl. russ. *Водолей* »Arbeiter der begießt; Schüssel, um Wasser auf die Hand zu gießen; Sternbild des Wassermanns«. Der russische Gestirname ist die Lehnübersetzung des lat. *Aquarius* »zum Wasser gehörig, Wasser-; der Wasserträger; Aquarius, ein Sternbild im Tierkreis«.

Die vorstehende Bildung des Gestirnnamens Wassermann läßt sich unter den türkischen Sprachen nur im Baschkirischen und Kirgisischen nachweisen.

2.11.5. *Dälw* (StUzbJaz. I, 328), osm. *Delw* (Zenker) ~ *Delu* »Sternbild des Wassermanns« (GökbTerS 64.698, unter dem Stichwort *Kova*); ösb. *Dalw*, tat. *Dälü* (ArTatRSl.), kkalp. *Dälüw* »(astr.) Водолей; дялю (название одиннадцатого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего январю); Sternbild des Wassermanns; dalju (Name des elften Monats im Sonnenjahr, entspricht dem Monat Januar)«; tkm. *delu* »январь; Januar« (Aliev—Boriev) ~ *Delw* »Водолей (зодиакальное созвездие); делув (название одиннадцатого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего периоду с 22 января по 22 февраля); Sternbild des Wassermanns; deluw (Name des elften Monats im Sonnenjahr, entspricht der Periode vom 22. Januar bis zum 22. Februar)« (TkmRSl.); mod.ujg. *Dälu* ~ mod.ujg. Dial. *Dälwä* »the sign Aquarius, the 11-th month of the Turki solar year« (Jarring); kas. *dälu* »kün kalendarimen yesentegende on birinši ay; der elfte Monat des Sonnenjahres« (QazTüsS III, 72). Vgl. noch: Budagov I, 565.

Das untersuchte Nomen ist arabischer Herkunft. Vgl.: ar. *Dalw* »(astr.) Aquarius«.

Diese arabische Bezeichnung gelangte auch in die iranischen Sprachen. Vgl. z. B.: pers. *Dalw* (DPerFr.) ~ *Dälw* »(astr.) Водолей (зодиакальное созвездие); дальв (название одиннадцатого месяца иранского солнечного года); Sternbild des Wassermanns; dal'w (der elfte Monat des iranischen Sonnenjahres)« (PerRSl.), tadsh., paschtu, dari *Dalw* id.

2.12. Fische (lat. *Pisces*, astr. *Psc*)

2.12.1. *Baliq* »Fisch« (TT VIII, 86), »Balık burcu; Sternbild der Fische« (Arat KB III, 55),

yaşıq yandı bolγay yana ornıŋa
baliq qudruqındın qozı burnıŋa (Arat KB I, 24.66),

»Güneş balık-kuyruğundan (hût),
kuzu-burnuna (hamel) kadar olan yerine tekrar döndü;
Zurückkehrte die Sonne auf ihren Platz,
Vom Schwanz des Fisches bis zur Nase des Widders« (Arat KB II, 16.66);

basa keldi oylaq könek hem balîq
bular toydî erse yarudî qaliq (Arat KB I, 31.141),

»Bundan sonra Cedi, Delv ve Hût gelir,
Bunlar doğunca, gök yüzü aydınlanır;
Dann kamen der Steinbock, der Wassermann und die Fische,
Wenn diese aufsteigen, wird der Himmel hell« (Arat KB II, 21.141);

بالیق *Baliq* »Sternbild der Fische« (Rabγ. 66v.5, StUzbJaz. I, 181); بالیغ *Baliğ* Melioranskij ArFil. 080) ~ *Baliq* (İbnü Mühennâ 15), osm. *Balıklar* (GökbTerS, 11.121), baschk. *Baliq* (*yondodloq*) (RBaşkTerAstr. 12), as. *Baliğlar* (AzSEns. II, 9), kirg. *Balıktar* (*zodiakaldik top yıldız*) »Рыбы; Sternbild der Fische« (RKirgSIastrTer. 209). Vgl. noch: Radloff IV, 1166; Clauson ETastrTer. 356, 357, 358; Clauson EtD 335, Sevortjan ÊtSl. II, 59—60.

Das Nomen *balîq* »Fisch« ist in sämtlichen Zweigen der türkischen Sprachfamilie bekannt. Vgl. z. B.: alttürk. *balîq* »Fisch« (AnalInd. 471); mitteltürk.: Kāşγ. بَلِيق *balîq* »Fisch« (Atalay I, 379, Brockelmann 29) ~ *balîy* (Borovkov Badā 136) ~ *balîx* »ryba; poisson« (Tryjarski 107); tkm. *balik*, kas. *balîq*, mod.ujg. *belik*, hak. *palîx*, tshuw. *pułâ* »Fisch«. Vgl. noch: Clauson EtD 335, Räsänen EtWb. 61, Sevortjan ÊtSl. II, 59—60, Egorov ÊtSl. 164, Doerfer TMEN II, Nr. 518.

Als Bezeichnung für das »Sternbild der Fische« ist dieses Nomen schon im TT nachweisbar. Es kommt sowohl in alten wie in den modernen türkischen Sprachen gleich häufig vor. Die Herausbildung des türkischen Gestirnnamens deutet auf eine Lehnübersetzung nach dem Vorbild arabischer und persischer Bezeichnungen hin. Vgl.: ar. *ḥūt* »fish; whale; (astr.) Pisces«; pers. *māhi* »piscic; signum coeleste Piscium«.

2.12.2. osm. *Hut* »signe du Poisson; Sternbild der Fische« (Zenker, GökbTerS 11.121, unter dem Stichwort *Balıklar*); tat. *Hut* (ArTatRSl.), ösb., kkalp. *Hut* »(астр.) Рыба; хут (название двенадцатого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего февралю); Sternbild der Fische; hut (Name des zwölften Monats im Sonnenjahr, entspricht dem Monat Februar)«; tkm. *Hut* »Рыбы (зодиакальное созвездие); хут (название двенадцатого месяца солнечного года, соответствующего периоду с 22 февраля по 21 марта); Sternbild der Fische; hut (Name des zwölften Monats im Sonnenjahr, entspricht der Periode vom 22. Februar bis zum 21. März)« (TkmRSl.) ~ *hūyt* »февраль; Februar« (Aliev—Boriev); mod.ujg. Dial. *Hut* »the sign Pisces, the 12-th

month of the Turki solar year« (Jarring); kas. *qöt* »февраль; Februar«. Vgl. noch: Budagov I, 522.

Das Wort ist arabischer Herkunft. Vgl.: ar. *Hūt* »(astr.) Pisces«.

Zur Entlehnung des arabischen Nomens kam es vermutlich in der mitteltürkischen Epoche. In der Bedeutung »Gestirname« konnte es aber nur in den modernen türkischen Sprachen nachgewiesen werden.

In der kasakischen Sprache kommt dieses Nomen nur in der Bedeutung »Zeitdauer« vor.

Der arabische Gestirname ist auch in den iranischen Sprachen bekannt. Vgl. z. B.: pers. *gardun-e Hūt* »signum Piscium« (Vullers), *Hut* »(астр.) Рыбы (зодиакальное созвездие); хут (двенадцатый месяц иранского солнечного года, соотв. февралю—марту); Sternbild der Fische; hut (der zwölfte Monat des iranischen Sonnenjahres, entspricht den Monaten Februar—März)« (PerRSI.), tadsh., paschtu, dari *Hut* id.

Abkürzungen

Aliev—Boriev	Алиев, А., Бориев, К, <i>Русско-туркменский словарь</i> . Ашхабад 1929
alt.	altaische Sprache: OjrRSI.
altir.	altiranisch: Bartholomae, Ch., <i>Altiranisches Wörterbuch</i> . Strassburg 1905
alttürk.	alttürkisch
ar.	arabisch: Wehr
Arat KB	Arat, R. R., <i>Kutadgu Bilig</i> . I. <i>Metin</i> . İstanbul 1947, II. <i>Terçüme</i> . Ankara 1959, III. <i>İndeks</i> . İstanbul 1979
ArRSI.	Баранов, X. K., <i>Арабско—русский словарь</i> . Москва 1966
ArTatRSI.	Хамзин, Қ. М., Махмутов, М. И., Сайфуллин, Г. Ш., <i>Арабско—татарско—русский словарь заимствований (арабизмы и фарсизмы в языке татарской литературы)</i> . Казань 1965
as.	aserbaidshanische Sprache: Азизбеков, X. A., <i>Азербайджанско—русский словарь</i> . Баку 1965
Ašmarin	Ašmarin, N. I., <i>Thesaurus linguae Tschuwaschorum</i> . I—XVII. Kazan', Čeboksary 1927—1950
astr.	astronomisch
Atalay	Atalay, B., <i>Divanü Lügat-ü-Türk tercümesi</i> . I—III. Ankara 1939—1941
AzSEns.	<i>Azərbaycan Sovet Ensiklopediyası</i> . Baš red. Guliev, Y. B. I—VI. Bakı 1976—1982
Bálint	Bálint G., <i>Kazáni-tatár nyelvtanulmányok [Kasan-tatarische Sprachstudien]</i> . II. [<i>Tatarisch-ungarisch-deutsches Wörterbuch</i>]. Budapest 1877
baschk.	baschkirische Sprache: <i>Башкирско—русский словарь</i> . (Ред. колл.). Москва 1958
BdM	Barbier de Meynard, A. C., <i>Dictionnaire turc-français. Supplément aux dictionnaires publiés jusqu'à ce jour</i> . I—II. Paris 1881—1886

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- CC Codex Cumanicus: Gronbech, K., *Komanisches Wörterbuch. Türkischer Wortindex zu Codex Cumanicus*. Kopenhagen 1942
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- dari Dari-Sprache: Киселева, Л. Н., Миколайчик, В. И., *Дари—русский словарь*. Москва 1961
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Käşy. Maǰmûd al-Käşyari, *Divân Luğat at-Turk: Atalay; Brockelmann*
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- OjrRSl. Баскаков, Н. А., Тошаклова, Т. М., *Ойротско—русский словарь*. Москва 1947
- osm. osmanische, Türkei-türkische Sprache: *TS*
- ösb. ösbekische Sprache: *Узбекско—русский словарь*. Главн. ред. Боровков, А. К. Москва 1959
- Raasonen Raasonen, H., *Csüvas szójegyzék. Tschuwaschisches Wörterverzeichnis*. Budapest 1908
- pahl. pahlavi: MacKenzie, D. N., *A concise Pahlavi dictionary*. London—New York—Toronto 1971
- paschtu paschtu (afghanische) Sprache: Асланов, М. Г., *Афганско—русский словарь*. Москва 1966
- PdC Pavet de Courteille, M., *Dictionnaire Turk-Oriental*. Paris 1870
- pers. persische Sprache: *Vullers*
- PerRSl. *Персидско—русский словарь*. Под ред. Рубинчика, Ю. А. I—II. Москва 1970
- QazTüsS *Qazaq тілінің түсіндірме сөздігі*. Red. Kenesbaev, S. K. I—III. Almatı 1959—1965
- QB Yūsuf Ўҗаб Ғабдул, *Qutadū Bilig: Arat KB; Radloff KB*
- Raby. Nāṣir ad-dīn Rabyūzī, *Qiṣaṣ al Anbiyā*: Grønbech, K., *Rabghuzi. Narrationes de Prophetis*. Copenhagen 1948
- Raby. 1859 *قصص ربنوزی* Kazan 1859
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- Radloff KB Radloff, W., *Das Kudatku-Bilik*. I—II. St. Petersburg 1891—1910
- Radloff KB Faks. Radloff, W., *Das Kudatku-Bilik. Faksimile*. Wien 1890
- RArSl. *Русско—арабский словарь*. Под ред. Белкина, Б. М. Москва 1967
- Räsänen EtWb. Räsänen, M., *Versuch eines etymologisches Wörterbuchs der Türkisprachen*. Helsinki 1969
- RAzSl. *Русско—азербайджанский словарь*. I—IV. Под ред. Гусейнова, Г. Баку 1940—1946
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- RKirgSlAstrTer. Яр Мухамедов, С. Х., *Русско-киргизский словарь астрономических терминов*. Фрунзе 1965
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- sag. sagaisch: Radloff
- Sanglax *Sanglax. A Persian guide to the Turkish language by Muhammad Mahdī Xān. Facsimile text with an introduction and indices by Sir G. Clauson*. London 1960
- schor. schorisch: Radloff
- Sevortjan ÊtSl. Севортян, Э. В., *Этимологический словарь тюркских языков*. I—III. Москва 1974—1980
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- tadsh. tadshikische Sprache: Farh.
- TadžRSI. Рахими, М., Успенская, Л. В., *Таджикско-русский словарь*. Москва 1954
- tar. tarantschi: Radloff
- tat. tatarische Sprache: Bálint
- TatRSI. *Татарско-русский словарь*. Зав. ред. Головкина, О. В. Москва 1966
- Tekin Maytr. Tekin, S., *Maytrisimit*. Ankara 1976
- tel. teleutisch: Radloff
- Telegdi Telegdi S., *Eine türkische Grammatik in arabischer Sprache aus den XV Jhdt. KČsA I. Ergänzungsband, 3. Heft*. Budapest—Leipzig 1937
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- TkmRSI. *Туркменско-русский словарь*. Под ред. Баскакова, Н. А., Карыева, Б. А., Хамзаева, М. Я. Москва 1968
- tob. Tobol-Dialekt: Radloff
- Trojanskij Троянский, А. А., *Словарь татарского языка*. I—II. Казань 1833—1835
- TRSI. *Турецко-русский словарь*. Под ред. Мустафаева, Е. М.—Е., Старостова, Л. Н. Москва 1977
- Tryjarski Tryjarski, E., *Dictionnaire Arméno-Kiptchak d'après trois manuscrits des collections viennoises*. I—II. Warszawa 1968, III. Warszawa 1969
- tschag. tschagataisch
- tschuw. tschuwaschische Sprache: Paasonen
- TS *Türkçe Sözlük*. Gözden Geçirilmiş altıncı baskı. Ankara 1979
- TT A. v. Gabain, R. R. Rachmati, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*. VI. *Das buddhistische Sutra Säkiz yükmäk*. SPAW Jg. 1934; A. v. Gabain, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*. VIII. Berlin 1954; IX. Berlin 1958; X. Berlin 1959; G. R. Rachmati, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*. VII. APAW Jg. 1936

- tub. tuba (tuwinische) Sprache: *Radloff*
- Tumaševa Tumaševa, D. G., *Könbatiš Seber tatarları tele. Grammatik öçerk häm süzlek*. Kazan 1961
- tuw. tuwinische Sprache: *Тувинско—русский словарь*. Под ред. Тенишева, Э. Р. Москва 1968
- UjgRSl. Наджип, Э. Н., *Уйгурско—русский словарь*. Москва 1968
- ung. ungarische Sprache: *A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára [Das Wörterbuch der ungarischen Sprache]*. I—VII. Budapest 1959—1962
- USp. Radloff, W., Maloff, S., *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*. Lenin-grad 1928
- vah. vahänisch: Грюнберг, А. Л., Стеблин—Каменский, И. М., *Баханский язык. Тексты, словарь, грамматический очерк*. Москва 1976
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A CRIMEAN TURKIC-TATAR GLOSSARY FROM THE 17th CENTURY

IMRE BASKI

Until the most recent decades, little attention had been paid by Turkic studies to the 17th century glossaries surviving in a variety of works by West European scholars and travellers. As a rule, the linguistic monuments in question represent a now extinct stage of linguistic development, thus the recorded words are highly valuable for both the culture historian and the historian of language.¹ One such extant example is the Crimean Turkic-Tatar glossary by the Dutch geographer and lawyer *Nicolaes Witsen* (1641—1717),² actually one of the very oldest recorded monuments of the Crimean Tatar language.

I. The life and work of Witsen

Born on May 8, 1641 in Amsterdam, *Nicolaes Witsen* studied mathematics and law in his native town and in Leiden, and became a master shipbuilder as well. Being endowed with artistic talent, he distinguished himself at copper-plate engraving. Later he turned his dexterity at drawing to good use as a map maker.

Witsen's biography was written and published in 1882 by *J. F. Gebhard*, but his book was not available to the present author at the time of writing. *Adelung*,³ however, wrote extensively about the life and work of *Witsen*. From among the accessible and popular encyclopaedias and dictionaries, only few give any information about *Witsen*.

¹ This recognition must have motivated Gerhard Doerfer, who was scrutinizing the old Western sources for data on the history of the Kalmuk language (see Doerfer, *Ältere*). Georg Kara underlined the historical value of *Witsen's* Yakut glossary for linguists (see Kara). An indication of growing scientific interest is the launching in 1976 of the *Linguarum minorum documenta historiographica* by H. Haarmann. (My heartfelt gratitude is due to Professor Georg Kara, who kindly drew my attention to the topic discussed in this paper.)

² For the title of the work including the glossary, see under *Witsen* in the Bibliography.

³ J. C. Adelung, *Mithridates* I. 660—662.

At the age of 23, *Witsen* joined ambassador *Jacob Boreel* bound for Russia and worked in the Dutch embassy in Moscow between 1664 and 1667. He made good use of this sojourn, collecting material for his principal work, the description of Northern and Eastern Asia. In 1666—1667 he undertook several journeys,⁴ in the course of which his interest was captured by Asian peoples and languages virtually unknown in the Europe of his days.

From 1670 practically up to his death, he was involved in the public administration of Amsterdam. Between 1682 and 1705, he was chosen mayor three times. In the meantime, he earnestly continued his scientific endeavours.

Witsen's social contacts in Russia were of the highest order. One instance is sufficient to bear this out: When staying in Holland (in 1697), Tsar *Peter I (the Great)* sought out *Witsen*, who instructed him in natural sciences and introduced him to the prominent figures of Dutch intellectual life. Indeed, it was *Witsen* who transmitted to the tsar most of the knowledge he acquired during his visit to Holland. *Peter I* and *Witsen* remained in communication by letter later too.⁵

The fruit of 25 years of untiring collecting work, the "Noord en Oost Tartarye" was published in 1692, to become the basic source on the Orient for 18th century Europe. Having been given to *Melchisedech Thévenot* as a present by the author, the manuscript of the book came into the possession of the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris.⁶

The book, an impressive venture both for its size and influence, is actually a compilation with the seams showing quite distinctly.⁷ Naturally, this can in no way lessen the value of *Witsen's* book; on the contrary, researchers of later times are often only too grateful to him for making available to them at least in 'compilation' one work or another now lost.

The unique significance of "Noord en Oost Tartarye" consists in containing all the knowledge on the 'Tatar' areas of Russia available at the turn of the 17th—18th centuries and in summarizing all the results of science achieved during the 200 years since the discovery of the 'Moscovite' empire.⁸

According to *Bartens*, the first edition (1692) testifies to a considerable rise in knowledge as compared to the preceding works.⁹ This meant that *Witsen* also included in his book the findings of his own field research. The second edition (1705) was further enlarged. The studious politician must have carried on elaborating the material he had collected, adding new information he ac-

⁴ Doerfer, *Ältere . . .*; Adelung 1815, 3; Kononov 1972, 23.

⁵ Adelung II, 338.

⁶ Adelung 1815, 3; Adelung I, 32, 33, II, 339.

⁷ *Bartens* 413.

⁸ *Bartens loc. cit.*

⁹ *Op. cit.* 414—415.

quired since the first edition. The second edition was thus considerably revised and enlarged, also including fuller linguistic samples.¹⁰

Witsen's linguistic material falls into two major parts :

- a) common names arranged in the glossary,
- b) proper names scattered throughout the descriptive passages. The richest in common names is the Georgian glossary with over 900 entries on seven and a half pages. Substantially smaller in size, the Crimean Tatar list contains 530 entries and a two-line poem or fragment of a poem.

The student scrutinizing the Crimean lexical material recorded by *Witsen* is faced with the inevitable question of which sources *Witsen* used and who his informants were. A reply to these questions would largely promote precise reconstruction. However, our inquiries have failed to provide us with definitive answers to the questions raised here.

Witsen may have drawn on the works of travellers before him for data (including linguistic ones). He refers to this in the preface to the first edition, saying that he had made recourse to reports by Dutch travellers and to various unpublished travel journals.¹¹ Among his sources, he often mentions the works of foreign travellers as well, first being an English writer called *Rykant*.¹² Two pages later he uses the 'papers' of an employee of the British army ("krygs-beampte") in captivity among the Crimean Tatars around 1620.¹³ When describing the Crimean peninsula, he returns to this source again.¹⁴ At the beginning of the geographical-historical section following the glossary in both editions, *Witsen* names the source again in this way: "What follows now is a brief account of Tartaria which we have borrowed from the French traveller *de la Croix*."¹⁵ On page 394 of the first edition, he also names a Dane ("Duitfch") who was employed in Moscow. Other possible sources are *Purcha's* collection

¹⁰ See note 9.

¹¹ *Witsen* 1692, p. 73: "Added to this were the reports by Dutchmen who were staying in Peking, Hoksiö and other places, and the various unpublished travel journals written in these regions, including the ones about Tataria itself, that is, Astrakhan, Siberia, Persia, Georgia, Turkey, and so on, as well as those written accounts about the Indian route I received, describing what it is like way out there in the east and the north-east, for instance in Mugalia, Kalmakia, Altin, Siberia, Samoedia . . ." (All translation from Dutch has been rendered by Erzsébet Mollay.)

¹² *Witsen* 1692, 387.

¹³ *Witsen* 1692, 389; *Adelung* I, 34.

¹⁴ "Volght zeker bericht, op het lantfchap Crim . . . getogen uit een verhael terneeder gefelt wel eer by zeker Engelfch kryghs-beampte, die onder de Crimsche Tarter gevangen is geweft, omtrent den jare zeftien hondert twintigh."

¹⁵ "Volght enigh bericht op het Crims Tartaryen, genomen uit den Franfchen lantbefchyver *de la Croix*." (*Witsen* 1692, 391) He writes the same in the second edition, cf. *Witsen* 1705, 583. Perhaps he is referring to *La Croix's* *Guerres des Turcs avec le Pologne et la Moscovie* (A la Haye 1689).

of travel diaries (1613),¹⁶ and the travel accounts of *Josafa (Giosafa) Barbaro* (1436),¹⁷ *John Smith* (1593)¹⁸ and *Ferrand* (around 1650).¹⁹

Many share the position that *Witsen's* linguistic material came from a Russian informant (or mediator, to be more precise), or from a Russian source.²⁰ This contention can be accepted as valid for the Crimean Tatar sample in view of the following considerations. As we know, Ivan III and Vasily III, grand dukes of Moscow, engaged in busy correspondence with the khanates of Kazan and the Crimea. This suggests that the court employed interpreters and translators — at least by name Tatars — who had a good command of the Kazan and Crimean Tatar, and the Ottoman Turkish languages.²¹

Considering that *Witsen* moved in diplomatic circles in Moscow and befriended influential persons, it cannot have been difficult for him to gain an informant (interpreter, translator) in the required language.

A close study of the Crimean Tatar lexical material makes it abundantly clear to us that certain words (terms) must have been taken from written language or they go back to a written variant mostly recorded in Arabic script. The best example is the Arabic word *hiwe* 'he, it' which frequently occurs at the beginning (in the invocation) of diplomas.²² Only those people knew it who had access to Tatar or Ottoman Turkish diplomas.

Kononov claims that those linguistic materials that were collected and placed at *Witsen's* disposal by the Russian Academy of Science were used by him in the second edition.²³

One may then conclude that *Witsen* came into possession of the Crimean Turkic-Tatar lexical material through Russian mediation. One thing is certain: that the words were unintelligible for him. This is attested by the gross clerical errors and lapsus calami. Someone must have transliterated the Arabic (Cyrillic) texts according to a then used system of European transliteration. These questions are elaborated in the following section of the present paper.

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¹⁶ Samuel Purcha, *The Pilgrimes . . .* London 1613; 1625—26.

¹⁷ He spent 16 years in the Crimea as the envoy of Venice, and also as a merchant. The Russian edition of his travel journal: *Putešestvie v Tanu Iosafata Barbaro . . .* SPbg. 1836.

¹⁸ *Travels in Europe, Asia, Africa and America . . .* London 1630; In: *Collection of Voyages of John Churchill*. London, I—II, 1704; 1752.

¹⁹ *Relation du Sieur Ferrand, Médecin du Kan des Tartares, Touchant la Krimée, les Tartares Nogaïs, et se qui se passe au Serrail du dit Kan*. In: *Receuil des Voyages au Nord*, t. IV, p. 526—534.

²⁰ Doerfer, *Ältere* 10; Kara 431; Kononov 1972, 23.

²¹ Kononov 1972, 21.

²² See the entry *hiwe* of the vocabulary.

²³ Kononov 1972, 23; Right about this time in Russia — in the wake of Peter I's reforms — scientific research got a new impetus; ethnographic expeditions took increasing interest in collecting linguistic data as well.

II. Witsen's Crimean Tatar glossary

In the first edition (1692) *Witsen* inserted a paragraph ahead of the glossary in which he gave a brief description of the (Crimean) Tatar language.²⁴ This is followed by the list of the words. The words are not enumerated in alphabetic order, but grouped according to topics (e.g. heaven, earth, water; cereals, and animals, etc.). The italicised entry beginning with a capital letter is separated from the meaning by a comma.

In the second (and the identical third) edition (1705, 1785), the introductory comments on the language were completed with yet another short paragraph.²⁵ In this edition, the glossary begins on page 578 and ends on page 583. Here the items are listed in strict alphabetic order. The formal arrangement is otherwise the same as in the first edition. The number of entries is 530, which does not mean, however, as many lexical units, for the conjugated forms of verbs and plurals of nouns are entered separately. At the tail-end of the list a two-line poem or fragment of a poem can be found.

²⁴ "The Tatar language as it is being spoken in the Crimea derives from Turkish; it is a modified Turkish language. A Turk, however, who quite well understands the Crimean language from which the below names [words, I. B.] come, does not fully comprehend the Nagay tongue, although it is adjacent to his in the Crimea, because it has greatly deteriorated and is spoken very fast. The less [does he understand it] as the words are uttered from the throat the way the Arabs do. Many, probably most, other western Tatar [Kipchak, I. B.] languages are related to the Crimean Tatar: they originate from it and can be labelled modified Crimean. Therefore, we may call it the mother tongue of all the Tatar languages. What seems to account for this fact is that the Tatar rule, now confined to the peninsula of the same name, the Crimea, on this side — that is, in the west — used to stretch long into the heartland." (Witsen 1692, p. 391)

²⁵ "The Tatar language as it is being spoken in the Crimea derives from Turkish; it is a modified Turkish language. A Turk, however, who quite well understands the Crimean language, does not fully comprehend the Nagay tongue, although it is adjacent to his in the Crimea, because it has greatly deteriorated and is spoken very fast. The less [does he understand it] as the words are uttered from the throat the way the Arabs do. Many, probably most, other western Tatar [Kipchak, I. B.] languages are related to the Crimean Tatar: they originate from it and can be labelled modified Crimean. Therefore, we may call it the mother tongue of all the Tatar languages. What seems to account for this fact is that the Tatar rule, now confined to the peninsula of the same name, the Crimea, on this side — that is, in the west —, used to stretch long into the heartland.

The Crimean Tatar language which is spoken in the region along the Russian border is somewhat similar to that of Moscow: it contains a large number of Arabic and Persian words*; the one that is spoken near-the Turkish settlements and fortifications largely corresponds to Turkish; the bulk of this language is purely Turkish, although its sound — its pronunciation — has changed.**" (Witsen 1705, 1785, p. 577) * He must have meant the purely Kipchak Crimean Tatar spoken in the northern part of the peninsula, which resembles the Kazan ("Moscow") Tatar. ** Presumably he means the southern Crimean Turkish-Tatar dialect, or the Crimean Osmanli language.

The reconstructed data are to be found in the vocabulary appended to the present paper.

In the course of the reconstruction work it is imperative to bear in mind the nationality of the collector or transcriber for he may have used the letters of his own language's sounds to symbolize the corresponding sound values in the foreign language.²⁶ One letter may designate very different sounds depending on the nationality of the collector.

Instead of the contemporary Dutch system of transcription, *Witsen* complied with the rules of a standard European (Latin, Italian, German) transcription in the Crimean Tatar glossary. This makes the 17th–18th century — and even earlier — (Turkish) transliterated linguistic monuments and their analyses highly revealing to the point at issue.²⁷ Regardless of how *Witsen* came by the material of the glossary, there must have been someone — perhaps a Russian scholar of European origin — who transcribed it for him according to a generally used system.

Part of the efforts to reconstruct the words was to present the original phonemes. This was considerably facilitated by etymology, which helps differentiate between phonemes and their variants.

Except for a few phonetically justifiable cases, palatal harmony was observed in all Turkic words. The words not complying with labial harmony were left unchanged, for labial harmony was still in the making at the studied time.

The use (sound values) of certain letters and letter clusters of the glossary deviating from common usage is specified below :

(slanting lines // enclose the phonemes, round brackets () carry *Witsen's* data ; the underlined words normally beginning with a small letter are the entries to be found in the reconstructed vocabulary at the end of the paper, where the precise and full data can be looked up. Whenever *Witsen's* item and the reconstructed one do not differ, only the former is presented.)

- a** *ä*, variant of [e], *išlä-* (-i/la-), *sädäf* (*Sfadaf*), cf. CC "a" = e (*ä*), *Grönb.* 14 : *Crim. Tat.* "Otamas" = *Ötämäs*, *Kuun* 1873, 52 ; *Maggio's Osm. material* occasionally has "a" = *ä*, (*Kenessey* 61).
- aa** *ā arzēhāl* (*Arsehaal*) In modern Dutch it designates a long vowel. In *Witsen's* time the corresponding graph was "ae".
- ae** *ā* (*Merdebaen*), (*Helaek*) A peculiarity of Dutch to symbolize length, cf. "aa".

²⁶ Grönbech took this as his starting point when analyzing the CC (*Grönb.* 11).

²⁷ Cf. *Grönb.* 11 ; Similar material : CC ; *Maggio* ; *Németh, Illésh.* ; *Hazai, Hars.*, etc.

- c** |z| *Zemzem* (*Cemcem*), *zewk* (*Ceuk*)
q qoy (*Coi*), Likewise CC *Grönb.* 13, *Maggio* (*Kenessey* 66), *Kuun* 1873, 52
 |s| *susar* (*Cufar*), *fransıs* (*Francıs*): in *Witsen's* alphabet (1st ed. p. 210)
 "ce" = ٺ (*ś*, *θ*)
k kiš (*Cis*)
- ch** *χ* *χadım* (*Chadım*), (*Chamur*) It only occurs in initial position. In CC it denotes several sounds
 (*χ*, *h*, *k*, *g*) cf. *Grönb.* 12—13.
- ci** |č| *čiqar* ~ *čqar* (*Cikar*) Cf. *Maggio*: "ci" = č *Kenessey* 63
- ds** |z| *ziyan* (*Dsijan*), *zulım* (*Dfulım*)
 (č) *corba* (*Dsorba*), *qumač* (*Komads*)
- e** 1. *e* close *e* in the first syllable, a palatal reduced sound in the rest of the syllables, eg. (*Azem*), *běšək* (*Befciək*); "e" also designates a reduced sound for the German transcribers of CC (*Grönb.* 18) and for *Maggio* (*Kenessey* 61). 2. *e* a velar reduced sound, the phonemic variant of |i|, e.g. *arzəhal* (*Arsehaal*), *qizəl* (*Kiffel*)
- ee** *ē* (*Elgen*) A peculiar Dutch feature to mark length.
- ei** (i) *imansıs* (*Eımansıs*); with Arabic letters: ایما نسر (Osm.) It suggests Arabic transliteration, for the letter group ای symbolizes the close *e* or *i* sounds of Turkic languages.
- ey** *e* close variant of |e|, e.g. *dəg'me* (*Deyghme*), *dəg'ırmen* (*Deyghırmen*), cf. "ei," and also the paragraph on the sound *g'* below;
- g** |ɣ, ğ| (*Aga*), (*Gam*)
 |g| (*Fışlıgen*), (*Legèn*)
- gh** |ɣ| (*Maghib*), (*Karaghi*); cf. *Crim. Tat.* "Cottologha bey" (= *Qutlubuğa bey*) *Kuun* 1873, 54; *Maggio* (*Kenessey* 64—65); *Witsen's* Yakut lexical material (*Kara*).
 |χ| *aχret* (*Agh-ret*), *ferax* (*Feragh*); cf. CC *yaregh* = *jaryχ* (*Grönb.* 12)
g' eg'er (*Eıgher*), *dəg'me* (*Deyghme*)
- gi** + vowel |j| *alağa* (*Alağa*), *χanġi* (*Changii*); cf. *Maggio*: before *a* and *o* "gi" is ġ (*Kenessey* 63)
g' lig'am (*Ligiam*)
 |č| *burčak* (*bourgiak*)
- i** |i| *sıyır* (*Sfıghır*), *qırq* (*Kırk*), *qıl* (*Kıl*); Likewise in CC, mostly with the Italian transcribers (*Grönb.* 12), in *Witsen's* Yakut material (*Kara*), in *Maggio* (*Kenessey* 61)
 |y| (*ı*) *tay* (*Tai*), (*Nai*), *χaywan*; (*Haiwán*) cf. CC (*Grönb.* 13), *Kuun* 1873, 52
- j** *g' g'ül* (*Juil*), *g'ümlek* (*Jumlek*)
k' k'emend (*Jemend*)
- kj** *k' k'amıl* (*Kjamıl*), *k'eli* (*Kjeli*), *k'ör* (*Kjör*)
- o** |a| *tap-* (*Thop-*)
 |ò| (*Dort*), *k'òpek* (*Kjopek*), cf. *Maggio* (*Kenessey* 62)

- |u|** *mum* (*Mom*), *quyu* (*Kojou*), *qumač* (*Komads*); A more openly pronounced Crim. Tat. *u* may have been identified with the closer *o*, which is why the graph "o" was used. The same can be observed in the CC (*Grönb.* 12). The Italian scribe of Tatar diplomas wrote "o" in place of the etymological *u* (e.g. "Boga" (*Buya*), "Aibolat" (*Aybulat*), cf. *Kuun* 1873, 52)
- oe** *ū* *maymūn* (*Maimoen*) A Dutch specificity to designate length.
- ou** **|u|** *armut* (*Armout*), *qul* (*Koul*)
|ü| *bürk* (*Bourk*), *bügerüljék* (*Bougeruljiek*)
- s f** **|š|** *quš* (*Kous*), *qašik* (*Kafik*)
|z| *zarar* (*Sarar*), *zor* (*Sor*), *quzu* (*Koufu*); Occasionally in CC too (*Grönb.* 15)
|ž| *eždeha* (*Esdeha*)
- sc fc** **|š|** *šek'er* (*Scekjer*), *arš* (*Aršc*), cf. *Maggio* (*Kenessey* 68)
- sci + vowel** **|š|** *šaban* (*Sciaban*), *alaša* (*Aalascia*), cf. *Maggio* (*Kenessey* 68)
- fch** **|š|** *aruš* (*Arusch*)
- ff** **|š|** *aš* (*Aff*); in CC "ss" = *š* (*Grönb.* 13)
|z| *abaza* (*Abaffa*), *almazis* (*Almassis*)
|s| *qasab* (*Kassab*), *qasavet* (*Kassavet*)
- tg + i** **|č|** *činq* (*Tginlik*), *čiqar-* (*Tgicar-*)
- tgi + vowel** **|č|** *čiplaq* (*Tgiplak*), *čamur* (*Tgiamour*)
- th** **|t|** *tay* (*Thai*), *tamaq* (*Thamak*), *at* (*Ath*); It proves conclusively the borrowing of written Arabic data.
 In *Witsen's* Crim. Tat. alphabet **⤵** = "thi" (1st ed. p. 210)
- tz** **|č|** *bičaq* (*Bitzæ*), *mači* (*Matzi*)
- u** **|ü|** *bülbul* (*Bulbul*), *imër* (*Umer*); in *Witsen's* Yakut material "u" = *ü* (*Kara*), in *Maggio* likewise (*Kenessey* 62)
|w|, *u sew-* (*Seu-*), *tiwe* (*Tiue*), *qayn* (*Kaoun*)
- x** It occurs once, mistakenly in place of "r": *yer* (*Ex*)
- y** See "uy" and "ey"
|i| *qir domuzi* (*Cydsmuzy*)
- zi + vowel** **|č|** *baqča* (*Bakzia*), *ničün* (*Niziun*), cf. CC where "z" = *č* (*Grönb.* 13)

Accentuation. The following regularities can be observed in the use of accents :

- ˆ (accent circonflexe) normally indicates length : *azāb* (*Adsāb*) *alām* (*Alām*), *devīt* (*Devīt*), *ferāχ* (*Ferāgh*); occasionally marking the place of accent : (*Delī*) *deli*, (*Francis*) *fransīs* (*Sfadāf*) *sādāf*
- ˘ (accent grave) designates the accented vowel : (*Almà*), (*Kjisè*), (*Danè*), (*Duighmè*) *dūg'me*, (*Innè*), etc.
- ˙ (accent aigu) normally signifies accent : (*Deré*), (*Dsòrbá*) *čorba*, (*Tamam*), etc.

.. (tréma) indicates that the two vowels should be pronounced separately : e.g. (*Taälim*) *taälim*, (*Thäouk*) *tauq*. Though rarely, the German transcribers of CC indicated *i* with "i" (*Grönb.* 14, 15). Some of Witsen's items also suggest a vowel + *i* cluster, but then an intrusive *y* or *ï* must also be postulated : (*Alaik*) *alayiq*, (*aii*) *ayï* (Acc.), (*Karie*) *qarye*.

Symbols and their sound values (summary table)

Symbol(s)	Sound value	Symbol(s)	Sound value
a	a, ä	ng	ŋ
â	ā	o	o, a, ó, u
aa	ā	oe	ū
ae	ā	ou	u, ú
b	b	ö	o
bb	b	p	p
c	z, k, q, s	ph	f, ?b
ch	χ	pp	p
ci	č	r	r
d	d	rr	r
ds	z, č	s	s, z, š, ž
e	e, é	š	s, z, š
ee	ē	sc	š
ei	é (close), i	sch	š
ey	é (close)	sci	š
f	f	šš	š, z, s
ff	f	t	t
g	g, γ, (ǰ)	tg (+i)	č
gh	γ, χ, g'	tgi (+vowel)	č
gi	ǰ, g', č	th	t
h	h, χ	tz	č
i	i, î, y (ï)	u	u, ú, y, w
ï	i, î, y (ï)	ui	ú
j	y, g', k'	uy	ú
k	k, q	ü	u, w
kj	k'	v	v
l	l	w	w
ll	l	x	—
m	m	y	ï, see uy, ey
n	n	z	z
ng	ŋ	zi	č

Sounds and their graphic symbols (summary table)

Sound	Symbol(s)	Sound	Symbol(s)
a	a, o	ī	i, y
ā	â, aa, ae	k	k, c
ä	a	k'	j, kj
b	b, bb	q	c, k
č	ci, ds, gi, tg (+i), tz, zi, tgi + vowel	l	l, ll
ĵ	gi	n	n
d	d	o	o, ö
e	e	ó	o
ē	ee	P	P, PP
è (close)	ey, ei	r	r, rr
è (velar reduced)	e	s	c, s, ſ, ſſ
è (palatal reduced)	e	š	s, ſ, sc, sch, sci, ſſ
f	f, ff	t	t, th
g'	gh, gi, j	u	o, ou, u
ğ (γ)	g	ú	ou, u, ui, uy
h	h	ũ	oe
χ	gh, h	ŕ	u, ü
i	i, ei	v	v
î	i, î	w	w
		y	j, î
		z	c, ds, s, ſ, ſſ, z
		ž	s

III. Linguistic conclusions offered by the glossary

1. Vowel system

Tongue Position	Place of articulation	Palatal		Medial		Velar	
		Illab.	Lab.	Illab.	Lab.	Illab.	Lab.
Upper		/i/		/ù/	/ĩ/	/u/	
Central		/e/		è	/ò/	é	/o/
Lower		ä				/a/	

Supplementary comments on particular vowels

The standard Crimean Tatar language does not distinguish between a close and an open *e* sound.²⁸ The open and close phonemic variants detectable in linguistic monuments and dialects have all merged into a single *e* sound in the standard Ottoman-Turkish and Crimean Tatar literary languages.²⁹ In the dialects, however, the open and close *e* sounds are clearly and strictly differentiated. The open *e* is less open than the Azerbaijan and Volga-region *ä*; it is approximately identical with the educated pronunciation of Ottoman-Turkish *e*.³⁰ *Witsen's* word list also bears out that the phoneme /*e*/ used to have a close — even reduced — variant (*é*) and an open one (*ä*).

é (1) It is either a close *e* or a palatal reduced phonemic variant, more open than *i*, but more closed than *e*, already reduced in many cases. It is close in the first syllable and reduced in the subsequent ones. *Memetov* points out that the most close of all the positional variants of the phoneme /*e*/ is the one between two voiceless consonants.³¹ In linguistic records (e.g. CC) the *e* ~ *i* alternation alludes to the preservation of the close *e* (*Grönb.* 7). The transliterated records of the Ottoman Turkish language also permit the assumption that the phoneme /*e*/ did have a close variant.³² Crimean Osmanli also contains *é*, which is shown by the wavering of the written data between *i* and *ä*.³³ This alternation can sporadically be detected in the literary Crimean Tatar language as well: *äki* ~ *iki* '2', *kät-* ~ *kit-* 'to go', *ät-* ~ *it-* 'to do, to make'.³⁴ One can come across similar alternations in the Crimean Tatar diplomas, which also point to the existence of a close *e*.³⁵

é (2) A velar reduced sound, the phonemic variant of /*i̯*/. In modern standard literary pronunciation *ï* has a reduced quality resembling the reduced pronunciation (*ə*, *é*) of the Russian *a*, *o* following a stressed syllable.³⁶ Marking it with the graph "e" is not only a convention of spelling, but — as *Räsänen* points out — has its phonetic justification as well: in the Volga Turkic lan-

²⁸ Kakuk 1976, 52.

²⁹ Cf. *RäsLautg.* 90; Doerfer (*Krmtat.* 376) and Sevortjan (p. 235) speak only of a single *ä* (or *e*) sound in the Crimean Tatar literary language.

³⁰ Dmitriev 1928, 207.

³¹ *Memetov* 114, 123.

³² *Németh, Illésh.*; *Hazai, Hars.*; *Maggio (Kenessey)*; *Kakuk, Recherches* 443, 444, 450.

³³ Doerfer, *KKrmosm.* 274.

³⁴ Doerfer, *Krmtat.* 376.

³⁵ On the basis of the *ا̣* ~ *ا* alternation *Matuz* (p. 89, 95) did not decide either for *i* or *e* (here *é*). He uniformly marked *ë* in the cases at issue.

³⁶ *Sevortjan* 235.

guages *ï* becomes reduced, resembling *e* rather than *ï*.³⁷ In transliterated Ottoman Turkish texts, "e" often stands for the Turkish *ï*, or rather a variant of its, a velar illabial sound produced in central tongue position.³⁸

/ò/, /ù/ Normally they indicate medial (mediopalatal) half-close or close labial vowels, irrespective of the extent to which these sounds are velarized in certain positions. (See also *Depalatalization*.)

Qualitative features of vowels

Vocalic harmony. Palatal harmony (or palatal progressive assimilation) is consistently observed except in words of foreign origin. E.g. *qalîn, deli, sanduq; raḡmet, helaq, ateş*, etc. In a few cases, however, original Turkic words fail to comply with it: e.g. *almaler, balaler, taraqler, balġik, biçaq*, etc. As the examples show, it is above all the plural suffix that creates words of vocalic disharmony. Not only *Witsen's* material, but also later collected dialectal material reveal this phenomenon.³⁹ It can be found in Crimean Osmanli and in *Maggio's* Ottoman-Turkish grammar as well, e.g. *onler, kimlar* (*Kenessey* 80). In some other cases, consonants that have a palatalizing effect disrupt the palatal harmony (See *Palatalization*).

Palatal regressive assimilation. We have only one example: *qarenfil* (< *qaranfil*).

Labial harmony. It is much weaker than palatal harmony for the reasons of 1. the survival of (original) Kipchak features, e.g. in homomorphic (illabial) affixes; 2. the large number of foreign words; 3. the survival of certain archaic affixes. *Witsen's* material is basically disharmonic as regards labial harmony (e.g. *devletli, šuk'ër, sarumsaq, muhir, dördinġi*, etc.).

Palatalization. Upon the influence of certain consonants (postalveolars, palatals), the place of some velar vowels are taken by their palatalized (or even palatal) variants or counterparts. As *Witsen* used one letter to signify several sounds, it is problematic now to identify the palatalized (palatal) sounds. Taking this into account in the reconstruction of the words, we have given two possible alternatives in most cases, e.g. *biġaq ~ biçaq* (*Bitzæ*), *ġin ~ ġin* (*Tgin*), etc. It must be noted that the palatalization of the sounds *a, o, and u* is also quite likely,⁴⁰ but *Witsen's* perfunctory notation makes it impossible to detect it in his word list. The only phoneme whose palatalized variant is tentatively indicated in the scientific transcription of the entries is /i/. E.g.:

³⁷ RäsLautg. 84.

³⁸ Kakuk, *Recherches* 444.

³⁹ From Dmitriev's collection: *yašleri, ġiy-san-a, yan-e, šorbaġiler, aġa-ler*, etc. (Dmitriev 1926, 343), cf. also Doerfer, *Krmtat.* 374.

⁴⁰ Deviation was indicated in the CC too (Grönb. 7, 16, 17).

- i* > *i* effected by *š aši* (see *aš*), *qašik*
i > *i* effected by *ʃ aywaʃi*, *fuʃi*, *balʃik*, *ʃanʃi*
i > *i* effected by *y ziyān* I.II., *badiyan*; *qayiš*, *qayin*
i > *i* effected by *č bičaq*, *čiplaq*, *čin*, *čiqar-*, *mači*

This type of palatalization is familiar from other Turkic languages as well (cf. *RäsLautg.* 58, 81, 84, etc.; *Kakuk*, *Recherches* 446, 447, 456).

Depalatalization. The vowels to undergo it are the palatal labials (*ö*, *ü*). Owing to the notational system applied to the glossary, one cannot decide with absolute certainty when the sound in question is an *ö* peculiar to Kipchak (graph: *o*, *ø*), an intermediate sound between *ö* and *o*, and when a depalatalized *ö* whose phonetic quality is very near to, or identical with, the former. *Witsen* is assumed to have marked both *ö* sounds uniformly with "o". We have replaced it everywhere with "ö". The same applies to the various *ü* sounds. (Cf. *Dmitriev* 1926, 343; *Doerfer*, *Krmtat.* 375; *Sevortjan* 236.)

Elision. Few authentic examples can be gleaned from the glossary: *zerdlü* (provided that < *zerdélü*), *ilq* (< *ilig*), *čqar-* which is not verifiable unless the clusters "ci" and "Tgi" in (*Cikar-*) and (*Tgicar-*) denote *č* and not *č + i*, see *čiqar-* (Cf. *Dmitriev* 1926, 344, *Dmitriev* 1928, 208; *Doerfer*, *Krmtat.* 376; *Sevortjan* 239).

Epenthesis. Few data can be culled from the word list: *bügerüljek* (< *bügerüljek*), *tüyüme* ~ *töyüme* (< *tüyüme* ~ *töyüme*), *çazeret* (< *çazret*), *sulëç* (< *sulç*).

Reduction. Its traces can be discerned in polysyllabic words. In *Witsen* and other sources, the imperfectly articulated and sounding, reduced variants are indicated by the letter of the vowel that is in any way similar to them.⁴¹ The studied glossary most frequently features the letter "e" as standing for both palatal and velar reduced vowels. The application of "i" and "u" ("ou") for the same role is not demonstrable. In this conjunction the entries *aruš* (?*arëš*) and *turnaq* (?*tërnaq*) are controversial. In the transcription, the reduced vowels are marked by "ë", e.g. *alurmësin* (see *al-*), *darüldiñmë* (*daril-*), *tük'ëruk*, *šük'ër*.

Accent. In the Crimean Tatar language it normally falls on the vowel of the final syllable. In words consisting of three or more syllables there is a secondary accent as well (generally falling on the first syllable). The vowel in the syllable with the secondary accent is more completely articulated than the unaccented vowels,⁴² which are thus much weaker (more reduced — I.B.).⁴³ This is what underlies the phenomena of elision and reduction.

⁴¹ In the CC *e*, *u* (Grönb. 17, 18), in Maggio *e* (Kenessey 61).

⁴² SamojlOp. 19; Sevortjan 239.

⁴³ Sevortjan *loc. cit.*

Consonantal system

Place of articulation \ Manner of articulation	Plosives	Spirants	Affric.	Occlusives		Liquids	
				semi-vowels	nas.	laterals	tremulant
Bilabial	p, b			w, ɰ	m		
Labiodental		f, v					
Dental	t, d						
Alveolar		s, z			n	l	r
Postalveolar		š, ž	č, ĵ				
Palatal	k, g	y		ï			
Velar	q ğ	χ			ŋ	l	
Laryngeal		h					

Supplementary comments on particular consonants

b- Occasionally the original *b* is retained in initial position. In the material of *Matuz bol-* is frequent (here *bul-* I.), but the emergence of *ol-* upon the influence of Ottoman Turkish can also be discerned.⁴⁴

-b only stands at the end of foreign words (*azab, ğarib, mayrib, etc.*). As these words were mediated by Ottoman Turkish, they have to be approached therefrom. By the 16th—17th centuries, the *-b > -p* change had struck root in Ottoman Turkish, but the dichotomy was still there.⁴⁵ The variants with *-b* represent a more archaic stage of development. It is less probable though not impossible, that these words were derived from their forms written in Arabic script, but in this case *-b* should stand in place of *-p* in *alup* too.

d- Many of the glossary's words begin with *d-*, a part of which display *d- ~ t-* alternations (e.g. *demir ~ temir, delik ~ telik*). The proportion of words originating in, or mediated by, the Ottoman Turkish language must have considerably increased by the time of the collection, for in Armenian-Kipchak very few words began (in the early 17th century) with *d-*, apart from the Ottoman Turkish and Persian loanwords.⁴⁶

-d In *Witsen's* list it only stands at the end of foreign words (e.g. *derd, k'emend, etc.*). In spite of the fact that the *-d > -t* change was well underway in the Ottoman Turkish of the 16th—17th centuries, in 17th-century Crimean Tatar the voiced final sound (*-d*) was preponderant.⁴⁷ Should, however,

⁴⁴ Matuz 99.

⁴⁵ Kakuk, *Recherches* 482—83.

⁴⁶ Schütz 100.

⁴⁷ Cf. Kakuk, *op. cit.* 484.

these words merely reflect the Arabic way of writing, we would have to reckon with an actual final *-t*.

ǰ- occurs only in foreign words.

g'- It is a palatalized variant in initial position (e.g. *g'el*-, *g'ümlek*, *g'ün*). The initial *g-* (*g'-*) is typical of Oghuz, occurring more frequently in southern than in northern dialects.

-g- Examples: *bügerülǰék*, *igérmi*, *legen* (~*leyen*), *yögän* (*yöyän*), etc. *-g-* also occurs in contemporary Ottoman Turkic, e.g. *degif*- 'sich ändern', *düg*- 'schlagen', *dügün* 'Hochzeit' (*Hazai*, *Hars.*), *egri* 'schräg' (*Németh*, *Illésh Kakuk*, *Recherches* 141), *eglen*- 'bleiben, Zeit vertreiben, sich unterhalten' (*Németh*, *Illésh.*).

-g'- is a palatalized version in medial position (e.g. *dég'*-, *dég'irmen*, *düg'üm*, *düg'me*, *ég'er*). The reconstruction of the items (*Deygh-*) *dég'*- (*Deyghirmen*) *dég'irmen* and (*Duighme*) *düg'me* needs separate mention. In the first version *ey* = *é* (close), *ui* = *ü*. Perhaps they were transliterated from Arabic letters where *é* was marked by "اى" or "ى", and *ü* by "وى". Thus *Witsen*'s entry (*Deyghirmen*), for example, may be the transliteration of دايكرمن [deyg(i)rm(e)n]. The same applies to the other examples. The other assumption is that *Witsen*'s data reflect a real linguistic phenomenon. Are *Witsen*'s "*Deygh-*" (see. *dég'*-) and *Jakab Harsányi-Nagy*'s "dejgße"⁴⁸ (the conditional of the verb "dejg-") only accidentally identical, or are they both erroneous? At the time of the *-g* > *-y*- change⁴⁹ the older versions with *g* must have existed side by side with the new versions containing *y*.⁵⁰ A mixing of the two forms must be accountable for the transitional versions with *-yg-*, e.g. **deyg*-, **deygirmen*, **düygme*.

-g The retention of the final *-g* appears to be an archaic feature (cf. *RäsLautg.* 121, 123—34). Nor is it quite impossible that it mirrors a traditional way of writing. There is some uncertainty in *Witsen* as to the notation of voiced and voiceless consonants, anyway.

ǰ In initial position it is indicated by "ǰ", in final and medial position by "ǰ". The velar *ǰ* ("ǰ", "ǰ") is a plosive according to *Doerfer*⁵¹ and *Čobanzade*⁵² and a spirant according to *Samojlovič*⁵³ and *Sevortjan*.⁵⁴ As the question cannot

⁴⁸ *Hazai*, *Hars.* 407.

⁴⁹ *Cj. Menges* 84; with copious data: *Serebrennikov—Gadžieva* 49—53.

⁵⁰ Examples can be gleaned from contemporary Ottoman-Turkish transliterated records too: *düg*- 'schlagen' (*Hazai*, *Hars.*), ~ *duyus* (= *düyüş*) 'Schlacht' (*Németh*, *Illésh.*), *egri* 'schräg' (*Németh*, *Illésh.*) ~ *egri* (= *eyri*) 'krum, schief' (*Hazai*, *Hars.*); *eglen*- 'bleiben, Zeit vertreiben . . .' (*Németh*, *Illésh.*) ~ *eglen*- (= *eylen*) 's. unterhalten' (*Hazai*, *Hars.*).

⁵¹ *Doerfer*, *Krmtat.* 377.

⁵² *Čobanzade* 1925, 32.

⁵³ *Semojlovič* 14—15.

⁵⁴ *Sevortjan* 236: sonor, uvular, velar.

be decided on the basis of *Witsen's* glossary, only the velar character of the *ğ* sound is to be marked in the reconstruction, irrespective of the manner of articulation. Therefore, "ğ" and "γ" are equivalent signs in the transliteration of Crimean Tatar words (entries). Nevertheless, it was considered more appropriate to use the letter "ğ" initially.

-γ- It was also retained in original Turkic words.

The glossary contains no examples of those changes (e.g. $\gamma > w < u$) which *Doerfer* (Krmntat. 377) enumerates.

-γ The entries do not exhibit $-\gamma \sim -w$ alternations (e.g. *baγ, yaγ, quduγ*). The variants with $-\gamma$ occur mainly around Simferopol (*Doerfer* loc. cit). Sporadic occurrences of $-\gamma$ can also be found in diplomas, e.g. *uluγ* (*Matuz* 101).

h It is missing from present-day literary language, with scattered occurrences in certain dialects and in the language of old people (cf. *Doerfer* Krmntat. 380; *Sevortjan* 236). *Witsen's* item was transliterated with "h" when the precedents of the word involved "he" (ا, ا).

χ *Witsen* also tried to mark it separately. In the reconstruction "χ" replaces the original "ha ح" or "kha خ".

k' - is a palatalized phonemic variant, whose palatalized character was also indicated by *Witsen*, e.g. *k'ayit, k'emik, k'im*, etc. The initial *k* - prevails over the entire Crimean Tatar language territory (*Doerfer*, Krmntat. 378). The palatalized *k'* - was also differentiated by *Maggio* in contemporary Ottoman Turkish, who claimed that its pronunciation was quite close to *k*, but the Turks enunciated it in the way the Italians do the letters "chi" in the word "chiedo" (*Kenessey* 45). *Maggio* uses "ki" to designate it.

q *Witsen* does not distinguish it with a separate sign. Already in the CC it was indicated by "c" and "k".⁵⁵ The degree of its velarity can no longer be established.

m- From the 26 words, only one is originally Turkic (*mači*), the majority being of Arabic-Persian origin.

η According to *Dmitriev* it has two variants: 1. "stronger" e.g. *baña* (*baña*), *saña* (*saña*); 2. "weaker" e.g. the *n* of the possessive case ending and the verb marker of 2nd P. Sing.⁵⁶ In the 17th-century Crimean Tatar diplomas it was probably still included,⁵⁷ although hardly any trace of it can be detected in *Witsen's* word list: e.g. *darıldiη me, denis*. η is regularly replaced by *n*. The same can be observed in certain Kazan Tatar dialects (cf. *Burganova* 31, *Borhanova* 102; in Misher: *Machmutova* 133). In the Crimea this change may have been effected by a strong southern influence.

⁵⁵ Grönbech 13.

⁵⁶ *Dmitriev* 1926, 345.

⁵⁷ *Matuz* 99.

-s It has two variants: 1. -s < *-s, a rare occurrence already in Proto-Turkic;⁵⁸ 2. -s < -z. The collectors of the material of the CC already heard a voiceless sound at the end of the word where in modern Turkic languages the -z is half-devoiced or voiceless.⁵⁹ Examples: *aqčamıs, domus, qas, sekis*, etc.

-š The ambiguity of *Witsen's* transliteration would sometimes make an -s possible in its place, for most data include the letter "s". The -š > s change is typical of Noghay. However, no other specific Noghay feature, such as ʃ- (<y-), -w- (<ɣ-), -š (<č), can be demonstrated in *Witsen's* glossary, which proves that it is simply a notational peculiarity. The word *yemiš*, for instance, has two forms: (*Jemisc*) and (*Jemisler*). Nor were the sounds š and s differentiated in writing in the CC (cf. *Grönb.* 13). *József Matuz* did not find instances of the š > s change in 17th-century diplomas, notwithstanding the fact that the Arabic script allows for the differentiation of the two sounds (cf. *Matuz* 100).

v- occurs in initial position upon Ottoman Turkish influence. There are only two examples: *ver-*, *vilayet*.

w It is regarded as the bilabial variant of the phoneme /v/. Its existence alludes to northern (Kipchak) influence. In Kazan Tatar dialects *v* is regularly replaced by *w* (cf. *Machmutova* 62). As in contemporary Ottoman Turkish the *w* variant of /v/ did occur, however sporadically (cf. *Hazai*, Hars. 336, 362), it seems justified to postulate and notate a *w* variant in some cases.

y In 14 cases, *Witsen* marked it regularly with "j" or "y" in initial and medial position. The *y* > ʃ change cannot be traced here, nor in *Matuz*.⁶⁰ Already the CC carries examples where in intervocalic position, especially before and after *e, i, i, y* was not marked. *Grönbech* attributes this to the fact that between vowels sounding similarly to *y*, this *y* was very weakly articulated.⁶¹ *Witsen*, or his mediator, signified this sound with "i" in Crimean Tatar, apparently trying to distinguish the semi-vowel *ɨ*. In a few words we can even come across "i": (*Alaïk*) *alayïk*, (*Almaïk*) *almayïq* (see *al-*).

z Initially it is only found in foreign words. In final position it is consistently devoiced and only becomes voiced again in juxtaposition with voiced phonemes, e.g. *yüs* II, but "*Yüz yarayın . . .*" (see the poem at the end of the glossary). *z* at the end of the word *saz* is exceptional.

Devoicing. Voiced consonants (except those of foreign origin) are replaced by their voiceless counterparts in word final position. E.g. -z > -s *almazıs domus, qos, semis*, etc.; -v > -f *qaf, ef*.

Voicing. -č- > -ʃ- in the word *fuʃi* (<*fuč*i) and -q- > -ɣ- in *yarayın* (<*yaraq-i-n*).

⁵⁸ Cf. Serebrennikov—Gadžieva 59.

⁵⁹ Grönbech 13; For the incidence of the -z > -s change see also RäsLautg. 177—178, Németh, *Inschr.* 56, in Crimean Tatar: SamojlOp. 60.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.* 100.

⁶¹ Grönbech 18.

Morphology

The low number of morphological phenomena included in the glossary does not enable one to undertake a thorough analysis. The major morphological conclusions to be inferred from *Witsen's* word list are summed up below.

Nouns and adjectives. The plural of nouns seems to be the homomorphic *-ler*. E.g. *almaler, şayşler, düğ'ümler, zemanler*, etc. The Crimean Tatar songs provide similar data: *tatarlär, atarlär, bakarlär*, perhaps for the sake of rhyming only.⁶² In *J. Harsányi-Nagy -ler* occurs in an insignificant number (about 7%) after a velar word-ending: e.g. *aralerinde, zemanlerinde* (*Hazai*, Hars. 387). Cf. *Doerfer*, *Krmtat.* 381.

Case endings. Accusative: *-i qawä, aşi, -i seni, -yi aqçayı, -n* after 3rd P. possessive suffix, e.g. *yarayın*; Locativus: *-de aralerinde, yüzde*; it joins the noun or adjective with the help of a pronominal *-n-* after possessive suffixes. Ablativus: *-den neden*.

Endings of nominal predicates. Only in the 3rd P. Sing. is there a uniform ending, *-dur*: e.g. *çindur, divandur, qadırdur*. Interrogative form: *-médur çinmédur, warmédur*. The negative was formed with the negative particle *deyül*: *zemandur, zeman deyül*.

Possessive suffixes Sing. 1st P. *-im, -im şanim, yerim*, 3rd P. *-i şanı, zemanı*, Plur. 1st P. *-müz ~ müs aramız-de, aqşamıs*, 3rd P. *-leri ara-leri-n-de*. Case endings are joined to it with the help of a pronominal *-n-*. Cf. *Doerfer*, *Krmtat.* 381, 382.

Pronouns. Personal: *sen*, acc. *seni*; demonstrative: *o*; interrogative: *k'im, ne, neden, niçün* (< *ne + ičün*).

Verbs. The marker of aoristos: *-r arar, eyler, işler, aşar*; *-ar aqar, satar*; *-er g'üler*; *-ur alur, olur, warur*; *-ür sürünür, ülür, verür*; Endings in the aorist: indicative, 1st P. Sing. *-um taparum, alurum, ararum*; *-üm verürüm, isterüm*. It is universal in present-day dialects (cf. *Doerfer*, *Krmtat.* 384—85). 2nd P. Sing. *-sin eylersin, ülürsin, -sén işlarsén*, the same form occurs in the diplomas in *Matuz* (op. cit. 109) and in modern dialects (cf. *Doerfer*, *Krmtat.* 385). 3rd P. Sing. zero ending. 1st P. Plur. *-is* (< *-iz*) *aşarıs*. This form survives in certain southern dialects (*Doerfer*, *Krmtat.* 385)] *-mıs* (< *-müz*) *alurmıs, warurmıs*. The form is identical in today's dialects (cf. *Doerfer*, loc. cit.). Negative form: 1st P. Sing. *-ma-m warmam*, a northern form according to *Baskakov*,⁶³ *-maz-um warmazum*; 3rd P. *-mas* (< *-maz*) *aşamas*; 1st P. Plur. *-maz-ıs* (< *-mazız*) *almazıs*; Cf. *Samojl* Op. 60, *Sevortjan* 246. Interrogative, 2nd P. Sing. *-mésin* (< *mısın*) *alurmésin, taparmésin, warurmésin*.

⁶² Jansky 107.

⁶³ BaskTJa. 154.

Imperative, optative. The 1st P. forms of imperative originally belonged to the optative. 1st P. Sing. *-ayim alayim* Cf. *Doerfer, Krmtat.* 387, *Krmosm.* 278, *Sevortjan* 245. 2nd P. Sing. — Ø (verbal stem) *al, bar, kil*; 1st P. Plur. *-ayiq alayiq, warayiq, -alim ~ -alum alalim, waralum*. This form is rare in the Crimean Osmanli as well (*Doerfer, Krmoszm.* 278). Besides the former typically Kipchak variant, this is an Oghuz (Ottoman Turkish) form. Negative (prohibitive) form: 2nd P. Sing. stem + *-ma ~ -me aldama, yeme, onutma*; 1st P. Plur. *-mayiq almayiq*.

Infinitives: *-maya ašamaya, -maq ~ -mek warmaq, g'ülmek*.

Participles. *-an -yan, Witsen* only recorded its negative form: *-mayan qılmayan*; *-r, -ar, -er* (see *aša-*), *-mas ašamas* is the negative form of the former, cf. *Doerfer, op. cit.* 386.

Gerunds. *-p (-up) alup, tartup*; the linking vowel of *-p* is still the archaic *u*. Cf. *SamojlOp.* 63, *Matuz* 92.

Lexicology

The Crimean Tatar dialects are 'mixed' dialects with respect to the vocabulary as well.⁶⁴ The Common Turkic elements are intermingled with the regional, Kipchak and Oghuz items, which has led to the evolution of a whole variety of synonyms.⁶⁵ In *Witsen's* material, however, synonyms are very scarce. Perhaps the words of identical meaning, but different origin, were omitted during the selection.

Turkic elements

Just over half of the known (deciphered) items are genuine Turkic words, the other half being of foreign descent. This proportion would be more favourable if the foreign elements long incorporated in the Turkic languages (since the Old or Common Turkic era) had not been grouped together with the later loanwords. This said, one may conclude that *Witsen's* Crimean Turkic-Tatar glossary is basically of Turkic origin. 54.4% of all the entries derive from the original Turkic word stock. This figure is 37% in a Crimean Tatar letter dated 1679 and 38% in 16th-century Ottoman Turkish diplomas (cf. *Matuz* 117). Within the stock of original Turkic words, those of Common Turkic descent (existing both in Oghuz and Kipchak languages) are predominant.

Kipchak elements. Those words belong here which are Kipchak in a strict sense, that is, are characteristic only of the Kipchak vocabulary. Their number is relatively low in the glossary. E.g. *aša-, anda, aruš, bala, börü, bul-* (to be), *jaw, k'eli, kiš, qočqar, qos, quduy, qumač, mači, talqan*, etc.

⁶⁴ *Doerfer, Krmtat.* 389; *Matuz* 114.

⁶⁵ *Doerfer, Krmtat.* 389; *Sevortjan* 257.

Oghuz elements. This category contains only those words which belong to Ottoman Turkish or to languages closely related to it. Added to the general Oguz words are some peculiarly Ottoman Turkish elements as well. E.g. *čamur*, *deli*, *domus*, *düg'üm*, *ef*, *düdük*, *düşek*, *ye-*, *qurt*, *ol-*, *bul* 'to find', *g'ümlek*, *qoyun*, *ver-*, etc.

Kipchak-Oghuz synonyms. On the border of two languages or language groups — in the so-called contact zones — the vocabulary is characterized by the usage of a great many synonyms.⁶⁶ *Witsen's* word list includes the following synonyms (the first item is Kipchak, the second Oghuz): *aša- ~ ye-* 'to eat' *börü ~ qurt* 'wolf', *bul- I ~ ol-* (to be), *qoçqar ~ qoç* 'ram', *mači ~ k'edi* 'cat'.

Foreign elements

The proportion of loanwords (Arabic-Persian) was 63% on the basis of a letter dated 1679,⁶⁷ and 45.6% in *Witsen's* material.

Arabic elements. They were imported by Crimean Tatar through the mediation of Ottoman Turkish and Persian. At 161 their number is relatively high (30.9%). The meaning of the borrowed words is very diverse. E.g. *adam*, *açret*, *devlet*, *ğam*, *qandil*, *qumač*, *sabun*, *ümër yakut*, *zalim*, etc.

Persian (Iranian) elements. The greater part must have reached the Crimean Tatar language via Osmanli, the smaller part via Central Asian Turkic mediation. The ratio of Persian loans is relatively low compared to the Arabic ones: a mere 13%. E.g. *armut*, *ateš*, *bay*, *čorba*, *jan*, *jawuš*, *divan*, *ferman*, *k'emend*, *lešk'er*, *zeñil*, *zerde*, etc.

Other elements. The biggest single group here are the Greek loanwords transmitted by Ottoman Turkish: *anaqtar*, *barut*, *fanar*, *fulaqé*, *k'eremit*. There are also some words of Russian origin: *aruš*, *dur* (from French), *māq*. The word *warul* of French origin possibly found its way into *Witsen's* material through Ottoman Turkish. The only Mongol loanword *tayi* must have survived from the age of the Golden Horde. The proportion of these miscellaneous loans is around 2% within the entire glossary.

Conclusions

The glossary is a 17th-century monument of the Crimean Tatar (or Turkic-Tatar) language. Its vocabulary is basically Turkic, with strong influence exercised upon it by foreign (Arabic-Persian) languages. The percentage share

⁶⁶ Brands (see Bibliography) has a chapter entitled "Oghusische und kiptschakische Züge im heutigen Wortbestand", a part of which — *Die Synonymik der oghusisch-kiptschakischen Kontaktzonen* — deals with this question in detail.

⁶⁷ Matuz 117.

of original Turkic words is about the same as that of the Oguz-Kipchak lexical units. This linguistic material is phonetically and morphologically "mixed" as well. The impact of Ottoman Turkish is marked in every area. The majority of Arabic-Persian elements also appear to have been mediated by Ottoman Turkish.

As the data are very limited in number, one can put forth only a highly hypothetical assessment as to which dialectal group the glossary belongs to. Considering that only very few features peculiar to the northern dialects of modern Crimean Tatar can be discerned, it seems appropriate to assume dialects which are under strong southern influence. Such are the central and southern Crimean Tatar and the Crimean Turkic dialects. Presuming that the glossary might preserve the memory of these tongues, we may call it Crimean Turkic-Tatar.

IV. Vocabulary

The reconstructed entry word indents the line. It is followed by the letter-perfect copy of *Witsen's* item in round brackets. Whenever there is some deviation between the Dutch and the reconstructed meaning, the former has been translated.

When *Witsen's* item — within the () — is not preceded by the date of year, it has been taken from the second edition (1705). When the word is from the first edition, it is preceded by the date of 1692. When the item is unchanged in the second edition, the date of year of the first edition is followed by "1705, 1785 id." to signify the identity of the data. The differences can be inferred from a comparison of the complete items after the date of year.

The reconstructed meaning comes after the parenthesis. At times *Witsen's* meaning is too generic, at other times too particular. We have tried to rectify this as well.

After the corrected meaning "cf." introduces the comparative linguistic data. It is always indicated whether the item in question can be found in the following sources and languages: CC, Idr., Idr. Haş., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., Kar., Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Nog., K.-Balk., Osm. (For the explanation of abbreviations see *Bibliography* and the index of abbreviations.) The meanings of these items are not given unless it appears particularly justified.

Whenever we failed to reconstruct *Witsen's* item, the place of the entry is taken by his data in brackets.

The alphabetic order of the entries in the vocabulary is: a, ä, b, c, č, ĵ, d, e, é, f, g, g', ĝ, γ, h, χ, i, ĩ, j, k, k', q, l, m, n, o, ò, p, r, s, š, t, u, ù, v, w, x, y, z, ž

abaza (1692 *Abaffa*, een klein boere paert. 1705, 1785 id. = a little peasant horse) 'an Abaza horse' Presumably an abbreviation from the expression **abaza at(i)*¹ thus it designates the animal's place of origin. In the 17th century, *abaza* appears independently as a horse-name: "Comme nom de cheval: 1655—56 *Abaza*"² (Kakuk: AOH 28 (1974), 32). Cf. Osm. *abaza* 'An Abaza man; The Abaza country in the Caucasus'. The Osm. and Crim. Tat. words *abaza* 'ein Mensch . . . der sehr unverständlich spricht' (R. I, 625) can be mentioned here, as one can suppose that the Turks compared people speaking too quickly or with mistakes to Abaza men who spoke unintelligibly for them.

abuχayāt (*Abu Hajāt*, Water des Levens.) 'water of (eternal) life' Cf. Osm. *āb-i hayāt* 'Water of life (a legendary spring or river)', Osm. *Özön abihayat* (*Āb-i hayat*) 'Hayat suyu. İçeni ölmezliğe kavuşturan masal suyu' < P. Ar.

adam (1692 *Adam*, een mensch. 1705, 1785 id.) 'man' Cf. Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Osm. *adam* < Ar. < Hebrew *ādēm* (*Her adem*, elk Mensch. = every man) 'man' Cf. Tat. Dobr. *adem*, Nog. *adam*, *ädem*, Osm. *adam* (adām) < Ar. < Hebrew

afërim (*Aferim*, een woord, waer mede men iemands doen pryft, is zoo veel Schepper gezegt. = a word to praise somebody's deed, as if we said master) 'bravo!, well done! Cf. KarK, Osm. *afërim* < Ar.

aya (*Agà*, een Heer.) 'gentleman, senior, elder brother' Cf. CC, Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat. M-K., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Osm. *aya*. Used in the Crimea as a title of senior state officials (Matuz 7—8)

ayač (*Agads*, Hout, een Boom.) 'tree, wood' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf. (*agaš*), Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *ayač*, Nog. *ayač*

ayačliq (1692 *Agat*, ofte *Lic*, een bofch. 1705, 1785 *Agat* of *Lic*, een Bofch.) 'forest' Cf. Dur. *ayaš-lyq* 'bois, forêt, taillis', Kumyk, Osm., Tat. *ayačliq*, Nog. *ayašliq*

axret (*Agh-ret*, de tyd des laesten oordeels. = time of the last judgement) 'the other world, last judgement' Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K *Axret kyni* 'Konec žizni. Strašnyj sud', Tat. Dobr. *Ülküsal ahret*, Osm. TS *ahret* < Ar.

¹ Similar expressions: Osm. TRSl. *arap atı* 'arabskij skakun' K.-Balk. *qaraçay qoy* 'karaçaevskaia ovca' (*Russko karaçaevo-balkarskij slovar* Moskva, 1965); Kzk. *qazaqı qoy* 'kurdjučnaja ovca' (RKzkSl.); Tat. dial. *roman sarıq* 'merinosovaja ovca' (TatRSl.); Tat. Crim. Tat. R. I, 365 *ataša at* > Russian *lošad* 'gelded horse, steed', cf. Šipova, *Slovar' tjurkizmov v russkom jazyke*. Alma-Ata, 1976; Designations derived from place-names can also be exemplified: Kirg. *kiser qoy* 'kurdjučnaja ovca gissarskoj porodı' (K. K. Judachin, *Kirgizsko-russkij slovar*. Moskva, 1965).

² The ethnonym *abaza* frequently occurs both as a historical and a modern personal name (cf. Kakuk, AOH 28 [1974], 32—33, *Recherches* 24).

A ħ m e t (*Achmet* of Regieb, een eigen Naem. = a proper name) 'Ahmet' Cf. Nog., Osm. *Ahmet*, *Ahmed* < Ar.

aq-, *aqar* (Jaſc jusde *akar*, de tranen loopen uit de oogen. = tears drop from the eyes) 'to flow' Cf. CC, Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., K.-Balk., Kumyk, Nog., Osm. *aq-*

aq č a See *say-*; 'money' Cf. CC, Bul., Tuhf. *aqča*, Arm.-Kipch. *aχča*, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Kumyk *aqča*, 17th century Osm. *akča* (Kakuk, Recherches 34)

a q š a 'money' Cf. Nog. *aqša*; *aqšamis bursa* (*Akſciamis boulsa*, zoo wy Geld hadden.) 'if we had money'; *aqšamis yoktur* (*Akſciamis joktur*, wy hebben geen Geld.) 'we have no money'

a l-, *alur* See *etmek*, too; 'to take, to seize' Cf. CC *al-*, *-ur*, *-yr*, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Nog., K.-Balk., Kumyk, Osm. *al-*; *alayiq* (*Alaik*, dat wy 't nemen, of wy zullen 't nemen. = let us take it, we shall take it) Optative, 1st P. Plural; *alayim* (*Alaim*, ik zal 't nemen. = I must take it) Optative, 1st P. Singular; *alalim* (*Alalim*, dat wy 't nemen. = let us take it, let us seize it) Optative, 1st P. Plural; *almayiq qawı* dat wy 't vaftelijk, of voor zeker niet nemen. = with absolute certainty we shall not take it away) 'don't let us take the bag away' Optative, 1st P. Plural, Negative; *almazis* (*Almaſſis*, wy zullen 't niet nemen. = we shall not take (seize) it) Aorist, 1st P., Plural, Negative; *alup g'el* (*Alup jel*, neemt, of krygt, en brengt het. = take, hold and bring it) 'fetch it' Compound verb form with *-p* Gerund, Imperative Mood 2nd P. Singular; *alurmėsın* (*Alourmeſin*, zult gy 't nemen? = will you take (or buy) it?) Aorist, 1st P. Singular, Interrogative; *alurmıs* (*Alourmis*, wy zullen 't krygen, nemen, ontfangen. = we shall catch it, we take it, we receive it) Aorist, 1st P. Plural; *alurum* (*Alurum*, ik neem, of zal nemen. = I take it or I shall take it) Aorist, 1st P. Singular.

Al a (1692 *Birala*, Godt. = God) 'Allah' Cf. Cuman of Hungary *ala*, *aló* 'Allah' (Mészáros 16), Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Nog. *alla* < Ar.

ā l ā (*Ala*, 't is goed.) 'good, magnificent, excellent' Cf. Osm. TS *âlâ* 'İyi, pek iyi' < Ar.

a l a ħ a (*Alagia*, veel verwig, van vermengde koleuren.) 'many-coloured, pied' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj. (*alača*), Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *alaħa*

a l ā m (*Alām* of *alamet*, een teeken.) 'sign, badge, flag' Cf. CC, KarHT, Osm. *alam* ~ *alām* < Ar.

a l ā m e t (*Alām* of *alamet*, een teeken.) 'sign, mark, badge' Cf. Osm. *alamet* 'A sign, mark; a symbol; a trace . . .', Tat. Dobr. *alemet* 'znak', Kumyk *alamat* 'priznak, simptom, primeta, otlíčitel'naja čerta . . .' < Ar.

a l a š a (*Alaſcia*, een Ruin-paerd. = war-horse) 'gelded (horse), steed' Cf. Crim. Tat., Osm., Tat. R. I, 365 *alaša* 'merin', Nog., K.-Balk. *alaša* 'merin', Crim. Tat. EČel. *alaša* 'beygir at', KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk *alaša* 'lošad', kon'

ald a- 'to swindle, to deceive'; *aldama* (*Aldama*, bedriegt niet. = don't swindle) Imperative Mood, Negative (prohibitive) Form, 2nd P. Singular. Cf. Idr., Tarj., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Kumyk, Nog., Osm. *alda-*

Ali (*Ali*, eigen Naem. = a proper name) 'Ali' Cf. Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. *Ali* < Ar.

ālim (Taālim of *alim*, een Geleerde.) 'scientist, scholar, educated man' Cf. Kumyk *alim*, Osm. *ālim* 'Who knows; Learned; erudite; a doctor of science' < Ar.

Allah 'Allah' Cf. KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *Allah* < Ar.; *bir Allah* (*Bir Allah*, een God.) '(one) Allah'; *Allahū ekber* (*Allahu ekber*, God is de Grootfte.) 'Allah is the greatest' Cf. Osm. *Özön Allahū ekber* 'Tanrı uludur'; *Allahū k'erim* (*Allahu Kjerim*, de weldoende God. = the beneficial God) 'Allah is gracious' Cf. Osm. *Allah kerim* 'God is gracious!; Fear not! Do not fret!'; *Allahū rāxim* (*Allahu Rāghim*, ontfermende God. = merciful God) 'Allah is merciful, compassionate' Cf. Osm. *rahim* 'Who feels or shows compassion, compassionate'

alma (*Almā*, een Appel.) 'apple' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *alma*; *almaler alduq* (*Almaler alduk*, wy hebben Appelen genomen. = we have bought apples)

āmin (*Amin*, Amen.) 'amen' Cf. CC, Arm.-Kipch., KarHT, Kumyk *amen* ~ *āmin* < Ar. < Hebrew

anaqtar (*Anaktar*, Sleutel.) 'key' Cf. Tuhf. (anahtar), Chag. R. I, 228 *anaqtar*, Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *anaqtar* < Greek

anda (*Baranda*, gaet daer. = go there) 'there' Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Tat. Chag. R. I, 238 *anda*

anqa (Simourg of *anka*, een Gryp-vogel. = griffon) 'fabulous bird of enormous size' Cf. Osm. *anqā* 'A fabulous bird of enormous size said to inhabit the Caucasus range' < Ar.

ara 'between, among; interval, distance' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Bul., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *ara*; *aramizde* (*Aramisdi*,³ onder ons, tuffchen ons.) 'between us'; *aralerinde* (*Aralerinde*, onder haer lieden. = among the men) 'among them'

ara- 'to look for, to search' Cf. Tat. Dobr., Osm. *ara-*; *ararum* (*Ararum*, ik zoeke.) 'I look for it' Aorist, 1st P. Singular

araqı (*Araki*, Brandewyn, anders Raki. = brandy, otherwise Raki) 'brandy' Cf. Crim. Tat., Nog., K.-Balk., Osm. *araqı*; See *raqı*, too

armut (*Armout*, een Peer.) 'pear' Cf. Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *armut*, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *armüt* < P.

³ Inferring from the Dutch meaning one would assume a Locativus case ending after the Possessive personal ending *-di* seems to be mistakenly inserted in place of *-de*.

arpa (1692 *Arpa*, boekwyt. 1705, 1785 *Arpa*, Boekweit.⁴ = buckwheat) 'barley' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *arpa*

ars (*Ars*, begeerte, verzoek.) 'request, wish, application' Cf. Kumyk, Osm. *arz* < Ar.

arš (*Aršc*, Gods Troon, de Hemel, een Troon. = throne of God, the sky, throne) 'heaven, sky, throne' Cf. Osm. *arš* 'The ninth heaven; A throne', Uig. R. I, 331 *arš* 'nebesnyj svod', Trkm. *ariš* 'sed'moe nebo, poslednij krug raja' (TurkmRS1.) < Ar.

aruš ~ *arēš*⁵ (1692 *Arusch*, gerft. 1705, 1785 *Arusch*, Garft.⁶ = barley) 'rye' Cf. Crim. Tat. EČel. *arš* 'čavdar', Tat. *ariš* (TatRS1.) < Russian

arzehal (*Arsehaal*, openbaer Verzoek-schrift. = open written application) 'written petition' Cf. Osm. 'arzi-hāl, vulgar 'arzuhāl 'A written petition' < Ar.

as (1692 *As*, een armelin. 1705, 1785 id.) 'ermine, weasel' Cf. Bul., Müh., Tuhf., Dur., Kumyk, Osm., Tat. Chag. Uig. R. I, 535 *as*

aš (1692 *Aff*, fpys. 1705, 1785 *Aff*, Spys.) 'food, eatable' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *aš*; *aši ašarīs* ~ ? *aši ašarīn*? (*Ašci ašciarīn*, wy zullen Spys eeten. = we eat food, we shall eat) 'we eat food, ? I eat food'

aša- 'to eat, to take one's meal' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *aša-*; *ašadiq* (*Ašciadik*, wy hebben gegeten. = we had eaten) Definite Past Tense, 1st P. Plural; *ašar bulsan g'el* (*Ašciar boulsak, jel*,⁸ wilt gy

⁴ In the 1692 edition, the meanings of the consecutively listed names of cereals and similar plants (*qaraboγday*, *arpa*, *aruš*) may have become somewhat mixed up during copying.

⁵ More probably *u* designates the sound *u* and not a velar reduced sound, for it is typical of the entire glossary to include the more archaic labial vowels. The indication of the velar *ē* variant is justified by Evliya Čelebi's item *ārš*.

⁶ See note 4.

⁷ The Dutch meaning would suggest a verb inflection of 1st P. Plural, though *Witsen* is often in the wrong as regards Person. If *n* (Ar. ن) is in place of the regular -s (Ar. س) by mistake, the meaning can be accepted. The confusion of *r* and *z* (Ar. ر, and ز) occurs several times in the glossary. Otherwise it should be an archaic and very rare Personal ending -n (1st P. Sing.). Cf. Osm. *ederun* 'ich tue' (Németh, *Illésh.* 80), Osm. *bilmen*, *alman*, *etmen* in the negative form of the aorist (Hazai, *Hars.*). In conjunction with this phenomenon, Hazai notes the following: "Die Varianten (*n*) die auf ein früheres Stadium der Entwicklung der Personalendungen hinweist, ist als eine spezielle historische Variante zu betrachten" (op. cit. 408).

⁸ It comes from the 2nd P. imperative *g'el* (*jel*) that the 3rd P. form included in the Dutch meaning is unnecessary and unwarranted. The sentence (*Ašciar boulsak, jel*) can be interpreted in the following ways: 1. *ašar bulsa, k'el* (*g'el*) = if he (she) wanted to eat and you don't want to disturb him (her), or you will take him (her) the food, come; 2. *ašar bulsan g'el* (provided that ʔ was transcribed by *k* and not *n*) = if you want to eat, come; 3. *ašar bulsaq, g'el* = if we want (wish) to eat, come. The second

eeten, of wil hy eeten? zoo komt. = if you want to eat, or if he (she) wants to eat, come) 'if you want to eat, come'; *ašamas bulsan g'elme* (*Ašciamas boulsak jelme*,⁹ wilt gy niet eeten, of wil hy niet eeten? zoo komt niet. = if you don't want to eat, or if he (she) doesn't want to eat, don't come) 'if you don't want to eat, don't come'; *ašamaya g'erek olur* (*Ašciamaga jenek*¹⁰ *olour*, men moet, men zal, men behoort te eeten. = one must eat, one has to eat, one is compelled to eat) 'we must (need) eat'; *ašayiq* (*Ašciaik*, dat wy eeten, = that we eat) Optative, 1st P. Plural; *aši ašaris ~ ? aši ašarın*¹¹ (*Ašci ašiarin*, wy zullen Spys eeten. = we eat food, we shall eat) 'we eat food, ? I eat food' Aorist 1st P. Plural or ? Singular

a t (1692 *At*, een paert. 1705, 1785 *Ath* of *At*, een Paerd.) 'horse' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Nog., K.-Balk., Osm. *at*

a t e š (*Ates*, Vuur.) 'fire' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *ateš* < P,

a y 'moon, month' See *ramazan*, *reŋeb*. Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul.

Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., Kumyk, Nog., K.-Balk., Osm. *ay*

a y a q (*Ajak*, de Voet.) 'foot' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Arm.-

Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *ayaq*

a y n e (*Ainè*, Spiegel.) 'mirror' Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *ayne* < P.

a y u (1692 *Ain*,¹² een beer. 1705, 1785 id.) 'bear' Cf. CC, Id., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat. (*ajū*), Tat. Dobr. *ayu*, K.-Balk. *ayyu*, Osm. *ayu*, vulgar *ay*

a y w a (*Aiwā*, een Que-appel.) 'quince' Cf. Idr., Tarj., K.-Balk., Nog., Osm. *aywa*

a y w a ŋ i 'quince-seller' See *a y w a* + *-ŋi* (Affix forming occupation-names); *aywaŋiler* (*Aiwagiiler*, iemand die Quee-appelen verkoopt. = someone, selling quince-apples) 'quince-sellers'

a z ā b (*Adsāb*, ftraffe.) 'punishment' Cf. Osm. 'azāb < Ar.

a z é m (*Azem*,¹³ magtigfte, verhevenfte. = mightiest, greatest) 'mighty, great' Cf. Osm. 'azim < Ar.

interpretation appears to be the most plausible as it is the most closely related to the Dutch meaning. The same applies to the negative form of the expression *ašamas bulsan*. The other solutions cannot be accepted, unless we know the full context or we postulate a series of assessments. It may easily mislead the reader that in the written form in Arabic letters the final graph of the 2nd P. Sing. and 1st P. Plur. in the Optative is identical (e.g. سه وسهك *sewseŋ*; سه وسهك *sewsek*, SamojlOp. 74), or that the Arabic writing of *-seŋ* ~ *-sen* is: سهك. *Witsen's* hesitation about the meaning is shown by the question mark he inserted after the 3rd P. form of the Dutch verb.

⁹ See note 8.

¹⁰ Correctly: *jerek*.

¹¹ See note 7.

¹² Correctly: *Aiu*.

¹³ In 17th-century Ottoman-Turkish remains surviving from Hungary: "Azem" (*Azīm*) Kakuk, *Recherches* 51.

b a b a (*Baba*, Vader.) 'father' Cf. Idr. *baba* (accosting), KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. *baba*

b a d e m (*Badem*, een Amandel.) 'almond' Cf. KarK, Osm. *badem*, *badem*, CC, Nog., Kumyk *badam* < P.

b a d i y a n (*Badijan*, het kruit Venkel.) 'star (Chinese) anise, sweet fennel (Dictamnus, Dictamnus praxinella, Illicum anisatum, Foeniculum dulce)' Cf. Old Turkic (uig.) DTS *badijan* 'anis kitajskij, bad'jan (Illicum verum), Nog. *bad'yan* (<Russian), Tat. R. IV, 1520 *badyan* > Russian *bad'jan* (See Šipova 46)

b a γ (*Bag*, Boomgaard, Wyngaerd.) 'fruit garden, vineyard' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Bul., Qaw., KarKTH, Osm. *baγ*, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *baw* < P.

b a q č a (*Bakzia*, een Hof, een Tuin.) 'garden, vegetable garden' Cf. CC, Tuhf. *baqča*, Arm.-Kipch., Kumyk, KarTK, *baχca* (<*baqča*), Nog. *baqša*, Crim Tat., Osm. *baqča* < P.

b a l (*Bal*, Hooning.) 'honey' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *bal*

b a l a (*Bala*, een Kind.) 'child' Cf. Id., Tarj. (*bala* 'little chicken'), Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. dial. TRS1. *bala*; *balaler* (*Balaler*, Kinderen.) 'children'

b a l a l i (*Balalez*,¹⁴ volwassenen. = adults) 'an adult who has children' Cf. Tat. Dobr. *balali* 'z dziećmi', Tat. Kzk. R. IV, 1493 *balali*

b a l ŷ i k (*Balgik*, Klei of Sleik.) 'clay, mud' Cf. CC *balčuq* (but the "u" designates here an *ï*), Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf. (*balşik*), Qaw., KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *balčuq*, Nog. *balšiq*

b a l m u m 'wax' See *mum*; Cf. KarK *balmum*, Osm. *bal-mumū*

b a r - 'to go' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *bar-*; *bar anda* (1692 *Baranda*, gaet daer. 1705, 1785 id.) 'go there' Imperative mood, 2nd P. Singular

b a r ā b a r (*Bar à bar*, gelijk. = of the same form, the same) 'together, jointly' Cf. Tuhf., KarK., Nog., Osm. R. IV, 1478 *barabar* < P.

b a r m a q (*Barmak*, een Vinger, word uitgesproken met een P. *parmak*. = finger (toe), usually pronounced with *p* *parmak*) 'finger, toe' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Qaw., KarH, Tat. Dobr., Nog. Kumyk *barmaq*; *barmaqler* (*Barmakler*, de Vingers.) Plural, Nominative; *barmaqlerim* (*Barmaklerim*, mijne Vingers. = my fingers) Possessive form, 1st P. Singular

b a r u t (*Barout*, Buff-kruit, ook Sulphur. = gunpowder, sulphur, too) 'gunpowder' Cf. KarK. *barot*, Osm. *bārut* < Greek

¹⁴ The error must have been caused by the two consecutive words of similar form. It is assumed here that "Balaler" was originally followed by *Balaliler (*balaliler*) which was mistakenly transformed into "Balalez" during copying or for some other reason. The erroneous exchange of the letters *r* and *z* occurs quite a few times in *Witsen* (See *iste-* and *ver-*).

b e r i 'here, this way' See *kil-* Cf. CC, Tuhf., Qaw. (*bäri*), Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *beri*

*b é š é k*¹⁵ (*Besciek*, een Wieg, word uitgesproken *bifik*. = cradle, usually pronounced *bifik*) 'cradle' Cf. Qaw., Tarj. *bäšik*, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *bešik*

b i č a q ~ *bičaq*¹⁶ (1692 *Bitzæ*,¹⁷ een Mes. 1705, 1785 id.) 'knife' Cf. CC *byčaq* (*bicac*, *bizac*, *biča*[c], *bičak*), Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat. *bičaq*, KarT *bičax*, *bičak*, Kumyk *bičaq*, Osm. *bičaq*

b i r 'one, a (an)' Numeral or Indefinite article; Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *bir*; *bir Ala* (1692 *Birala*, Godt. 1705, 1785 *Bir Allah*, een God. = God) 'there is one God — Allah!'

b i š- 'to be cooked, baked, fried; to become ripe' Cf. CC *biš-* (*bis-*), Idr., Tarj., Bul., Qaw., KarT, Kumyk, K.-Balk. *biš-*; *aywa bišmiš* (*Aiwâ bismis*, gekookte Quee-appel. = cooked quince) 'the quince is cooked' Indefinite Pas Tense, 3rd P. Singular

b i š i k 'cradle' See *b é š é k*. Cf. Old Turkic DTS *bišik* ~ *bešik*, Idr., Tat. R. IV, 1788 *bišik*

b o γ d a y (1692 *Bogdai*, terw. 1705, 1785 *Bogdai*, Tarw.) 'wheat' Cf. CC *boydaj* ~ *buydaj*, Idr., Tuhf., Qaw. *boğday*, Tarj., Müh., Dur. *buğday*, KarK *boyday* ~ *boğday*, Osm. *boyday*

b ö r ü (1692 *Born*,¹⁸ een wolf. 1705, 1785 id.) 'wolf' Cf. CC *börü* (*boru*), Idr., Tarj., Bul., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk *börü*, Tuhf., Qaw. *böri*

*b u*¹⁹ 'this' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *bu*

b ü g è r ü l ĵ é k ~ *b u g è r ü l ĵ é k*²⁰ (*Bougerulgiek*, of bourgiak, Boontjes.) 'bean' Cf. Chag. R. IV, 1880 *bükrülčük* [bwkrwljçq] 'die Bohne', Osm.

¹⁵ What justifies the reconstruction with *é* (signifying a close *e* in the first and a palatal reduced in the second syllable) is that *Witsen* recorded a variant with *e* and one with *i*.

¹⁶ The variant with *i* next to *č* is acceptable, but an original form with *ĩ* is not impossible either.

¹⁷ *e* is a lapsus calami (? misprint) in place of *c*. Probably the correct form was *Bitzac*.

¹⁸ *u* is mistakenly replaced by *n*; perhaps a misprint.

¹⁹ This word (expression) is from the two-line poem at the end of the glossary. Its Dutch translation and the reconstructed text can be found there.

²⁰ *Witsen*'s designation of *u* with *ou* is consistent (except for the word *bürk* ~ *börk*), yet it appears more reasonable to assume *ü* here. On the other hand, we have an Osm. dial. item with vowel disharmony (*boğrülce*), and analogously the Crimean Tatar word may as well be *buğeruljék*. It is evident in the analogues that the second syllable is strongly reduced. Etymology: similarly to the Osm. *böğrülce* ~ *boğrülce* ~ *börülce* < *böğrül* 'partly-coloured' + *-ce* Demin. suff. (ej. -čä RasMorph. 92), the Crim.Tat. *bügeruljék*

bükrülje [bwkrljh ~ bwkrwljh] 'The kidney bean, phaseolus vulgaris', Osm. dial. DS *boğrülce* (Semirkent — Isparta, Zil — Tokat) ~ *büğrülce* (Refahiye — Erzincan) 'böürülce' (= cow pea black-eyed bean)

bul- I. 'to be' As Auxiliary Verb see *aşa-*. Cf. Tat. *bul-*, CC, Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *bol-*

bul- II. 'to find' Cf. Idr., Müh., Bul., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *bul-*; *buldi* (*Bouldi*, hy heeft gevonden. = he (she) has found it) Definite Past Tense 3rd Person Singular; *bulmadi* (*Boulmadi*, hy heeft niet gevonden. = he (she) hasn't found it) Definite Past Tense Negative 3rd P. Singular

burčaq (Bougerulgiek of *bourgiak*, Boontjes. = bean) 'leguminous plants (bean, pea etc.)' Cf. Old Turkic DTS *burčaq* 'goroch i drugie rastenija iz semejstva bobovyč', CC *burčaq* 'Hagel', Tarj., Bul., Tuhf. (*burşak* 'ufak taş, çakıl taş'), KarK *burčaq* 'grad', Kumyk *burčaq* 'fasol', grad', Osm. TRS1. *burçak* 'gorošek posevnoj'

bülbül (*Bulbul*, een Nachtegael.) 'nightingale' Cf. CC, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Osm. *bülbül*

bürk ~ *börk* (*Bourk*, een Regen-kap. = rain-hood cap) 'felt or leather-cap' Cf. Osm. R. IV, 1889 *bürk* 'eine Mütze aus Lammfell oder Filz', Tat. R. IV, 1887 *bürük*, CC, Müh., Tuhf., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *börk*

çal- 'to seize, to carry away, to play (an instrument)' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *çal-*; *čaldum* (*Tgialdum*, ik heb getracht, of gearbeid. = I took it (away) or I did it) Definite Past Tense 1st P. Singular

čamur (*Tgiamur*, Modder.) 'mud, dirt' Cf. Idr., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *čamur*

čenden ~ *čendem* See *man*

čiqar- ~ *čiqar-* ~ *čqar-* 'to lead out, to draw out, to bring out' Cf. Müh. Bul., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch. (*čiqar-* < *čiqar-*), Crim. Tat., Osm. *čiqar-*; *čiqarurum* ~ *čqarurum* (*Tgicarrurum*, ik zal 't uit brengen, of uit dryven. = I shall bring or drive it out) Aorist, 1st P. Singular; *šan čiqar-* 'to kill' See *šan*

čin ~ *čün* 'real, true' Cf. CC *čyn* (*čün*), Tarj., Müh., Osm., Tat. *čün*; *čindur* ~ *čündur* (*Tgindur*, oprechtelijk. = it is true); *činmedur* ~ *čünmedur* (*Tginmedur*, is 't recht? = is it true?)

čindan ~ *čindan* 'true, real' Cf. *čin* + *-dan* (Suffix forming adjectives, see Osm. TRS1. *-dan*, e.g. *candan* 'duševnyj') *čindanä* ~ *čindanä* (*Tgindanä*, gerechtig. = rightful) Accusative;

čindelap ~ *čindelap* (*Tgindelap*, waerlijk, oprecht. = real, true)?

< *bükrül* ~ *bögrül* 'multi-coloured, spotted' cf. MK *Bükrül* 'gescheckt, mit weissen Flanken (Pferd, Schaf)' (*Brockelmann*), *bögrül* (DTS) 'id.' + *-jek* Demin. suff. (cf. Osm. TRS1. *-cek*). The word probably refers to the spots of the mottled bean, provided that they knew it at all.

č i n l i q ~ *č inliq* (*Tginlik*, oprechtigheid.) 'truth, reality' Cf. *č i n* ~ *č in* + *-liq* (Denominal suffix forming nouns, see RäsMorph. 105, Osm. TRS1. 964 *-lk*, Tat. R. III, 2073 *č inliq*)

č i p l a q ~ *č iplaq* (*Tgiplak*, naekt, ongekleeed.) 'naked, unclothed' Cf. Tuhf. (Turkmen dialect), Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *č iplaq*

č i r b a ~ *č irba* 'soup' See *č o r b a*; Probably it is variant of *č orba*, but its relationship to the Persian word *č erbe* 'dripping' (*Redhouse* 716) cannot be excluded.

č o r b a, *č irba* ~ *cirba* (*Dsòrbá*, *dfirba*, een zop of zuipen dat van Water, Rys, Honing, enz. gemaekt word. = fluid (sauce) or soup, made of water, rice, honey etc.) 'soup, a kind of soup' Cf. Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Osm. *č orba*, but mostly *š orba* (Crim. Tat., M-K, KarK, Kумык) < P.

š a d i w (*Giadiu*, een Duivels-konftenaer: hier van daen het woord *giafou*, waer mede zy een Ketter, of een ongeloovige betekenen. = devil-master (conjurer): the word *giafou* derives from this, meaning heretic or unbeliever) 'witch, magician' Cf. Idr. Haş. *cadı* 'sihirbaz, büyüçü', Tuhf. *cadı* 'sihir, büyü', Tat. Dobr., Osm. R. IV, 47 *š adı*; Crim. Tat., Osm. R. IV, 47 *š adu*; KarK *š aduw* < P.

š a d u y ~ *š aduyı* (*Giadui*, Ketter, Duivels-konftenaer. = heretic, devil-master) 'heresy, witchcraft' Supposing that the item from *Witsen Giadui* is a literal transcription of an Arabic word [jadwy]. Osm. *š aduwı* [jadwy], *š aduyı* [jadwyy] 'Witchcraft' < P.

š a n 'soul, life' Cf. CC, Tarj., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kумык, K.-Balk., Osm. *šan* < P.; *šan al-* 'to kill', *šan alur* (*Giian alur*, hy neemt de Ziel of het Leven weg. = he takes away his soul or his life); *šan č iqar-* (~ *č iqar-*) 'to kill', *šan č iqarur* (*č iqarur*) (*Giian Cikarur*, hy geeft de Gee t, of de Ziel uit. = he breathes his life, or soul); *šanı yoq* (*Giian jok*,²¹ hy heeft geen Ziel, of daer is geen leven meer. = he has no soul (life), or there is no life) 'he (she) has no soul, lifeless'; *šanleri yoq* (*Giianlerrı jok*, zy hebben geen Ziel, of daer is geen Leven in haer Liederen. = they have no soul (life), or there is no life in their limbs) 'they have no soul, they are dead'; *šan sat-* 'to sell one's soul (figurative)' Cf. Osm. TRS1. *canını şeytana satmak* 'zaprodāt dušu čertu'; *šan satar* (*Giian zatar*, hy verkoopt een Ziel, of zijn Ziel. = he sells souls, or he sells his own soul); *šan ver-* 'to die, to breathe one's life' Cf. Osm. TRS1. *can vermek*; *šan verür* (*Giian verruz*,²² hy geeft zijn Ziel, of Leven over. = he gives his soul or life out); *šanım* (*Gianım*, mijn Ziel. = my life) '(Interjection) My dear one!

²¹ The Dutch translation and the plural form of the expression (*šanleri yoq*) suggest that the original form may have been *šanı yoq* ending with *ı* pronounced casually (or deteriorating before *y*).

²² *z* is mistakenly exchanged for *r*.

ʃ a n s i s (*Giiânsis*, zonder Ziel. = soulless) 'lifeless, soulless' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *ʃansız*

ʃ a ʏ ŝ 'courageous, brave, hero; sergeant' Cf. Osm. *Hazai*: Hars., *Kakuk*: Recherches (with numerous data) *čauš*, Müh., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat. *čavuš*, Osm. *čavuš* [čawš] 'A herald; A pursuivant, a messenger; A sergeant in the army...' < Ar. P.; *ʃaušler* (*Giaousler*, dappere, Itrydbare, twiftgierige. = courageous, pugnacious, bully) Plural; *ʃaušler aralerinde* (*Giaousler aralerinde*, zijnder twift-gierige onder haer: anders *taii* is twift, of oorlog. = there are pugnacious among them: otherwise *taii* quarrel, or war) '1. (there are) pugnacious among them 2. among pugnacious people' See *t a y i* ~ *t a y i n*, too

ʃ a v u ŝ (*Giaw*, een plaets: *giavous*, dapper, Itrydbaer. = *Giaw* it's a place: *giavous*, courageous, pugnacious) 'hero, courageous; pugnacious' Cf. Müh., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat. *čavuš*, Osm. *čavuš* < Ar. P.

ʃ a w 'battlefield, fight; enemy; army' See *ʃ a v u ŝ*. Cf. Tat. Dobr. *ğaw* [ʃaw], K.-Balk. *ʃau* [ʃaw], Tat. Kzk. R. IV, 7 *ʃau* [ʃaw] 'der Krieg, die Baranta, der Feind, das Heer' See Nog., Kumyk *yaw*, too

ʃ a v i s 'nut' See *ʃ e v i s*. Cf. Kumyk *ʃawuz* 'muskatnyj orech' < Ar. < P.

ʃ a z u 'witch, magician' See *ʃ a d i w*. Cf. Osm. *Zenker ʃāzū*, Osm. *Özöncazu* < P.

ʃ e v i s (*Gievis*, een Noot, Hazel-noot: van waer *giavis*, Noot-muskaet. = nut, hazel-nut: hence *giavis*, nut-meg) 'nut' Cf. Crim. Tat. *ʃāviz*, *ʃāvüz*, Tat. Dobr. *ʃeviz* (= *jeviz*), Tat. Dobr. *Mándoky ʃewez*, Osm. *ʃeviz* < Ar. < P.

d a l q a n See *t a l q a n*

d a m b a y (1692 *Dambai*, dieren. = 'animals'; 1705, 1785 id.) 'buffalo' Cf. Osm. dial. TRSl. *dombay* 'bujvol'

d a n e (*Danè*, een Graen, Koorn-graen, in het gemeen een korn, wort ook van grooter dingen gezegt. = grain, seed, usually said also of bigger things) 'seed, grain, piece' Cf. KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *dāne* < P.

d a r i d ü n y a (*dari dunja* Deze Waereld²³ = this world) 'this world, transitory world, earth' Cf. Osm. TRSl. *dari-dünnya* 'étot mir, tlennyj (brennyj), mir', Osm. dialect TS *daridünnya* 'Dünnya, yeryüzü' < P., Ar.

d a r i l- 'to get angry, to be offended' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *daril-*; *darildin me?* (*Darildinghme*, zijt gy ontftelt of vertoornt? = are you dismayed or angry?) 'did you get angry? are you offended?' Definite Past Tense 1st P. Singular, Interrogative; *darilma* (*Darilma*, ontzet uw niet. 'don't be angry' Imperative mood, Negative (prohibitive) Form, 2nd P. Sing.

²³ See note 19.

*D a u d*²⁴ (*Daoud*, David.) 'David' Cf. CC *daud* 'David', Nog. *Daut*, Osm. Zenker *dāūd* < Ar.; *Dayd paša* (*Daoud pascia*, de Oversten David: = David principal) 'David pasha' Cf. Osm. *dāwud paša*

d a w ē l (*Daüel*, een Trommel.) 'drum' Cf. Tat. Dobr. *davilli*, Osm. R. III, 1646 *davil*, Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Osm. *davul* < Ar.

d e - 'to say, to speak' Cf. Tuhf., Qaw. (*dä-*), Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *de-*; *dedüm* (*Dedum*, ik heb gezegt. = I said) Definite Past Tense, 1st P. Singular

d e l i (*Delî*, een Zot.) 'silly, fool' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *deli*

d e l i k (*Delik*, een gat.) 'rift, orifice' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *delik*
d e m i r (*Demir*, Yzer.) 'iron' Cf. Müh., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *demir*

d e n i s (1692 *Denis*, de zee. 1705, 1785 *Denis*, *denghis*, de Zee.) 'sea' Cf. KarK, Osm. *deniz*

d e η i s 'sea' See *d e n i s*. Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Osm. *deñiz*

d e p e ~ *tepe* (*Deppe-teppe*,²⁵ de top van een Berg, ook een Heuvel. = the peak of a mountain, or a hill) 'mountain, peak of a mountain, hill' Cf. Müh. *tepe*, Osm. *depe* ~ *tepe*, KarK, *tepe*

d e r e (*Deré*, een Valeye, Dal of laegte. = valley, cavity, lowland) 'brook, valley, hollow, precipice' Cf. Qaw. *därä*, Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *dere* < P.

*d e r d*²⁶ (*Derd*, tegenſpoet, fmрте. = trouble, pain) 'trouble, sorrow, pain' Cf. Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *dert* < P.

d e r y a (*Derja*, het Aerdryk. = the universe, earth) 'big water, river, sea, ocean' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, Osm. *derya* < P.

d e v i t (*Devit*, een Inkt.-kooker.) 'ink-pot' Cf. CC *duvat*, Tarj. *dävät*, KarK, *devet*, Osm. *divit* [dwyt] < Ar.

d e v l e t (*Deflet*, uitmuntend, verheven, gelukkig. = excellent, magnificent, happy) 'wealth, happiness, high rank (estate)' Crim. Tat., KarH, Nog. (*dävlet*), Kumyk, Osm. *devlet* 'Prosperity; good luck; high estate' < Ar.

d e v l e t l ü (*Defletlou*, een die uitmuntende, verheven is. = what (who) is excellent, majestic) 'powerful, rich, happy' Cf. Tuhf., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *devletli*, *devletlü* 'official title; illustrious, excellent (applied to officials of the first and highest class only)'

²⁴ The word final *-d* > *-t* change was just underway, so the word can be both read with *-d* and *-t*.

²⁵ Most probably, hyphenation does not denote that it is an echo word, but that they are alternatives.

²⁶ See note 24.

*d é g'*²⁷ 'to touch, to reach' Cf. Bul., Crim. Tat. *däg-* (= *deg-*), Osm. *dey-* [dkmk]; *dég'me* (*Deyghme*, ftoot of *raekt dat niet*. = don't take it, or don't touch it) Imperative Mood, Negative (Prohibitive) Form, 2nd P. Singular

*d é g' i r m e n*²⁸ (*Deyghirmen*, een Moolen.) 'mill' Cf. KarK, *degirmen*, 17th century Osm. (Németh, Illésh.) *degirmenc''i* 'Müller', Osm. TS *değirmen* *d e y ü l* 'no, not' (Negative Particle of the Compound Nominal Predicate)

Cf. Arm.-Kipch. *dugul*, KarK *dügül*, 17th century Osm. (Németh, Illésh.) *degjil* (= *degil*), Hazai, Hars. *degil*, Osm. TS *değil*, Chag. R. III, 1660 *dägül*

d i š (*Dis*, een Tand.) 'tooth' Cf. Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *diš* *d i v a n*²⁹ ~ *divane* 'fool' Cf. Crim. Tat. *divanät*, Osm. *dīvāne*, Chag. Eastern Turkic R. III, 1779 *divanä* < P.

d o m u s 'hog, pig' See *d o n u s*. Cf. KarK, Tat. *Dobr.*, Osm. *domuz* *d o n u s* ~ *doņus*³⁰ (*Dönous*, een Varken; de uitspraak is *domous*. = pig, the pronunciation is *domous*) 'hog, pig' Cf. Qaw. *donğuz*, KarT, Kumyk, Osm. *doñuz* [tʷkwz]

d ö r d i n ğ i (*Dordingii*, de vierde.) 'fourth' Cf. KarK *dordunği*, Tat. *Dobr.*, Mándoky *dördünğisi* Osm. *dördinği*

d ö r t (*Dort*, vier.) 'four' Cf. CC, Tarĵ., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. *Dobr.*, Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *dört* ~ *dört*

d u r (*Dour*, ronde-danffen. = to dance a round dance) 'round, turning' Cf. Kumyk *tur*, Osm. TRS1. *tur* 'tur; krug; oborot; turne; progulka' < French *tour*

*d ü n y a*³¹ 'world' Cf. CC *dunjá*, *dünja* etc., Arm.-Kipch. *dunja*, KarK *dünje*, Tat. *Dobr.*, Nog., Kumyk *dünja* ~ *dünja*, K.-Balk. *dünija*, Osm. TS *dünja* < Ar.

d ü d ü k (*Duduk*, een Fluit.) 'flute, flageolet' Cf. Idr., Tarĵ., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., Tat. *Dobr.*, Kumyk, Osm. *düdük* ~ *düdük*

d ü g' m e (*Duighmè*, een knopp, een knop.) 'bow, knot, bundle; button' Cf. Idr., Tuhf. (Turkm. dial.) *dügme*, Crim. Tat., KarK *dögme*, 17th century Osm. (Németh, Illésh.) *duc''me* (= *düg'me*), Osm. TS *düğme*

d ü g' ü m 'knot, noose, slip-knot' Cf. Osm. TS *düğüm düğ'ümler* (*Dughumler*, kluwens. = balls (knots))

d ü š e k (*Doušciék*, een Bed.) 'resting-place, bed; mattress' Cf. Osm. *düşek* 'Anything spread to be lain or slept on; especially a mattress'

e f (*Eff*, een Huis.) 'house' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarĵ. (*äv*), Müh., Tuhf. (Turkm. dial.), Qaw. (*äv*), Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *ev*

²⁷ See the sound *g'* for a detailed explanation.

²⁸ See note 27.

²⁹ It is a word of the poem. The original final *e* (*divane*) was dropped for the sake of the rhyme. See also note 19.

³⁰ The version with *n* is more probable, as other data also include *n* in place of *η*.

³¹ See note 19.

é g' e r (*Eigher*, een Zael) 'saddle' Cf. CC *eyer*, Idr. *ägär*, Idr. Haş. *eđer* ~ *eyer*, Müh. *eyerçi* 'eđerçi, saraç', Tuhf. *eyer*, Qaw. *äyär*, Dur. *äyär*, Crim. Tat. *äjär* (= *eyer*), Tat. Dobr. *eyer*, 17th century Osm. (Németh, Illésh.) *eyer*, *Maggio* (Kenessey, 68) *eyerle-* 'to saddle', Hazai, Hars. *eger* [eđer], Osm. *eyer* [akr; ayr], Chag. Tar. R. I, 695 *ägär* 'Sattel'

ē l g e n (1692 *Eelgen*, groen kruit. 1705, 1785 *Eelgen*, groen Kruid. = green grass, spice, cabbage) ?

e m ā n e t (*Emanet*, een pand, of iets dat vertrouwt word. = pledge, or a thing entrusted to somebody) 'pledge, pawn, a thing or a thing entrusted to somebody' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *emanet* (*emānet*) < Ar.

e r i k (*Erik*, een Pruiim.) 'plum' Cf. CC, KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *erik*

e s k' e r (*Eskjer*, Krygs-leger. = war (battle) camp) 'army; combatant, soldier' Cf. KarK, Nog. *esker* ~ *äsker*, Kumyk *asger*, Osm. R. I, 880 *äskär* < Ar.

e t m e k (*Etmek*, Brood.) 'bread' Cf. CC, Tarj. (*ätmäk*), Müh., Crim. Tat., KarH, Kumyk, Osm. *etmek*; *etmek al* (*Etmek al*, neemt Brood. 'take some bread')

e y l e- 'to make, to do' Cf. Qaw. *äylä-*, Crim. Tat. EČel. *neyle-* [$< ne + eyle-$], Crim. Tat. *äilä-* (= *eyle-*), KarK *eylä-*, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *eyle-*; *ne eyler-sin?* (*Neeilerzin*, . . . wat doet gy? = what are you doing) Aorist 2nd P. Singular

e v See *e f*

e ž d e h a (*Esdeha*, een Draek.) 'dragon' Cf. KarK *ažidaži*, KarT *aždaya*, Tat. Dobr. *ažderya*, Nog. *azdaa*, Kumyk *aždaha*, Osm. *eždeha* [aždha] < P.

f ā l i k (*Falik*, een huuwbare Dochter. = nubile) 'adult girl, marriageable girl' Cf. Osm. *fālik* < Ar.

f a n a r (*Fanar*, Lantaern.) 'lamp' Cf. CC *fanar*, Osm. R. IV, 1910 *fanar* < Greek

f e r ā χ (*Feragh*, verheuging, blijdschap.) 'pleasure, gaiety' Cf. Osm. *ferāh* < P. < Ar.

f e r e ŷ e (*Feregje*, het Opperkleed, Mantel.) 'overgarment, overcoat' Cf. Crim. Tat. *färäjä*, Osm. *ferāje* < Ar.

f e r m ā n (*Ferman*, bevel, befluit.) 'command, order' Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K *ferman*, Osm. *fermān* < P.

f e r m ū d e (*Fermoude*, dat gelaft, of bevoolen is. = that, which has been entrusted) 'commission, command, decree' Cf. Osm. *fermūde* < P.

f e r z e n d (*Ferzend*, een Jongen.) 'boy, child' Cf. Osm. *ferzend* < P.

f i l ŷ a n (*Filgian*, een drink-kopje. = drinking-cup) 'cup' Cf. KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. vulgar *filjan* < Ar.

f i s l i g e n (*Fisligen*, een handvat in 't byzonder, een Zilver Lampet. = a bowl with handle, mostly a silver jug) ?

fransıs (*Francıs*, een Europaen. = European) 'French man, European' Cf. Osm. R. IV, 1952 *fransız*

fuşı (*Fougıı*, een Ton of Vat.) 'barrel, vessel' Cf. Crim. Tat. *fuçu* ~ *fıçı*, KarK, Osm. *fuçı*

fulaq ³² (*Fulake*, gevangenis, ftok, of bewaerplaets. = imprisonment, stick, or place of punishment) 'a staff with a loop of rope let through two holes by which the feet of a culprit are held up for the bastinado' Cf. Osm. *falaqa* < Greek

g'el- 'to come' Cf. Crim. Tat. *gäl-*, KarK *kel-*, Kumyk *gel-*, Osm. *gelmek*; *g'eldi* (*Jeldi*, hy is gekomen. = he came) Definite Past Tense 3rd P. Singular

g'erek ~ *k'erek* (*Jerek*, 't is noodig) 'must; necessary' Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., K.-Balk. *kerek*, Crim. Tat., Kumyk, Osm. *gerek*; *g'erek ol-*, *g'erek olur* 'must, it will be necessary' See *aşa-*

g'izli (*Jisli*, verborgen.) 'hidden, secret' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *gizli*

g'ül (*Juil*, een Roos.) 'rose' Cf. CC *gül* 'Blume', Idr., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *gül* ~ *göl*; < P.

g'ül-, ~ *k'ül-* 'to laugh, to smile' Cf. Crim. Tat., Osm. *gül-*, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *kül* ~ *k'ül-*; *g'ülmek* ~ *k'ülmek* (*Juilmek*, lachen.) 'to laugh, to smile' (Infinitive); *g'üler* ~ *k'üler* (*Juiler*, hy lacht. = he laughs) Aorist, 3rd P. Singular

g'ümüş ~ *k'ümüş* (*Jumis*, Zilver.) 'silver' Cf. KarK *gumuş*, Kumyk *g'ümüş*, Osm. *gümüş*; Arm.-Kipch. *kumuş*, karK *kümüş*, KarK, Tat. Dobr., K.-Balk. *kümüş* ~ *k'ümüş*

g'ümlek (*Jumlek*, een Hemd.) 'shirt' Cf. Osm. *gömlük*

g'ün ~ *k'ün* 'day' See *her*; Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *gün* ~ *gün*, Arm.-Kipch. *kun*, Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., K.-Balk. *kün* ~ *kün*

g'üzgü See *k'üzgü*

g'albe (*Galbe*, overhand, overwinning) 'victory, superiority, dominance' Cf. Osm. TS *galebe* 'Yenme, yengi; Üstünlük' < Ar.

gam (*Gam*, hardzeer, droefheit.) 'pain, sorrow, sadness' Cf. CC *gam*, Crim. Tat. *gam*, KarK *gam*, *gam*, Osm. *gam* < Ar.; *gam ye-* 'to grieve, to sorrow', *gam yeme* (*Gam jeme*, bedroeft uw niet: eigenlijk, hebt geen fmerte of

³² According to Redhouse's Osm. data the vowels of the word are reduced ($\hat{a} = a$; here \hat{e}). Next to the labially uttered *f* this changeable reduced sound, which was indefinitely articulated already in Crim.Tat., came to be labialized and articulated more fully. The vowel of the second syllable was also altered upon the influence of the subsequent stressed syllable. Thus: *fələqə* > *fʷləqə* *fulaqə* > (here: *fulaqə*). However, *u* might simply indicate a velar reduced sound as well (\hat{e}).

droefheit. = don't be sad : actually don't have pain or sorrow) 'don't be sad, don't take it to your heart' Cf. Osm. *gam yemek*

ğ a r ĩ b (*Garīb*, een vreemdeling. 'foreigner' Cf. CC *yarip*, KarK, *ğarip*, KarHT *ğarīb*, Tat. Dobr. *garip*, Osm. *garip* < Ar.

gaḡya (*Gauga*, beroerte, oproer. = apoplexy, revolt, riot) 'discord, quarrel, fight' Cf. Crim. Tat. *gaḡya* 'der Streit, Feindschaft', Osm. (Hazai, Hars.) *gauga* (*gauga*) *kavga* 'Streit; Zank', Osm. *gawga*, vulgar *qawga* < Ar. [*ḡwya*]

ğ a y b ~ *gayēb* (*Gaiḡb*, verloren, afwezen.) 'the lost thing, the missing thing; the lost' Cf. Crim. Tat. *gaiḡp*, Crim. Tat. M-K *ğayīb*, KarK *gayīp*, Osm. *ghā'ib*, vulgar *gāyīb* < Ar.

ğ a y r ē (*Gairē*, een ander, iets anders.) 'other, another' Cf. Crim. Tat. *gayrī*, KarK *gayrī*, Osm. *gayrī* < Ar.

h a w a (*Hawa*, de Lucht.) 'air; weather' Cf. CC *hava* [haua], Crim. Tat. *hawa*, KarK *ḡawa*, Osm. *hava* < Ar.

h a w e s (*Hawes*, tegenſpoet, tegenſtand, toutmoedigheid. = trouble, opposition, daring) 'passion, inclination, mood' Cf. Crim. Tat. *hawās* ~ *hāvās*, KarK, *ḡawes*, 'želanie, stremlenie, žažda', Osm. *haves* ~ *heves* < Ar.

h e d a ~ *hīda* (< *huda*) (1692 *Heda* betekent, in het Crims, den hemel. = *Heda* means, in Crimean, the sky; 1705, 1785 *Heda*, den Hemel. = the sky) 'firmament, sky' Perhaps it can be connected to the Osman-Turkish word *huda* 'god' of Persian origin (cf. Osm. TS, TRS1. *Huda*). Thus the meaning of the word 'heaven' (= dwelling place of god) would be intelligible.

h e l ā k (*Helaek*, ondergang, verbreking, uitroeying.) 'decay, deterioration, decline' Cf. Crim. Tat. *hālāk*, Osm. *helāk* < Ar.

h e m d e n ~ *h e m d e m* (*Hemden*, laefsten adem. = the last breath) 'intimate friend' Cf. Osm. *hemdem* < P.

h e m ā n (*Heman*, nu voort, aen tonds. = 10, start, immediately, at once) 'immediately, instantly; almost' Cf. Crim. Tat. *hāman* 'sogleich, ebenso', Osm. *hemān* < P.

h e r 'every, each' Cf. CC, Tuhf. *her*, Bul. *hār*, Arm.-Kipch. *har*, KarK *ḡer*, Osm. *her* < P.; *her adem* (*Her adem*, elk Menſch.) 'every man'; *her g'ün* ~ *her k'ün* (*Her juin*, alle daeg.) 'every day'; *her k'im* (*Herkjim*, elk een.) 'anybody'; *her k'iſi* (*Herkjigi*,³³ alle man.) 'all, everybody'; *her zaman* (*Hersaman*, altyd.) 'always, continually'

h e r d e m (*Herdem*, geſtadig, altyd.) 'without a break, continuous, always' Cf. Osm. *her dem* < P.

h e r k' e s (*Herkjes*, t'elkemael. = all the time, the prevailing occasion) 'always' Cf. Arm.-Kipch. *Vásáry harkjez* < P.

³³ *Witsen* also recorded its correct form: *k'isi* (*Kjiffi*). The given expression can only be reconstructed as **her k'ič*, or **her k'iji*, if the correctly spelt word is assumed to be **Herkjigi*.

h i l ā l (*Hilal*, de nieuwe Maen : maer *chalal*, een Tande-ftooker. = the new moon ; but *chalal* is toothpick) 'new moon' Cf. Osm. *hīlal* 'The new moon, the crescent' < Ar.

h i m m e t (*Himmat*, bekommering, zorg, voorneme. = sadness, trouble, plan) 'trouble, provision, goodwill' Cf. Osm. *himmēt* < Ar.

h i r s e y i r ~ *hīrseg'ir* ~ *hīrsek'ir* (*Hirfejir*, die iets bekommt das waerdig is. = who gets something valuable, who gets what he deserves)

h ü w e (*Hüe*, die, hy. = that, he) 'he, it ; God' Cf. Osm. *huwe* (= hüwe) 'he, it ; God' ; It must be noted that the *invocatio* (da'vet) of Muslim diplomas, thus among others that of the Crimean khans, often consists only of the word هو 'He (= God)' written with golden letters (Matuz 61—62).

H ü s e y n 'a masculine name' See *X a l i l* and *X a s a n* ; Cf. Osm. *huseyn* (= hüseyñ) < Ar.

χ a d i m (*Chadim*, een Dienst-meit. = maid ; *Chadim Eunuch*, gefnedene Dienst-booden. = castrated servants) 'eunuch ; servant' Cf. Crim. Tat. *χadim*, KarK *χadim*, Osm. *χadim* < Ar. ; *χadimler* (*Chadimler*, gefnedenen. = the castrated) Plural

χ a i n (*Chain*, oproerige, ook afvallige. = inciting, turbulent, faithless, perjurer) 'unfaithful, traitor, perjurer, ungrateful ; rebel' Cf. Osm. *χā'in* < Ar. ; See *χayin*, too

χ ā l (*Hāl-hala*, de tegenwoordigheid, nu terftond. = the present, immediately) 'the present time' Cf. Osm. *hāl* < Ar. ; See *χ ā l ā*, too

χ ā l ā 'at present, now ; still, yet' See *χ ā l* ; Cf. Osm. *hālā* 'At the present time, at present, now ; Still, yet' < Ar.

χ a l a l 'toothpick' See *hīlal* ; Cf. Ar. Johnson *khalāl*, *khilāl* 'A toothpick'

χ a l i (*Chali*, vry, leedig.) 'free, leisure' Cf. Osm. *khalī*, Osm. TRS1. *halī* < Ar.

X a l i l (*Chalil*, *Hasan* of *Huseyn*, eige Namen. = proper names) 'Halil' Cf. Osm. *khalīl* 'An intimate friend ; A proper name of men' < Ar.

χ a l q a (*Halka*, een Ring.) 'ring' Cf. CC *χalqa*, Crim. Tat. M-K *halqa*, KarK *χalqa*, Osm. *halqa* < Ar.

χ a l w a (*Halwa*, Confituur Zuiker.) 'a certain Oriental sweet dish' Cf. Crim. Tat. *hālva*, KarK *χalwa*, Nog. *χalwa*, Osm. *halvā*, *helwa* < Ar.

χ a l v e t (*Halvet*, oorlof.) 'holiday, permission ; farewell' Cf. Osm. *khalvet* 'Solitude, loneliness ; A retired place, . . .' < Ar.

χ a m (*Cham*, raeuw.) 'unripe, immature' Cf. CC *χam*, KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *ham* ~ *kham* < P.

χ a m u r (*Chamur*, Zuur-dezem. = sour dough) 'dough, leaven' Cf. CC *χamyur*, KarK, Kumyk *hamur*, Osm. *khamur* < Ar.

χ ā n (*Chân*, Konink, Tytel van de Konink. = king, the title of the king) 'sovereign, khan' Cf. CC *χan*, Arm.-Kipch. *χan*, Crim. Tat. EČel. *χān*, KarK, Nog., Kumyk *han*, Osm. *khān*

χ a n (*Chân*, een Gebouw, gemeene Herberg. = building, common tavern, inn; *Chandur*³⁴ een Herberg. = hostelry) 'hostelry, inn' Cf. Crim. Tat. Osm. R. II, 1663 *χan* < P. < Ar.

χ a n ĵ ā r (*Changiâr*, Mes, Pook, Turks Mes, dat ze in de gordel dragen. = knife, dagger, the Turks' knife worn in the girdle) 'knife, khandjar' Cf. Crim. Tat. Osm. R. II, 1666 *χanĵâr*, Osm. *khanjer*, vulg. *khanchar* < Ar.

χanĵi (*Changiî*, Caltelein, oppaffer van een Herberg. = innkeeper, servant of an inn) 'tavern keeper' Cf. Osm. *khanji* 'An innkeeper'

χ a r ā m (*Harâm*, dat in de Wet verboden is, ongeoorloft, vervloekt. = that which is forbidden by law, not allowed, not wanted) 'forbidden' Cf. CC *χaram*, KarK *χaram*, Osm. *harâm* < Ar.

χ a r d a l (*Chardal*, Kars. = candle)

χ a r d e l (*Chardel*, Moftaert.) 'mustard' Cf. Osm. *khardel*, vulg. *khardal* < Ar.

X a s a n (*Hasan* of *huseyn*, eigen Naem.) 'Hasan (proper name)' Cf. Osm. *Hasan* < Ar.

χ a s ĩ r (*Chazir*, een Mat, alles wat med ſpreid, Tapyt. = rush, matting, everything that man spreads out, carpet) 'mat (carpet)' Cf. CC *χasyr* 'Matte', Crim. Tat. *hasir*, Osm. *hasır* < Ar.

χ a w a n (*Hawan*, zachtmoedigheid en matigheid. = gentleness and moderation) 'gentleness, tenderness' Cf. Osm. *hevn* [hwn] 'A being easy; facility; A being slow and leisurely' < Ar.; *χawan ile* (*Hawanilè*, met zachtmoedigheid.) 'meekly, tenderly; lightly' See *ile*, too.

χ a v i y ā r (*Chavijaer*, Cavijaer.) 'caviar' Cf. Osm. *havyar*

χ a y i n (*Chajin*, bedrieger, verleider. = deceiver, tempter) 'deceiver, traitor, ungrateful' Cf. Osm. *khâ'in*, vulg. *khâyın* < Ar.; See *χ a i n*, too

χ a y w a n (*Hairwân*, een Dier.) 'animal' Cf. KarK *χaywan*, Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal *hayvan*, Osm. vulg. *haywân* < Ar.

χ a z e r e t ~ *χazret* (*Hazeret*, Heerlijkheit.) 'gentleman, squire, dignity' Cf. Crim. Tat. Osm. R. II, 1771 *hazrât*, KarK *hazrat*, Osm. *hazret* < Ar.

χ a z ĩ r (*Hazir*, gereed, bereid, tegenwoordig.) 'ready, willing; now' Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK *hazır*, KarK *χazır*, Osm. *hâzır* < Ar.

χ ĩ r k é (*Chirkè*, een Kleed van lappen, dat verachtelijk is. = ragged clothes, that are despised) 'long quilted coat, clothing of a dervish; ragged clothes' Cf. Crim. Tat. *χırχa*, Osm. *khırqa* < Ar.

χ i z m e t (*Chifmet*, een dienft.) 'service, duty' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK *hizmet*, Osm. *khizmet*, *hizmet* < Ar.

i b r i k (*Ibrik*, een koopere kan, gemeenlijk de Koffe-kan. = brass-jug, usually coffee-pot) 'coffee-(tea-)pot with spout' Cf. Osm. TS *ibrik* < Ar.

i g é r m i (*Igermî*, twintig.) 'twenty' Cf. Osm. R. I, 1428 *igirmi*

³⁴ See note 19.

ile 'with, together with (postposition) 'See *çawan* Cf. Osm. TS *ile ilg* See *ilig*

ilig ~ *ilg* (*Iligh* of *Ilgh*, merg.) 'marrow' Cf. CC *jilik*, Osm. KarL Chag. R. I, 1484 *ilik* 'Knochenmark'

imansıs (*Eimanfis*, ongeloovig, of die geen geloof verdiend. = unbeliever, he who does not follow any religion) 'unbeliever' Cf. Crim. Tat. *imansız*, KarK *iman* 'vera', Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal *imansız*, Kумык *imansız*, Osm. *iman-sız* < Ar. *imān* + Affix *-sız* (privative suffix)

inne (*Innè*, een Naelt.) 'needle' Cf. Tuhf. *iyne*, KarH *ine*, Tat. Dobr., Nog., K.-Balk., Osm. *iyne*, Lebed, Soyon R. I, 1446 *innä* 'die Nadel'

iste- 'to want, to wish, to mean' Cf. Müh., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *iste-*; *isterüm* (*Isterzum*,³⁵ *isterrum*, ik zal, of ik trachte te doen. = I will, or intend to do something) Aorist, 1st P. Singular

išlä- See *išle-*

išle- ~ *išlä-* 'to do, to make, to work' Cf. CC *išlemek*, Tuhf. *išle-*, Müh. *išlemek*, Arm.-Kipch. *išla-*, KarTK *išle-*, KarT *išl'ä-*, Tat. Dobr., Kумык, Osm. *išle-*; *ne išlärsén* ~ *ne išlersén* (1692 *Neiflasen*,³⁶ ofte *Neiflersen*, wat doet ghy. 1705, 1785 *Neeilerzin*, *Neiflasen*, of *Neiflersen*, wat doet gy?) 'what are you doing?' Aorist 2nd P. Singular

it (1692 *It*, een hont. 1705, 1785 *It* of *kjopek*, een Hond.) 'dog' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Crim. Tat., Kумык, K.-Balk., Osm. *it*, Nog. *iyt*

(*Jumga*, Zatyn. = satin?) ?

(1692 *Jtzjala*,³⁷ een geit. 1705, 1785 id.) 'she-goat' ?

k' a γ ĩ t (*Kjaghıt*, Papier.) 'paper' Cf. CC *kayıt*, Idr. *qağıt*, Tarj. *kegit*, Tuhf. *kagıt*, Qaw. *kāğid*, Crim. Tat. M-K *kay'ıd*, KarHT *kay'ıt*, Tat. Dobr. Mándoky *k'āt*, Nog. *kay'ıt*, K.-Balk. *qay'ıt*, Osm. *kyāghid* [kaγd] < P.

k' ā m i l (*Kjamıl* of *Kemāl*, volmaekt.) 'complete, whole; ready; perfect' Cf. KarK *k'amıl*, Kумык *kamıl*, Osm. *kyāmıl* < Ar.

k' e d i (*Kjedi*, een Katte.) 'cat' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *keđi*

k' e f e n (*Kjefen*, het Dood-kleed.) 'a shroud, winding-sheet' Cf. KarK *kefin*, Osm. Crim. Tat. R. II, 1199, 1200 *käfän* ~ *käfin* < Ar.

³⁵ A distorted form, probably of *Isterzun* or *Isterrum*. Several examples of the gemination of "r" can be quoted. *istersün* might be Aorist 2nd P. Sing., but the Dutch translation does not recognize it.

³⁶ One may assume on the basis of the expression (*Neiflersen*), which is identical in meaning and grammatical form, that the correct entry was *Neiflarfen*.

³⁷ The first part of the so far undeciphered item (*Jtz-*) might be the word *kčĭ* ~ *kečĭ* 'goat'. In several words of the glossary *j* = *k'* and *tz* = *č* are regular correspondences. The second component (*-jala*) might be the misspelt form of *bala* 'child: offspring of animal'. In this way, the given meaning could be explained and the expression reproduced as *kečĭ bala(sĭ)*.

- k e f i l* (*Kefil*, een Borg.) 'a bail' Cf. KarK *kefil*, Osm. *kefil* < Ar.
k' e l- See *g' e l-*
- k' e l i* (*Kjeli*, Vaten.) 'handle, holder; pounder' Cf. CC *keli* 'Mörser-keule', Tuhf., Tarj. (*käli*), KarK *keli*, Nog. Kumyk, Kzk. R. II, 1116 *keli*
k' e m (*Kjem*, te weinig.) 'few' Cf. Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *kem* < P.
k e m ā l 'whole, full, perfect(ion); maturity' See *k' a m i l*; Cf. Crim. Tat. *kāmal*, Osm. *kemāl* < Ar.
k' e m e n d (*Jemend*, Touw, Koorde. = cord, string) 'cord, lasso, noose' Cf. Tat. Dobr. *kemen* 'lasso, arkan', Osm. *kemend* < P.
k' e m i k (*Jemik*, een Been.) 'bone' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Nog. *kemik*, Kumyk *gemik* 'chrjašč', K.-Balk. *kemik* süjek 'chrjašč', Osm. *kemik*
k' e m n u n (*Kjemnoun*, zorgvuldig.) 'careful' ?
k' e r e k See *g' e r e k*
k' e r e m i t (*Kjeremit*, Pannen Teegelen. = roof tiles, bricks) 'roof tile' Cf. Tat. Dobr. *kiremit* 'dachówka', Osm. *kiremid* 'A roof-tile'
k' e r e w i s (*Kjerewis* of *Kjjuas*,³⁸ word gebruikt voor Kars, en voor Water-kars. = cherry is called this way) 'celery' Cf. Osm. *kereviz* 'Celery, especially, the turnip-rooted celery' < Ar.
k' é r p é (*Kjerpe*, een Slang.) 'hedgehog' Cf. Idr., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Dur., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *kirpi*
k' e r p i ě (*Kjerpids*, gebakken teenen. = burnt stones) 'brick' Cf. CC *kerpič* 'ungebrannter Ziegel', Idr. *kärpüç*, Tarj. *kärpič*, Müh., Bul., Tuhf. *kirpič*, KarK *kerpič*, Kumyk *kerpič*, Osm. *kirpich* [krpyč, krpj]
k' e r t i k (*Kjertik*, rimpelen, ook poeten in 't aengezicht. = wrinkles, or freckles on the face) 'a slight notch, cut, score; wrinkle; freckle' Cf. Idr. Tuhf. *kertik*, Crim. Tat. *kärtik*, KarK, Nog., Osm. *kertik*
k' e š i š (*Kjescisc*, die zich afzonderd, alleen woont; een Monnik. = a man who lives alone, separated from others; monk) 'hermit, monk' Cf. Tuhf. *keşiş* 'rahip, papas', Kumyk Osm. *keşiş* 'A Christian priest, monk, or hermit' < P.
k' e y i k (*Kjeik*, een Hart. = stag, hart) 'deer, stag, hind; (usually) a wild beast, Cf. Tarj. *käik*, Tuhf., Müh. *kijik*, Dur. *käjik*, KarKTH, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *kijik*, Osm. *geyik*
k i l- 'to come' Cf. Tat. *kil-*, otherwise in all the languages nearby: *kel-*; *kil beri* (1692 *Kilberi*, komt hier. 1705, 1785 id.) 'come here' See also *ber i*
k' i l e (*Kjilè*, een Kooren maet. = a quantity of grain) 'bushel' Cf. Osm. *kile* 'A bushel' < Ar.
k' i m (*Kjim*, wie?) 'who?' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., Tat. Dobr., KarHT, Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *kim*

³⁸ Correctly: *Kjiras*

k i m e t (*Kimet*, waerde.) 'value' Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K *qimet*, Tat. Dobr. *q̄imet*, Osm. *q̄imet* < Ar.

k i r a (*Kira*, Huur, Huis-huur.) 'wage, rent' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. *kira* < Ar.

k' i r a s 'cherry' See *k' e r e w i s*; Cf. Osm. *krāz*, *krās*

k' i s e (*Kjisè*, een zak. = small bag; *Kjise*, een Beurs. = purse, pouch) 'purse, small bag' Cf. KarK *kese*, Nog., Kumyk, Osm. TRS1 *kise*

k i š (1692 *Cis*, een zabel-dier. 1705, 1785 id.) sable (*Martes zibellina*) Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., Kumyk *kiš*

k' i š i (*Kjiffi*, iemand. = somebody; See also *her*) 'man' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. *kiši*

k' ó p e k 'dog' See *it*; Cf. Idr., Tarj., Bul. (*köpäk*), KarK, Osm. TS *köpek*

k' ó r (*Kjor*, Blind.) 'blind' Cf. CC *kör* (cor), Tuhf., Qaw., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. TS *kör*, Nog. *kór* < P.

k' ü l- See *g'ül-*

k' ü l l i (*Kjulli*, allen.) 'all, the whole' Cf. Kumyk *küllü*, Osm. TS *küllü* < Ar.

k' ü m i š See *g'ümiš*

k' ü n See *g'ün*

k' ü r k (*Kjurk*, Bont. = skins) 'fur, fell; fur-coat' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Tuhf. *kürk*, Crim. Tat. *kyrk* 'šuba', Nog. *körük*, *körk* 'mech, mechi (dlja nagnetanija vozducha)', Osm. *kyürk*, Tat. TRS1. *kürek* 'mech'

k' ü z g ü ~ *g'üzgü* (*Jusghu*, een Spiegel.) 'mirror' Cf. CC *küzgü*, Tarj. *küzügü*, Crim. Tat., KarK *küzgü*, Tat. Dobr. Ülkusal *küzgu*, K.-Balk. *küzgü*, Kumyk *güzgü*, Osm. *gyuzgyu* (= gözgü)

q a d i r (*Kadirdur*, hy is magtig of bequaem. = he is powerful, or clever) 'clever, strong, able' Cf. Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk *qadir*, Osm. *qādir* < Ar.

q a f See *qav* I.

q a f t a n (*Kaftan*, een Rok of Boven-kleed. = skirt, or overgarment) 'upper clothes, overcoat; an upper gown or robe with long skirts and sleeves' Cf. KarTH *kaftan*, Tat. Dobr. *qaptan*, Osm. *qaftān*

q a ç p e (*Kahpé*, een Hoere.) 'whore, woman of loose morals' Cf. Nog. *qaçpe*, Osm. *qahbe* < Ar.

q a q u n ~ *qaqum* (*Kakoun*, Bond van Hermeling-vellen. = ermine fur-coat) 'ermine' Cf. Idr. Haş. *ak as* 'as dedikleri derisi makbul hayvanın ak renklisi ki (*kakum*) derler', Osm. *qaqım* ~ *qaqum* 'The ermine', *qaqım kürk* 'An ermine fur' < P.

q a l a (*Kala*, een Kaftel.) 'fort, castle' Cf. CC *qalaa*, Qaw. *qal'a*, Arm.-Kipch. *çala*, KarHT *kala*, Kumyk *qala* < Ar.

q a l e m (*Kalem*, een Pen, Schryf-pen.) 'pen' Cf. CC *qalam*, Crim. Tat., KarK *qalem*, *kalem*, Tat. Dobr. *qalem*, Nog. dial. *qalem*, Osm. TS *kalem*, K.-Balk., Kumyk *qalam* < Ar.

q a l i n (*Kalin*, dik, grof.) 'thick, coarse, dense' Cf. CC *qalyñ*, Idr., Tarj., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK Nog., Kumyk *qalın*, Osm. Ts *kalın*

q a l p a q (*Kalpak*, een Muts, Hoed, dekzel van een Kan of Pot. = high cap, hat, the lid of a can or pot) 'high (fur) cap, hat; (pot-) lid' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, Osm. *qalpaq*

(*Kalfeme*, inzwelging. = swallowing, annexion) ?

q a m i š (*Kamis*, Riet-gewas.) 'reed' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. *qamiš*, Osm. TS *kamiš*

q a n d i l (*Kandil*, een Lamp.) 'wick, torch, lamp' Cf. KarK *qandil* 'lampada, lampadka', Osm. *qandil* < Ar.

q a p i (*Kapi* of *kapou*, de Deur.) 'gate, door' Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *qapı*, Osm. *qapu*, *qapı*

q a p u 'gate, door' See *q a p i*; Cf. Idr., Tarj., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK. Kumyk, Osm. *qapu*

q a r a (*Kara*, Zwart.) 'black' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qara*, Osm, TS *kara*

q a r a b o γ d a y (1692 *Carabogdai*, zeker aerd van gert of grut, daer men pap of brei van maekt. = a sort of hulled, varnished barley (grits, pearl-barley), used for making mush or soup; 1705, 1785 *Carabogdai* of *Cerde*, zeker aert van Gort of Grut, daer men Pap of Brei van maekt. = id.) 'a sort of buckwheat, Fagopyrum vulgare' Cf. Nog. *qara biyday* 'rož', Osm. *qara buyday* 'Spelt', Osm. TRS1. *karabuğday* 'grečicha (Fagopyrum)', Tat. R. II, 136 *qara būday* 'der Buchweizen'

q a r a γ i (*Karaghi*, een houte Pyp of Fluit.) 'pipe, flute'³⁹ Probably related to the homonymous Osm. word meaning 'poker', 'rake': Osm. TRS1. *karaği* 'kočerga'; See also *qarayı* (R. II, 151)

q a r e n f i l (*Karenfil*, Giroffel-nagelen.) 'pink' Cf. KarK *qarenfil*, Osm. *qaranfil* < Ar.

q a r γ a (*Karga*, een Exter.)⁴⁰ 'crow' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Nog., Kumyk *qarγa*, Osm. *qarga*

q a r i (*Kari*, een Vrouw.) 'woman' Cf. Müh. *kari* 'kocamiş erkek ve kadın', Tuhf. *kari* 'ihtiyar, yaşlı', Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. *qarı*, Osm. *qarı*

q a r i n (*Karin*, het Ingewand.) 'belly' Cf. CC *qaryn* 'Bauch', Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qarın*, Osm. TS *karın*

q a r i n ŷ a (*Karingia*, een Mier.) 'ant' Cf. Tarj. *karynča*, Qaw. *karınça*, Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK *qarınça*, Osm. *qarınça*

³⁹ In Crim.Tat. "kuraj" denotes a flute (pipe), cf. Vámbéry, 639; Further data: Kzk. R. II, 921 *qaray* 'eine Art Flöte (bei den Beschikiren)', Crim.Tat. M-K *qaval* 'dudka, svirel.'

⁴⁰ The Dutch word "Exter" means a kind of raven-like bird (*Pica pica*).

q a r y e (*Karîe*, een Dorp, Gehucht.) 'village, hamlet' Cf. Osm. *qarye*, vulgar *qarıyye* 'A village' < Ar.

q a r p u s (*Karpous*, Water-meloen.) 'watermelon' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Tuhf. *qarpuz*, Dur., Qaw. *karbuz*, Crim. Tat. *qarpuz*, Tat. Dobr. *qarpuz*, *qarpiz*, Nog. *qarbiz*, Osm. *qarpuz*

q a s (*Kas*, een Ganze.) 'goose' Cf. CC *qaz*, Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., *kaz*, Dur., Qaw. *qaz*, Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qaz*, Osm. TS *kaz*

q a s a b (*Kassab*, Slacht-huis. = butcher's shop) 'butcher' Cf. CC, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr. *qasap*, Nog. *qasapši* 'mjasnik', Osm. TS *kasap* < Ar.

q a s a v e t (*Kassavet*, verdrukking, benaeuwtheit.) 'sorrow, fear, anxiety, anguish' Cf. Crim. Tat. *qasavät* 'die Grobheit, Härte, Traurigkeit, der Kummer, Betrübnis', Crim. Tat. M-K *qasevet* 'zabota, trevoga', Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal 44 *kasvet*, Kumyk *qasavat*, Osm. *qasävet* < Ar.

q a š i k (*Kafik*, een Lepel.) 'spoon' Cf. Idr., Müh., Tarj., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qašiq*, Osm. TS *kaşık*

q a t a r (*Katir* of *Kati*,⁴¹ een hoop Beesten, een drift. = a group of animals, pack, herd) 'a line or chain consisting of something' Cf. Nog. *qatar* 'rjad, stroj; šrenga; staja', Osm. *qatar* 'A string or file of beasts of burden; A file of men following one another in a series' < Ar.

q a t i r 'mule' See *q a t a r*; Cf. CC, Bul. *qatyr*, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal, Osm. *katır*

q a v I. ~ *qaf* ~ *qaw* (*Kav* of *kaf*, Tontel, Zwillig)⁴² 'tinder' Cf. CC *qov* 'Zunder', Idr. *qav*, Tarj. *kaw*, Müh. *kavlık* 'çakmak kabı', Tat. Dobr. *qaw* 'sucha trawa', Nog. *qaw* 'vysochšaja na kornju trava', Osm. *qaw* 'Tinder; touchwood, punk'

q a v II. ~ *qaw* 'vessel, leather bottle, bag' See *q a v* I. Cf. Uig. Caf. *kav* 'küçük bir ölçü' MK *qap* 'Schlauch, Gefäss', CC *çap* 'Sack', Tarj. *kap* 'Sack', KarK *qap* 'mešok', Nog. *qapšiq* 'mešok', Kumyk *qap* 'mešok', K.-Balk. *qabčiq* 'mešok', Osm. *qaw* 'The cast skin of a snake', Tat. TRS1. *qap*; Concerning *b ~ p > w ~ v ~ f* see RäsLautg. 172—73.

q a y n (*Kaoun*, Pompoen.) 'musk-melon' Cf. CC *qovun*, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur. *qavun*, KarK *qavun*, Tat. Dobr. *qavun*, Tat. Dobr. Mándoky, Kumyk, Osm. *qavun*, Osm. Hazai, Hars. *kavun* [kaun], Tat. Kzk. R. II, 52 *qavun*

q a y y u (*Kaigou*, groote droefheit, geween. = big sorrow, weeping) 'bitterness, sorrow; trouble' Cf. CC *qajyï*, Tarj. *kaigy*, Tuhf. *kaygı*, Tat. Dobr. *qayyu*, Uig. Eastern Turkic, Tar. Baraba R. II, 10 *qayyu*

⁴¹ *Wüsen's* correct item would read "*Katar of Katır*". The conversation must have been about mules (*qatır*) when the word *qatar* 'file of animals' was uttered, and this might have caused the misunderstanding and the distortion of the data.

⁴² The meanings being so different as they are, the two words can be declared homonymous: I. *qav ~ qaw* 'touchwood'. II. *qav ~ qaf ~ qaw* 'sack, bag'

*q a ĭ q*⁴³ ~ *qayiq* (*Kalk*, een Roei- schuit, kleine Bark. = rowboat, small three-masted sailing boat) 'barge, boat' Cf. Crim. Tat. *qaiq*, *qayiq*, Tat. Dobr., KarHT, Nog. Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *qayiq*

*q a y n*⁴⁴ ~ *qayin* (*Kain*, Dennen-hout. = fir-tree, pine 'birch' (*Betula pendula*), beech (*Carpinus betulus*, *Fagus silvatica*), ? fir-tree (*Abies*)' Cf. CC *qajyn*, 'Birke', Nog. *qayin*, Kumyk *qayinaɣač* 'bereza', Osm. *qayn*, *qayın* The hornbeam (*carpinus betulus*), Osm. TRSl. *kayın* 'buk lesnoj (*Fagus silvatica*)'

*q a y š*⁴⁵ ~ *qayış* (*Kais*, een Hals-band. = dog-collar) 'leather strap' Cf. Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw. (*qayš*), Dur., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Kumyk *qayış*, Tat. Osm. Chag. Eastern Turkie R. II, 44—45 *qaiš*

q a z a n (*Kalan*,⁴⁶ een Ketel.) 'kettle, boiler' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Tarj., Tuhf. Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qazan*, Osm. TS *kazan*

q ĭ l (*Kil*, een Haair.) 'single hair, a hair' Cf. Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qil*, Osm. *kil*

q ĭ l- 'to do, to make' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Tarj., Crim. Tat., KarK, Kumyk. K.-Balk. *qil-*, Osm. *kilmak*; *qilmayan* (*Kilmajan*)⁴⁷ Present participle, Negative form

q ĭ l i č (*Kilids*, een Deegen.) 'sword' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw. (*qilič*), Crim. Tat. M-K (*qlič*), KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qilič*, Osm. TS *kılıç*

q ĭ r '(here) wild, living in wilderness' See *q ĭ r d o m u z ĭ*; Cf. Idr. *qır* 'Tepe başı', Bul., Tuhf., Bul., Crim. Tat. *qır* 'das Feld, der Acker', Crim. Tat. M-K *qır* 'gora', Tat. Dobr. *qır* 'pole, step', Osm. *qır* 'Grey; uncultivated, waste land'

q ĭ r d o m u z ĭ (1692 *Cydsmuzy*⁴⁸, bofch-verken. 1705, 1785 *Cydsmuzy*, een Bofch-varken.) 'wild-hog' (*Sus scrofa*)' Cf. *qır* 'wild' + *domuz* 'pig'; Similar compositions are the following: *qır kigi* 'die auf freiem Felde lebenden Thiere, das Wild', *qır qazi* 'die wilde Gans', *qır kăjasi* 'das Reh' (R. II, 732), Tat. R. III, 773 *qır tauyi* 'das Haselhuhn'

q ĭ r q (*Kirk*, veertig.) 'forty' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., KarH, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr. Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *qırq* ~ *kirik*

q ĭ s m e t (*Kismet*, verdeelinge, in deelen. = parts, in parts) 'share, fate' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *qismet*, Kumyk *qışmat*, Osm. *qismet* < Ar.

⁴³ The vowel of the second syllable must have been articulated weaker (it got reduced and/or lost), that is why it was not marked. The fuller form stands after the entry.

⁴⁴ See note 43.

⁴⁵ See note 43.

⁴⁶ Correctly *Kazan* or *Kafan*.

⁴⁷ See note 19.

⁴⁸ Correctly *Cyrdomuzy*.

q i z è l (*Kiffel*, Rood.) 'pink, red' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qizil*, Osm. TS *kızıl*

q o ĉ (*Kods*, een Ram: 't is buiten gebruik het Schaep te neemen *kods kari*,⁴⁹ 't Wyf van den Ram. = ram: one does not call a sheep *kods kari* as it is the ewe (female) of a ram) 'ram' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Crim. Tat., KarK *qoĉ*, Osm. *qoĉh* (= *qoĉ*)

q o ĉ q a r 'ram' See *q o ĉ*; Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Bul., Tuhf., Dur., Qaw. Crim. Tat. Zaatov, KarK, Kumyk *qoĉqar*, Osm. *qoĉqar* 'A very large and powerful ram, kept for fighting'

q o m a ĉ See *q u m a ĉ*

q o n d u s See *q u n d u s*

q o s (*Kos*, Okker-noot.) 'walnut' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Dur., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *qoz*

q o y (1692 *Coi*, een chaep. 1765, 1785 id.) 'sheep' Cf. CC, Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *qoy*

q o y a n (1692 *Cojan*, een haes. 1705, 1785 id.) 'hare, rabbit' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Bul., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qoyan*, Osm. DS *koyan* 'Tavşan'

*q o ĩ n*⁵⁰ ~ *qoyin* ~ *qoyin* (*Koin*, een Schaep; men zegt *kojun*. = sheep; they call it *kojun*) 'sheep' Cf. Osm. [qwyn] = *qoyin*; See also *q o y u n*

q o y r u q See *q u y r u q*

q o y u See *q u y u*

q o y u n 'sheep' See *q o i n*; Cf. Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Osm. *qoyun*

q u d u y ~ *quduq* ~ ? *quzuy* (*Kodfog*,⁵¹ Fontaine.) 'well' Cf. KarK *quduq* 'kolodec'. The form *quduy* strikingly agrees with the Old Turkic data: DTS *quduy* 'kolodec', *quduy* 'kolodec'

q u l (*Koul*, een Knecht, een Slaef.) 'servant, slave' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. Kumyk, K.-Balk. *qul*, Osm. TS *kul*

q u m a ĉ ~ *q o m a ĉ* (*Komads*, aert van Itoffe, Zyde en Bombazyn.) 'cloth, silk' Cf. Kumyk *qumaĉ* 'tkan', material, materija', Tat. Ostroumov *qumaĉ* 'bumažnaja materija' < Ar.

q u n d u s ~ *q o n d u s* (*Kondous*, een Bever.) 'beaver (Castor)' Cf. Tat. Dobr., K.-Balk., Osm. *qunduz*

⁴⁹ (*kods kari*) = *qoĉqarĭ* is either mistaken or an inflection (Accusative). Correctly: *kodskar* (= *qoĉqar*)

⁵⁰ See note 43.

⁵¹ Elsewhere "ds" designates z. The retention of the word final original -g is rare, but possible; the indication of a voiced consonant here may be by analogy, or upon foreign (Russian, German) orthographic influence.

q u r b a γ a (*Kourbaga*, Havik.) 'frog' Cf. Idr., Tarj. (*kurboga*), Tuhf., Osm. TS *kurbağa*

q u r m a (*Kourma*, een Dadel-vrucht.) 'date' Cf. Tarj. *korma*, Tuhf., Bul., Qaw. *qurma*, Nog. *qurma* 'churma, finiki' < P.

q u r t (*Kourt*, een Hout-worm, ook een Wolf.) 'wood-borer, worm; wolf' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *qurt*, Osm. TS *kurt*

q u r u (*Kourou*, droog.) 'dry' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Dur., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., KarK, Kumyk, K.-Balk. *quru*, Osm. TS *kuru*

q u s t a n (*Kustanc*, den Regen-boog, rootheit van de Lucht. = rainbow, the redness of the air (sky)) 'rainbow' Cf. Osm. *qustān* < Ar.

q u š (*Kous*, een Vogel.) 'bird' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Dur., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *quš*, Osm. *kuş*

q u š a q (*Kousciak*, Gordel, Riem.) 'girdle' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. *qušaq*, Osm. *qušāq*

q u š l u q (*Kouslouk*, het tweede deel van de dag, de tyd tu chen den op gang der Zonne en middag. = the second half of the day; the time between sun-rise and noon) 'the time between morning and noon' Cf. Idr., Tarj. (*kuşluk*), Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Kumyk *quşluq*, Osm. [qwšlq] = *quşluq* 'The time of early morning'

q u t i (*Kouti*, een Doos, Bus, Doosjen.) 'box, case' Cf. KarK *quti*, Tat. Dobr. *qutu*, Osm. *qūtu*

q u y r u q ~ *qoyruq* (*Koirouk*, de Staert.) 'tail' Cf. CC *qujruq*, Idr., Tarj., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *quyruq*, Osm. R. II, 505 *qoiruq*

q u y u ~ *qoyu* (*Kojou*, een Put.) 'well' Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *quyu*, Osm. *kuyu*. See also *q u d u γ*

q u v o y ? (1692 *Cuvoi*, een wildegeit. 1705, 1785 *Cuvoi*, een wilde Geit. = wild-(nanny-) goat) ?

q u z u (*Koufu*, een Lammeken.) 'lamb' Cf. Tarj. *kozu*, Müh., Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal 18, Osm. TS *kuzu*

q u z u γ ? See *q u d u γ*

l ā l (*Lal*, een Paerl, maer ook een Smaragdus. = pearl, but emerald too) 'ruby, pearl; precious stone' Cf. CC *laal*, Crim. Tat. *lāl* 'der Rubin', Nog. *lal* 'rubin', Osm. *la'āl* 'A pearl-merchant', *la'l* 'The ruby' < P. < Ar.

l ā l e (*Lale*, Lelie. = l'iy) 'tulip' Cf. Crim. Tat. *lalä*, Tat. Dobr. *lale* 'tulipan', Osm. *lāle* < P.

l ā z i m (*Lafim*, 't is noodig.) 'necessary' Cf. Osm. *lāzım* < Ar.

l e g e n (*Legèn* of *lejen*, een Hand-bekken.) 'bowl, basin' Cf. CC *lağan* (lahan) '(Tauf-)Becken, baptisterium', KarK *legen*, *legen*, *legen*, Kumyk *legen*, Osm. *leken*, vulgar *leyen* 'A large bowl or basin, as a washhand basin' < P.

lehli 'Polish' Cf. Crim. Tat. *lähli* 'polnisch, der Pole, der Karaim aus Polen', KarHT *leh* 'poljak', Osm. *lehli* 'Polish'; *lehliler* (*Lehliler*, Poolen, een Pool. = Poland, Polish) Plural

lelek (*Lelek*, Oyevaer.) 'stork' Cf. Crim. Tat. *lägläk*, KarH *leklek*, Tat. Dobr. *legelek* 'bocian', Osm. TS *leylek* < P.

leşker (*Leskjer* of⁵² *furlemek*, het Leger voeren. = to command the army) 'army, the guards; soldiers' Cf. Osm. *leshker*, Osm. Özön *leşger*, *leşker* 'Asker' < P.

leyen ~ *lek'en* (at Witsen *lejen*) See *legen*

lig'am (*Ligiam*, een Toom. = halter of horse, bridle) 'bridle (with rein and curb-bit); curb-bit' Cf. Osm. *ligyām* 'A bridle; A bit (for a beast's mouth)' < P.

lüle (*Lule*, een Tabaks-pyp, ook een kraentje. = pipe, or little tap, curved tube) 'pipe, the part of a pipe which contains the tobacco' Cf. Osm. *lule* (= *lüle*) 'A pipe, tube' < P.

mač'i (1692 *Matzi*, een kat. 1705, 1785 id.) 'cat' Cf. CC *mačy* (*mazi*) 'Kater', Idr., Tarj. (*mäč'i*), Tuhf., KarKT *mač'i* 'koška', Tat. *mäče* 'koška'

maγrib (*Maghrib*, het Westen.) 'west' Cf. Osm. *magrib* < Ar.

maχrema (*Mahrema*, Hand-doeek.) 'towel' Cf. KarK *maχrama* 'golovnoj platok', Osm. [mqrmh] *mıqreme*, vulgar *maqrama*, *mahrma* 'A cloth used as an apron, towel, handkerchief, etc.' < Ar.

māq (*Maek*, Man-kop. = poppy-head) 'poppy' Cf. Tat. R. IV, 2071 *māk* 'der Mohn' < Russian

maqas (*Makas*, een Schaer.) 'scissors' Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. *maqas* < Ar.

man? ~ *mančenden?* ~ *mančendem?* (1692 *Man* ofte *Cienden*, bosch-paert. 1705, 1785 *Man* of *Ciendem*, Bosch-paerd. = wild horse) ?

maras (*Maras*, Ziekte.) 'illness' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Nog., Osm. *maraz* < Ar.

may (*Maj*, Water.) 'water, liquid' Cf. Osm. *ma'i* vulgar *mayr* 'Liquid, fluid', Osm. TRS1. *ma'i* 'vodjanoj, vodnyj' < Ar.

maymun (*Maimoen*, een Aep.) 'monkey' Cf. CC, Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Kumyk, Osm. *maymun* < Ar.

mek'es (*Mekjes*, veracht.) 'despised' Cf. ? Osm. *mıkyas* 'A being extremely grasping in a bargain; unreasonableness' < Ar.

memlek'et (*Memlekjet*, een Koninkryk. = kingdom) 'country; native land; empire' Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. TS *memleket* < Ar.

mendal (*Mendal*, het hout Aloe. = almond-tree) 'almond' Cf. Osm. *mendel* 'the wood of aloes', *mendel* 'Lign aloes' < P. < Ar.

⁵² The separation with 'of' 'or' the collocational verb and noun is incorrect, suggesting that *Witsen* thought the unintelligible words were synonyms.

m e r d é b a n (*Merdebaen*, een Ladder. 'ladder, stairs' Cf. Tuhf. (Trkm. dialect) *merdimen*, Crim. Tat. *märdvân*, KarK, Tat. Dobr. *merdiven*, Osm. *merduwân* vulgar *merdivan* 'A ladder' < P.

m e r ç e b a (*Merheba*, vaert wel. = Good-bye) 'hello, welcome, good afternoon' Cf. Crim. Tat., Osm. *merhaba*, Tat. Dobr. *merçaba* < Ar.

m e ş r i k (*Mesrik*, het Oosten.) 'east' Cf. Osm. *meşrik* < Ar.

m i l t i k (*Miltik*, ontmoetingen, verdedigingen. = meetings; persistence; defences) 'place (time) of a meeting' Cf. Osm. *multaqa* [mltqy, mltqa], Osm. Özön *mülteka* < Ar.

m i s k (*Misk*, Muskus.) 'musk' Cf. Crim. Tat. *mis* (Dmitriev 1926, 345), Osm. TS *misk* < P.

m i z ā n (*Misân*, een Schaal daer men iets in weegt. = (dish of) scale, used for measurements) 'scale balance' Cf. Tat. Dobr. *mîzan*, Osm. *mîzân* < Ar.

m o m See *m u m*

m o r d a r See *m u r d a r*

m u ç a r r e m (*Muharrem*, na de Arabifche ftyl, de eefte Maend. = according to Arabic style, the first month) 'muharrem (the first lunar month)' Cf. Osm. *muharrem* < Ar.

m u m ~ *mom* (*Mom*, Smeer, een Kaers: *balmom*, Was. = ointment (tallow), candle: *balmom*, wax) 'wax, candle' Cf. Idr., Tuhf., Bul., Dur., Qaw. (*mûm*) Crim. Tat. *mum* 'das Licht', KarK, Tat. Dobr. *mum*, Osm. *mûm* < P.

m u m y a (*Moumia*, Mumie.) 'mummy' Cf. Osm. R. IV, 2216 *mumya* 'die Mumie' Ar.

m u r d a r ~ *mordar* (*Mordar*, alderlei onreinigheit. = every kind of dirt, uncleanness) 'dirty; unclean; pagan' Cf. CC, Tuhf. (*murdar* 'haram', *murdar sik-* 'zina etmek'), Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarHT, Kumyk *murdar*, Osm. *murdâr* vulgar *mürdâr* 'Canonically unclean; dirty; carrion' < P.

M u s a (*Moufa*, Mofes. 'Moses' Cf. Osm. *mûsa* 'A razor; Moses' < Ar.

m u s ā f i r ç a n (*muffaphir Chandur*,⁵³ een Herberg der Reizigers. = inn of passengers) 'hostelry' Cf. Osm. TRS1. *misafirhane*, 17th century Osm. (Hazai, Hars.) *muşafir* (*musâfir*) < Ar.-P.

m ü h i r (*Muhir*, een Zegel-ring of Wapen.) 'seal, seal-ring; coat-of-arms' Cf. Bul. *mühr*, Osm. *mühr*, vulgar *muhur* < P.

m ü r e k ' e b (*Murekjeb*, Inkt.) 'ink' Cf. KarK *mürekeb*, Tat. Dobr. *mürekep*, Osm. *murekab* (= *mürekeb*) < Ar.

n a ç a q (*Nahak*, die geen waerheit heeft. = one who is not right 'unjust, unlawful' Cf. Osm. *na-haqq* vulgar *na-haq* 'Unjust, iniquitous' < P.-Ar.

n a f t (*Napht*, het kruid Naphta. = spice-oil, 'vegetable oil') 'crude oil, vegetable oil' Cf. Osm. *neft* '(Originally) Rock oil, naphta...' < P.-Ar.

⁵³ See note 19.

n ā n (*Nane*,⁵⁴ Eeten, Brood.) 'food, bread' Cf. Osm. *nān* < P.

nan-nemek (*Nan nemek*, Brood en Zout, oneigentlijk belofte. = bread and salt, figuratively promise) 'bread and salt; (fig.) engagement, a promise in return for some good deed or favour' Cf. Osm. *Özön nan ü nemek* 'tuz ve ekmek (hakki)', cf. also Osm. *nemek* (< Ar.) 'Salt'; < P.-Ar.

n a y (*Nai*, Speel-fluit.) 'flute, (reed) whistle' Cf. Osm. *nay* 'The reed; A reed flute, a pipe' < P.

n e 'what?' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Qaw., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk Osm. *ne*; *nedēn ütürü* (*Neden uturu*, om wat oorzaak?) 'why, owing to what?' Cf. CC, Tuhf., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. TRS1. *nedēn*, see also *ütürü*; *nedēr?* (*Neder*, wat is 't? 'what is this (that)?) Cf. KarH *nedir* 'kakož, čto za', Osm. TRS1. *ne*, *nedir*

n ē h ā y e t (*Nehajet*, het einde, de bepaling. = the end, the determination) 'end, finishing; finally' Cf. Osm. *nĥāyet* < Ar.

n e h e k (*Nehek*, een Rupze. = caterpillar) ?

n i č ū n (*Niziun*, waerom?) 'why?' Cf. Osm. *nichun* vulgar *nichin* [nyčwn] 'For what? Why?'

n u γ a y ē (*Nougajē*, nieuwe vlammen, of eigentlijk negen vlammen, een soort van Zwaerden. = new flames, or nine flames, an art of sword) ?

*o*⁵⁵ 'that, he (she)' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Osm. TS *o*

o k (*Ok*, een Pyl.) 'arrow' Cf. CC *oχ*, Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk. *oq*, Osm. TS *ok*

o l- 'to be' See *a š a-*; Cf. Bul., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Osm. *ol-*

o n (*On*, Tien.) 'ten' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. TS *on*

o n u t- 'to forget' Cf. 17th century Osm. (Hazai, Hars.) *onut* [Imperative] Cf. also CC, Tuhf., Idr., Tarj., Müh., Qaw., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Osm. TS *unut-*; *onutma* (*Onoutma*, vergeet niet.) 'don't forget' Imperative, 2nd Person Sing., Negative (Prohibitive) Form

o t (1692 *Ot*, vuer. 1705, 1785 *Ot*, Vuur.) 'fire' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. TS *ot*

p a r m a q 'finger' See *b a r m a q* Cf. Tuhf., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr. *parmaq*, Osm. *parmak*

p a š a 'pasha'⁵⁶ See *D a u d*; Cf. Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat. *paša*, Osm. TS *paša*

⁵⁴ The word final vowel (*e* = *é*, *è*) is most probably a case ending (-*i* Acc.), or a Possessive ending denoting 3rd Person. It has hardly anything to do with the Osm. *nāne* 'Peppermint, mentha piperita' of Arabic origin.

⁵⁵ See note 19.

⁵⁶ As contemporary diplomas reveal, the title "paša" was not in use in the Crimea (cf. Matuz 8).

piyale (*Pialè*, een Drink-vat.) 'drinking vessel, cup, drinking-glass, Cf. CC *pijala* 'Becher', Tuhf. *piyele* 'cam kadeh', Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. *pijala*, Osm. *piyāle* < P.

(*Phola*, komt van daer. = comes from there) Perhaps the ending *-a* denotes a gerund which used to express present tense in the Kipchak languages. If "ph" denotes *b*, the verb-stem is **bol-* 'to be, become' thus the reconstructed form would be **bola* 'he will be' or perhaps 'he will be here', i.e. 'he will come here, comes from there'. Thus the given Dutch meaning is also correct. Cf. CC, Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., K.-Balk. *bol-*; See also *b u l-* I

r a b ~ *rabb* (*Rab*, Heere, God.) 'gentleman, rich, God' Cf. Osm. *rebb*, vulgar *rabb*, Osm. *Özön Rabb*, *Rabbi* 'Tanrı' < Ar.

*raḫēt*⁵⁷ (*Rahet*, Ruft, verquikking.) 'rest, refreshing' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, *rahat*, *raḫat*, Tat. Dobr. Nog. *raḫat*, Osm. *rahāt* < Ar.

r ā ḫ i l e t (*Rahilet*, een Laft-beeft.) 'pack-animal; camel' Cf. Osm. *Özön rahile* 'Yük hayvani' < Ar. ArRSI. *rahilat* 'verchovaja verbljudica'

r a ḫ m ā n (*Rahman*, Barmhertig.) 'merciful, all-forgiving' Cf. Osm. *rahmān* < Ar.

r a ḫ m e t (*Rachmet*, Barmhertigheid.) 'piety, mercifulness' Cf. Crim. Tat. *raḫmat* 'die Gnade' KarK *rehmetli*, Nog. *raḫmet*, Osm. *rahmet* < Ar.

r a q i (*Raki*, Brandewyn.) 'brandy' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK *raqi*, KarH *raki*, Tat. Dobr. *raqi*, Osm. *raqi* < Ar.

r a m ē z ā n a y i (*Ramesan ai*, de Maend Ramefan, de negende in rang, op welk zy de groote Valten houden. = the month of Ramefan, ninth in order, when the big fast is observed) 'the ninth lunar month, the time of fasting' Cf. Osm. *ramāzān* [= *rəməzān*] < Ar.

r e ḫ e b a y i (*Regieb ai*, de Maend Regieb, de zevende in rang. = the month of Regieb, the ninth in order) 'the seventh lunar month' Cf. Osm. *rejeb* [rjb] < Ar.

s a b u n (*Saboun*, Zeep.) 'soap' Cf. KarK, Osm. *sabun* < Ar.

s a b u r l i q (*Sabburlik*, lankmoedigheid.) 'patience' Cf. CC *saburluḫ*, *sabyrluq*, Crim. Tat. *sabur* 'die Geduld' KarK *saburliq*

s a d i q (*Sfadik*, volmaekt, oprecht, waerachtig. = perfect, real, true) 'true, sincere, faithful' Cf. KarT *saddiq* 'spravedlivyj; pravednyj', Osm. *sadiq* < Ar.

s a ḡ i r (*Sfagir*, Doof.) 'deaf' Cf. Idr., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., KarK, Nog. *saḡir*, Osm. TS *saḡir*

s a ḡ r i (*Sagri*, Segryn Leer.) 'saffian, donkey-leather' CC *saḡry*, *savry* 'Leder', Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Osm. *sāghri* 'The rump of man or beast; The stout leather made from the rump of a beast', Chag. R. IV, 276 *saḡri*

⁵⁷ The second syllable of both the Arabic and the Turkish word is short in Red-house: *rahāt* (*ā* = *ə*).

s a l i ħ (*Salih*, een die vroom, goedertieren, vreedzaam. = simple, patient, forbearing) 'meek, peaceful, patient' Cf. Osm. *salih* < Ar.

s a m a n (*Sfaman*, Stroo, Voeder.) 'straw; fodder' Cf. Tarj., Tuhf. (Trkm. dialect), Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. *saman*

s a m u r (*Samour*, Zabel-bond. = sable-fur) 'sable, sable-fur' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK *samur*, Osm. *semur* vulgar *samur* 'The sable... ; also its fur' < P.

s a n d u q (*Sanduk*, een Kift of Koffer. = chest or trunk) 'chest, trunk, suitcase' Cf. Crim. Tat. *sandiq*, KarK *sandug*, Osm. *sundug* vulgar *sandiq* < Ar

s a r i ħ (*Sarik*, een Tulband.) 'turban' Cf. KarK, Tat. Dobr. *sariq*, Osm. TS *sarik*

s a r u m s a q (*Sarumsak*, Look.) 'garlic' Cf. Idr., Tarj. (*sarymsak*), Müh., Bul., Crim. Tat., Osm. R. IV, 326 *sarimsaq*, KarK *sarimsaq*, 16—17th century Osm. *sarumsak* (Kakuk, Recherches 353)

s a t- 'to sell, sale' See *ħ a n*; Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. TS *sat-*

s a t i r (*Sfatir*, een regel.) 'row' Cf. KarK *satir* 'stroka, stročka', Osm. TS *satir* < Ar.

s a y- 'to count' Cf. Tuhf., Qaw., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Crim. Tat., Osm. *say-*; *say aqħayĭ* (*Sai aktgai*,⁵⁸ teld Geld.) 'count the money, ? pay!'

s a y s i s (< *sayiſis*) (*Saifis*, ontelbaer.) 'innumerable' Cf. KarK *sayĭ* 'ſcet', Osm. TS *sayısız*

s a z (1692 *Saz*, een moeras. 1705, 1785 id.) 'marsh, bog' Cf. CC, Idr. (*saz* 'Orman'), Tarj., Kar, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *saz*

s ä d ä f (*Sfadâf*, Schelpen. = shell, cockle-shell) 'pearl' Cf. CC *sadaf* 'Raute', Crim. Tat. Osm. R. IV, 485 *sädâf* 'die Raute (Pflanze); Perlmutter', KarK *sedef* 'perlamutr' < Ar.

s e k i s (*Sekis*, Acht.) 'eight' Cf. CC *segiz*, *sekizinci*, Idr., Tarj. (*säkiz*), Müh., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Osm. TS *sekiz*

s e l ä m (*Selam*, Heil.) 'peace, health, salvation; greeting' Cf. Crim. Tat. *sälam*, Tat. Dobr. *selam*, Osm. *seläm* < Ar.

s e l ä m e t (*Selamet*, Vrede, vrede-wefch, greetinge. = peace, peace wishing, greeting) 'prosperity, welfare, luck, health' Cf. Osm. *selâmet* < Ar.

s e m i s (*Semis*, Vet.) 'fat, fattened' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. TS *semiz*

s e n (*Sen*, Gy.) 'you' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Tuhf., KarH, Crim. Tat., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. TS *sen*; *seni* (*Seni*, U.) Accusative.

s e r ä n (*Serân*, haefsten. = hurry) ?

⁵⁸ Correctly: *aktgai* (*aqħayĭ*, Acc.).

sermāya ~ *sermāyā* (*Sermaja*, Have of Goed, dat iemand heeft om te handelen. = wealth, what somebody has to do business in it) 'property, wealth, capital' Cf. KarK *sermiye*, Osm. *ser-māye* < P.

seüde (*Seude*, magtig, uitmuntende. = big, outstanding, excellent) 'big, eminent' Cf. Osm. Özön *suada* 'Kutlu kimseler' *suud* 'Yukarı çıkma' < Ar.

sev- ~ *sew-* 'to love' Cf. CC, Idr. *sev-*, Tarj. *säv-*, Qaw. *säv-*, Crim. Tat. *säv-*, Crim. Tat. Jansky 95 *sew-* (= *sev-*), KarK *sev-* (*sew-*), Osm. TS *sevmek*; *severüm* (*Severum*, ik beminne. = I love) Aoristos, 1st Person, Sing.; *sewmezüm* (*Seumeffum*, ik beminne niet. = I don't love) Aoristos, Negative form, 1st Person Singular

siyaset (*Siafet*, gebied, geweldige heerfchappy en onderwerping. = territory, forcible regime and subjugation) 'direction, governing, oppression' Cf. Osm. *siyāset* < Ar.

silāḫ (*Silāh*, Wapenen. = weapons) 'weapon' Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K *silah*, Tat. Dobr. *silax*, Osm. *silāh* < Ar.

simurḡ (*Simourg* of *anka*, een Gryp-vogel. = griffon) 'a fabulous bird' Cf. Idr. Haş. *simurğ* 'Halk (zümrüt anga) der; simurğ', Osm. Özön *Simürğ* 'Kafdağı'nda bulunduğu söylenen masal kuşu. Anka.' < P.

sirje (*Sirdgie*, Glas.) 'glass, drinking-glass' Cf. Idr., Bul. *syřa*, Müh., Tarj. *sirčā*, Tuhf. *sırşa*, Osm. TS *sırça* 'Cam'

sirge ~ *sirya* (*Sirge*, Verçierzelen. = ? ornaments, jewels) 'ear-drop; jewel' Cf. Idr. *sırğa* 'Küpe', KarTHK, *sirya*; Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk. *sirya* Further Turkic data: Šipova, Slovar' tjurkizmov v russkom jazyke, Alma-Ata 1976, 284-85

siyir (1692 *Sigir*, een koei. 1705, 1785 *Sigir*, een Koey. = cow, *Sfighir*, een Os. = Ox) 'horned cattle (cow, ox etc.)' Cf. CC *sygyr* 'Ochs', Idr., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Dur., Crim. Tat., M-K karK *siyir*, Osm. TS *siğir*

sirma (*Sirma*, fijn Goud of Zilver-draed.) 'golden or silver thread' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. *sirma*, Osm. TS *sirma*

sirwa (*Sirwa*, Gomme. = rosin; resin (gum), mucilage) ?

soyan (*Sfogan*, Uyen.) 'onion' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *soyan*, Osm. TS *soğan*

su (1692 *Su*, water. 1705, 1785 id.) 'water' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., Osm. TS *su*

suha (*Suha* Pompoenen, ook een aert van Kawourden.⁵⁹ = marrow or a sort of melon) ?

sula (1692 *Sula*, haver. 1705, 1785 id.) 'oats' Cf. Osm. *sula* 'The aloe; aloes'

⁵⁹ The correct letter in place of *r* is probably *n*, resulting in the word *Kawoun* (= *qawun*, see *qayn*) 'musk-melon'.

sulêχ (*Suleh*, Vrede, bevrediging. = peace, reconciliation) 'peace' Osm. *sul-h* 'Peace' < Ar.

suret (*Souret*, een Beeltenis, afbeelding.) 'picture, form' Cf. CC, Crim. Tat. M-K, Osm. TS *suret* < Ar.

susar (1692 *Cufar*, een marter-dier. 1705, 1785 id.) 'beech marten, marten' Cf. CC *savsar* (sausar) 'Marder und dessen Fell', Tarj. *sausar*, K.-Balk., Kkp. *suvsar*, Chag. Tat. Kzk. R. IV, 782 *susar* 'der Marder' < P.

sürün- 'to drag oneself along, slide' Cf. Crim. Tat. Osm. R. IV, 817 *sürün-*, KarK *sürün-*; *sürünür* (*Surunour*, men fleept, of men trekt. = drag or draw) Aoristos, 1st Person Sing.

šaban (*Sciaban*, de achte Maend. = the eighth month) 'sha'ban (the eighth month of the Muslim lunar year)' Cf. Nog. *šaban*, Osm. TS *šaban* < Ar.

šalyan (*Scialgan*, een Raep.) 'turnip' Cf. CC *šalyam* (salghan), Idr., Tuhf., Qaw. (šalqam), Dur., Crim. Tat. *šalyam*, Osm. *shalgam*, šor, qača R. IV, 964 *šalyan* (šalqan) < P.

šek'er (*Scekjer*, Zuiker.) 'sugar' Cf. CC, KarK, Tat. Dobr. *šeker*, Osm. TS *šeker* < P.; *šek'erde*⁶⁰ *aš tatlı olur* (*Sekjerde ascitatlı olour*, gezuikerde Spys zal zoet zijn, of word zoet. = sugared food must be sweet, or will be sweet)

šem (*Scem*, een Kaers.) 'wax, candle' Cf. Osm. *šem* 'Wax, beeswax; Wax-candles, wax tapers' < Ar.

šemdāl (*Scemdāl*, een Kandelaer.) 'candlestick' Cf. KarK, *šamdan*, Tat. Dobr. *šemdan*, Osm. Özön *šem'dan* < P.

šiše (*Sciffe*, Glaze Koppen.) 'bottle, glass' Cf. CC, KarK, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr. *šiše*, Osm. TS *şişe*

šük'er (*Scukjer*, dankzegging, God zy gedantk.) 'thanks, thanks to God' Cf. CC *šügür*, Arm.-Kipch. *šukur*, KarK *šükür*, Tat. Dobr. *šukur*, Nog. *šükir*, Osm. *shukr* (= šükr), vulgar *shukyur* (= šük'ür) < Ar.

ta'alim (*Taälim* of *alim*, een Geleerde.⁶¹ = scholar) 'teaching, exercise' Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K *ta'lim al-* 'učit'sja voennomu stroju', Osm. *ta'lim* 'A teaching' < Ar.

tabaq (*Thabak*, een Kom of Schotel.) 'dish, plate' Cf. CC *tabaq*, Crim. Tat. M-K *tabaq* 'list', Tat. Dobr., Nog. *tabaq*, Osm. TS *tabak* < Ar.

tabè (*Thabe*, een Zegel-ring.) 'seal-ring' Cf. Osm. *tābi* 'A seal or stamp used for imprinting', Osm. Devellioğlu *tab* 'mühür, damga, basma' < Ar.

tābè (*Tabè* of *thawe*, een Fruit-pan. = fruit-dish) 'pan, frying-pan' Cf. Nog. *taba* 'skovoroda, skovorodka', Osm. *tabe*, vulgar *tawa* < P. < Ar.

tabèyet (*Thabëet*, Nature.) 'nature' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK *tabiyat*, Nog. *tabiat*, Osm. *tabi'at* (= *tābi'ət*) < Ar.

⁶⁰ The full and regular form must have been (*Sekjerden*) *šek'erden*, or the Abl. ending may have been *-de*.

⁶¹ The Dutch meaning only refers to the word *alim*, see *ālim*.

t a b i b (*Thabib*, Genees-meester. = healing-master) 'physicien' Cf. Osm. *tabib* < Ar.

t a γ a n (*Thagan*, Yzere treeft. = iron tripod) 'tripod' Cf. Kkp *tayan* 'tagan', Tat. R. III, 795 *tayan* 'der Ständer, Böcke zum Aufhängen', Osm. *tigān* 'a frying-pan' < P. < Greek

t a l a b (*Thalab*, eifch, begeerte, verzoek.) 'complaint, wish, request' Cf. Crim. Tat. *talap*, Tat. Dobr. *talab*, Nog. *talap*, Osm. *taleb* < Ar.; *talabler* (*Thalaber*,⁶² verzoeken, begeeren. = requests, wishes) Plural

t a l a q (*Talak*, eifch, beede. = claim, demand, request) 'divorce, dissolving a marriage' Cf. Nog. *talag* 'razvod, rastorzenie braka', Osm. *talāq* < Ar.

t ā l i (*Thali*, Geluk.) 'luck' Cf. Osm. Özön *talī* 'Kismet. Talih' < Ar.

t a l q a n (*Thalkan* of *dalkan*, zeker Spys der Tartaren. = a certain meal of the Tartars) 'toasted millet, barley or corn meal, from which a meal (mush) with milk is prepared' Cf. Müh. *talkan*, Crim. Tat. EČel. *tālqān* 'qawrulmīš dari uni', Tat. Dobr. *talqin*, Nog. *talqan*, Tat. Kzk. Teleut etc. R. III, 889 *talqan*

t a m a q (*Thamak*, het verhemelte van de mond. = roof of the mouth) 'palate, throat, pharynx' Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf. (*tamaksav* 'obur'), Tarj., Müh., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr. *tamaq*, Osm. *tamaq* vulgar *damaq*

t a m ā m (*Tamām*, Volmaekt, geheel.) 'perfect, full, whole' Cf. CC, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *tamam*, Osm. *temām* vulgar *tamam* < Ar.

t a m b u r (*Thambur*, Rinkel-trom. = rattling drum) 'any oriental string instrument' Cf. Nog. Osm. TS *tambur* < Ar.; *tamburler* (*Thambourler*, Rinkel-trommen.) Plural

t a p- 'to adore, venerate; serve' Cf. Tarj. *tabu*, *tabu ät-* 'dienen', Osm. TS *tapmak*; *tapar* (*Thapar*, hy heeft aengebden, of bid aen. = adored or adores) 'he (she) adores it' Aoristos, 3rd Person Sing.; *taparmēsīn* (*Thapar-mēsīn*, zult gy aen bidden? = will you adore it?) Aoristos, Interrogative 2nd Person Sing.; *taparum* (*Thoparrum*, ik bidde aen. = I adore) Aoristos, 1st Person Sing.; *taptum* (*Thaptum*, ik heb aengebden, Godsdienstige eere bewezen. = I adored, paid religious respect) Definite past tense, 1st Person Sing.; *taptururmēsīn* (*Thaptururmēsīn*,⁶³ zult gy hem doen doen aenbidden. = will you make them adore him?) The causative form of verb *tap-* in Aorist and Interrogative, 2nd Person Singular

t a r a q (*Tarak*, een Kam.) 'comb' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw. (*taraqčī*), KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *taraq*, Osm. TS *tarak*; *taraqler* (*Tharakler*, Kammen.) Plural.

t a r ī (1692 *Tari*, milie. = millet; 1705, 1785 id.; *Thari* of *dari*, een Zaed tuffchen Geers en Linzen. = a seed (in size) between barley and lentil) 'millet' Cf. CC *tary* (*tari*) 'Hirse', Idr., Tarj., Tuhf., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. *tari*

⁶² *l* after *b* must have been omitted by mistake. The complete form is *Thalabler*.

⁶³ *s* in place of *r* must be a lapsus calami.

tārī ~ ? *darī* (*Tharī*, die weg werpt, verwerpt, verfpilt. = he who throws, fiddles, trifles something away) ? See also *darī dūnyā*

tart- 'to weigh, measure' Cf. CC *tart-* 'ziehen, zerren', Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. *tart-*; *tart[up] al* (*Thart al*,⁶⁴ weegt en neemt,⁶⁵ = weigh and take it away) 'weigh and take it', see also *al-*; *tart* (*Tart*, weegt.)⁶⁶ 'weigh' Imperative mood, 2nd Person Singular

tartē ~ *tartī* (*Thart*,⁶⁷ gewichte, de zwaerte.) 'weight' Cf. Idr. *tartu*, Osm. *tartu*, *tartı* 'The weight of an object'

tartum (*Thartum*, verwerpen, veracht. = depraved, disdained) ?

taš (*Thàs*, een Steen.) 'stone' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr. *taš*, Osm. TS *taş*

tatar (*Thatar*, Tartaer.) 'Tatar' Cf. CC, Idr., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr. *tatar*, Osm. *tatār*

tatlī 'sweet' Cf. CC *tatly* (*tatli*, *tatle*), Idr., Tarj., Tuhf. *tatlu*, Qaw., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr. *tatlī*, Osm. TS *tatlı*; *tatlīdur* (*Tathlidur*, het is zoet. = it is sweet) See also *šek'er*

tayq (*Thäouk*, een Henne.) 'pullet, hen' Cf. CC *tavug* (*tauc*) 'Huhn, Hahn, Henne', Tuhf., Dur., Qaw. *tavug*, Arm.-Kipch. *tawuq*, Crim. Tat. M-K *tavug*, KarK, Tat. Dobr. *tawuq*, 17th century Osm. (Hazai, Hars.) *tauk* (Németh, Illésh.) *tauk*

tayšan (*Taufcian*, een Haes.) 'hare' Cf. Tarj., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat. M-K *taşan*, KarK, Nog. dialect *tavšan*, 17th century Osm. (Németh, Illésh.) *taşan*

tawē 'frying-pan, baking pan' See *tābē* Cf. Tuhf. *tava*, Crim. Tat. *tava*, KarK *tawa*, Tat. Dobr., Osm. TS *tava* < P.

tay (1692 *Tai*, een hinde. = hind; 1692 *Tai*, een volen. = foal; 1705, 1785 *Tai*, een Hinde of Veulen. = hind or foal; 1705, 1785 *Thai*, een Veulen van een Paerd. = foal of a horse) 'foal' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Crim. Tat, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk, K.-Balk., Osm. *tay*

tayaq (?) See *tuyaq*

tayi ~ ? *tayin* (*taii* is twift, of oorlog. = discord or war; The full data see at *jaş.*) 'enemy; hostility, war' Cf. Chag. R. III, 1621 *dayin* 'der Feind' < Mongol

tek'e (*Tekje*, een Iteunzel. = brace) ?

⁶⁴ The juxtaposition of verb stems is wrong in this case. Originally probably: *Thartup al*: cf. *alup g'el* (*al-*).

⁶⁵ If it is taken as a polite imperative form, the Dutch translation may refer to the singular. (Communication by Erzsébet Mollay.)

⁶⁶ See note 65.

⁶⁷ We may assume that originally the word ended with a velar reduced sound, which was omitted during recording or copying. The correct item would be *Tharte* or *Tharti*.

t e l i k (*Telik*, een gat.) 'opening, gap' Cf. Idr., Bul. *tälük* ~ *dälük*, Tuhf. *telik*, Osm. TS *delik*

t e m i r (*Temir*, Yzer.) 'iron' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Arm.-Kipch., KarK, Tat. Dobr. Nog., K.-Balk. *temir*

t e p e See *d e p e*

t e s b i ç (*Tesbih*, gemeenlijk Pater-noster, een keten Coralen. = common beads, chain of coral 'beads,') rosary' Cf. KarK *tesbe*, *tespi*, *tespiy* 'çetki', Osm. *tesbih* < Ar.

t i l k' é (*Tilkje*, of *Ulci*, een Vos.) 'fox' Cf. Dur. *tilkü*, Crim. Tat. M-K, Osm. TS *tilki*, KarK *til'ki*, Tat. Dobr. *tilki*; See also *t ü l k i*

t i w e (1692 *Tiue*, een kameel. 1705, 1785 id.) 'camel' Cf. Müh. *teveçi* 'deveci', Tuhf. *teve* kuş 'deve kusu', KarH *teve*, KarT *t'ev'ä*, KarK *dewe*, Osm. TS *deve*

t i r n a q (*Thirnak*, Nagel.) 'nail, claw' Cf. CC *tyрмаq* 'Nagel', Idr. Tarj., Tuhf. Qaw., Crim. Tat. M-K (*tirnaqlamaq*), KarK, Tat. Dobr., No., K.-Balk. *tirnaq*, Osm. TS *trnak*. See also *turnaq*; *tirnaqler* (*Thirnakler*, Nagels.) Plural

t o y a q See *t u y a q*

t o p r a q (*Thoprak*, Hof-aerde. = soil of garden) 'earth; ground' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw. *topraq*, Arm.-Kipch. *topraq*, Crim. Tat. KarK, Tat. Dobr. *topraq*, Osm. TS *toprak*

t o r n a See *t u r n a*

t ö y ü m e See *t ü y ü m e*

t u r n a ~ *torna* (*Thourna* of *thorna*, een Reiger.) 'crane' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., KarK, Nog., K.-Balk., Osm. TS *turna*
t u r n a q 'nail, claw' A variant of *tirnaq*; *turnaqler* (*Thurnakler*, Nagels.) Plural

t u y a q ~ *toyag* ~ *tayaq* (?) (*Thojak* of *Thajak*, klauwen van Paerd of Offe. = hoofs of a horse or horned cattle) 'hoof' Cf. Idr. *tuyaq*, Tarj. *tuinak*, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., K.-Balk. *tuyaq*

t ü k' é r ü k (*Tukjeruk*, Ipeekzel. 'saliva, spittle, spitting' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh. *tükür-*, Tuhf. *tükürük*, KarT *t'ük'ür'ük*, Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal 220 *tükürügün*, Nog. *tükirik*, Osm. TS *tükürük*

t ü l k i (1692 *Ulci*,⁶⁸ een vos. 1705, 1785 *Tilkje* of *Ulci*, een Vos.) 'fox' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf. *tülkü*, Nog. *tülki*, Uig. Chag. R. III, 1570 *tülki*; See also *t i l k' é*

t ü y ü m e ~ *töyüme*⁶⁹ (*Tojume*, een Knoop van een Kleed. = button of clothing) 'button' Cf. Tuhf. *tüyme*, Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal 243 *tüyme*, Nog. *tüyme*, K.-Balk. *tüyme*, Osm. *dügme*

⁶⁸ Correctly: *Tulci*.

⁶⁹ As relevant data from cognate languages bear out, the vowel of the second syllable was only later interpolated. The sonor *-y-* may also have effected its formation. It is shorter than the rest of the sounds.

u ĉ m a χ (1692 *Stmah*,⁷⁰ het paradys. 1705, 1785 id.) 'Paradise' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf. *uĉmaq*, Arm.-Kipch. *uĉmaχly*, KarK *uĉmaχ*, Osm. TS *uĉmak*

ü l- 'to die, perish' Cf. Tat. and the Altai Turkic languages R. I, 1845 *ül-* in other related languages: *öl-* ~ *ül-*; *ül* (*Uyl*, fterft. = die!) Imperative mood, 2nd Person Sing.; *ülürsin* (*Uilürfin*, gy zult fterven. = you will die) Aorist, 2nd Person Singular

ü m é r (*Umer*, levens tyd. = the time of life) 'life' Cf. KarK, Tat. Dobr. *ömür* ~ *ömür*, Nog. *ömür* < Ar.

ü t m ä k (1692 *Utman*,⁷¹ broot. 1705, 1785 *Utman*, Brood.) 'bread' Cf. CC *ötmek*, Tuhf., Dur. *ötmäk*, Arm.-Kipch. *otmak*, Crim. Tat. M-K *ötmek*, KarK *ötmek*, Tat. Dobr. Ülküsal 65, 78, 197 *ötmegü* [otmek], Uig. Chag. R. I, 1275 *ötmäk*

ü t ü r ü 'because of, owing to, for (postposition)' See *n e*; Cf. CC *utru*, Arm.-Kipch. *Vásáry utru*, KarK *ötrü*, Osm. R. I, 1266 *ötürü*

ve r- 'to give' Cf. Crim. Tat. *wär-*, KarK *ver-*, Tat. Dobr. *ver-*, Osm. R. IV, 1967 *vär-*; *verdüm* (*Verdum*, ik hebbe gegeven. = I gave) Definite Past Tense, 1st Person Sing., cf. 17th century Osm. *verdum* (Németh, Illésh.); *ver-medüm* (*Vermedum*, ik hebbe niet gegeven. I did not give) Definite Past Tense, Negative Form, 1st Person Sing., cf. 17th Osm. *ver-medün*, *ver-medük* (Hazai, Hars.); *verür* (See *ĵ a n*, *ĵan verür*) Aorist, 3rd Person Sing.; *verürüm* (*Verruzum*,⁷² ik geve of zal geven. = I give or I shall give) Aorist, 1st Person Sing., cf. 17th century Osm. *verurum* (Németh, Illésh.), *ver-ür* (Hazai, Hars.)

vi l ā y e t (*Villajet*,⁷³ Landfchap of Provincie. = region, country) 'vilayet, country' Cf. Osm. *vilayet* < Ar.; *vilāyetler* (*Villajetler*, Landfchappen.) Plural

wa r-, *warmaq* (*Warmak*, gaen, komen, tegenwoordigzijn. = to go, come, be present) 'to go, arrive' Cf. Idr. *var-*, Crim. Tat. R. IV 1958 *war-*, Osm. TS *varmak*; *war* (*War*, gaet.) 'go' Imperative, 2nd Person Sing.; *waralum* (*War-rallum*, of *waeräik*, laet ons gaen. = let us go) Optativus, 1st Person Plural, cf. 17th century Osm. *var-alum* (Hazai, Hars.); *waramam* (?) ~ *warmam* (*Warrarmam*, ik zeude daer niet gaen. = I wouldn't go there) '? I cannot go (there), ? I shall not go'; *warayq* ~ *warayik* (See *waralum*) Optativus, 1st Person Plural; *wardum* (*Wardum*, ik heb daer geweft. = I was there) Definite

⁷⁰ It probably came about by misspelling **Tsmah* (*ĉmaχ* < *uĉmaχ* < *uĉmaχ* 'Paradise'. The strong reduction, even omission, of the initial unstressed vowel is a well-known phenomenon (cf. RäsLautg. 53–54).

⁷¹ *n* in place of *k* must be a lapsus calami or a mistake of the copyist.

⁷² *z* is mistakenly exchanged for *r*.

⁷³ Similarly an unnecessary double letter can be found in case of *r* and *l* of certain words. Perhaps, the person who put down the text heard them longer, than the laterals of his own language.

Past Tense, 1st Person Sing. ; *warmadum* (*Warmadum*, ik heb daer niet geweest. = I wasn't there) Definite Past Tense, Negative Form, 1st Person Sing. ; *warmazum* (*Warmassum*, ik zael niet gaen. = I shall not go) Aorist, Negative Form, 1st Person Sing. ; *warurmēsīn* (*Warrurmesīn*, zult gy gaen, of daer komen? = you will go or you will come there) Aorist, Interrogative, 2nd Person Sing., cf. 17th century Osm. *var-ur* (Hazai, Hars.); *warurmīs* (*Warrumis*, wy zullen gaen of komen. = we shall go or come) Aorist, 1st Person Plural ; *warurum* *Warrurum*, ik zal gaen. = I shall go) Aorist, 1st Person Singular

w a r u l (*Waroul*, een Ton, Vat. = barrel, vessel) 'barrel' Cf. Osm. R. IV, 1958 *varīl* 'die Tonne' < French *baril*

y a γ (*Jag*, Vet, iets dat in 't gemeen vetachtig is. = fat, something which is generally greasy) 'fat, oil' Cf. CC, Idr., Müh., Tarj., Bul., Tuhf., Dur. *yay*, Qaw. *yağī*, Crim. Tat. *jaγjī*, Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK *yay*, Tat. Dobr. *yaγlī*, Osm. *yagh*

y a γ m u r (*Jaghmour*, Regen.) 'rain' Idr., Tarj., Bul., Qaw., KarK *yaymur*, Osm. TS *yağmur*

y a q ï n (*Jakin*, naby.) 'near(by)' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Tuhf., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. dialect *yaqīn*, Osm. *yaqīn*

y a q u t (*Jakout*, een Rubin.) 'precious stone, ruby' Cf. CC *jaqut*, KarK, Nog., Kumyk *yaqut*, Osm. *yāqūt* < Ar.

*y a r a q*⁷⁴ 'suitable, fit, instrument, weapon ; possibility ; necessary preparation' Cf. Idr. *yaraq̄la-* 'silahländirmak', Tarj. *jarakla-* 'sich waffnen', Tuhf. *yarak*, Arm.-Kipch. *jaray*, 17th century Osm. *yarak* 'Waffe' (Németh, Illésh.), *jarak* 'Gerät ; Waffe' (Hazai, Hars.), Chag. Uig. R. III, 105 *yaraq*

y a r a m a s (*Jaramas*, quaed. = annoyed, wrathful) 'worthless, good-for-nothing' Cf. CC *jaramaz* 'abscheulich', Crim. Tat. *yaramazlīq*, Tat. Dobr., KarK, Osm. TS *yaramaz*

y a s t i q (*Jazdik*, een Kuffen.) 'pillow' Cf. CC *jastuq*, Idr., Tarj. *jastuk* [yastq], Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog. Kumyk *yastīq*, Osm. TS *yastik*

y a š (*Jasc*, vochtig.) 'tear ; moisture' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Kumyk *yaš*, Osm. TS *yaš* ; *yaš yūzde aqar* (*Jasc jusde akar*, de tranen loopen uit de oogen. = tears drop from the eyes) 'tears flow on the face'

y a w é (*Jawe*, verlies, iets dat gemi t word. = loss, something we miss) 'the lost, vanished thing' Cf. Osm. *yawī*, *yawū* 'Lost ; Astray . . .', Chag. R. III 293 *yavū* 'verloren, verschwunden' P.

y a w u r t (*Jawourt*, Dikke-melk.) 'yogurt' Cf. Tuhf. *yavurt*, Idr., Tarj., Bul., Qaw., Dur. *yagurt*, Osm. *yoghurt*

⁷⁴ See note 19.

y a y (*Jai*, een Boog.) 'bow' Cf. CC *ja*, *jaa*, Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarH Nog., Osm. *yay*

ye 'to eat; (fig.) to get, endure' (See *ǰ a m*) Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf., Qaw., Dur., Arm.-Kipch. Vásáry, Crim. Tat., Tat. Dobr., Nog. *ye* ~ *yä*-, Osm. TS *yemek*

y e d i (*Jedi*, zeven.) 'seven' Cf. Idr. *yädi*, Tuhf., KarK, Osm. TS *yedi*. Tat. Dobr. *yedi*

y e ğ l i k (*Jeighlik*, Schoonheit. = beauty) 'superiority, advantage' Cf. Osm. *yey* 'Better; best; preferable', Osm. TS *yeğlik* 'Bir şeyin başkaları arasında üstün sayılması, rüçhan'

y e m i n (*Jemin*, een Eed.) 'oath' Cf. Crim. Tat. *yämin*, KarK *yemin*, Osm. *yemin* < Ar.

y e m i ŝ (*Jemiŝc*, Fruit-vrucht.) 'fruit' Cf. CC, Idr., Tuhf., Dur., KarT *yemiŝ* ~ *yämiŝ* Osm. TS *yemiŝ*; *yemiŝler* (*Jemisler*, Vruchten.) Plural

*y e m u r t a*⁷⁷ (*Jemourta*, een Ey, en Eyeren. = an egg, eggs) 'egg' Cf. Crim. Tat. M-K *yumurta*, KarK *yimürta*, *yumürta*, *yumurta*, Nog. *yumürtqa*, Osm. TS *yumurta*

y e r (1692 *Ex*,⁷⁵ de aerde. 1705, 1785 id.) 'earth, native land, ground' Cf. CC, Tarj., Bul., Tuhf., Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. TS *yer*; *yerim* (*Jerrim*,⁷⁶ mijn Land-plaets. = my fatherland) Form with personal possessive suffix of the 1st Person Singular

y e ŝ i l (*Jeŝiil*, groen.) 'green' Cf. CC *jaŝyl*, Müh. *yeŝil*, Qaw., Crim. Tat. *yäŝil*, KarK *yeŝil*, Tat. Dobr. *yeŝil*, Osm. TS *yeŝil*

y e t m i ŝ (*Jetmis*, zeventig.) 'seventy' Cf. Idr., Bul., Tuhf., KarT, Tat Dobr. *yetmiŝ* *yätmiŝ*, Osm. TS *yetmiŝ*

y o q (*Jok*, neen of niet. = no or not) 'no, there is not (Negative Form of the Predicate *var*)' Cf. CC, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat. KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Kumyk *yoq*, Osm. TS *yok*

y o r ɣ a n (*Jorgan*, een Deken.) 'coverlet' Cf. CC *jovuryan* [yourgan], Idr., Tarj. (*jurgan*), Müh., Tuhf., Qaw., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr. *yoryan*, Osm. TS *yorgan*

y ó g ä n ~ *yóyän* (*Jojan* of *jogan*,⁷⁸ een gebid, eigentlijk het mond tuk van 't gebid. = curb-bit, in fact the part of the curb in the mouth) 'curb-bit,

⁷⁵ As in the later edition the correct form of the word did appear (*Jer*), it must be a copyist's error here. The initial "E" might be the adoption of the Cyrillic *e* (*ye*), but in this case the formation of *x* is hard to explain satisfactorily.

⁷⁶ See note 73.

⁷⁷ *yemurta* 'egg' must be the result of folk etymology, formed from *yumurta* upon the influence of *ye*- 'to eat'. (Dmitriev 1926, 344)

⁷⁸ The first word of double data like this (e.g. *legen*, *leyen*) may be the mote common variant.

bridle' Cf. CC *jügen* [yugan], Dur. *jügän* (*jükän*), KarK *yügen*, RNC S1. *yüwen* Tat. TRS1. *yögän*, Bshk. *yügän*, KzK. RKzkS1. *jugen*

y ó y ä n s. *y ó g ä n*

y ü s I. ~ *yüz*⁷⁹ 'face' See *aq*; Cf. CC *jüz*, Idr., Tarj., Müh., Tuhf., Qaw *yüz*, Arm.-Kipch. Vásáry *juz*, Crim. Tat., KarK, Nog., Kumyk *yüz* ~ *yüz*, Osm. TS *yüz*

y ü s II. *yüz*⁸⁰ 'hundred' Cf. Idr., Tarj., Müh., Bul., Tuhf. *yüz*, Arm.-Kipch. *juz*, Crim. Tat., KarKT *yüz*, KarT *yuz*', Nog., Kumyk *yüz*, Osm. TS *yüz*
z a l i m (*Dfalim*, geweldig, onrechtvaardig, godloos. = aggressive, unlawful, unjust, godless) 'aggressive, unjust, despotic, cruel' Cf. Crim. Tat. *zalim*. *zalim*, Tat. Dobr. *zalim*, Nog. *zalim*, Kumyk Osm. TS *zalim* < Ar.

z a m a n 'time' Cf. CC *zamana*, Arm.-Kipch., Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat, Dobr., Nog., Osm. TS *zaman* < Ar.; *her zaman* (*Hersaman*, altyd.) 'always, continually'

z a r a r (*Sarar*, schade, nadeel, verlies. = damage, loss) 'trouble, damage, loss, injury' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. TS *zarar* < Ar.

z e m a n 'time' Cf. Tat. Dobr. *zeman*, Osm. *zeman* < Ar.; *zeman deyül* (*Seman deyul*, 't is de tyd niet. = its time has not come yet); *zemandur* (*Semandur*, 't is de tyd, of daer is de tyd. = it is time, its time is here); *zemanî yoq* (*Semani jok*, daer is geen tyd. = he (she) has no time); *zemanler* (*Semanler*, Tyden.) Plural

z e m a n s i s (*Semanfis*, zonder Tyd. = without time) 'not in time, before its time, untimely' Cf. Nog. *zamansiz*, Osm. *zemansiz*

z e m z e m (*Cemcem*, een Put die te Mecca is. = a well, which is in Mecca) 'the name of a sacred spring (well) in Mecca' Cf. Tat. Dobr. *zemzem*, Nog. *Zemzem*, Osm. *zemzem*, *zemzam* 'A well in the court of the Cubical House at Mecca' < Ar.

z e n i l (*Sengil*, magtig. = mighty) 'rich' Cf. KarK *zengillik*, Crim. Tat. *zängin*, KarK, Osm. TS *zengin*, Tat. Dobr. *zengin* < P.

z e r d e 'a meal made of rice and saffron' See *q a r a b o y d a y*; Cf. Crim. Tat. Osm. R. IV, 892 *zärdä* 'Suppe aus Reis und Safran' < P.

z e r d e l i ~ *zerdelü*⁸¹ (*Serdegi* of *serdelou*, geelachtig, geele verwe. = yellowy, yellow colours) 'apricot' Cf. Qaw. *zärdäli*, Dur. *zärdalu*, Crim. Tat. *zärdalä*, KarK *zerdeli*, Tat. Dobr. *zerdali*, Osm. *zerdäli*, (P.) *zerd-älü* 'The wild apricot, prunus armeniaca' < P.

⁷⁹ As -z > -s is regular in the glossary, it is appropriate to reconstruct -s here. In a voiced context it becomes -z again, of course: e.g. *yüzde*, *Yüz yarayın* . . . See also *yüs* II.

⁸⁰ See note 19.

⁸¹ In view of similar double forms, one may assume the alternation of the suffix -li and lu here. Thus g in the first item (*Serdegi*) is incorrect for l.

zerdelü See *zerdeli*

zerdlü (*Cerdlou*, Zaed als Gort. = grains similar to the pearl-barley like' Probably its stem is *zerde*, see there.

zewk (*Ceuk*, genoegen, vrolijkheit. = content, gaiety) 'pleasure, gladness, jollity' Cf. Crim. Tat. *zäwk*, Tat. Dobr. *zewq*, Osm. TS *zevk* < Ar.; *zewkler* (*Ceukler*, vrolijkheden, vermakingen. = gaieties, amusements) Plural

zîrar (*Dfirâr*, scherpe lteenen, met welke zy dorfchen. = sharp-edged stones used for threshing) 'sharp-edged stones for threshing or grinding' Cf. Osm. *zurer* 'Sharp-edged stones' < Ar.

ziyâfet (*Sijafet*, Gaft-mael.) 'rich repast, feast' Cf. KarK *ziyafet* 'pir, ugošćenie', Osm. TS *ziyafet* < Ar.

ziyân I. (*Sijan*, ongeluk, droefheit, smerte. = misfortune, sadness, pain, grief) 'damage, loss' Cf. CC, Bul., Tarj., *zijan*, KarK *ziyan*, *ziyan*, Tat. Dobr. *ziyan*, Nog. *ziyan*, Osm. R. IV, 902 *ziyan*, *ziyan* < P.

ziyan II. (*Dsijan*, wilde Jafmin. = wild jasmin) 'darnel' Cf. Osm. *zi'an* 'Darnel, lolium temulentum' < Ar.

zor (*Sòr*, ongerechtigheit, bedriegrye. = unlawfulness, swindle) 'hard, difficult, strength; force, might, violence' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarK, Tat. Dobr., Nog., Osm. TS *zor*

zorna See *zurna*

zorsis (*Dsorsis*, zonder onrecht, zonder bedrog. = without unlawfulness, without cheating) 'without difficulties, without violence' See *zor*

zulum (*Dfulum*, geweld, onrecht. = violence, unlawfulness) 'oppression, tyranny' Cf. Crim. Tat., KarT, Tat. Dobr. *zulum*, Osm. *zulm*, vulgar *zulum* < Ar.

zürlemek (?) ~ *zorlamak* (?) 'to command (army)' Cf. Osm. TRS1. *zorlamak* 'forsirovat', Crim. Tat. M-K *zorlamak* 'nastaivat'; Perhaps a derivate of the verb *sür-* 'to lead, direct' cf. Arm.-Kipch. *sur-* 'to drive (among)', Osm. TS *sürmek* 'Yönetip yürütmek'

zurna ~ *zorna* (*Dforna*, een Trompet. = trumpet) 'zurna (a primitive double-reed instrument played with a drum in folk music), clarinet' Cf. Tuhf. *zurnay*, Crim. Tat. M-K, KarK, Nog., Osm. *zurna* < P.

At the end of the glossary (p. 583, 2nd ed.) one can find the following fragment of a poem:

Bou dari dunja bir mufaphir Chandur
Juz jaragin Kilmajan o bir divandur.

Its Dutch translation:

Deze Waereld is een Herberg der Reizigers;
Hy is dwaes die zich van Reis-tuig niet voorziet.

Its English translation :

This transitory world is just a hostel
He who does not provide himself with travelling utensils is a fool.

The reconstructed text :

*Bu darî dūnya bir musafirxandur,
Yüz yarayin qilmayan o bir divandur.*

Abbreviations

Abbreviations with initial capital letters and names following the abbreviations of languages are bibliographic references whose explanation is to be found in the Bibliography.

Ar.	Arabic
Arm.Kipch.	Armeno-Kipchak, see Schütz
Bshk.	Bashkir
Chag.	Chagatay
Crim.Tat.	Crimean Tatar, see R.
demin.	deminutivum
dial.	dialect
Kar.	Karaim
KarH	Karaim of Halich
KarK	Karaim of the Crimea
KarT	Karaim of Troki
KarL	See KarH
K.-Balk.	Karachay-Balkar
Kkp.	Karakalpak, see RKkpSl.
Kzk.	Kazakh, see RKzkSl.
Nog.	Noghay, see NogRSl.
Osm.	Osmanli-Turkish, see Redhouse (Where Osm. is not followed by further marks, Redhouse's data is quoted, possibly in the original way of writing.)
P.	1. Persian 2. Person
Sing.	Singular
Tar.	Taranchi
Tat.	Tatar, see TatRSl.
Tat.Dobr.	Tatar of Dobrudja, see Zajączkowski
Trkm.	Turkmen
Uig.	Uighur, see R.
Plur.	Plural

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NEW VOLGA BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS

F. S. HAKIMZJANOV (Kazan)

Among the tomb inscriptions copied in Bolgari in 1722, on the order of Peter the Great, there exists a text with number 23., where mention is made of the geneology of several *hožas*.¹ I. Lepehin gave the following Russian translation: "On Gospod Bog živyj, tak i bezsmertny. Vse živye, krome ego Boga polučat smert. Milostivaja ruka i blagodatnyj Sjuver Al' Hodža, Ali Hodži syn, Atrjač Xodži syn, Abubekir Hodži syn, Alep Hodža, umre v fevrále mesjace leta 623; i togo tomu kamnju 511 let, a postavljen on byl nad onymi umeršimi".²

J. Klaproth was dissatisfied with the reading and the translation, and in 1831 edited it in Arabic script and with a French translation.³ Some other authors used these publications and suggested some other forms for the names or a stylistical improvement in the translation (F. I. Erdman, P. V. Kalačev, I. Berezin and É. P. Turnerelli etc.).⁴

In the meantime, the grave-stone was used for the building of the Uspenie Church in Bolgari and it was removed from the foundation only at the beginning of the seventies of this century. Though the stone was broken into two pieces, the inscription remained in good condition (Fig. 1). The text and its translation is as follows.

¹ Cf. *Azovskie i armjanskije nadpisi na razvalinah s perevodom na russkij jazyk* to be found in the Centralnyj Gosudarstvennyj Arhiv Drevnih Aktov (g. Moskva) F. 192, op. I, ed. hr. 4/4, No. 23.

² *Dnevnye zapiski putešestvija doktora i akademii nauk ad'junkta Ivana Lepehina po raznym provincijam Rossijskogo gosudarstva, 1768 i 1769 godu*, č. I. SPb., 1771, p. 277.

³ J. Klaproth, *Notice et explication des inscriptions de Bolgari*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1831, 97—102.

⁴ F. I. Érdman, *O nadgrobnih nadpisjah v Bolgarah, Zavolžskij Muravej, Kazan'* 1832, 21, p. 1224, *Donesenie podpolk. Svečina o drevnostjah, najdennyh im v Bolgarah*, *Sbornik Arheologičeskogo Instituta II*, SPb. 1879, p. 92, I. Berezin, *Bulgar na Volge*, *Učenyje zapiski Imperatorskogo Kazanskogo Universiteta*, III, 1852, No. VII and others.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Äl-hökmü li-l-lahi!</i> | (١) الحكم لله |
| 2. <i>Huwä-l-häjji-l-läzi lä jamutu</i> | (٢) هُوَ الْحَيُّ الَّذِي لَا يَمُوتُ |
| 3. <i>wä küllü häjgin siwahü säjamutu!</i> | (٣) وَكُلُّ حَيٍّ سِوَاهُ سَيَمُوتُ |
| 4. <i>Golämasämnä säwan, mäşñidsämnä</i> | (٤) عَلِمَا يَمُنَّ سَوَانَ مَسْجِدِ يَمُنَّ |
| 5. <i>gämarät tonan äkile xäjratlü,</i> | (٥) عِمَارَةَ بِلْتَانِ أَكِلِ خَيْرَاتِلُ |
| 6. <i>älüwi bärakatlü mün suwar jali</i> | (٦) الْوَيْ بَرَكَاتِلُ مُونِ سَوَارِ يَالِ |
| 7. . . . <i>Gali xoşa ouli Aträč</i> | (٧) . . . عَلِي خَوَاجَهْ أَوْلِ أَتْرَجْ |
| 8. <i>xoşa ouli Abübäker xoşa</i> | (٨) خَوَاجَهْ أَوْلِ أَبُو بَكْرِ خَوَاجَهْ |
| 9. <i>ouli Alip xoşa belükü.</i> | (٩) أَوْلِ أَلِيبْ خَوَاجَهْ بَلُوكُيْ |
| 10. <i>Dönjarañ köçrü: tarixa şe-</i> | (١٠) دِنْيَارَانِ كُوجْرُويْ تَارِيخْ جِيَا |
| 11. <i>ti şür säkir şa^{ol}, şomadi-l-u-</i> | (١١) تِ جُورِ سِكِرِ جَمَادِي الْاُو |
| 12. <i>lä ajxä, şijirem äkeşi kön äti.</i> | (١٢) لَ آيخْ جِيرِمِ اَكِشِ كُونِ آتِ |

Translation

1. The judgment of Allah!
2. He is the living one, who does not die
3. and all living ones, with exception of Him, die!
4. Who loved the scholars, built
5. mosques, who was gracious,
6. benefactor, from the clan of Mün-Suvar
7. . . . son of Ali-hoşa, son of Aträč
8. hoşa, son of Abubekir hoşa
9. Alp hoşa's tomb monument.
10. He departed from the world according to the date: se-
11. ven hundred eight year, the month of ju-
12. mada I, the day the twenty second it was.

Accordingly, the tomb-stone was erected in 1308. There is nothing unusual in its paleography or style, many similar monuments can be found on the former Volga Bulgarian territory. In this paper no attempt is made to analyze the lexical material⁵ though some of the words and grammatical forms are to be met for the first time here.

For comparison it is convenient to give here the text of another inscription which was found in Bolšie Tarhani (Tetjuşi Rayon, Tatar Autonomous Soviet Republic)⁶ (Fig. 2.).

⁵ On the language of the Volga Bulgarian inscriptions see A. Róna-Tas, A Volga Bulgarian inscription from 1307. *AOH* 30, 1976, 153—186. F. S. Hakimzjanov, *Jazyk épitafij Volžskih Bulgar*. Moscow 1978.

⁶ This inscription was first edited by H. Fejzhanov (Tri nadgrobnih bulgarskih nadpisi. *Izvestija Imperatorskogo Arheologičeskogo Obščestva* 4, 1863, 396—398, Table I.)

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Huwa-l-ḥājji-l-lāzi lā jamutu,</i> | (١) هو الحي الذي لا يموت |
| 2. <i>wā küllü ḥājjin siwah sājamutu!</i> | (٢) و كل حي سواه سموت |
| 3. <i>Galimlärqa tärbijjä qılqan häm</i> | (٣) عالم لارقا بره قلقان هم |
| 4. <i>alarni sewgän, mäşjedlär</i> | (٤) الارني سوكان مسجدار |
| 5. <i>gijmarät qılqa[n], üküş xäjr</i> | (٥) عمارت قلقا[ن] وكوس حر |
| 6. <i>şahibe, meskenlärneñ . . .</i> | (٦) صاحبي مسكن لارنيك . . . |
| 7. <i>sewgän Xoşa oylı</i> | (٧) سوكان حوچه وعلى |
| 8. <i>Goşman oylı tamyaçı Ib-</i> | (٨) عثمان وعلى بمعاحي اد |
| 9. <i>rahim äs-Suwari wafat bo-</i> | (٩) رهم السواري وفات بو |
| 10. <i>ıyan. Bu tarix jeti jüz on</i> | (١٠) لعان بو تاريخ بي نور اون |
| 11. <i>törteneñdä ğomada äl-äwvä-</i> | (١١) تورسيحدا حمادي الاو |
| 12. <i>li ağınñ on altıncı</i> | (١٢) لي ابينيك اون الطح |
| 13. <i>küne erdi.</i> | (١٣) كون اردی |

Translation

1. He is the living one who does not die
2. and all living ones, with exception of Him, die.
3. Who gave education to scholars
4. and loved them, who erected
5. mosques and who carried out
6. good deeds, the poor's . . .
7. loved, the son of Hoşa,
8. son of Osman, tax-collector Ib-
9. rahim of Suwar died.
10. According to the date: the seven hundred four-
11. teenth, the ğumada I
12. month, the sixteenth
13. day it was.

Compare further lines 2—4 of the 1333 inscription from Bulgari⁷ اسراغان “the beauty of the بيكت لار كوركي كونكل لاراوز . . . علمالار . . . الارني شفقت بولا اسراغان youth, the core of the heart . . . scholars . . . supporting them with sympathy”,

The edition of G. V. Jusupov was also based on this (*Vvedenie v bulgaro-tatarskuju épi-grafiku*, Moscow—Leningrad 1960, Table 12). I viewed the inscription in 1981 and took photographs. The photograph is published here for the first time.

⁷ These lines were first cited by N. F. Kalinin (in: *Al'bom po bulgaro-tatarskoj épigrafiike*. Kazan' 1942 No. 214 to be found in the Archives of the Institut Jazyka, Literaturny i Istorii Kazanskogo Filiala AN SSSR, Fond 8, op. I, d. 62—64). Until then only 10—12 lines were quoted. I studied the inscription in 1978.

or lines 2—4 of the 1317 inscription also from Bulgari :⁸ بيكت لار كوركى كونكل لار اوزكى :⁸ "The beauty of the youth, the core of the heart, who respected the scholars, who fed the lonelies, the widows and the orphans".

In 1983 some tomb-stones were found in the cemetery of Čistopol which also pertain to the same period.⁹ On one of them there is a bilingual text carved with *kufi* letters. The part of praise resembles the texts above. The text and translation is the following : (Fig. 3.)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Huvä-l-ħajji-l-läzi lä jamutu,</i> | (١) هُوَ الْحَيُّ الَّذِي لَا يَمُوتُ |
| 2. <i>wä küllü ħajjin siwahü säjamutu!</i> | (٢) وَكُلُّ حَيٍّ سِوَاهُ سَيَمُوتُ |
| 3. <i>Galimlärqa tärbijjät qılqan,</i> | (٣) عَالِمٌ لَارِقَا تَرْبِيَّتِ قَلْقَانِ |
| 4. <i>zahidlärqa sewgän, mäş'üd-</i> | (٤) رَهْدَلَارِقَا سَوَكَانِ مَسْجِدِ |
| 5. <i>läрни gimärät qılqan, üküš</i> | (٥) لَارِنِي عَمَرْتِ قَلْقَانِ وَكُوشِ |
| 6. <i>xäjrätliγ Mařar qazij oγli</i> | (٦) حَرَاتْلَعِ مَچَرِ قَاصِ اوعلى |
| 7. <i>Ismagil zijjaräte bu, Rähmätü-</i> | (٧) اِسْمَاعِلُ زِيَارَةُ بُو رَحْمِهِ |
| 8. <i>-l-lahi gälajhi rähmätän wasigätän!</i> | (٨) اَللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ رَحْمَةٌ وَّاسِعَةٌ |
| 9. <i>Wafat boltu : tarix ře-</i> | (٩) وَفَاتٌ لَطْوِي بَارِيحِ جِيَا |
| 10. <i>ti řür uon bir řaol, räřäp</i> | (١٠) سَجُورِ وَاَنْ سِرْ جَالِ رَجَبِ |
| 11. <i>ajxä řijirem äkeři kön äti.</i> | (١١) اِحْ جِيرِمِ اِكْشِ كَوَانِ اَتِ |
| 12. <i>Al-mäütü babun,</i> | (١٢) الْمَوْتُ نَابِ |
| 13. <i>wä küllü-n-na-</i> | (١٣) وَكُلُّ الْاِ |
| 14. <i>si dahilühu!</i> | (١٤) سِ دَاخِلِهِ |

Translation

1. He is the living one, who does not die
2. and all living ones, with exception of Him, die!
3. Who gave education to the scholars,
4. who loved the pious, who erected
5. mosques, who fulfilled
6. a great many good deeds, son of Mařar-kadi
7. Isma'il's place of burial is this. The mercy
8. of Allah be upon him with abundant mercy.
9. Deceased : according to the date : sev—

⁸ This inscription was rubbed and read by I. Berezin (*op. cit.*, pp. 119—120).

⁹ G. F. Sulejmanova, first reported in 1983 that in the cemetery of Čistopol, tomb inscriptions similar to those of the Volga Bulgarians are to be found. They were visited by M. I. Ahmetjanov with whom in the next year we read the texts and took photographs.



Fig. 1. The inscription of 1308 from Bulgari

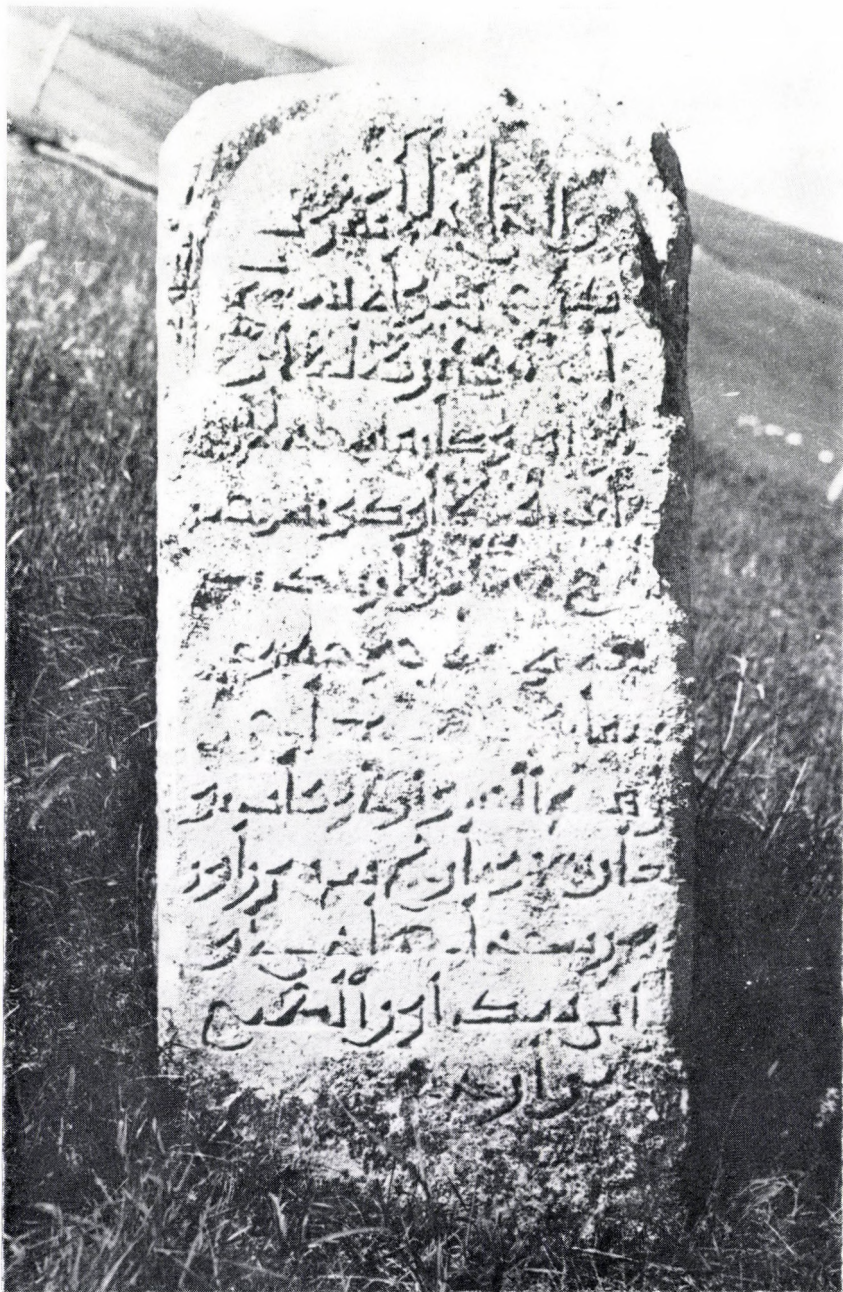


Fig. 2. The inscription of 1314 from Bolšie Tarhani



Fig. 3. The inscription of 1311 from Čistopol upper part



Fig. 4. The inscription of 1311 from Čistopol, lower part



Fig. 5. A sketch of the places

10. en hundred eleven year, rajab
11. month, twenty second day it was.
13. Death is a gate
14. and all people
15. are entering it!

This tomb-stone was erected, as can be seen, in 1311.

Postscriptum

In the late summer of 1985 the author had the opportunity to visit again the inscription of Čistopol and to make better photos. Some details can be now rectified. In line 4. in the word رهد لارقا the ر is not in the inscription, thus the correct reading is : رهد لا قا and *zahidlä[r]qa* has to be transcribed. In line 5., in the word عمرت the trace of the aliph is visible, accordingly the text has to be changed into : عمارت. On the other hand in line 6. the word which the author read earlier as قيص i.e. *qazij* seems to be uncertain, though no other reading offers itself as evident. For the time being it has to be read with a question mark.

THE GRIEF OF THE BRONZE SPARROW

SYMBOLS OF MELANCHOLY IN CHINESE POETRY

LANCE ECCLES (Haberfield)

In the poetic anthology *Yuefu shi ji* 樂府詩集, compiled by Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (?—?) during the Song dynasty, are to be found a number of poems on the subject of the Bronze Sparrow Terrace (Tongque Tai 銅雀臺), these being the work of 28 different writers ranging from the fifth to the ninth centuries. Prefacing them, Guo Maoqian quotes from the now lost *Yedu gushi* 鄴都故事:

Emperor Wu of Wei (Cao Cao 曹操, 155—220) issued an order to his sons: "After I die the funeral is to be held on the western ridge of Ye, near the temple of Ximenbao. There are to be no precious objects such as gold, jade or pearls concealed in the tomb, but incense is to be distributed amongst my wives. Do not order any sacrifice to be offered. My concubines and singing girls shall take up residence on the Bronze Sparrow Terrace; there let there be placed a bed six feet long, hung with silken curtains, and in the morning and late in the afternoon let them offer wine, dried meat and provisions. On the first and fifteenth days of every month let them perform before the curtains. You should from time to time ascend the terrace and gaze upon my grave on the Western Hill.¹

These 28 writers were all drawn to express the sad plight of the concubines, obliged to spend their days in the service of a dead master who could no longer repay their devotion. Lu Ji 陸機 (261—303) had already mentioned them in the preface to his *Elegy for Emperor Wu of Wei*:

[The Emperor] said: "My concubines and singing girls shall take up residence on the Bronze Sparrow Terrace. In the hall on the terrace let there be placed a bed eight feet long, with silken curtains. In the morning and late in the evening let them offer dried meat and provisions, and on the first and fifteenth days of every month let them perform before the curtains."²

¹ *Yuefu shi ji* (SPPY), 31. 1a. The Bronze Sparrow Terrace was built by Cao Cao in the fifteenth year of the Jian'an reign (210). See *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (SPPY), 1. 22a. Guo Maoqian adds: "At the top of the terrace were 120 rooms, whose continuous line of roof beams penetrated the clouds. In the Han dynasty a great bronze sparrow had been cast and placed on top of a building there, its wings spread and its tail fanned as though it were flying. It is from this the Bronze Sparrow Terrace got its name."

² *Liu Chen zhu Wenxuan* 六臣註文選 (SPTK), 60. 24b—25a.

In the Elegy itself Lu Ji wrote:

Playing on the resonant strings, each performs alone.
 They offer dried meat and provisions, but who is there to taste them?
 They grieve at the sombre indifference of the silken curtains,
 And sorrow at the overgrown wilderness of the Western Hill.
 They climb the Sparrow Terrace and sadly gather,
 But what do they strain their lovely eyes to gaze at?³

This article will examine the various symbols of sadness found in the Bronze Sparrow poems of the *Yuefu shi ji*. Although these poems are all written on the one single topic, nevertheless, many of the symbols in them have a universality in Chinese poetry, and in pre-Tang times were already being employed to express feelings of melancholy.

Firstly, however, the poems themselves will be presented, not in the order in which they occur in the *Yuefu shi ji*, but in chronological order, as best that can be determined. Each piece will be given a number for ease of reference, and any deviations from the text of the *Yuefu shi ji* will be indicated.

1 Jiang Yan 江淹 (444—505): *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow*

The Emperor Wu has gone from the golden apartments,
 Imposing but forever desolate;
 His magnificent sword moulders and has no sheen,
 And a few of his girdle pendants glitter.
 Autumn has come, the bright moon is round,
 The wind wounds, and the white dew falls.
 How profound the pure night;
 A single candle casts its glow on the orchid curtain.
 In the shadows her grieving is to no avail,
 And she is aware that her sorrows are not few.
 The beauty of jade in course of time will be no more;
 How much happiness can rouge and perfumes bring?
 There is no point in her ascending the terrace to sing and dance;
 Finally it will become just a wall where the cricket sings.⁴

2 Xie Tiao 謝朓 (464—499): *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow*

The silken curtains swirl on the Jinghan Tower,⁵
 And the wine goblets are there just as throughout his life;
 Sad are the trees on the Western Hill;

³ *Ibid.*, 60. 31a.

⁴ *Yuefu shi ji*, 31. 3a.

⁵ Li Zhouhan 李周翰 (8th century) comments that the Bronze Sparrow Terrace is called by one writer the Jinghan Tower 井幹樓. See *Liu Chen zhu Wenxuan*, 23. 32a.

How can he hear the songs that are sung?
 Their fragrant garments are stained by tears,
 As they try in vain, through their graceful dance, to resurrect his love.
 But the jade throne remains vacant,
 And his concubines find themselves dispensable.⁶

#3 He Xun 何遜 (?—518): *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow*

In the autumn wind the leaves of the trees fall;
 It blows chill,⁷ and the pipes and strings sound clear.
 Gazing upon the tomb they sing before the wine,
 And facing the curtains they dance on the deserted rampart.
 Lonely it is beneath the broad eaves,
 The light drapes swirling in the breeze.
 When the music is over, they glance in his direction and rise;
 The sun has gone down and the sound of the pines and cypresses can be heard.⁸

#4 Liu Xiaochuo 劉孝綽 (481—539): *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow*
 (The version followed here is that found in *Quan Han San'guo Jin Nanbeichao shi*, rather than that of *Yuefu shi ji*.)

On the Bronze Sparrow Terrace on the fifteenth day,
 The strings and pipes make it seem like a festival.
 Once again evening falls on the Western Hill,
 And the wind from the pines blows the silken curtains.
 The strings of the *qin* are interrupted, then continue,
 For a concubine's heart is just breaking.
 Speak not of the sleeve of her who entertains,
 For she lifts it to cover her face at her sorrow on seeing the tomb.⁹

⁶ *Yuefu shi ji*, 31. 2b.

Xie Tiao also wrote a briefer poem on the same topic, entitled *Sadness on the Bronze Sparrow*, not included in the *Yuefu shi ji*:

In the setting sun over the high city wall,
 The last light enters the silken curtains.
 In the stillness, deep among the pines at evening,
 How is it possible to know the sadness of the *se* and *qin*?

See *Xie Xuancheng ji* 謝宣城集 (SPPY), 2. 6b. The two musical instruments, the *se* 瑟 and *qin* 琴, are a reference to *Song* 164, in which they represent the love between husband and wife.

⁷ "It blows chill": a play on words. *Xiaose* 蕭瑟 is written almost the same as (and was pronounced the same as) *xiao se* 簫琴, the names of two musical instruments, one with pipes, the other with strings.

⁸ *Yuefu shi ji*, 31. 3a.

⁹ *Quan Han San'guo Jin Nanbeichao shi* 全漢三國晉南北朝詩, edited by Ding Fubao 丁福保 (Shijie Shuju 世界書局, Taipei 1978): *Quan Liang shi* 全梁詩, *juan* 10, p. 1191.

5 Zhang Zhengjian 張正見 (c.530—c.580): *The Bronze Sparrow Terrace*

It grows cold as evening falls on the Bronze Sparrow;
 Leaves shudder and fall all across the grave.
 The clouds are gloomy when the day for singing comes,
 The pines sigh and the wind blows as they are about to dance.
 There are few people here, the jasper mat is cold,
 The music ceases, the delicate drapes are empty.
 How sad that the year is about to turn into tears;
 All is finished in the tomb under the full moon.¹⁰

6 Xun Zhongju 荀仲舉 (6th century): *The Bronze Sparrow Terrace*

On the high terrace late in autumn,
 It is just full moon and all is melancholy.
 Once again a wind arises,
 And the sound of the pines enters the broken strings.
 Tears one by one fall beneath the dusty beams,
 Their hearts along with their round fans have been rejected.
 Who can bear the fifteenth night?
 Vainly they face the roundness of the moon.¹¹

7 Wang Bo 王勃 (650—676): *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow* (two poems)

A I was once a singing girl in the bosom of the palace,
 Within its walls I was enclosed ninefold.¹²
 But the king's love for me is ended;
 For whom shall I sing and dance now?
 His brocade quilt will never again enfold me;
 Who will sew my silken garments?
 On the high terrace I gaze north-west,
 And my tears flow as I face the green pines.¹³

B The Golden Phoenix lies by the Bronze Sparrow,¹⁴
 From the Zhang River one can gaze on Ye city.
 The king is nowhere around,
 But the pavilion on the terrace is just as when he was alive.

¹⁰ *Yuefu shi ji*, 31. 1b.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 31. 1b.

¹² The *Jiubian* 九辯 of Song Yu 宋玉 (3rd century BC) says: "How can I not be dejected when I think of my lord, for his gates are ninefold?" Wang Yi 王逸 (2nd century) comments: "The doors of the women's apartments are locked and the way out is obstructed." See *Chuci buzhu* 楚辭補注 (SPPY), 8. 6b. Thus it is a reference to the women's apartments.

¹³ *Yuefu shi ji*, 31. 3a.

¹⁴ In the ninth year of the Tianbao reign (558), Emperor Wenxuan of the Northern Qi dynasty built the Golden Phoenix Terrace on the site of the old Bronze Sparrow Terrace. See *Bei shi* 北史 (SPPY), 7. 7b.

The mats on which the dancing took place are scattered and broken,
 But the beams under which the songs were sung are imposing and have not fallen.
 On the Western Hill the pines and tea plants grow cold.
 Who senses the emotion within the silken gauze?¹⁵

#8 Wang Wujing 王無競 (c.652—c.705): *The Bronze Sparrow Terrace*

Facing North they climb to the top of the Bronze Sparrow,
 Facing West they gaze at the green pines behind the walls.
 The delicate drapes are empty amidst the green vegetation,
 The tomb unkempt and desolate.
 Things are different from when he was alive,
 But the songs and flute notes are as graceful as yesterday.
 Their long sleeves sweep the jade dust,
 And their feelings for him are tangled in the silken curtains.
 "We sorrow in the morning dew;
 How can your favours reach these curtains?"
 On the high terrace the playing of music ends,
 The music ends and their tears stream down.¹⁶

#9 Qiao Zhizhi 喬知之 (?—697): *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow*

In the golden apartment they sorrowfully arrange the incense,
 Never again will they adorn themselves with make-up.
 It is vain to linger singing and dancing in this place,
 As though for their lord the king.
 The melody played on the sad strings has broken off,
 For there is no need to protract the love song.
 Together they watch the dusk fall on the Western Hill,
 And an autumn mist rises amongst the aspens.¹⁷

#10 Shen Quanqi 沈佺期 (c.656—713): *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow*

In former years a place to deal out fiefdoms,
 Today a terrace to gaze upon your tomb.
 One day your great plans came to an end,
 And the thousand autumns of your dying wish began.
 The silken gauze you do not see,
 To sing and dance I vainly come;
 Your favours, together with the waters of the Zhang River,
 Flow East, never to return.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Yuefu shi ji*, 31. 3a.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 31. 1b.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 31. 3b.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 31. 3b.

#11 Zheng Yin 鄭愔 (late 7th century): *The Bronze Sparrow Terrace*

The sun sinks low and over the banks of the Zhang it is full moon;
 A wind springs up and the terrace of Ye grows cold.
 On the jade throne his life has drawn to a close,
 Before the golden cup the singing girls' flute notes end.
 But before the dancing is over they are weeping by the curtains,
 Their songs finish and they look towards the tomb.
 Amidst the silent decay dusk falls upon the wind-stirred pines,
 And a sad mist encroaches upon the Jinglan Tower.¹⁹

#12 Gao Shi 高適 (c.706—765):²⁰ *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow*

As the sun sets the Bronze Sparrow is distant,
 To sounds of solemn music the jade throne is clearly seen.
 A sighing grove of pines and cypresses under the full moon,
 Melancholy the emotions within the silken gauze:
 "Your favours will never again be bestowed on us;
 For whom is the delicacy of our dancing?"²¹

#13 Jia Zhi 賈至 (718—772): *The Bronze Sparrow Terrace*

As the sun sets the Bronze Sparrow is still,
 And on the Western Hill the real sparrows return to roost.
 They run their fingers across the strings, their hearts breaking,
 And as they listen to the pipes their tears rain down.
 From his coffin he looks down upon the morning libation,
 On his empty bed his night clothes are rolled up.
 Amidst the green, the moon upon the stream,
 And over its reflection the spirits of his concubines fly.²²

#14 Yuan Hui 袁暉 (early 8th century): *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow*

Once their lord's love was liberally dispensed to them,
 And they always served him with their dancing.
 How can they bear to go up to the jade throne?
 With breaking hearts they pay court before the tomb.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 31. 2a.

Jinglan 井欄 has the same meaning as *jinghan* 井幹 ("well-railing"), the tower name already noted in the poem by Xie Tiao (#2). Therefore Zheng Yin must be referring to the Bronze Sparrow Terrace.

²⁰ The SPPY edition of *Yuefu shi ji* gives the author as Wang Shi 王適 (?-c. 706), The *Zhonghua Shuju* 中華書局 edition (Beijing 1979) adjusts this to Gao Shi (p. 458). The poem is to be found in the collected works of Gao Shi (*Gao Changshi ji* 高常侍集, *Guoxue jiben congshu* 國學基本叢書 edition, Taiwan Shangwu Shuguan 臺灣商務書館, Taipei 1968, p. 15). In the *Complete Tang Poetry* the poem occurs twice, once ascribed to Wang Shi and once to Gao Shi. See *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 (Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing 1960), *juan* 94, p. 1015, and *juan* 211, p. 2189.

²¹ *Yuefu shi ji*, 31. 3b.

²² *Ibid.*, 31. 2a.

Their sorrow grows into uncontrolled emotion,
 Their sadness is crystallised into a melody that does not keep in tune.
 And as they look down upon the pines in the sunset,
 They sit, their sad pipe tunes sighing.²³

15 Liu Zhangqing 劉長卿 (?—785): *The Bronze Sparrow Terrace*

They will never again be found enchanting and lovely,
 For the several stories of the high terrace remain empty.
 Restraining their cries as the sunlight falls upon their sleeves,
 They cannot bear to look upon the Western Hill.
 The Zhang River flows East, never to return,
 The multitude of flowers by the imperial highway have turned to green lichens;
 Over the blue tower the moonlit night is long and desolate,
 Azure clouds at sunset linger without any purpose.
 Their lord does not see that everything in Ye is not as in former times;
 Where the people of former days once dwelt today's people sorrow.
 No spring wind blows, their lord the king has gone,
 And the herbs appear every year on the road by the old palace.
 In the palace the songs and dances are now like clouds that have drifted away.
 Useless it is to point out the place where people came and went.²⁴

16 Liu Shang 劉商 (8th century): *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow*

The lord of Wei esteemed his moth-eyebrowed ladies,
 Beauties lovelier than jade;
 The high terrace knew neither night nor day,
 For the songs and dances never ceased;
 His magnificence was like the sun,
 But the evening sun dropped down into the deep abyss.²⁵
 Frequently he ordered that after he died,
 They should continue to satisfy the desires he had during his lifetime.
 Their rouge and powder are streaked with tear stains,
 As their tuneful strings vainly play before his chamber.
 If they look up, their lord is not present,
 And they see only the trees on the Western Hill.
 His imperial carriage will not come again,
 So for whom are their lovely hairstyles bedecked with jade?
 How can they bear to be in the autumn wind,
 While once again they dance to a spring melody?
 When the melody is over their emotions are unbearable,
 And at the railing they wail towards the West.

²³ *Ibid.*, 31. 4a.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 31. 2a.

Unlike the other poems collected here, this contains lines of varying numbers of characters.

²⁵ This line tells of the death of Cao Cao.

At the edge of the terrace grow wild herbs,
 And as the ladies move back and forth they ensnare their silken veils.
 Once again the tomb is in slumber,
 And two by two the deer emerge.²⁶

17 The Monk Jiaoran 皎然 (8th century): *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow*

As the wine gushes from the goblets they look towards his tomb,
 And they recall the happiness that in former days they derived from their lord
 the king.
 Imperceptibly their song, unfinished, saddens and breaks off,
 But before it has stopped the sound of the noble melody becomes strained.²⁷

18 Zhu Fang 朱放 (late 8th century): *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow*

As I sing, in my distress my song catches in my throat;
 As I turn, in my sorrow my dancing sleeve hesitates.
 When the sun is about to set on the Western Hill,
 That is the time when this concubine's heart breaks.²⁸

19 Li He 李賀 (790—816): *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow*²⁹

The lovely ladies pour out a pot of wine,
 The autumn scene stretches a thousand *li*,
 And the stone horses repose in the newly risen mist.³⁰
 With what can their grief compare?
 Their songs they perform unobserved,
 As a wind springs up amongst the trees on the tomb.
 Their long gowns hang heavily upon the high terrace,
 As their tear filled eyes gaze upon his altar.³¹

20 Ouyang Zhan 歐陽詹 (798—?): *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow*

Amidst the decay they ascend the ancient terrace,
 Glancing back at the golden chamber.
 Fallen leaves cannot return to the forest,
 The high tomb has forever become an abyss.

²⁶ *Yuefu shi ji*, 31. 4a.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 31. 4b.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 31. 4b.

²⁹ In Li He's collected works this poem bears the subtitle "Written after He [Jun] and Xie [Tiao]'s Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow" (# 3 and # 2 of this article). See *Li Zhangji geshi* 李長吉歌詩 (commentary by Wang Qi 王琦) (SPPY), 3. 1a—1b.

³⁰ Wang Qi comments that the meaning here is not mist, but newly grown herbs that look like mist. See *Li Zhangji geshi*, 3. 1a.

³¹ *Yuefu shi ji*, 31. 4a.

Painting their faces, in vain they beautify themselves,
 For whose eye will see their dance steps?
 In grief before the delicate curtains,
 The sound of their songs is more bitter than weeping.³²

21 Luo Yin 羅隱 (833—909): *The Bronze Sparrow Terrace*

Compelled to sing, compelled to dance — it is hard to bear.
 Flowers fall, flowers bloom, and tears cover their silken gowns.
 It would have been best if that year they had died along with their lord:
 They would have avoided being made to gaze, exhausted with grief, upon the
 Western Hill.³³

22 Xue Neng 薛能 (?—880): *The Bronze Sparrow Terrace*

Where the Emperor of Wei once built the Bronze Sparrow Terrace,
 The yellow flowers are thick with colour and bramble clumps burst forth.
 If in life one is rich, one should stop and think —
 Will this place one day be without song and dance?³⁴

23 Ma Dai 馬戴 (9th century): *The Grief of the Bronze Sparrow*

The palace of Wei was a place of song and dance,
 Where butterflies played and birds came to sing.³⁵
 But now the jade throne is approached hardly at all,
 And the Bronze Sparrow is worn away by raindrops.
 The Western Hill cannot be seen through the trees,
 And on the banks of the Zhang the herbs uselessly grow.
 Ten thousand regrets are buried here;
 In vain has his reputation been exalted to last a thousand years.³⁶

24 Lady Zhang Yan 張琰 (Tang dynasty): *The Bronze Sparrow Terrace*

Their lord the king is hidden away and not to be seen;
 On the Bronze Sparrow they sing and dance, but they linger there in vain.
 From the Western Hill comes the chirping of birds in their sad abode,
 The depths of the empty palace are closed in by green lichens —
 Green lichens that bear no trace of man.
 Rouged and powdered they vainly grieve among themselves.³⁷

³² *Ibid.*, 31. 3b.

³³ *Ibid.*, 31. 2a.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 31. 2b.

³⁵ The butterflies and birds are the singing girls.

³⁶ *Yuefu shi ji*, 31. 4b.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 31. 2b.

25 Lady Liang Qiong 梁瓊 (Tang dynasty): *The Bronze Sparrow Terrace*

Singing and holding fans, they begin by facing the tomb,
 In an even row as a libation is poured from a jade cup.
 When they dance they are a line of flying swallows,
 Or, as in a dream, a cloud approaching.
 The moon in the sky grows more melancholy,
 The sound of the pines at dusk becomes sadder.
 Who envies his concubines who survive him,
 As, covering their faces with their sleeves, they descend from the Bronze
 Sparrow?³⁸

26 Wu Zhu 吳燭 (Tang dynasty): *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow*

In autumn when the Western Hill is covered in green weeds,
 The resounding strings and urgent pipes demand happiness.
 They stretch out their silken sleeves, not to dance,
 But in the wind to receive their teardrops.³⁹

27 Zhu Guangbi 朱光弼 (Tang dynasty): *Singing Girls of the Bronze Sparrow*

The King of Wei's singing girls on the Bronze Sparrow Terrace —
 As the sun sets, the clear sound of strings and pipes.
 On seeing the trees on the Western Hill,
 Their hearts are sad and they cannot dance.⁴⁰

28 Lady Cheng Zhangwen 程長文 (?-?): *The Grief of the Bronze Sparrow*

Now that their lord the king has departed, people no longer come;
 The *xiao* and *yu* do not sound, their songs catch in their throats.
 His noble sword has lost its majesty, its shining lustre dulled,
 And the jewelled *se* lies abandoned, its golden studs gone.
 On the deserted jade steps an autumn dew falls,
 And the moon shines on the place that in those days was for singing and dancing.
 To the place that in those days was for singing and dancing no one returns,
 And it has become the ashes that today are the Western Hill.⁴¹

*

If we examine the earliest of these poems, those of the pre-Tang writers Jiang Yan (#1), Xie Tiao (#2), He Xun (#3), Liu Xiaochuo (#4), Zhang Zhengjian (#5), and Xun Zhongju (#6), we already find symbols of melancholy that recur frequently throughout the whole of this group of poems, and

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 31. 2b.³⁹ *Ibid.*, 31. 4b.⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 31. 4b.⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 31. 5a.

which, moreover, were common in pre-Tang poetry. For example, Jiang Yan, He Xun and Xun Zhongju introduce the symbol of autumn to suggest decay and sadness; it is the season when the plants die, the birds depart, and the cold begins. In using autumn in this way they are following the precedent of the seventh of the *Nineteen Old Poems*:

The white dew drenches the wild herbs,
And the season suddenly changes once more;
The autumn cicada sings among the trees,
The swallows have departed — where have they gone?
Once I had a friend with whom I dwelt,
But spreading his wings he soared away.⁴²

And from an even earlier period, Song Yu's *Jiubian* begins:

Alas! The breath of autumn has arrived.
The wind blows chill and the plants and leaves are shaken down to decay;
Sad and desolate, as when on a long journey one climbs a hill and
looks down on the water, seeing someone off as he returns home.⁴³

Jiang Yan juxtaposes the autumn with the moon, the wind, and the falling dew to create a melancholy atmosphere expressing the feelings of an abandoned lady; in He Xun's poem the autumn wind blows across the terrace as the singing girls perform their rituals and dances; and Xun Zhongju describes a scene under a full autumn moon, with the wind blowing from the pines on the dead emperor's tomb. Other writers also use autumn as a background to the scene: an autumn mist rises among the trees on the tomb as Qiao Zhizhi's ladies (#9) sadly wonder what use it is to continue to sing and dance on the terrace. In Liu Shang's long piece (#16), the autumn wind contrasts with the spring melody to which the ladies dance; autumn is very clearly a reference to their present situation, while the spring melody is an echo of the happiness they once enjoyed. Li He's ladies (#19) find themselves in a vast autumn scene with the wind blowing among the trees on the tomb. Wu Zhu (#26) describes them weeping in the autumn wind, while Cheng Zhangwen, in her delicately beautiful poem (#28), depicts an autumn scene of desolation, with the moon shining and, as in Jiang Yan's piece, the dew falling.

Dew is mentioned also in another poem, that of Wang Wujing (#8), but in this case it seems to lack something of the impact it has in the pieces by Jiang Yan and Cheng Zhangwen. The difference lies partly in the time of day — the brightness of the morning cannot have the same effect as the mysterious darkness of the night — but it lies also in the construction of the poem; Wang

⁴² *Liu Chen zhu Wenxuan*, 29. 4b—5a.

⁴³ *Chuci buzhu*, 8. 1b—2a.

introduces the dew as an isolated natural phenomenon representing nothing more than the early hour, whereas the other two writers place it carefully amongst other phenomena to build up both a picture and a mood. Jiang and Cheng's treatment of the dew is reminiscent of that of Xie Tiao in his *Autumn Night*, in which, in the midst of describing the feelings of an abandoned lady, he says :

Over the northern window a light curtain hangs,
Through the western doorway the moonlight enters.
How can she know that the white dew is coming down?
As she sits she notices the dampness before the steps.⁴⁴

In the quotation above from the seventh of the *Nineteen Old Poems* the dew likewise produces an emotional effect, being part of the sad change of season.

The wind plays a part in Xie Tiao's Bronze Sparrow poem (#2); it is not mentioned by name, but by its action of swirling the curtains on the terrace. There does not seem to be anything particularly melancholy in its presence here any more than in the same writer's *Of the Wind*, where in spite of a lady's misgivings, the wind has an almost playful quality :

Hesitantly it pushes the red blossoms,
Fitfully it moves the green weeds,
The hanging willows droop and rise again,
And the young duckweed gathers and separates.
On the verandah she walks with sleeves fluttering,
And at the door she contemplates with collar draping.
Aloud the gusts of wind sing,
And she thinks of him, though he does not know it.
Sometimes it brushes the mirror with the solitary phoenix,
And she sees, here and there, the white flecks in her hair.⁴⁵

However, we have already noted in the Bronze Sparrow poems of other writers the wind's being introduced as part of an autumn scene, and in those cases the intention is definitely to use the wind as a symbol of sadness. Of the eight poems that speak of autumn, six allude to the wind.

There are other poems in which the wind also finds a place. The atmosphere of Zhang Zhengjian's piece (#5) is thoroughly chill, and the wind, together with the falling leaves, the sighing pines, and the gloomy clouds are all part of the desolation. Liu Xiaochuo (#4) employs the wind and the falling darkness as a sudden contrast to the superficial festiveness of the music, and for Zheng Yin (#11) it brings the coldness of night to the terrace as the sun

⁴⁴ *Xie Xuancheng ji*, 3. 8a.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 5. 3b.

goes down. All these poets who employ the wind to suggest melancholy find antecedents in the *Nineteen Old Poems*. Number eleven begins :

I turn my carriage about, yoke my horses, and set off,
Far down the long road.
How bleak it is on all sides,
As the East wind shakes the grasses.
Meeting with nothing familiar,
How can I but grow quickly old?⁴⁶

And number twelve begins :

The towering eastern ramparts stretch forth,
Winding in and out along their length ;
A swirling wind shakes the earth as it rises,
The autumn grasses, growing thick, will soon be green no longer.
The seasons change,
And the year's end comes so quickly.⁴⁷

Liu Zhangqing (# 15), however, treats the wind differently, for he speaks of the spring wind, representing the happiness that the singing girls enjoyed when Cao Cao was alive.

In Jiang Yan's poem (# 1) we find mention of the moon. It is very natural that the moon should appear in some of the Bronze Sparrow poems, since the first and fifteenth days of the month, the days on which Cao Cao decreed that his concubines should perform, represent the extreme phases of the moon : the first is the new moon, and the fifteenth is the full moon. However, the moon is present as more than just a feature of the calendar. Often in Chinese poetry it is a background to a scene of loneliness, as in *Enjoying the Moonlight in the Office at the Western City-gate* by Bao Zhao 鮑照 (405—466). In his opening lines he says :

First it appears by the south-west tower,
Fine as a jade hook ;
Finally it shines on the north-east steps,
Graceful as a lady's moth-eyebrow.
But the moth-eyebrows are concealed in a pearl cage,
And the jade hook is separated from them by a window with delicate tracery.
On the fifteenth and sixteenth of the month,
I am united with you across a thousand *li*.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ *Liu Chen zhu Wenxuan*, 29. 6b—7a.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 29. 7a—7b.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 30. 13a—13b.

The last couplet means that though she and her lord are far apart they can enjoy the full moon together.

Of the Moon, by Shen Yue 沈約 (441—513), is similar :

The moon shines down on the still night,
 And from the night's stillness it removes all impurity ;
 A square of its brilliance enters through the doorway,
 And its round image comes in through the cracks.
 High up in her chamber the brooding lady is anxious,
 While in the Western Garden the finest talents gather ;⁴⁹
 Through the lattice railing the light falls on her scarlet hem,
 And at the Ying Gate it reflects on the green lichens.
 In the inner room there is almost no light —
 The clear moonbeams are indeed far away.⁵⁰

In both these pieces the lady is secluded in her chamber and separated from her beloved ; the moon outside, removed from her, reminds her of her seclusion. Of the Bronze Sparrow poems, the one that comes closest to this is that of Liu Zhangqing (#15), which tells how "long and desolate" the moonlit night is. In the pieces by Jiang Yan (#1), Xun Zhongju (#6), and Cheng Zhangwen (#28), the moon is part of the sadness of the cold autumn scene ; in those of Zhang Zhengjian (#5) and Gao Shi (#12) the light of the full moon, falling onto the hill where the Emperor is buried, creates an atmosphere of sombre beauty. The effect is similar in the pieces by Zheng Yin (#11) and Jia Zhi (#13), in which the moon forms part of a beautiful but melancholy scene. Liang Qiong's employment of the moon (#25), however, does not have such a strong effect, since rather than painting a picture and creating a mood with the moon and the pines, she merely makes a statement about their appearing sadder, thereby achieving the necessary link between the first two couplets and the last couplet.

In more than half of the poems there is some reference to the trees on the Emperor's tomb (as in Xie Tiao's poem, #2), and in most cases (as, for example, Liu Xiaochuo, #4) they are specified as being pines. However, this does not seem to be following any tradition of associating trees or pines with melancholy ; the mere fact that there are trees growing on the imperial burial mound dictates their appearance in the poems.

On the other hand, falling blossoms or leaves are established symbols of loss or decay. As early as the *Book of Songs* falling leaves can be found as a metaphor of the wife cast aside or ignored. *Song* 58 says :

Before the leaves of the mulberry fall,
 How glossy they are.

⁴⁹ The Western Garden in which Cao Pi 曹丕 (186—226) held parties at night. His younger brother, Cao Zhi 曹植 (192—223), wrote of these parties in his *Royal Party Poem*. See *Liu Chen zhu Wenxuan*, 20. 14b.

⁵⁰ *Yutai xinyong* 玉臺新詠 (SPPY), 5. 6a.

When the leaves of the mulberry have fallen,
 They are yellow and abandoned.
 Since I have come to you,
 For three years I have eaten of poverty.

Xiao Zong 蕭綜, a Liang dynasty prince, also expresses sentiments of irrevocable loss in a rather long poem entitled *Sadly Falling Leaves*. It begins :

Sadly falling leaves,
 One after another fluttering down, layer upon layer.
 Layer upon layer falling they fly,
 This way and that way, departing, never to return.

And it concludes :

Each one disappearing into the dust —
 Impossible to climb back to the high branch.⁵¹

Falling blossoms represent similar sentiments in one of the *Spring Songs* of the anonymous Jin dynasty *Ziye Songs of the Four Seasons* :

The plum blossoms have finished falling,
 And the willow flowers scatter on the wind.
 I sigh for that year when I was in my prime,
 For no one is willing to summon me.⁵²

He Xun (#3) and Ouyang Zhan (#20) both speak of falling (or fallen) leaves. To He Xun they represent not only the autumn of the year, but also the autumn of the lives of the singing girls. Ouyang Zhan expresses an idea similar to that in the poem of Xiao Zong quoted above : that once the leaves have fallen they cannot return to the trees. Of course this means that the ladies, having lost their former way of life, cannot return to it. Zhang Zhengjian (#5) does not specify exactly what it is that is falling upon the grave, but we can be sure that it is the leaves of the trees (and this has been brought out in the translation). Once again they are an expression of the air of general decay. Luo Yin (#21) speaks of both falling and blooming flowers, and his intention is to depict the passing of the years : though the seasons may come and go, the ladies linger on year after year performing their thankless duties.

In He Xun's poem (#3) we find an expression to describe the sun going down : *ri mu* 日暮. It has a similar effect to that of autumn, which is to say it brings to mind a time when the air is becoming cold and life is less conspicu-

⁵¹ *Yiwen lei ju* 藝文類聚 (Zhonghua Shuju, Hong Kong 1973), *juan* 88, p. 1509.

⁵² *Yuefu shi ji*, 44. 5b.

ous, hence it can be regarded as a time of sadness. An example of its use in this way can be found in one of the 82 *Of Remembrance* poems of Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210—263):

Alone I sit above the eastern hall,
 There is none with whom to enjoy myself.
 I go outside and look down on the road that runs forever by,
 But see no passing chariots or horses.
 I climb up high and gaze across the Nine Regions —
 Stretching afar in all directions, the vast wilderness.
 A solitary bird flies north-west,
 And the animals depart, heading south-east.
The sun sets and I think of my dear friends;
 For conversation I have only myself to talk to.⁵³

And Wang Can 王粲 (177—217) begins one of his *Seven Sorrows* poems:

These southern outposts are not my home,
 How can I long remain here?
 The two-hulled boats go up the Yangzi,
The sun sets and my heart is sad.⁵⁴

The expression *ri mu* occurs in, apart from He Xun's piece, six poems (#12, #13, #14, #15, #18, #27), and the single word *mu* 暮 in another three (#9, #11, #25), in every case the intention being to suggest a time of sadness that matches the mood of the concubines. Similar are the pieces of Liu Xiaochuo (#4) and Zhang Zhengjian (#5), for though they use a different expression, *wan* 晚, "evening", the intention is the same. Liu Shang (#16) also tells us of the sun going down, but his purpose in doing so is quite different, for he speaks metaphorically, referring not to the scene from the terrace, but to the death of Cao Cao, who is the sun.

A lady's make-up appears in some of the poems, always symbolising, though in different ways, the sadness of the singing girls. Already in the *Nineteen Old Poems* we find powder and rouge as part of a scene of sad beauty, for the second of the songs says:

Green, green the herbs on the river bank,
 Lush the willows in the garden;
 Delicate the lady upstairs,
 Radiant at the window;
 Lovely in her powder and rouge,
 Slender the white hand she extends.

⁵³ *Liu Chen zhu Wenxuan*, 23. 10a.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 23. 20b.

Once she was a courtesan,
 Today a wanderer's wife.
 The wanderer has gone and not returned;
 How hard it is to occupy an empty bed alone.⁵⁵

Later, in his poem, *Of a Mirror Stand*, Xie Tiao depicted a lady applying her make-up before the mirror and wondering about her lord's faithfulness. His poem concludes :

To contrast with the powder she applies red rouge,
 And inserting flowers, she arranges them in her cloud hair.
 With face of jade in vain she gazes at herself,
 For she constantly fears her lord's affections may fail.⁵⁶

The situation of the ladies in the Bronze Sparrow poems is different from that described in these two pieces, but make-up, when it appears, is always connected with their sorrow. The lady of Jiang Yan's poem (#1) realises that the face that is so adorned will age and lose its beauty; Qiao Zhizhi's ladies (#9) will no longer adorn themselves, for there is now no purpose in it. In Liu Shang's poem (#16) their make-up is streaked with tears; and in the poems of Ouyang Zhan (#20) and Zhang Yan (#24), though they are made up, it is all in vain, for there is no one to see them.

Jiang Yan (#1) introduces a candle into the scene he describes. Shining on the curtain in the darkness, it suggests loneliness and isolation. The use of the candle here is reminiscent of Xie Tiao's *Of a Candle*, which similarly describes an abandoned lady;

At the apricot bridge the guests have not yet dispersed,
 In the Cassia Palace the brightness is about to be extinguished.
 The dim light on the interior of the delicate curtains,
 The faint glow shining on the jewelled *qin*;
 Wavering is the shadow of her cloud hair,
 Glittering is the gold, carved in a pattern of silk.
 "I long for you on this night of autumn moonlight;
 You have abandoned me in the darkness of this inner chamber."⁵⁷

However, Jiang Yan is the only one of the 28 writers to introduce a candle into his poem. Most of the poems describe an out of doors scene on the terrace, where a candle would be inappropriate. Furthermore, a candle is more suited to a scene of solitariness, and the only other one of the Bronze Sparrow poems that concerns itself with a lady secluded indoors is the first of the two by Wang Bo (#7A).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 29. 1b-2a.

⁵⁶ *Xie Xuancheng ji*, 5. 6b.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 5. 7a.

A very attractive theme, occurring, for example, in Liu Xiaochuo's poem (#4), is that of the music or dance breaking off, the ladies being so heartbroken that they are unable to perform. This does not seem to be such a common theme in Chinese poetry, but we can find it in the fifth of the *Nineteen Old Poems* :

Upstairs the sound of strings and song ;
 Why do the notes sound so sad ?
 Who can make such melody,
 Unless it be the wife of Qi Liang ?
 The *qingshang* mode spreads forth on the breeze,
 But in the central phrase there is a pause :
 With every note repeated sighs
 Overflowing with grief.⁵⁸

Liu Xiaochuo's ladies merely falter in their playing, but are able to continue, rather like those of Yuan Hui (#14), who, though they are able to perform, are too distressed to be able to keep the music in time. Jiaoran (#17) depicts them as unable to finish their song, their voices trailing off in the middle, and it is similar in the pieces by Zhu Fang (#18) and Cheng Zhangwen (#28), in which the ladies' voices catch in their throats as they sing. These last two resemble in this way one of the *Funeral Songs* of Lu Ji, though there it is not a case of singing, but only of speaking. The last couplet of one of the *Funeral Songs* runs :

I go to speak, but my words choke in my throat,
 I wipe away my tears, but they keep flowing.⁵⁹

Qiao Zhizhi's ladies (#9) seem a little more matter of fact ; they simply leave off their singing because there is no point in continuing, just as they no longer bother to apply their make-up.

Similar to this is the faltering of the dancer in Zhu Fang's poem (#18), rather engagingly expressed by mentioning only the hesitation of her sleeve as she turns. The singing girls of Zhu Guangbi (#27) likewise, on seeing the Emperor's tomb, are too sad to dance.

All the symbols discussed so far can be found occurring in the pre-Tang Bronze Sparrow poems. However, there appear in several later poems two others worth mentioning, that of mist, and that of water flowing East ; antecedents for both of these can be found in pre-Tang poetry.

Mist appears in the poem by Qiao Zhizhi (#9) : the ladies have abandoned their attempts to sing and dance, and as they sadly gaze on the Emperor's

⁵⁸ *Liu Chen zhu Wenxuan*, 29. 4a.

Qi Liang 杞梁, in the Spring and Autumn period, was killed in battle. Griefstricken, his wife took up the *qin* and played it, and wept so that the city walls were brought down.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 28. 34b.

tomb in the dusk, a mist rises amongst the trees that grow on it. Zheng Yin's description (# 11) is quite identical. For Li He (# 19) the mist is part of the autumn scene, and he juxtaposes it with the grief the ladies feel as, unobserved, they go through the motions of their rituals before the tomb.

An earlier poet who used mist as part of a scene of melancholy was Yan Yanzhi 顏廷之 (Liu Song dynasty). Here are four couplets from his *Setting off North for Loyang* :

I ascend the Yangcheng road,
And as the sun sets I gaze across the three rivers:
The days of affluence have long since gone,
No longer are there sages to rule ;
The Yi and Gu rivers have washed away their crossing places,
And the halls on the terrace have no rafters ;
The palace steps are full of nests and hollows,
A mist arises round the city gate.⁶⁰

Xie Tiao also used mist. In the poem, *In Xuancheng Commandery I Climb up and Gaze into the Distance*, after describing his feelings of weariness and his longing to go into retirement, he continues :

Sighing comes the North wind at evening,
Amid the mulberries a cold mist arises ;
As I sadly gaze my heart has reached an extreme,
I am agitated and my spirit is constantly uncertain.⁶¹

Shen Quanqi (# 10) and Liu Zhangqing (# 15) both make use of the symbol of waters flowing East as a representation of times and events passing away, never to return. In China all rivers flow towards the East ; once the water has flowed into the sea it is lost forever. The idea is similar to that of the leaves or blossoms which can never return to the trees from which they have fallen. In the case of both these writers it is the waters of the Zhang, the river that flows by Cao Cao's city of Ye, that remind the concubines of the passing of the Emperor's love for them. Xie Tiao made use of this symbol ; it occurs in his poem, *Written on Parting with Right Hand Commander Shen [Yue] and Other Gentlemen* :

On a spring night, with cups of clear wine, we part,
And by the expanse of the river again I become a wanderer.
I sigh by the eastward flowing waters,
And wonder what is happening on the paths of my native place ;

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 27. 1b—2a.

⁶¹ *Xie Xuancheng ji*, 3. 3b.

Through the layers of trees the sunlight pours,
 Fragrant islets pass, seeming to blend into one another.
 Gazing towards the foot of the Jing Terrace,
 I shall dream of home on nights when I think of you.⁶²

These various symbols of melancholy found in the Bronze Sparrow poems were already in pre-Tang times part of the established Chinese poetic repertoire. Nearly all of them are drawn from nature, and all of them have a simplicity that endows them with directness and immediacy of appeal. This has ensured that some of them may be found being employed even as late as our own century.

Here from the twentieth century is a brief untitled poem by Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881—1936), in which two of these symbols, that of water flowing East, and that of the moon, appear :

Ceaselessly flows the Yangzi towards the East,
 Carrying away all those illustrious and eminent men.
 The splendour of the Six Dynasties is nothing now but a dream,
 Over the rubble of the city wall the moon is like a hook.⁶³

⁶² *Ibid.*, 4. 4a—4b.

⁶³ Lu Xun: *Jiwaiji shiyi* 集外集拾遺. *Lu Xun quanji* 鲁迅全集 (Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe 人民文學出版社, Beijing 1973), vol. 7, p. 863—4.

IN MEMORIAM

TIMOTEUS POKORA

(June 26, 1928–July 11, 1985)

Timoteus Pokora was a memorable, unique representative of classical type Sinology; his philologically based and theoretically ambitious research on old Chinese history, philosophy and law gained him due and lasting international appreciation already during his short life-time. His essays were always welcome by learned periodicals, and by our *Acta* as well. Unfortunately his premature death, following a long illness, prevented him from seeing the printed form of his last article, not to mention his many further plans that now remain unfulfilled.

After graduating in law at the university of his birthplace Brno, Dr. Pokora finished his Sinological studies at the Faculty of Arts of the Charles University in Prague, in 1955. Specialized in the history and culture of the Far East, he wrote his thesis about the great Chinese philosopher Wang Ch'ung (27 A. D. — about 99 A. D.), while his postgraduate studies — in 1956–1957, at Peking University — were devoted to the philosopher Huan T'an (according to him: 43 B. C. — 28 A. D.). Later, as a scientific worker of the *Orientální Ústav* — the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague — he studied the philosophy, history and cultural history of the Han dynasty (206 B. C. — 220 A. D.), wrote several books, dozens of essays and hundreds of book reviews, and paid service to his compatriots as a devoted popularizer of Chinese culture by translations and popular articles. In the meantime, he also undertook pedagogical activities both at home and abroad: in 1965–1966 he lectured at the Heidelberg University in the FRG, and in 1969–1970 he was a research fellow at Michigan University, Ann Arbor, the USA.

From his youth he was on friendly relations with several colleagues in the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and Hungary; we Hungarians felt this connection to be especially intimate. For the author of these lines, who highly esteemed his close friendship with Timoteus Pokora since 1955, his death means the loss of an irreplaceable fellow-combatant, so to say a family-member. His amiable character, both as a scholar and as a man, will long be remembered.

Ferenc Tókei

CRITICA

D. O. OMURZAKOV—M. K. SARALAEV, *Kirgizskie nacional'nye vidy sporta i narodnye igry*. Izdatel'stvo 'Qirgizstan', Frunze 1981, 32 p. + 30 p. photographs.

Alongside the traditions, legends, heroic poems and epics that kept alive and strengthened national consciousness, the military exercises which ensured that the troops were prepared every day and the different kinds of sports in times of peace, which were to improve physical strength and condition, to develop courage, skilfulness, resourcefulness and readiness, all formed an integral part of the past of the Kirghiz people, fraught with struggles against invaders or conquerers. The *er sayış*, the duel of mounted warriors with lances or pikes may have been the most popular of all Kirghiz military games and sports. The *ōdarış*, which originally was a sort of wrestling by valiant soldiers on horseback, as well as the *ĵambī atmay*, shooting with bows and arrows, also belonged to military games. Though the practice of these games is still kept alive, nowadays sports games, which are more peaceful, but at the same time just as significant, are preferred.

The purpose of the book being reviewed is to introduce the most popular traditional Kirghiz folk games, which cannot be regarded as military exercises or fighting games, but rather as real sports games. Naturally, the Kirghiz as well as other still partly nomadic Turkic peoples have had the greatest regard for different horse and equestrian races, team competitions, show

jumping, wrestling and archery. The first part of the book is concerned with these (pp. 13—18).

The *ordo*, a game played with sheep ankle-bones, which — the book claims „occurs only in Kirghizistan” — is also rather popular with the Kirghizes. As is well known, the same game is also familiar to the Kazaks by the name *orda*, and similar games can be found even in further away areas (e.g. in Hungary). However, undoubtedly *ordo* competitions are held only in Kirghizistan (pp. 18—20). Similarly, the *tojuz qorĵōl* can also be considered as a typically Turkic game (pp. 20—22), since it is known only to the Kirghiz and some other Turkic peoples, unless others adopted it from them.

In the second part of the book, highly amusing and humorous games full of wit and inventiveness are described, but being less ethnic in character, their parallels can be found over big areas of both related and non-related peoples (*altī baqan selkinček*: pp. 22—23; *aq ēōlmök*: pp. 23—24; *dūmpūldök*: p. 24; *arqan tartmay*: p. 24; *ačakey-ĵumakey*: p. 25; *čaqa čapmay*: p. 25; *teke čabiš*: p. 25—26; *urmay top*: pp. 26—27; *aq terek — kōk terek*: p. 27; *čaqan atmay*: pp. 27—28; *qoyon tepmey*: p. 28; *upay*: pp. 28—29; *qanīm, dat*: p. 29; *beš taš*: pp. 29—31; *tomuq qatmay*: p. 31; *ĵōluq taštamay*: pp. 31—32). However, the fact that the structure of at least two of the above mentioned games is almost identical with that of the Hungarian games, as well as the apparent similarity of the Hungarian names: *átabatány* (*aklabaklány*-

hinta) and *teke* (*teke csaptaros*) speaks of some kind of genetic relationship.

In the appendix of 30 pages, 8 colour and 44 black and white photographs make the descriptions even more expressive and suggestive.

As all the 26 Kirghiz sports games or folk games are described in the Russian language in the book, Kirghiz words can only be found in the titles and as the original names of the games. In spite of that they are misspelled, sometimes with several wrong letters in one word. This would be considered a grave negligence, even if the book had not been published in Kirghizistan, but in another Soviet Socialist Republic or in Moscow. But in the given case, no excuse can be found. It is unimaginable that the printing office of the "Qirgizstan" publishers found it hard to set the Kirghiz letters correctly in the given words, since the Kirghiz alphabet is based on the Russian with only slight differences. If necessary, they could have borrowed a set of letters from another Kirghizistan printing office.

All things considered, this book with its significant data and information may prove to be useful for both lay people and researchers who deal with the old and contemporary games of Turkic peoples and with the comparative history of the games. After the Özbek, Kazak, Kazan Tatar summaries published in recent years (e.g. *Ming bir bāla oyini*. Tāškent 1978; *National Folk Sports in the USSR*. Moscow 1980; *Kel, oynayiq*. Almatī 1981; *Hatīq hām sport uyinnarī*. Qazan 1982) this book, together with Z. Bektenov's and Y. Musin's *Qirgizdin eldik oyundarī* (1978) has brought the world of Kirghiz folk games home to us.

I. Mándoky Kongur

Ētnografija karakalpakov. XIX—načalo XX veka (Materialy i issledovanija). Otvetstvennye redaktory: T. A. ŽDANKO, S. K. KAMALOV. Izdatel'stvo "Fan" Uz-

bekskoj SSR, Taškent 1980. 204 p. + 42 photographs.

This book embraces a highly important subject: the description of the total ethnographic image of the Karakalpak people, notably the introduction of the most significant elements and phenomena of their popular culture. Though in the title there is no reference to it by the editors and authors, this book first of all summarizes the results of research expeditions led to the area in the last decades by Karakalpak and other ethnographers, and synthesizes the scientific publications of this time.

The subject is dealt with according to the traditional system of contemporary Soviet ethnography: first the phenomena of objective ethnography are presented, followed by — as a separate unit — the beliefs and customs of ideological ethnography related to the economic life and productive labour. As a matter of course most of these questions have a historic ethnographic reference since they are closely related to the ethnogenesis of the Karakalpak people, which was formed in the 15th—16th centuries through the union of Kipchak-Turkic tribes of Central Asia, as well as to the development and change of their independent, specific popular culture through several centuries. However, in addition to reconstructing the traditional popular culture, the authors of the volume intend to point out the sometimes distinct sometimes hardly noticeable ethno-cultural relations. At the same time, they cast a light upon several phenomena, which have stood the test of time and still exist today, and will perhaps survive in future. Thus, for example, having been opposed, persecuted and violently destroyed for decades, the beloved and favoured ancient home of the Karakalpak people, the yurt is flourishing again; the progressive tradition of folk architecture is highly valued by today's architects, who try to take advantage of its useful structures; the Karakalpak food specialities are just as popular today as ever before; several old

festivities, communal customs, and popular games offer an alternative to the monotony of urban life; and the former flourishing Karakalpak folk art and popular crafts also found a following among young people, etc.

The first chapter of the book is concerned with the home, dwelling and settlement (pp. 16—56), justly giving prominence to the yurt, a quickly collapsible and easily transportable frame-structured and felt-covered tent, the most popular dwelling of the once nomadic and half-nomadic Karakalpak people, as well as the relevant historical questions and related ethnographic problems. Since the heterogeneous notes of contemporary travellers are often contradictory, it is not easy to form a real picture of the origin of the Karakalpak yurt. Nevertheless, confirmed by archeological excavations, written data and popular recollection, it is well-known that the Kuman-Kipchaks, who moved into the Carpathian Basin in the mid-13th century knew the frame-structured, felt-covered collapsible yurt, which could be transported on pack-animals or in carts and was used until the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century. It is likely that no later than the early 13th century, it became popular with other branches of the Kipchak-Turkic peoples, including the forefathers of the Karakalpaks. Similarly, the data on the *otaw*, a non-collapsible sort of permanent dwelling set up on carts, used by the nomadic peoples of *Däšt-i Qipčaq*, then by those of the *Altın Orda*, which was seen by travellers in the 13th—16th centuries, is also confirmed by reports about the Kuman-Kipchaks in Hungary, which proves its immense popularity before the 13th century.

The next chapter is a concise description of the typical, decorative and especially fine national costume of the Karakalpak women and men, enlightening the historical route of every single item of clothing and also referring to the significance of ethno-cultural relations and to

the parallels between the Nogay, Kazak, and Kirghiz, etc., clothing names (pp. 57—111).

The third chapter is concerned with traditional food specialities, meat and fish dishes, dairy products and vegetable food-stuffs. It also touches upon the questions of cooking, and refers to the similar and identical features, and names among related peoples, as well as eating customs and traditions related to particular dishes, ritual meals and foods consumed on traditional feasts and on family festivals (pp. 112—143).

This is followed by a chapter on popular crafts practiced by men, notably the trade of smiths and goldsmiths, cast-iron potters and wood-carvers (pp. 144—175). Most of the questions discussed here are not isolated phenomena, several analogues can be found among the Kazaks first of all, as well as among the Kirghiz and partly among the Özbek.

The last chapter presents the superstitious beliefs and customs related to the particular fields of economy, notably animal husbandry and agriculture, and the magic rites to promote a rich harvest and the reproduction of animals (pp. 176—200). The phenomena described in this chapter are even more widespread than the previous ones; the analogues of some Karakalpak beliefs, superstitions and magic rites appear everywhere in the once grassland area, which extends from the Pacific Ocean to the Carpathian Basin, in the large or small regions.

This brief, but highly informative summary is illustrated with 42 pages of black and white photographs, and a relevant explanatory text of 5 pages, as well as 8 pages of colour photographs inserted between pages 192 and 193.

Though the editors make it clear in the preface (p. 14) that the Karakalpak words, expressions, texts and terminology are given in Russian transliteration, the large number of incorrect, misspelled or entirely distorted Karakalpak elements are rather disturbing and

spoil the scientific value of the book, which might be of great use otherwise. It would have been of major benefit if the "Fan" Publishers of Özbekistan had obtained a set of letters from the Karakalpaks living in Özbekistan, which perfectly agrees with their writing based on Cyrillic script with only one or two letters different from the Russian alphabet. This would have prevented the annoyance and disapproval of several specialists and readers, not to speak of the fact that the Karakalpak words and terminology as used in the book are impossible to quote without the necessary correction.

I. Mándoky Kongur

ZIYAŠ BEKTENOV—YUNUS MUSIN, *Qirgiz-din eldik oyundari*. "Qirgizstan" basmasi, Frunze 1978, 138 p.

Apart from some short articles and summaries, there is hardly any information available on the games of the Turkic peoples: there are no detailed, thorough reviews or descriptions. However, the lack of such works was not really felt by the Turkic peoples — parents, teachers, researchers and non-researchers — having led a traditional life in traditional circumstances until quite recently, since most of them had living memories of all, or at least several of the traditional games of their childhood, youth and adulthood, and if possible and circumstance permitted intended to pass them down to their children and grandchildren. Nevertheless, the researcher of Turkic children's games is in a more difficult position, because even if he has some experiences and memories from his childhood, it is impossible to write the history of the games of any Turkic people without the comparative studies of the games of all, or several Turkic peoples. As a matter of course, children's games were not considered worthy of recording in the past either, which meant that only scattered and accidental information is to be found of old Turkic games,

mostly only names of the games without detailed descriptions. As is well known, on the basis of names it is almost or entirely impossible to reconstruct the rules, structure and characteristic features of an old Turkic game.

In the last decades, the interest in Turkic children's and sports games, as well as in their history has increased, a large number of relevant works have been published by Kirghiz, Kazak, Özbek, Kazan-Tatar and Ottoman-Turkish researchers.

Following several works of other authors and some of their own, the collection of Kirghiz games edited by the two Kirghiz game researchers is a welcome event. (Only two works on Kirghiz folk games have been edited so far: *Kirgizskij nacional'nyj sport i igry*. Frunze 1928; D. Omurzakov, Ju. Musin, *Kirgizskie narodnye igry*. Frunze 1973; in some works on horse-breeding there are also a few words on Kirghiz folk games including equestrian games, e.g.: *Konnozavodstvo i konnyj sport*. Pod. red. Ju. N. Barminceva. Moskva 1972; I. Bobylev, *Veter v grive — Horses*. Moscow 1975; However, only rough descriptions can be found in these books on Kirghiz folk games.)

A precise, detailed presentation of altogether 70 Kirghiz folk games of children and adults, as well as sports games is given in the book. These games are of ancient origin, which is also confirmed by the fact that most of them can be found in the same form or with very little alteration — often with an identical or similar name — among several Turkic peoples near and far, closely or distantly related. Thus, for example, many games similar to those of the Kirghiz are known among the Kazaks, Karakalpaks, Nogays, Özbeks, Tuva and Altai Turks, Bashkirs, Kazan Tatars, Karachays and Balkars, Kumuks as well as Dobrudjan Tatars and Kuman-Kipchaks of Hungary. They include, among others, equestrian games, riding demonstrations, horse races and riding competitions (at *čabış*: pp. 9—21; *qiz jarış*, *kelin*

jarış: pp. 21—24; *tüyin enğmey*: pp. 27—29; *ıorđo salış*: pp. 39—44; *ödarış*: pp. 89—91; *qız qūmay*: pp. 105—108; *ulaq tartış*; *kök börü tartış*: pp. 110—117; etc.). In the names of these games it is easy to recognize the names of games familiar from old Hungarian records as well as from certain contemporary dialects: *csabos*, *agyárs*, *ódaros koszkó*, *kuckóvár*, *kegbere*, etc.

Similarly, being popular with almost every Turkic people, the ankle-bone games of the Kirghiz (e.g. *ordo atışu* pp. 67—73; *upay*: pp. 74—78) are not unrelated either. Their historical background dating back about 1000 years is given by similar Hungarian games and their names (*ordató*, *ardatyma*, etc.). Hunting with eagles or other birds of prey and with greyhounds — which in the classical form is practised mostly among the Kirghizes and partly among the Kazaks today — also used to be a widely popular game among most of the one-time nomadic peoples from Central Asia to the Carpathian Basin (*bürkiüt salū*: pp. 60—65; *quş salū*: pp. 83—86; *üçuluq*: pp. 34—36; *anğçiliq*: p. 48).

Since these games cannot be found among the peoples living in the neighbourhood of the Turks (Iranian, Slavic, etc.), or even if they occur there they are undoubtedly of Turkic origin, they most possibly belong to the autochthonous cultural sphere of the Turkic peoples, with a past of at least 1000 years.

The book is illustrated by 35 highly suggestive black and white photographs and 70 drawings.

I. Mándoky Kongur

Qazaq qolżazbalarınıñ ğilimiy sıypattaması. Qazaq SSR Ğilim Akademiyasınıñ Orta-lıq Ğilimiy Kitaphanası men M. O. Áwezov atındağı Ádebiyet žáne Öner İynstitwtındağı qazaq qolżazbaları. 3-tom. Tarıyhbıy žırlar. Redakciyalıq alqa: AĦMETOV Z., AĦMETOV Š., BÖZEEV M., ĞUMAROVA M. (Žawaptı redaktor), NURMAĞAMBETOVA O.,

ŠARIPOV Ā.; Žawaptı šıǵarıwşı: ĀBIŠEV ŽARILĜASIN. "Ğilim" baspası, Almatı 1979, 219 p.

The third volume of the series of catalogues, which review the Kazak manuscripts preserved in the Central Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazak SSR and in the M. O. Áwezov Research Institute for Literature and Arts, gives a description of the manuscripts of the historical songs and historical epics.

It was about 150 years ago that the first works of Kazak folk poetry were collected and since then they were kept in manuscript archives (St. Petersburg, Moscow, Omsk, Tomsk, Kazan, Ufa, and Orenburg, etc.). Even in the earliest times, these pieces included several historical songs and epics, and since the beginning of the seventies of the last century, some of them have also been published by famous historians, philologists and folklorists, such as Š. Wäliyhanov, İ. Altınarıyn, A. Divaev, W. Radloff, I. Aniçkov, and Ja. Gaverdovskij. Since the twenties and thirties of this century, further publications of the old material, supplemented with data collected on-the-spot, were edited by outstanding Kazak writers, poets and scholars in contemporary periodicals (*Tanğ*, *Temirqazıq*, *Šolpan*, *Áyel teñǵdıǵı*, *Žas gayrat*, *Balja*, and *Säwle*, etc.) and other collections (e.g. *Terme*, *Žol qusı*, etc.). The process of collecting Kazak folk poetry manuscripts still continues, and their collection, outstanding in every respect, is made more perfect by regular on-the-spot researches and expeditions. At the same time, the collected data is also being published, the finest and most important pieces are made available to the researchers and the public in high standard editions.

The historical songs and epics introduced in the given catalogue are related to the history of the Kazak people between the 17th century and the beginning of the 20th century; they tell us the events of this period. The epics and heroic poems,

which deal with the Oyrat-Mongol invasions, attacks, even conquests in Kazak land led from Jungaria are especially important. So are those, which describe the victorious Kazak campaigns against their invaders, that is, the wars of liberation in the 17th century led by Töle biy, Žänibek, Esim, Qasım, and Äbilmämbet, and in the 18th century by Baraq, Qabanbay, Eset, Bögenbay, and Abılay. This period — the famous-infamous “*aqtaban şubırındı*” is of decisive importance in Kazak history, since it was during the wars that the Kazak people became united and gained their ethnic image, as well as their anthropological features, because of their mixing with the Mongols.

The defence Russian colonisation from the 18th to the 20th century, the fights which stopped the conquering campaigns of the tsarist troops and the leaders and heroes of these battles are shown in some other epics (Arqalıq batır, Bazar batır, Datulı Sırım, Taymanulı Iysatay, and Ötemisulı Mağambet, etc.).

So far, over 150 Kazak historical epics and songs have been discovered, but taking all their variants and recordings into account, some 600 manuscripts are known to researchers.

When describing the manuscripts, the following questions are dealt with in the catalogue: title (designation); author (performer, the name of the singer); collector; on what expedition it was collected, when and where; annotation; synopsis, versification (poetic measure, number of syllables per line, and rhythm); the state of the manuscript; its paper, ink and letter type (and type of writing); time and place of origin; first line; last line; the name of the transcriber the paging of the manuscript; its possible faults and shortcomings; other notes of secondary importance in the manuscript, marginal explanations; the number of variants and copies, and the place where they were discovered; and bibliography, etc. (pp. —191).

The volume is illustrated with 8 pages of facsimile material (pp. 193—200) and

supplemented with a list and a brief review of family trees and genealogical manuscripts (*şežire*) dealing with the origin of the Kazak people and the order of the descent of the tribes and clans. The manuscripts are kept in the Central Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazak SSR and in the archives of the Institute of Literature and Arts (pp. 201—204). The volume ends with a list of the Kazak titles of the epics in Arabic script (pp. 205—209), Latin script (p. 209) and in Cyrillic script (pp. 209—211), an index (authors: pp. 211—212; singers: pp. 212—213; collectors: pp. 214—216; geographical names: pp. 216—217); a chronological index (pp. 217—218), an index of the expeditions (p. 218) and finally an index of the subjects of the epics and heroic songs (pp. 218—219).

This highly informative volume of the series, the catalogue of Kazak historical songs and epics, will certainly prove to be a useful aid both for Kazak historical and folklore research and for international Turkic studies.

I. Mándoky Kongur.

M. S. MUKANOV, *Kazachskie domašnie chudožestvennyye remesla*. Izdatel'stvo “Kazachstan”, Alma-Ata 1979, 78 p. + 57 photographs.

For about 150 years, European scholars have shown a keen interest in the colourful world of Kazak folk art. During that time, several reports and articles, sometimes even albums, reviews and books have been published on the folk crafts of the nomadic Kazaks, the tricks of the particular trades, as well as the folk art products. In spite of all that, the rich world of their folk art is hardly known, to be more exact even the very few things that are known are often completely misunderstood. The art of all peoples including the Kazaks used to have a common language (intelligible to everyone, what is

more the folk art of the Kazaks is still more or less understandable, although at the same time it is becoming more and more baffling and confused "thanks to" the professional folk and applied artists who have studied arts and applied arts at different schools and colleges.

Most of the old researchers did not go further than giving descriptions on form and on the techniques of the different branches of folk art, and paid hardly any attention to the "artistic" questions, that is the system of symbols and the perception of space and time in folk art. Though about 50–60 or 100 years ago, it would have been easier for researchers to reveal the "secrets" — the soul — of Kazak folk art than it is today. So there is nothing surprising about the fact that contemporary ethnographers and art historians find it nearly impossible to uncover the message of Kazak folk art, which used to be evident for several centuries.

In recent years, several significant works have been published on Kazak folk art, the most important of which are the following: S. Qasıymanov, *Qazaq halqınıńǵı qolóneri*. Almatı 1969; *Qazaq halqınıńǵı sándik oyıw-órnek óneri — Narodnoe dekorativno-prikladnoe iskusstvo kazachov*. Leningrad 1970; Ä. Täzimuratov, *Şeberdiniń qolı ortaq*. Almatı 1977. The richness of the presented material, the valuable descriptions and thoughts, and the nice layout raise these publications above the average.

M. S. Mukanov's work is not only a continuation of the previous publications, but also a summary, which may at last serve as a reliable basis for researchers, not only from the point of view of bibliography and philology, but concerning theoretical questions too.

After the introduction (pp. 5–12) which concerns the significance and necessity of Kazak folk art, its role in contemporary Kazak life and the regular subsidy and support given by the state, as well as the history of Kazak folk art researches, there comes a short historical

review of the origin and development of Kazak folk crafts (pp. 14–20).

The next chapter includes a theoretical analysis of ornamentation in general and of the main problems of Kazak ornamentation, such as its appearance, development, system, function, symbolic meaning as well as the classification of motifs. It also deals with the questions of the identical and different features in the motifs of related and non-related peoples, and of the possibility of assuming historical relationships (pp. 22–34).

Felt making is one of the most ancient and important folk crafts practised by the nomadic peoples including the Kazaks. The third chapter is an account of different types of felt for different purposes, felt blankets (felt sheets for the yurt, and carpets, e.g. *tekemet*, *sırmaq*, *tuskıyız*, etc.), horse fittings (e.g. *at žabıw*, *toqım*), as well as items of furniture and utensils (e.g. *kese qap*, *šäyneq qap*, *kir qap*, *kerege qap*, *wvıq qap*, *äbdire žapqış*, *šabadan*, *žer žastıq*, etc.), items of clothing (e.g. *kebenek*, *qalpaq*, *baypaq*, etc.) and their ornamentation (pp. 36–50).

The fourth chapter is a description of folk weaving, the necessary tools and instruments as well as its products (e.g. *tükti kilem*, *taqır kilem*, *alaša*, *basqur*, etc.) and decorative motifs (pp. 52–72).

The last chapter is concerned with the technique of *šiy*-weaving and ornamentation, and the rich world of folk embroidery (pp. 74–77).

The book is illustrated with 25 text figures and photographs as well as with 57 colour drawings in the appendix.

To sum up, it can be concluded that M. S. Mukanov's book dealing with Kazak folk crafts is a concise, professional work. The limited space has excluded an even more detailed and thorough study of these questions, which is regrettable, because Mukanov is one of the most competent and authentic scholars in this field.

I. Mándokoy Kongur

CHARLES O. HUCKER, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford, California 1985, Stanford University Press. 676 p.

The institutional framework of political and cultural life of ancient China, i.e. the structure of government of the Chinese Empire is presented here, divided under 8,291 names of official titles, ranks, functions and institutions, respectively. While also utilizing the lessons of the previous works of similar character — limited to a certain age or dynasty — this unique dictionary surveys the whole history of China's official system, including its pre-imperial antecedents from the Chou era (11th—3rd centuries B.C.) — as formulated and recorded in books compiled or edited in early imperial times — till the end of the two millennia of the Chinese Empire (221 B.C.—1911 A.D.).

For the scholarly work reflected in this volume, we are indebted to C. O. Hucker, a well-known expert for a long time of e.g. "China's Imperial Past", especially as concerns Ming-times (1368—1643/1644) and "The Censorial System of Ming China" — as the titles of two voluminous works of his show — but in addition to the scholarly readers, even the beginner researchers may also welcome it for its reference-book form, clear and easy to handle. Furthermore, alongside Sinologist readers, devotees of Oriental documents of any Chinese-foreign historical relationship can beneficially use it, because it also includes the petty or honorary ranks, and even mere titles used in the remote provinces — giving a home to or being in the neighbourhood of "Barbarians" as well — if those ranks and titles are registered in the literacy of the central bureaucracy. (Although this sphere of officials is represented less comprehensively in the multitude of titles, to be reduced reasonably, as the author admits on p. 100.)

In order to also provide a coherent picture of the official mosaic divided into

alphabetic order, this book is introduced by a concise description of "Governmental Organization Era by Era" (pp. 1—96). After an enumeration of "Some General Continuities" in the system of officials throughout the dynasties (concerning the ruling families, categories of official ranks, lesser functionaries, and the "avoidance" of e.g. kinship relationships between them), the government structure is characterized in the time of the dynasties of Chou, Ch'in, Han, those of the era of North-South Division, Sui, T'ang, the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, Sung, Liao and Chin, Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing, respectively; most of the sections are introduced by a useful Table of the government structure concerned. This same division of time, with the related terminology, is also applied in the dictionary.

Each item of the dictionary proper (pp. 103—599) first contains — as a title — the name of an official title (etc.) in Chinese, in Wade-Giles' romanization as well as in Chinese characters. The dictionary is arranged in the English alphabetic order of the Chinese titles, with a few unavoidable inconsequences, cf. p. 99. An "Index to Chinese Terms" can be found on pp. 645—674, according to the 214 radicals, within them according to the number of strokes; while a "Conversion Table: Pinyin to Wade-Giles" is also offered on pp. 675—676.

Sometimes more than one rank or office are covered by the same title, its content changing in the course of times; they are separated by numbers, followed by independent explanations. Every item — or its numbered sections — is introduced by the designation of their age (dynasty), followed — mostly — by their suggested English name as near to the literal sense as possible, intentionally avoiding historical terms misleading as regards China. (The "Index to Suggested English Renderings", pp. 601—643, offers both the English names of institutions and important offices presented in the dictionary, and other renderings, often encoun-

tered in Sinological writings, unfortunately unmentioned here.)

The explanatory part of the items point out the contemporary system of officials, with their relationship to other offices and officials; abundant cross-references make the volume still more useful. Furthermore, their degree is given — if possible (after 220 A.D.) — according to the 9 categories, and the upper or lower classes of each (by a number, and the letters *a* or *b*, cf. pp. 4–5), as indicated by the “Tables of Officialdom Throughout the Dynasties” 歷代職官表 *Li-tai chih-kuan piao*, compiled in 1780, being the main source of the Dictionary, though utilizing other, Chinese and Western sources as well, cf. p. VI. The references *P* to the “Tables” (*piao*) are followed by the numbers of chapters, common in all editions.

Beside the other works — unfortunately left without reference — we find here references to and quotations (item by item) from the works concerned, namely: “Le Tcheou-li ou Rites des Tcheou”, trans. by E. Biot (1951); “Present Day Political Organization of China” by N. S. Brunnert and V. V. Hagelstrom (1911); “Traité des fonctionnaires et traité de l’armée”, trans. by R. des Rotours (1948); “Les Fonctionnaires des Song: Index des titres” by Chang Fu-jui (1962), and “The Bureaucracy of Han Times” by H. Bielenstein (1980).

Both for summarizing and completing the earlier reference-works of Chinese officialdom, this dictionary will be of indispensable assistance in further research on ancient China.

Ildikó Ecsedy

Die Welt des Buddhismus mit Beiträgen von HEINZ BECHERT, JANE BUNNAG, MICHAEL B. CARRITHERS, RICHARD GOMBRICH, ROBERT K. HEINEMANN, OSKAR VON HINÜBER, LAL MANI JOSHI, PER KVAERNE, ETIENNE LAMOTTE, SIEGFRIED LIENHARD und ERIK ZÜRCHER. Herausgegeben von HEINZ BECHERT und RICHARD

GOMBRICH. (Mit 74 Abbildungen im Text, 210 auf Tafeln, davon 78 in Farbe, sowie 6 Karten.) Verlag C. H. Beck, München 1984, 309 p.

A beautiful book of comprehensive instruction is offered to the reader, worthy of the joint efforts of 11 scholars from 9 countries, to illustrate “The World of Buddhism”. This is the title of the original edition, published in the same year (Thames and Hudson Ltd., London, being responsible for the expert reproduction of the illustrative material, carefully chosen and explained with the help of the authors). The simultaneous publication must have been made easier by the fact that more than one third of the text was originally written in German (by Bechert, Heinemann, Hinüber and Lienhard, respectively), and only the further studies needed to be translated from English (by Heinz Braun, Siglinde Dietz, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Irntraud Höhn, Anne Peters, Hanna Renken and Michael Schmidt, respectively).

The independent essays published here reflect different aspects and fields of Buddhism in a coherent unity, through its two thousand five hundred years’ history, overcoming the inevitable historical troubles, and gaining terrain even in our modern times, beyond its traditional Asian territories, too. The authors being experts of Buddhism in the fields concerned, the text concentrates on the religious history of Buddhist thought and institutions, without dwelling on intrinsic details of the doctrine, and also covering the most important factors of its social background. These concise treatises necessarily fail to reveal the whole world where Buddhism was born and developed, also giving special forms to human values of universal validity up to the present time (e.g. to a peaceful way of life, so timely in our age . . .). But the rich illustrative material with its many-sided explanation successfully depicts the colourful social and material circumstances of the related cultural his-

tory, *i.e.* the *world of Buddhism*, promised by the title of this book, even if with the Sangha, *i.e.* the order of monks and nuns in the centre, and presenting a religion originally intended *not for this world*, as mentioned in the Foreword (p. 7).

After a foreword (by Bechert), the introduction characterizes Buddhism as a world-religion, differing from the other two world-religions — Christianity and Islam — by a religious tolerance, and a care extended to all living creatures (Gombrich, pp. 9–14). The further studies are divided into six parts.

I. The “way of enlightenment” is presented by a treatise on Buddha, his life and his community (by Lamotte who — having finished his two contributions to this volume — died in 1983; pp. 41–58), introduced by an attractive collection of pictures from various territories and — as in the whole book — of various, *i.e.* painted, carved, etc., forms of representations, buildings and photographs of scenes and so on (17–40, sometimes several pictures on a page, with the due captions). By the way, the Table of contents only refers to the text in question.

II. The tradition of Indian Buddhism in ancient and medieval India is analyzed according to the topics of the sense and task of Sangha (Gombrich, 77–89), the structure of Mahāyāna-Buddhism (Lamotte, 90–93), and Buddhist art and architecture, respectively (Lal Mani Joshi, 94–98). The direct religious and cultural influence of this original Buddhism is examined in Central Asia and Afghanistan (Hinüber, 99–107), and in the Himalaya region, *i.e.* in Nepal, respectively (Lienhard, 108–114). This part is introduced again by commented pictures (61–76).

III. During the hard fate of Buddhism in Northern India, it was preserved in a “pure” form, from the 3rd century A.D. at least, in the South. Theravāda Buddhism

in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) is treated by Carithers (133–146), its peaceful victory in Burma by Bechert (147–158) and its further development in Thailand, Laos and Cambodia by Bunnag (159–169), respectively. (Illustrations: 116–132.)

IV. The way of the northern wing of Buddhism is followed in East Asia, namely in China, Korea and Vietnam by Zürcher (193–211) and in Japan by Heinemann (212–230), respectively. (Illustrations: 173–192.) *E.g.* this part reflects the hindrances of the necessary conciseness; it touches upon the huge material of the victorious history of Buddhism in China or Japan, with a few vicissitudes, while having no opportunity to cover the involved regular and inevitable opposition of a basically different autochthonous “national” culture and ideology (economy etc.) — in spite of efforts to mention the local historical peculiarities in the background.

V. A special tradition of monasteries is examined in the history of Buddhism in Tibet by Kvaerne (253–271). (Illustrations: 233–252.)

VI. Finally, a survey of Buddhism in our modern world is given by Bechert (275–286), treating both the new upswing of Asian Buddhism, and the rise of its tendencies beyond this traditional field of its history.

The pictures complete these well-structured sketches by instructive and picturesque details. We can see their provenance at the end of this volume, made even more useful by an index of Buddhist terms (Glossary, by Gombrich and Bechert), an index of other terms and names (Register, by Petra Kieffer-Pülz), and a selected bibliography of further related works, in a thematic order. (On the current scientific transcriptions, used here, see p. 6.)

Ildikó Ecsedy

VALERY STOJANOW, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der osmanisch-türkischen Paläographie und Diplomatie mit einer Bibliographie*. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 76. Berlin (Klaus Schwarz Verlag) 1983. v + 329 pp.

Young Ottomanists cannot complain: Klaus Schwarz generously supports them by including their Ph.D. dissertations in his Islamkundliche Untersuchungen. The prompt edition of the cream of new investigations ensures the more rapid circulation of the latest results, which is often hindered by the slowness of publication in many countries. (Being the first from among the "Eastern" scholars, Valery Stojanow may doubly be content!)

The work intends to differentiate the stages of development and to elucidate the values and/or deficiencies of the most important monographs in the field. Within paleography, his main emphasis is on diplomatics, while defterology remains in the background. He establishes three phases of deepening erudition, namely: "Vorbereitungsperiode" (1615—1919), "Absonderungsperiode" (the nineteen twenties), and "Entwicklungsperiode" (since 1930). To call the last 50 years a development period is not justifiable for the whole time span: some of the "basic" works written after Fekete's *Einführung* are not more (or not much more) than repetitions and add very few new and important components; and only in very recent years do really appreciable studies (like that of A. Velkov) appear.

Hungarian Turcology is often praised by the author (pp. 19, 71, 116—117). At the same time, it is Fekete's *Einführung* that is the main target of his criticism. Many of the emendations are approvable, although not always quite rightly shouldered on Fekete. The most important theoretical objection is that Fekete classified the documents as secular ("weltliche") and religious ("geistliche"), while Stojanow — influenced by B. Nedkov — maintains that no such separation can be made,

since Islam deeply imbued all spheres of administrative and political activity, thus all products of Ottoman chancery bear a religious character. This is a rather thorny question. Stojanow himself mentions that occasionally even the Ottomans distinguished between *ser'î* and *kānūnî* documents (p. 163 n. 80) and that Prof. Gökbilgin did not hesitate to follow the same classification (p. 133). If we add U. Heyd's observations on "conflict of *kānūn* and *shari'a*" (*Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*. Edited by V. L. Ménage. Oxford 1973. pp. 180—183) it turns out that Fekete's grouping is not so vulnerable.

Stojanow is a well trained scholar. He thoroughly collected material and scrutinized previous knowledge. So he could give useful suggestions for future research (pp. 145—147).

In the second half of the volume, a very ambitious bibliography is offered, containing more than 1,400 items. To criticize a bibliography is usually easy, especially if the topic is so wide as in our case (even the author does not fail to do so, occasionally a bit pretentiously, e.g. pp. 170—171, n. 102). Undoubtedly, even he could not produce a homogeneous list. (To tell the truth, this is almost impossible from Sofia and Berlin, G.D.R.) Among others, basic criteria for enlisting a work are not clear and are not mentioned at all. One would have expected *a.* theoretical studies on Ottoman paleography and diplomatics, *b.* source publications as separate works or as appendixes to articles or volumes. Most of the entries are really of these two types, still one finds some items, which are pure elaborations without text edition. On the other hand, some very important text editions are missing, mainly those supplemented to larger volumes. (E.g. M. Akdağ: *Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası*. Istanbul [Bilgi Yayınevi] 1975. with 35 documents, M. Cezar, *Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler*. Istanbul [Çelikkilt Matbaası] 1965. with 65 documents, C. Orhonlu: *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Güney Siyaseti, Habeş Eyaleti*. Istanbul 1974.

with 96 documents, S. A. Skilliter: *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey 1578—1582*. London 1977. with 15 Ottoman documents, etc.) Stojanow's Bulgarian and "Yugoslav" titles are too numerous compared to other countries. Here he superfluously cites even newspaper articles, many very short studies and not rarely one and the same work in 2 or 3 different languages. Hungarian works are probably over-registered before and clearly under-listed after 1945. In this respect, Zs. Kakuk's book *Hungarian Turcology 1945—1974, Bibliography*. Oriental Studies 5, Budapest 1981, could have been used until 1974. Certain groups of documents are more often dealt with than it turns out from this bibliography. E.g. the *ruûs-defterleri* were investigated by N. Göyünç: XVI. yüzyılda Ruûs ve Önemi. *Tarih Dergisi* XV (1968), pp. 17—34., the *şeriye sicilleri* by F. Gürkan: Şeriye Mahkemeleri Sicilleri Üzerinde Bir Araştırma: *Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Arşivleri ve Türkiye'de Arşiv Çalışmaları*. Ankara 1966. pp. 19—34. O. Ersoy: Şer'iye Sicillerinin Toplu Kataloğuna Doğru: *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih — Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* XXXI. (1963), No 3—4, pp. 33—65. and Y. Halaçoğlu: Şer'iye Sicillerinin Toplu Kataloğuna Doğru (Adana Şer'iye Sicilleri): *Tarih Dergisi* Sayı 30 (1976), pp. 99—108. The first known *inşâ* work mentioned in note 11 (p. 149) was also published by Şinasi Tekin: *Menâhicü'l-inşâ*. The Earliest Ottoman Chancery Manual by Yahyâ bin Meḥmed el-Kâtib from the 15th Century. Text in facsimile: *Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures* 2, Turkic Sources II. Cambridge, Mass. 1971. In the first volume of *Archivum Ottomanicum* two good articles can be found bearing importance in relation to Stojanow's topic: N. H. Biegan: *Some Peculiarities of Firmans issued by the Ottoman Treasury in the Sixteenth Century*. pp. 9—13 (it concerns datation clues) and H. İnalçik: *Suleiman the Lawgiver and Ottoman Law*. pp. 105—138 (with observations on the *kânûns* and emendations to them [*kânûn-*

hükms]). Lastly, one would have expected the author to be informed by the time of the appearance of his book about the publication of the new *Başbakanlık Arşivi Kılavuzu* by Atilla Çetin. Istanbul (Ende-run Kitabevi) 1979.

In spite of these small incongruities, this volume is really useful and instructive for all of us working in this field of Turkish studies.

Géza Dávid

Bhutan: A Kingdom of the Eastern Himalayas. Photographs GUY VAN STRYDONCK. Texts FRANÇOISE POMMARET-IMAEDA, YOSHIRO IMAEDA. English translation IAN NOBLE. Editions Olizane, Geneva 1984. 175 pp.

This book, with 115 colour illustrations and relevant texts, aims to present a vivid descriptive picture of the landscapes, inhabitants, history and culture of Bhutan.

The book starts with an Acknowledgement by the photographer G. van Strydonck (p. 5) and a Foreword by Ashi Kesang Wangchuck, Queen Mother of Bhutan (p. 7). It is followed by the Introduction (pp. 10—23), which in spite of its brevity provides a concise survey of the geographical and ethnic division of the country and its history, as well as the results of its "steady but restrained economic development" launched in 1961. This is followed by the major part of the volume: colour illustrations divided into 8 chapters, each with a one or two-page introduction (except chapters 2, 4 and 6) and with detailed annotations to the illustrations at the end. The chapters are: 1. "Dzongs, monasteries, temples and chortens" (pp. 24—49); 2. "Religious art" (pp. 50—72); 3. "Monastic life" (pp. 73—82); 4. "Landscapes" (pp. 83—102); 5. "The valley of Sakteng" (an isolated valley on the eastern border of Bhutan; pp. 103—117); 6. "The hours and the days" (pp. 118—136); 7. "Festivals and dances" (pp. 137—152); 8. "The people of Bhutan"

(pp. 153–169). The book ends with a “Map of Bhutan” (p. 171), a “Select bibliography” (pp. 172–173) and a “List of illustrations” (pp. 174–175).

When choosing his themes, the photographer must certainly have been motivated by his artistic and religious interests and by the desire to create an artistic impression. As a result we are presented with a relatively wide documentation of architectural relics, some good reproductions of interesting wall paintings and *than-kas*, a few colourful shots of the coronation ceremony in 1974, different *'éham* dances, genre pictures of monastic life, as well as several photographs of picturesque landscapes and a number of portraits. On the other hand, the photographer pays hardly any attention to economic activity and other phenomena of everyday life. Though the number of illustrations showing work processes is relatively large, they are concerned almost exclusively with religious ceremonies, and folks arts and crafts, such as weaving, spinning, goldsmithing, sculpture, painting and the preparations of ritual cakes (*gtor-mas*) and *cha-chas*, as well as the putting up of a prayer flag. Besides these ploughing is the only working process illustrated in the book. However, the shots are spectacular and the colour reproduction is perfect, but the eye of the camera does not always focus on essentials. In such cases our attention is drawn to details, and the photographs do not provoke a memorable impression.

The main value of the book lies in the texts, which is hardly surprising since the authors, Mrs. Françoise Pommaret-Imaeda and Yoshiro Imaeda are both accomplished tibetologists, the latter having acquired a reputation with a decade of research. In addition, they have been living in Bhutan for several years, Mrs. Imaeda as Research Assistant in the Department of Tourism of the Government of Bhutan, and Mr. Imaeda as adviser to the National Library of Bhutan. This guarantees that the information they provide is reliable and sufficient, and they even managed to

counterbalance the onesidedness of the illustrations as best as circumstances permitted.

All things considered, the book may help the general reader create a true picture of Bhutan, while it provides the specialist of Himalayan and Tibetan studies with valuable pictorial documents and useful information.

G. Uray

KLAUS MYLIUS (Hrsg.), *Die vier edlen Wahrheiten. Texte des ursprünglichen Buddhismus*. Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. Leipzig 1983, 435 p.

Das Buch ist die vollständigste und umfassendste Anthologie des Pāli-Buddhismus seit der Veröffentlichung des berühmten Werkes von Karl Seidenstücker “*Pāli-Buddhismus in Übersetzungen* (2. Aufl. 1922). Es enthält Stücke aus den kanonischen Texten wie *Suttapiṭaka: Dīghanikāya, Majjhimanikāya, Saṃyuttanikāya, Khuddakanikāya (Khuddakapāṭha, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Suttanipāta, Petavatthu, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Jātaka); Vinayapiṭaka: Pātimokkha, Mahāvagga, Cullavagga; Abhidhammapiṭaka: Puggala-paññati, Kathāvattu* und aus nicht-kanonischen Quellen: *Milindapañhā, Mahāvamsa* und *Visuddhimagga*. Mylius fügte eine Einleitung und Anmerkungen zu einigen Textstellen hinzu.

Man kann mit ihrer Auswahl größtenteils einverstanden sein. Mylius geht nach der Reihenfolge der Texte im Kanon vor, aber dieser Aufbau der Anthologie erschwert es dem Leser, einen Überblick über Leben, Tätigkeit, Lehre und Gemeinde Buddhas zu bekommen. Die Auswahl ist reichhaltig und gut geeignet zum Studium des ursprünglichen Buddhismus. Hier ist aber das Fehlen einiger Teile des Kanons zu verspüren (*Dīghanikāya* XVI; *Mahāvagga* I, 1–24; *Ānguttaranikāya* V, 7.).

Mylius hat viele ausgezeichnete Vorgänger in der Übersetzung aus dem Pali ins Deutsche. Die vorhandenen deutschen Übersetzungen und das buddhistische Wörterbuch von Nyānatiloka (Konstanz

1953) machen jedoch den Weg des Übersetzers nicht dornenlos. Die Hauptschwierigkeit liegt in der Wiedergabe der Fachbegriffe. Diese sind praktisch unübersetzbar. (Siehe *dhamma*, *sankhāra* usw.) So hat die Bearbeitung und Übersetzung des Originaltextes die Kraft von Mylius auf eine harte Probe gestellt. Dazu kommt die Frage der stilistischen Veränderungen und der Möglichkeit einer angeblichen Nachahmung. Der Übersetzer ist imstande, von Fall zu Fall die genaue philologische Erörterung in einer dichterischen Form zu übertragen. Ein schönes Beispiel ist *Theragāthā* 20. Es lautet:

*marañe me bhayam natthi, nikanti natthi
jīvite
sandehañ nikkhipissāmi, sampajāno paṭisato.*

In der Fassung von Mylius

»Beim Tod ist für mich keine Furcht;
es gibt (auch) keine Lust am Leben.
Den Körper werde ich ablegen,
vollkommen weise, gedankenvoll.«

Der wahre Wert dieser Übersetzung ist sichtbar im Vergleich zu der dichterisch schönen aber philologisch ungenauen Version von K. E. Neumann:

»Den Tod bedenk' ich ohne Angst,
Das Leben läßt mich ohne Lust:
Geduldig trag' ich ab den Leib,
Gewitzigt weise, wissensklar.«

Es ist nicht immer leicht, den Pāli-Satz genau ins Deutsche zu übertragen. *Dhammapada* 130 zeigt ein solches Problem:

*sabbe tasanti dandassa
sabbesañ jīvitam piyañ
attānam upamañ katvā
na haneyya, na ghātaye.*

Mylius übersetzt es:

»Alle fürchten den Stock,
allen ist das Leben lieb;
vergegenwärtige dir, da du ihnen ähnlich
bist:
Töte nicht (und) laß nicht töten!«

Hier könnten wir den Nebensatz *attānam upamañ katvā* genauer mit »vergleichend sich man mit anderen« wiedergeben, aber es wäre nicht dichterisch.

Mylius hat uns mit einer sehr wertvollen Anthologie beschenkt. Das Buch gilt als eine zuverlässige Sammlung einer wichtigen Gruppe der Pāli-Quellen. Es wird zum Nutzen der Spezialisten der Buddhismuskunde, Geschichte, Religion und außereuropäischen Literaturen gereichen. Die Veröffentlichung dieses hübschen Bandes dient auch dem besseren Verständniß der humanistischen Ideen und der Kultur des frühen Buddhismus in Indien.

Gyula Wojtilla

FR. DE VAUX DE FOLETIER, *Le monde des Tsiganes*. Berger-Levrault, Paris 1983. 213 p., illustr.

This work of the most outstanding French Gypsiologist could be described as a handbook of Gypsy iconography. There are more than 200 illustrations in this superb volume, 40 of them in colour. Woodcuts from incunabula, Flemish tapestries, 17th—19th century drawings, illustrations from newspapers, and modern photographs appear on every page. Most of them were quite unknown even to Gypsy research workers. Many rarities are taken from the author's admirably rich private collection. Technically, the reproductions are of first class quality. In addition, the selection and arrangement of the illustrations is made in such a way to give a picture of Gypsy history and way of life even without reading the text. The author's talent for representing his material with an unparalleled lucidity, also manifests itself in this respect.

As a matter of fact, the scientific merits of this book are not exhausted by the iconography. The text is also unique in a methodological respect. The author is an archivist, on the one hand, and knows the world of the Gypsies from his practical

experiences, on the other. Such a twofold approach enabled him to elaborate a method characteristic of all his writings. He presents a mass of quotations from very different early or recent sources (judicial records, and newspaper reports, etc.), while always applying a critical method: everybody familiar with Gypsy reality will notice that he makes references only to descriptions that correspond to the truth. Fr. de Vaux's historical research method helped him to extend our knowledge of present-day Gypsy life to the late Middle Ages. Thus, it becomes evident from this book that the traditional Gypsy way of life and thinking remained essentially the same from their first appearance in Europe until our days.

The book gives an overview of all sides of Gypsy history, life and social position as it can be seen from some titles of its 16 chapters: "From the Indus river to the Western World", "Kings, queens and other leaders", "Horse-breeding", "Birth and education", "Religion", "Occupations", and "Gypsies and non-Gypsy society". All these sides of Gypsy life are represented in a historical approach by referring to earlier descriptions.

Fr. de Vaux de Foletier (born in 1893) is one of the last representatives of the older generation of Gypsy students characterized by an objective scientific approach, by practical knowledge of Gypsy life and language, and by affection for the simple

Gypsy people, while being completely un-influenced by the manoeuvres of Gypsy politicians, unlike the adepts of present-day Gypsy separatism. The methodological difference of the two generations can be illustrated, for instance, by the question of anti-Gypsy prejudices. Present-day Gypsy separatists and their non-Gypsy supporters reduce Gypsy studies to the repetition of the slogan that the Gypsies always have been persecuted by the non-Gypsy society, because of mere racism. They never mention that, e.g. the victims of the witchcraft trials were not Gypsies and were at least as innocent as the victims of the "anti-Gypsy racial prejudices". (In Hungary, it is well known that the non-Gypsy victims of the last Hungarian witchcraft trial died on the stake just a few years before the decapitation of the members of a gang of Gypsy robbers accused of cannibalism in 1782, see p. 184.*) At variance with this propaganda of "racial prejudices", Fr. de Vaux correctly points to the reason for hostility: the antagonism between sedentary society and nomadism, which latter (be it Gypsy or non-Gypsy) has always been regarded as a delict by the sedentaries (p. 55). For obvious reasons, first of all the peasants were irritated by the damage to their products caused by the Gypsies (p. 192). Here and everywhere in his book, the author records the documents *sine ira et studio*.

J. Vekerdí

* At this point, a little correction must be made. In the book, we read: "De nombreux Tsiganes . . . furent torturés et exécutés." It is evident from the available judicial records that they were not tortured (torture was forbidden by Emperor Joseph II just in those years) and the Emperor's special commission confirmed, not the cannibalism, but other crimes.

Acta Sieboldiana

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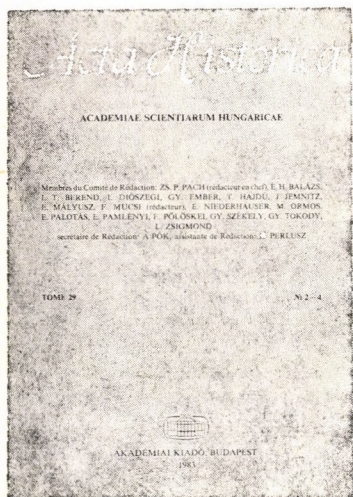
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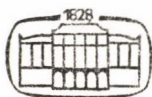
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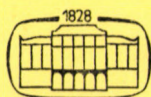
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INDEX

P. FODOR, State and Society, Crisis and Reform, in 15th—17th Century Ottoman Mirror for Princes.	217
L. BESE, The Shaman Term <i>jükelü</i> in the <i>Secret History of the Mongols</i>	241
B. LE CALLOC'H (Paris), Un témoignage capital sur la vie d'Alexander Csoma de Kőrös. Le Journal de Victor Jacquemont	249
I. ORMOS, A key factor in Avicenna's Theory of Phonation.....	283
I. SCHÜTZ, Les contacts médiévaux albano-comans reflétés par l'onomastique de Kosovo	293
R. K. SHARMĀ, (New Delhi), Military System of the Kōtā State	301
<i>Miscellanea</i>	
B. Z. KEDAR (Jerusalem), Ungarische Muslime in Jerusalem im Jahre 1217	325
<i>In memoriam</i>	
Joseph F. Fletcher Jr. (1934—1984) (A. Róna-Tas)	329
<i>Chronica</i>	
The Twenty-Eighth Meeting of the PIAC in Venice (Á. Molnár)	331
<i>Critica</i>	
<i>Maḥmūd al Kāšgarī</i> , Compendium of the Turkic dialects. Ed. and translated with introduction by R. Dankoff in collaboration with J. Kelly (A. Róna-Tas) — C. Ю. Неклюдов, Ж. Тумурцэрэн, Монгольские сказания о Гесере (G. Kara) — Collected Works of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös. Ed. by J. Terjék (A. Sárközi) — R. Bielmeier, Das Märchen von Prinzen Čobzaň (A. Róna-Tas) — G. Bethlenfalvy, A hand-list of the Ulan Bator manuscript of the Kanjur Rgyal-rtse Them-spañs-ma (Z. Horváth) — A. Egyed, The Eighty-Four Siddhas. (Gy. Somlai) — S. Anacker, Seven Works of Vasubandhu (Gy. Wojtilla) — Fumimaro Watanabe, Philosophy and its Development in the Nikāyas and Abhidhamma (J. Fehér) — H. W. Bailey, The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan (G. Kara) — L'Afrique et l'Asie Modernes No. 142, 143, 145 (T. Iványi) — Bulletin d'Études Karāites I (T. Iványi) — Moojam Momen, An Introduction to Shi'i Islam (T. Iványi) — H. Gerber—J. Barnai, The Jews in Izmir in the 19th Century (T. Iványi) — H. Gerber, Ottoman Rule in Jerusalem 1890—1914 (T. Iványi) l.....	335
<i>Bibliographia</i>	359

STATE AND SOCIETY, CRISIS AND REFORM, IN
15th—17th CENTURY OTTOMAN MIRROR FOR
PRINCES*

PÁL FODOR

From the latter half of the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire had to face up to a number of new and unfamiliar challenges. Internally, the difficulties, invariably exacerbated into disasters, resulted from both economic and social troubles. The population growth, the production crisis, and primarily the debasement of the coinage and the ensuing price rises were detrimental to the economy, all of which incited social unrest which, intensified by the diffusion of fire-arms, later flared up in massive uprisings. The cracks in the traditional social and military structure grew ever wider. Outside the empire, a new power constellation was emerging: the balance of forces had changed, absolute Ottoman supremacy was being eroded (nevertheless, the campaigns went on), and the economic influence of the West European countries was on the ascent. Ultimately, these challenges elicited changes¹ — substantial though not essential ones — in the country's body politic, military organization and taxation system. It is also illuminating to cast a glance at how these factors affected Ottoman "political thought", and more important still, how the Ottoman "intellectual and political elite" responded to these challenges. Especially these responses greatly influenced the possible ways of solution.

The conceptions of the Ottoman thinkers of the regime and its operation can best be understood from the genre "mirror for princes/kings" included in the title of this paper and what is variously labelled by research also as political tracts, memoranda, socio-political treatises, reform proposals, or advice literature. That I did not utilize any of these definitions or the most frequent self-identification of the writings at hand (*risāle* = treatise, *naṣīḥat-nāme* = counsel book), but settled for the "mirror for princes", a designation of Euro-

* Text completed in 1983

¹ A most recent and significant review of the theme is: Inalek, Halil, Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600—1700. In: *Archivum Ottomanicum* VI. 1980, pp. 283—337. Cf. also idem, The Socio-Political Effects of the Diffusion of Fire-Arms in the Middle-East. In: *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*. V. J. Perry and M. E. Yapp ed. London, 1975, pp. 195—217.

pean origin, has diverse reasons, the most important being that it is more comprehensive than the others and provides far more clues as to the genre's relationship with the Near Eastern "mirrors for princes" of long-standing and rich traditions. As will be clarified in the following, the Ottoman mirror for princes, despite its idiosyncrasies, is a direct derivative of the Islamic mirror with regard to its function (counselling on government, transmitting the stock of experiences, legitimizing and at the same time restraining power) as well as to its philosophical substance.² Thus a brief survey of the Islamic mirror for princes must first be made.

As is well known, the advent of Islamic mirror literature dates back to around the downfall of the Umayyads. It came to life amidst the throes of internal political endeavours and the ensuing cultural ambitions of the Arab-Islamic Empire. According to Orthodox Islam the caliphate, based on the divinely revealed law and headed by the caliph, God's vicegerent recognized and ratified by a consensus of the community, was the political framework and the form of government of the Islamic empire.³ The political decay of the caliphate from the mid-8th century onward, and the emergence and strengthening of rival 'temporal' powers presented a strong challenge to the doctrines of Orthodoxy (compelling it to revise and synthesize its precepts), for the new dynasties — though formally recognizing the caliph as the supreme spiritual authority — needed legitimation in their own right. They found adequate support and speculative material in a movement termed *şu'ūbiya* in which peoples subjugated by the Arabs had been fighting for cultural and religious equality since the time of the Umayyads. The traditional Persian concepts of sovereignty and government, which dominated the movement, came in handy for the up-and-coming political forces striving for recognition,

² Relevant to this point is what 'Āli writes in the closing chapters of his *Nuṣṣatü's-selāṭin* [Counsel for Sultans] about the purpose of the book, to wit: "... A learned king ... will certainly be aware that ... such writings are meant to further the orderly state of the world ... The book's exemplifications hold together the essential points of sultanate and caliphate. This clear-tongued book is, so to speak, a *mirror* that shows the world. ... (*ayīne-i cihān-nümā*)". (Tietze, Andreas, *Muṣṭafā 'Āli's Counsel for Sultans of 1581*. Part II. Vienna 1982, 252/113 and 254/115.) The fact that most of the works at issue were really intended for the sultans, further supports the choice of the designation 'mirror for princes/kings.'

³ Rosenthal, Erwin I. J., *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*. Cambridge 1968², pp. 21—61. For the singular importance of the consensus of the community (*icmā'*) in Islam see: Ignác Goldziher, A hadisz kialakulása [The Development of the Hadith]. In: *Az iszlám kultúrája* [The Culture of Islam]. Vol. I. R. Simon (ed.), Budapest 1981, pp. 192—591, esp. 280—81, and *idem*, *Az iszlám vallása* [The Religion of Islam]. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 802—805.

and as such they logically assumed a decisive role in the mirror for princes, these summaries of the "theory of temporal power".⁴

From this it follows that the sovereign as portrayed in the mirrors was an absolute monarch, whose function and legitimacy derived so naturally from God that it made any further explanation redundant. Although the Islamic nature of the state was taken as a major premise — and a necessary condition of a good and lasting reign — mirror writers were inclined to conceive the interrelation between state and society as being contrary to Orthodoxy: not only did they disregard the possibility or the necessity of a community consensus for the ruler, but they also interpreted the state and the conduct of its affairs as the ruler's personal authority and its exercise. This is what underlies the central category of each mirror for princes, the concept of justice.

Justice was the most important quality of the ruler, not so much as a moral virtue, but because of its great practical usefulness. The loyalty of the army, the mainstay of power, could only be secured with money. Money, in turn, could not be gained unless the tax-payers protected. Consequently, justice was the foremost guarantee for princes to retain power insofar as they prevented the tax-payers from being oppressed and restrained the stronger from trespassing against the weaker. Nizāmü'l-mülk's famous dictum that "kingship remains with faithlessness, but not with injustice" is a succinct summary of this utilitarian view.⁵

In addition to justice, the writers added several other desirable virtues, not neglecting the qualities required by religion either. The significance of the latter lies in the fact that the absolutist character of power, also emphasized by the mirror writers, ruled out the possibility to control it in practice. If, on the other hand, power was in direct relationship with the personal qualities

⁴ The first to examine the mirrors for princes for their literary merits was Gustav Richter (*Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel*. Leipzig 1932). A more recent and commanding summary that pays special attention to Persian traces is: Busse, Heribert, *Fürstenspiegel und Fürstenethik im Islam*. In: *Bustan* 9. 1. 1968, pp. 12—19.

⁵ Schabinger, K. E., *Nizāmülmülk. Reichskanzler der Saldschuqen 1063—1092 n.Cr. Siyāsatnāma*. Freiburg—München 1960, p. 104. A most articulate formulation of the traditional Persian notion of the "holy trinity" of army, money and tax-payer, and of justice that ensures their harmony, can be found in the *Ḳābūs-nāma* [Book of Ḳābūs] written in 1082—83: "... good government is secured by armed troops, armed troops are maintained with gold, gold is acquired through cultivation, and cultivation sustained through payment of what is due to the peasantry, by just dealing and fairness." (*A Mirror for Princes. The Qābūs Nāma by Kai Kā'ūs ibn Iskandar, Prince of Gurgān*. Transl. from the Persian by Reuben Levy. London 1951, p. 213). On the notion of justice see also: Lambton, A. K. S., *Justice in the Medieval Persian Theory of Kingship*. In: *Studia Islamica* 17. 1962, pp. 91—119. and Inalcık, Halil, *Kutadgu Bilig' de Türk ve İran Siyaset Nazariye ve Gelenekleri*. In: *Reşit Rahmeti Arat İçin*. Ankara 1966, pp. 259—271.

of the ruler, then inroads could be made into the moral sphere to influence it. This explains why one of the prime objectives of the mirror writers, in addition to advising on administration, was to establish certain constraints in the sphere of morality, which they also stressed by interlarding them with elements of religious legitimation. They emphasized that although a ruler owed his power to his individual qualities, it was nevertheless a gift of God. Rulership and religion (*mulk va dīn*) were interdependent, hence both religion and temporal power had to be given their dues.

In addition to the public role of the monarch, the Islamic mirror for princes was also concerned with the questions of the ruler's individual way of living. Nizāmü'l-mülk, for example, notes at the outset of his work that he is writing "about the pre-eminent basic principles of life essential for the ruler."⁶ This must have prompted H. Busse to remark that "the mirror for princes is designed to mediate the whole wealth of experiences, or at least to summarize its most valuable portion in a practicable form."⁷

The emergence of the Ottoman mirror for princes was closely linked with the process in which (in the second half of the 14th century, especially during the reign of Bāyezīd I) Ottoman power had made great strides towards becoming an Islamic Empire. With the Islamization of administrative practices and the adoption of Near Eastern models, the need to acquire the theoretical bases for these traditions grew increasingly pressing, and was partly fulfilled through the mediation of Islamic mirror literature. The *Kalīla va Dimna* appears to have been translated for Murād I.⁸ We know that the *Kābūs-nāme* was rendered into Turkish six times in Anatolia between the mid-14th century

⁶ Schrabinger, K. E., *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁷ Busse, H., *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁸ At least according to A. S. Levend, cf. Ümmet Çağında Ahlak Kitaplarımız. In: *TDAY Belleten*, 1963. Ankara 1964, p. 108. The *Kalīla va Dimna*, a popular collection of parables known all over the world, is actually a derivative of the Indian Panchatantra. The Panchatantra was translated into Pahlavi in the Sassanian period. This, in turn, was rendered into Arabic in the 8th century by Ibn al-Mukaffa' (?–756) to form the basis of several subsequent translations into oriental and European languages. The most famous Ottoman recension is that of 'Alī Çelebi's, who dedicated his work entitled *Hümāyūn-nāme* to Sultan Süleymān and Grand Vizier Luṭfi Pasha. It is worth noting that all the notable Hungarian translations of the 17th–18th centuries were from the *Hümāyūn-nāme*. (For a brief, but excellent, revision of the Hungarian relevances of the *Kalīla va Dimna* see: *Bidpai és Lokman indiai históriái és költött beszédei*. [The Indian histories and tales of Bidpai and Lokman]. Edited by Géza Bethlenfalvy—Gyula Wojtilla. Budapest 1972, pp. 1–13, introduction by G. Bethlenfalvy. The Hungarian edition of the work: *Kalīla és Dimna. Klasszikus arab mesék*. [Kalīla and Dima. Classical Arabian Tales.] Transl. by Cs. Prileszky. Budapest 1978.)

and 1432, three of them were definitely brought about in Ottoman cultural environment.⁹ The growing interest in, and demand for, the classical works — either in translation or in the original — soon inspired writers to compose mirrors of their own. The famous poet Aḥmedî originally wrote his *İskender-nâme* for the prince of Germiyan, but eventually dedicated it to the Ottoman sultan Bâyezîd I. Though not deliberately designed as a mirror for princes, its relevance as one is underlined by the author himself, so today the *İskender-nâme* can be looked upon as the first Ottoman mirror for princes.¹⁰ Then in the 15th century, the development of the genre among the Ottomans also made headway, and a whole number of mirrors were produced as late as the 19th century as well. The translation of old works did not stop. In addition, quite a few 'hybrid' writings were composed, whose authors, by translating the classical models freely and adding to them several comments pertaining to their own time, used the old works as a channel to convey their message to contemporary society.

Reliance on the great forerunners to some extent also applies to Tursun Beg, whose preface to his work *Tārîḥ-i Ebü'l-Feth* (The History of Meḥmed the Conqueror) written some time between 1488 and 1495, is one of the most outstanding specimens of the genre.¹¹ Combining various elements of the political and philosophical traditions of the Near East, Tursun Beg covers

⁹ Birnbaum, Eleazar, A Lifemanship Manual. The Earliest Turkish Version of the Kabusname? In: *Journal of Turkish Studies* I. 1977, pp. 1-7. and Çelebioğlu, A., Kabus-nâme tercümesi Murad-nâme' ye dair. In: *Türk Kültürü* 16. 192. 1978, pp. 719-728.

¹⁰ Kortantamer, Tunca, *Leben und Weltbild des altosmanischen Dichters Aḥmedî unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Divans*. Freiburg 1973, pp. 20-21. Kortantamer challenges the supposed connection between Aḥmedî and Bâyezîd I. For my part, I am inclined to agree with the earlier position of research claiming that the *İskender-nâme*, completed in 1390, was originally dedicated to Bâyezîd I. (Cf. P. Fodor, Aḥmedî's Dāsītān as a Source of Early Ottoman History. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXVIII (1984), pp. 41-55.). The large number of recensions (Kortantamer registers some 48 manuscripts, op. cit., p. 21, n. 2) and, more important still, that it was included in the libraries of many a Turkish prince (op. cit., pp. 28-29), indicate that it was considered a fundamental guide to statecraft.

¹¹ Tursun Beg was the scion of an eminent Turkish aristocratic family and similarly to many of his relatives, he spent his life in the service of the state. He was a close associate of Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Pasha for a long time, whose personality and way of thinking put an indelible mark on Tursun Beg's work. For Tursun Beg and his work see: Inalcık, Halil, Tursun Beg, Historian of Mehmed the Conqueror's. In: *WZKM* 69. 1977, pp. 55-71. and Inalcık, Halil, Murphey, Rh., *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Beg*. Minneapolis-Chicago 1978. pp. 11-24, introduction to the facsimile edition of the work. On the date see also: Tursun Bey, *Tārîḥ-i Ebü'l-Feth*. Ed. by Mertol Tulum, Istanbul, 1977, pp. XX-XXIV. Tursun Beg's work is reviewed here on the basis of these two editions (*The History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, 2b-24b and *Tārîḥ-i Ebü'l-Feth*, pp. 3-30).

a whole variety of issues ranging from rule to subordination, and from power to responsibility. His principal intention is to elucidate the necessity of rulership (of separate public power, to use a present-day term) was not exclusively derived from God's will, but was also an unavoidable consequence of human nature. Man as a social being cannot live in harmonious association with his fellows due to divergences in their nature unless he is forced by 'rules' (*tedbîr*) to respect the rights of the others. The extent to which these rules were applied, that is the degree of rule (state), varied; the more it fulfilled the ordinances of the divine law, the higher it was in order. Thus both reason and religion advocated the recognition of power, which was also implied by the fact that God bestowed the title "the Shadow of Allah upon Earth" on the sovereign (meaning the Ottoman sultan, of course), thereby enjoining obedience to him as a personal religious obligation upon all (*farz-i 'ayn*).

After the explication of the need to submit to authority, Tursun Beg proceeded to set out the 'duties' of the sultan. He also associated the smooth operation of power with the virtues of the monarch and declared that the sultan was not worthy of holding the authority unless he was in possession of the pairs of virtues of knowledge-wisdom, forbearance-courage, honesty-generosity, as well as of the virtue of justice and the ability to be merciful and forgiving. Rather than give a mere list of the virtues, Tursun Beg embarked upon a detailed specification of how the ruler should behave out of gratitude to God for having singled him out. Tursun Beg's discourse on this point is permeated with a candid search for an equilibrium; he points out that moderation in everything is what the state can benefit from most. He warned against imposing extraordinary levies on the subjects and advised — as the Islamic mirrors for princes do — to remunerate the military generously. He was again on classical ground when he named as the ruler's most beautiful quality his favourable disposition towards the theologians (*'ulemâ*), which was tantamount to saying that Tursun Beg was also determined to set up certain limited possibilities to influence the power.

Though highly generalizing, Tursun Beg's treatise was obviously linked by several threads to the topical questions of his age. In the first part where he goes to great lengths to consolidate the position of the ruler Bâyezîd II by emphasizing the absolutist nature of authority and obedience, Tursun Beg seems to be strongly influenced by the memory of the strife between Bâyezîd and Cem and by a fear of a new upsurge of civil war. In the second part he recounts the internal quandaries during the reign of Mehmed II, sultan of the previous era,¹² and gives advice, in a summary manner, on how to prevent or redress such difficulties. A significant feature of later mirrors for princes,

¹² Inalcık, Halil, *Tursun Beg, Historian*, p. 66. Inalcık Halil—Murphey, Rh., *op. cit.*, pp. 17—18 and 22—23.

that of a strict critical appraisal of reality, was already there in Tursun Beg's work underlying the prevailing tendency towards generalization.

The same applied to Luṭfī Pasha, former grand vizier of Sultan Süleymān, who lived and worked in the "golden age" of the Ottoman Empire. His book, the *Aṣaf-nāme* (Book of Aṣaf) disclosed the first signs of the decline of the empire. Designed as a record and summary of the *ādāb* and *mühimmāt*, that is, the qualities, knowledge, experience and morality incumbent upon the grand vizier, it also gives counsel on the duties of the ruler and on the management of state affairs in general. In this way it was just as much a mirror for princes as for grand viziers. Or, to put it another way, Luṭfī composed a separate book out of the chapter on grand viziers, a traditionally integral part of mirrors for princes.¹³

The bulk of Luṭfī Pasha's writing is virtually no more than an inventory of contemporary woes, which in his opinion have not been remedied in the correct manner. Out of the problems, he enumerates one of acute significance later that requires special mention here: Luṭfī vehemently chastised the fast-spreading bribery, while his discussion of the empire's fiscal and military affairs also hit upon some sore points. Luṭfī was worried to see the state's balance of payment tilted towards deficit incurred by the excessive swelling of the mercenary army (*kul*). "Soldiers be few but good (*'asker az gerek ve öz gerek*) . . . 15,000 mercenaries are [too] many . . . To pay 15,000 people from year to year is indeed heroism",¹⁴ he says and suggests that "the income and expenditure be yearly examined and steps be taken accordingly."¹⁵

Another of Luṭfī Pasha's concerns was the growing number of *re'āyā* infiltrating into the military class. Allowing for the need to reward the *re'āyā*'s merits with sources of revenue, he stressed that at the same time it is imperative to prevent the *re'āyā*'s kinsmen from rising with him in the social scale.

When instructing the sovereign in correct conduct, Luṭfī exhorted him not to spend too much time among the courtiers and advises that the latter should not interfere in state affairs, a point of overriding importance later. To administer the state, as Luṭfī covertly but unequivocally states, is the business of the grand vizier and the sultan. It must have been the initial signs of the sultan's retreat from attending to state affairs that made Luṭfī declare that just as the grand vizier had to listen to the complaints in the

¹³ The book was edited, together with a German translation, by Tschudi, Rudolf, *Das Aṣafnāme des Luṭfī Pascha*. Leipzig 1910. All we know of the work is that it was written some time between 1541 and 1563, cf. Röhrborn, Klaus, *Untersuchungen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*. Berlin—New York, 1973, p. 7. For a brief summary of the principal ideas of the *Aṣafnāme* see: Lewis, Bernard, *Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Declines*. In: *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad) I. 1962, pp. 71—74.

¹⁴ Tschudi, R., *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 39—40.

divān in person, he must beg the sultan to receive him face to face and not from behind the curtain. Luṭfi's solicitude for the scope of authority of the grand vizier is also expressed in the advice that the matters submitted by him should no longer be altered. The grand vizier should also admonish his sovereign against being too attracted to money, which might lead him to take the wrong steps. First and foremost he should be careful not to violate the property law: It was an unmistakable sign of the deplorable plight of the state that vacant estates were appropriated for the treasury without waiting for the appearance of the lawful heirs.

Although the grand vezirate was the supreme office in the empire, Luṭfi made it completely clear that in the final analysis it was the sultan who was answerable for everything. This is why the grand vizier frequently reiterated to his master an admonishment that recurred in many later mirrors, though worded differently: "My Padishah! I have relieved myself of the burden, I have told you the truth. On the Day of Resurrection it is you who will have to answer!"¹⁶

How well-founded all of Luṭfi Pasha's fears were is clearly revealed by the observations made by Muṣṭafā 'Āli, some decades Luṭfi's junior, in his work entitled *Nuṣḥatü's-selāṭin* (Counsel for Sultans). In his monumental tableau 'Āli puts forth exact diagnoses of diseases at every level of society, of which Luṭfi was only able to recognize some symptoms. The overall picture that emerges from his book is that of a definitely ailing society.¹⁷

Although the ambitious programme 'Āli set himself and eventually realized was to depict the entire Ottoman reality, he made it quite clear that his principal goal was to hold up a mirror to the king. The structure of his work was adapted to this intention: 'Āli began the analysis with the sultan and the highest level of government, and as he appears to find the source of every evil there (all the ills "spring entirely from the wickedness of the vezirs and from the unawareness of the . . . sultan"¹⁸), his description of particular social abuses serves to illustrate what consequences inadequate government may have in a society.

'Āli's work has such a profusion of topics and ideas that even a partial summary is beyond the scope of this paper. Therefore, in addition to a general

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁷ 'Āli, appellation of Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmed, is one of the pre-eminent figures in Ottoman literature and historiography. His outlook was strongly modified by his failure to reach the social rank he was hankering after. This, coupled with a general lack of understanding, made 'Āli a bitter man and an incisive critic. He drafted the *Nuṣḥat* in 1581 and completed it after minor alterations in 1585. It was edited with an English translation by: Tietze, Andreas, *Muṣṭafā 'Āli's Counsel for Sultans of 1581*. Vols I—II. Vienna 1979, 1982.

¹⁸ Tietze, A., *op. cit.*, vol. I. 37/119—120.

assessment, let me elaborate only two of its aspects, which give 'Āli a special place among the mirror writers. One of his proposals is to grant offices for lifetime and to make them hereditary in order to stem the growing tide of malpractices and arrest the invasion of unsuitable elements into offices. The other completely unique feature of his work was that it frankly militated against one of the pillars of classical Ottoman order, the *kul-devşirme*. He goes so far as to assert that the levy of children is "...at variance with the Divine Law. It was only adopted in the past out of need as a means to increase the number of Muslims".¹⁹

Reviewing 'Āli's diagnoses and proposed treatment, one finds that the ideal system this severe critic envisages is a kind of despotic monarchy with a tendency towards aristocratism. His prime concern is to consolidate the sultan's power and restore confidence in the state and its governing apparatus through the aid of internal reforms: he was well aware that the apparatus as it existed was unfit for guiding a society. Keeping this end in mind he even demanded certain structural changes, such as the repression of slavery, and the rendering of posts for lifetime and hereditary. Although treating the slave system he sharply condemns discrimination according to social status, he wants something similar, but in a different way. Had his suggestions come to be realized, there would have been far more rigid partitions between the strata or classes, for the gulf separating the learned leaders from the common people would have been far more irremediable than in the *kul* system of his time. This is evident in his dual approach to "outsiders" (*ecnebi*) in offices; though ostracizing the discrimination against 'outsiders' in office appointments, he could not help disapproving when these barriers were indeed trespassed from below. In this respect he appeared to be more conservative than his age; but he was a most perceptive observer of the actual economic and moral consequences of the process, infallibly recognizing its destructive outcome. He was quick to realize that beneath the seeming mobility bribery, nepotism and egotism were the major drives. As we tend to say today, it did not escape his attention that the actual manifestation of inchoate decentralization (which he was predestined, so to say, to oppose as the representative of a given spiritual-political culture) did not promote universal interests, but served individual ambitions to usurp state authority. This makes it understandable why his suggestions were aimed at a more rigid structure which — as a closer look reveals — was however based on qualification, knowledge and expertise.

In 1596, at the time of the campaign of Mehmed III against Eger, Hasan Kāfi al-Akḥiṣārī presented his work entitled *Uṣūli'l-ḥikem fī nizāmü'l-'ālem* (The Basic Principles of Wisdom as They Refer to the Order of the

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, vol. II. 30/148.

World), which he expressly designed to serve "as a guide in the course of renewing the rules of the good order on the world".²⁰

It was the unfavourable experiences of the long war (1593—1606) that induced Akḫiṣārī to try to trace the origin and contributory factors that led to the palpable weakening of the empire. He seems to have pinpointed the beginning of the confusion in "the order of the world" in 1572 and deduces four causes that were to blame. Firstly, justice had been neglected and government carried out carelessly, therefore "the conduct of affairs has been entrusted to unsuitable and untalented people".²¹ Secondly, out of self-complacency the supreme state administrators had relinquished the advantages that resulted from consulting and ignored the opinion of the theologians. Thirdly, the army's command was indolent and its discipline was loose; the soldiers were unable to handle their arms. Fourthly, underlying the mentioned ills, corruption, covetousness and the reign of the women were the real causes. Given this diagnosis, Akḫiṣārī felt obliged to propound, in a general form, but always reflecting on particular wrongs, the basic principles (*aşl*) of good government as well as the consequences of disregarding them.

The overwhelming urgency of the military problems is evident from two of the four basic principles being the aggregates of observations and suggestions concerning the command and level of equipment of the army (the other two are justice and the observance of the principle of consultation). First of all, Akḫiṣārī declares that one of the principal reasons why the Ottoman army sustained defeat after defeat was its backwardness in the use of fire-arms: "that in these days the enemy prevails over us is because they use certain instruments, notably new hand and field-guns that our soldiery fail to apply . . ."²² The slackening of the internal discipline and morality of the army, the growing brutality and insubordination of the troops, as well as things like the 'coffee house'²³ were no less disturbing features in his opinion. For Akḫiṣārī was convinced that it is God who guarantees the victories of

²⁰ Akḫiṣārī was well-versed in theology and put his attainments to good use as the *ḫādī*-adjunct and *ḫādī* of Bosnia before and after his 20-year long official career in Istanbul. On his life see: Imre Karácson, *Az egeri török emlékirat a kormányzás módjáról* [The Turkish memorandum of Eger on the manner of government]. Budapest 1909, pp. 6—7, introduction to the Hungarian translation, and Mehmed, Mustafa A., *La crise ottoman dans la vision de Hasan Kiafi Akhisari (1544—1616)*. In: *Revue des études Sud-Est Européenne* XIII. 3. 1975, pp. 386—87. As regards the title of the work, M. A. Mehmed's convincing argumentation is acceptable (*op. cit.*, pp. 3, 8), but otherwise the general conclusions and particular statements of his paper are highly controvertible. — The quotation: Imre Karácson, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

²¹ Imre Karácson, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

the Islamic army with His help, and to secure this divine assistance the religious norms must be enforced. Their recent behaviour turned God away from His people, Akḫiṣarī opined: "that is why God has made the enemy overpower us".²⁴ What Akḫiṣarī advocated was in fact quite unusual in Ottoman history, notably that: we have sinned, that is why God is punishing us with defeats.

Akḫiṣarī maintained that empire's renaissance was imperative, and the failures made him realize that a shift in the balance of power must be followed by a change in policy. Far from being a mere echo of the Islamic mirrors, Akḫiṣarī's work, a realistic account of contemporary political and military affairs, quotes many Muslim authorities to prove that peaceful relations and an observance of agreements was the best alternative to any policy.

Already in this relatively early stage of the campaign, Akḫiṣarī expressed pessimism about the prospects; quite correctly so, as later events verified. It is, therefore, not surprising that in his book *Hābnāme* (Dream-book) written in 1608, Veysī Efendi blames the incessant warfare for the confusion in the "order of the world". The book does not belong to the oneirocritical literature, which is also very popular in the Near East; it merely provides Veysī with a handy device to convey his thoughts, which he dresses up in a dreamt dialogue between Alexander the Great and Sultan Aḥmed I.²⁵

In the dream, Sultan Aḥmed relates the afflictions of the Ottomans, while Alexander the Great personifies supreme statecraft and the philosophical experience of human history. The formal device suggests that the author wished to trace the ills even beyond reality. But his main ambition, apart from uncovering the causes of the crisis, was to provide the ruler with comfort and faith to endure the situation and to act. Contrary to the idealizing tendency of the mirrors, his evocation of history shows that man's past has never been different, that it was always dominated by suffering and wickedness. His conclusion underlines the contention that regardless of how big the crisis in the Ottoman Empire may be, it was not unparalleled in history and it could be overcome with due care.

In Veysī's opinion, the crisis that hit the Ottoman Empire had its explanation in the 40 years of incessant warfare that ruined the *re'āyā* through onerous taxation and the depredations of the army. The wars decimated the

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

²⁵ Veysī, or Üveys bin Meḥmed, was a prolific poet and prose writer, and as an acting *kādi* he had obtained first-hand experiences about all the ills pervading the Ottoman state administration. (For example, he was commissioned to Üsküb — today's Skopje — 7 times in 24 years.) For biographical data and a historical and stylistic analysis of the literary merits of the *Hābnāme* see: Salimzjanova, F. A. 's preface to the edition and Russian translation of the *Hābnāme*: *Veysī: Chabname (Kniga sovideniya). Kričičeskij tekst, perevod s tureckogo, vvedenie i primečaniya* F. A. Salimzjanovoj. Moscow 1977. The Turkish text: pp. 105–181.

mainstay of the dynasty, the *kul* army and those who replaced them proved no better than the insurgents. This placed the central power in quite a helpless position. "If the *kul* — my *kul* — refuses to obey me", Veysi has the sultan ask, "how am I to protect the *re'āyā* with the sword of justice and equity, and lead and govern the country?"²⁶ In Veysi's view such pleading is reasonable, and he exonerates the sovereign of all responsibility by drawing the following inference from history as interpreted in the spirit of Islam: "all the woes and disaster described in these pages were made inevitable by the wicked intentions of the *re'āyā* in all times; the kings have nothing whatsoever to do with it."²⁷ As a remedy, Veysi suggests that the sultan and the ministers should be very careful when granting offices, especially that of the *kādī*, and should thoroughly examine the eligibility of the candidates. As in Veysi's view, the glory of the Ottoman House was due above all to the fact that it venerated the *şerī'at* more than any other dynasty did, the survival and future of the Ottoman dynasty depended on its attitude towards the Divine Law: "If the foundations of the exalted threshold are the sacred *şer'*, it will suffer no dearth or blemish until the Day of Judgement."²⁸

That the dwindling of the authority of the central power was related to the changes in the *kul*-army was realized not only by Veysi, but by court circles as well. This recognition induced them to face up to the internal troubles plaguing the basic institutions of the state, the *kul*-army and the *tīmār* system in the first place. Seeing the old norms and forms disintegrate gave rise to the demand to analyze and describe the essence of these institutions and define the basic principles that operated them, as well as to examine what negative deviations there were and what could be done to eliminate them. Such and similar considerations must have been in existence in 1606 in the *Ḳavānīn-i yeniçeriyān* (The Laws of the Janissaries) in which the anonymous writer wished to systematize the rules, laws and customs of the central part of the *kul* system.²⁹ However, this goes further than being a simple 'lawbook' as the title suggests; it was a mirror reflecting all the details of the conditions within the Janissary corps with just as much — if not more — attention to innovations (*bid'at*), that is deviations from the time-tested norms of the institution, and to the proposed remedies, as to the venerable old laws. The

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 113.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 117. Somewhat contradicting this statement and alluding, in however generalizing a way, to the responsibility of the sultan, is Veysi's conception in which the monarch is the centre of the social 'organism', the latter depending on him for its smooth operation, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 110.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

²⁹ *Ḳavānīn-i yeniçeriyān*, from I. H. Uzunçarsılı's private library and Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan 1319 (hereinafter U and R, resp.). I am indebted to Gyula Káldy-Nagy for making this manuscript available to me.

author, himself a Janissary, was quite clear about the significance of the Janissary corps in the empire. To quote: "The corps in question has become the arm and wing of the House of 'Oṣmān. For this reason the kings of the Osmanlı Dynasty have [personally] taken pains to maintain this corps and execute its laws in order that, if need be, [the Janissaries] might sacrifice body and soul for the faith and the empire."³⁰ He clearly saw that due to its distinguished position, the crisis of this institution had repercussion over all the others, and consequently, putting things in order must begin here: "Re-establishing good order among the Janissaries and the [court] *sipāhīs* is the condition for order everywhere else. They are of supreme importance. The rest depends on them."³¹ Arguing in this vein, the author took a firm stand against innovations that undermined the strength and prestige of the Janissaries. He considered the most menacing were the following: scores of unworthy elements ("Turks-Murks" — sic! — etc.) infiltrate into the ranks of the Janissaries because the two time-honoured and lawful modes of supplying replacements, notably the levy of children and the conscription of Janissary children, have virtually been obliterated, and high officers and clerks fill the corps with their own people in return for money; due to these 'outsiders' the firmly established hierarchy of the institution begins to disintegrate; despite the substantial rise in numbers, the neglect of duties is rapidly growing; the Janissary corps is decaying, from being the mainstay of internal order, it is the disrupter of order; corruption is spreading, offices become available for money. The confusion within the ranks of the Janissaries was also manifested by the decrease in their combat value and efficiency. The author largely attributes the latter defect to the neglect of manoeuvring and that, as a corollary, the soldiers had no reliable skills in handling either the traditional or modern weapons. The quality of the weaponry also left much to be desired; the author does not hesitate to declare that ". . . for the Janissary, guns much be bought in the first place. After all, one cannot expect much manliness of the treasury gun".³² But he saw the imprudence and irresponsibility of the corps' command displayed in this vital matter as an even greater vice. "For quite some time now", he concludes, "neither fuse nor gunpowder has been distributed; nor have manoeuvres been conducted. If there is some fuse and gunpowder given out, the amount they get is so little, and the fuse is turned

³⁰ U 35b, R₁ 42a. It is worth noting that another passage of the Uzunçarsılı manuscript places the function of the Janissary corps within a wider framework and stresses its religious mission: "Your corps," an officer tells the veterans of the Janissaries, "is the corps of Hācī Bektaş-i Velī. It is the arm and wing of both the Islamic religion [and] the Osmanlı Dynasty. The House of 'Oṣmān can pride itself on you everywhere. The glory and splendour of the Ottoman Empire is your doing." cf. U 127b.

³¹ U 66b.

³² U 39a, R₁ 46b.

into wick and burnt in the houses of the officers. How could they then do what there is for them to do . . . and how could there be occupations and conquests?"³³

Another mirror, written in the reign of 'Osmān II (1618—1622) and entitled *Kitāb-i müstetāb* (Pious Book) also places the plight of the mercenary *kul* army into its focal point. The author, who does not reveal his identity, was probably a member of the sultan's household; he was allegedly induced to put pen to paper after seeing "the laws of the Ottoman sultanate violated; . . . the treasury having a deficit; the governors torn with strife; the *kādīs* accessible to bribery; the opportunity against the enemy [missed]; among those close to the [king] treason; among the theologians a lust for gold and inanity; among the *re'āya* futile labour and fear; in brief: innovations and all sorts of grievance everywhere".³⁴

The exposition by Anonymus (as he will be called hereafter) was basically determined by his conviction that the problems stemmed from the changes in the role of certain key positions (especially of the grand vezirate and the sultanic mercenary army, the *kapu kulu*) and in their relationship to other forces. From this it follows that the book reiterates most of what was already disclosed in the Janissary lawbook about how the *kapu kulu*, its internal order irreversibly changed, reduced the entire state to captivity.

³³ U 125a, R₁ 148b—149a. — At around the time when the Janissary code of law was formulated, another administrator in the capital, notably 'Ayn-i 'Alī, the commissioner of the central defterhane, made an attempt to describe the 'order' and state of the *tīmār*-holders' army, the other pillar of the regime, in his book entitled *Risāle-i kavānīn-i āl-i 'Osmān der hūlāṣa-i mezāmīn-i defter-i dīvān* [Treatise on the laws of the House of 'Osmān by summarizing the contents of the dīvān registers, written between 1606—1609.] (In addition to the well-known Western translations, and Turkish edition of 1280/1864 in Arabic letters — republished in Istanbul in 1979 with an introduction by M. T. Gökbilgin — a Roman letter text was edited by Tuncer, Hadiye, : *Kanun-name-i al-i Osman. Osmanlı devleti arazi kanunları*. Ankara 1962. pp. 90—112, 123 ff. Around 1609, Grand Vizier Murād commissioned 'Ayn-i 'Alī to give a general picture of the structure, size and remuneration of the mercenary army in another of his works, — Tuncer, H., *op. cit.*, pp. 112—123. and Gökbilgin, M. T. *op. cit.*, pp. 82—118.) In the final analysis, 'Ayn-i 'Alī traces the origin of the troubles of the timariot army back to two sources: one is the intrusion of alien social elements into the ranks of the *tīmār*-holders; the other, in fact the cause of the former, is the complete neglect of registration and inspection, that is, control. In an effort to precipitate the settlement of these chaotic affairs, 'Alī had collected and attached to his work all the important 16th-century regulations concerning the *tīmār* system, thereby launching a significant process of codification. This was later carried on along diverse lines, but all the subsequent treatises written on the *tīmār*-system bear a distinct mark of 'Ayn-i 'Alī's influence. (See, for example, 'Alī Çavuş' work of 1653 or 1654, Şahin, İlhan, *Timar sistemi hakkında bir risale*. In : *Tarih Dergisi* 32. 1979, pp. 905—935.

³⁴ Yücel, Yaşar, *Osmanlı Devlet Düzenine Ait Metinler I. Kitāb-i Müstetab*. Ankara 1974, p. 33.

Regularly recurring in approaches to the problems is the charge that the ministers had been systematically "undermining the foundations of the state" since the reign of Murād III (1574). One of their gravest wrongdoings was that through innovation, principally the sale of posts for money, they facilitated the admission of many strangers (*ecnebis*) into the *kapu kulu*. This, in turn, resulted in the alarming swelling of the number and amount of soldiers pay, an unbearable burden upon state finances. The preponderance and parasitic existence of the *kapu kulu* were closely connected with the ruination of the *tīmār* system. The majority of the revenues of the timariot troops who had helped establish the empire, passed into the hands of viziers and high dignitaries who refused to send men on the campaigns, which compelled the ruler to increase the numerical strength of the *kapu kulu*. But the increasingly insubordinate mercenary army achieved less and less success; in addition, utter ruin had been imposed on the *re'ayā* by the demands for exorbitant sums of money, by the administration and the pressure of the army.

In Anonymus' judgement, it was the grand viziers who were accountable for the disorder in the army and society, because for some time a multitude of courtiers had wedged themselves between the sultan and the grand viziers, the latter being driven by fear to pursue a policy of compromise under the slogan: "let us spend this day pleasantly; tomorrow will have [another] master." The worst calamity they brought upon the empire was the introduction of the sale and re-sale of posts for money (*rüşvet* = bribe), that is bribery, and in this way they instilled the spirit of barter everywhere. "The *rüşvet* is undermining the foundations of the empire",³⁵ the author warns and concludes his observations by quoting another proverb: "It is the head that makes the fish stink." A little later he states without circumlocution: "The confusion in the whole world . . . comes from the Padishah appointing the wrong grand vizier."³⁶ The only possible way out, Anonymous opines, is that the sultan should seek out a suitable vizier and after consultations with all the competent people, he should at last start improving the world.

Koçi Beg's famous memorandum of 1631 boils down to an emergency need for action and reforms, and it includes several of the anonymous author's ideas. This work, actually a compilation of separate reports, can be regarded as both an attempt to restore the 'ancient regime' which is considerably idealized, and a collection of practical advice on how to reform the empire in the spirit of the old order.³⁷

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

³⁷ Edited by Aksüt, Kemal, *Koçi Bey Risalesi*. Istanbul 1939, pp. 18-75. A number of perplexing problems around Koçi Beg's second treatise dedicated to Sultan İbrahim (1640) still await clarification, cf. Çağatay Uluçag's summary: Koçi Bey' in Sultan İbrahime takdim ettiği Risale ve Arzları. In: *Zeki Velidi Toğana Armağan*. Istanbul

Koc̄i Beg's arguments can be epitomized in the following way: though described as the ideal period in several respects, the reign of Süleymān is where the roots of today's sickness reach back to. The row of crucial changes began with the withdrawal of the sultan from attending to state affairs in person, while the growing influence of the *harem* also jeopardizes the power position of the grand vizier. By the early 17th century, grand viziers became wholly dependent on the 'intimates' who in turn interfered to an ever increasing extent in the appointment of officials and fief assignments. The 'great pillar of the empire' was most gravely hit by these developments, that is, the timariot army: by appropriating the right to allot vacant *tīmārs*, the court destroyed the traditionally closed ranks and material basis of the *sipāhī* class. The majority of the *tīmārs* and all other sources of revenue were seized by the 'great ones' (*ekābir*), the court functionaries and the women of the *harem* on the one hand, who owned huge estates in the name of their courtiers and servants as well, and by the illegitimate "outsiders" (*ecnebī*), that is the *re'āyā* on the other, whose abandonment of production was the cause of grave financial concern, while they were useless as soldiers. Under such circumstances, the *sipāhī* army, the founders of the empire, were practically annihilated (*yoķ oldu*³⁸), and the government was forced to beef up the mercenary army out of all proportions. This, in turn, resulted in the dilution of the *ķul* army, its ranks being filled with outsiders: it became insubordinate, and as such, the source of internal unrest. As the *ķul* used to be counterbalanced by the *tīmār*-holders' army, the decay of the latter ended in the *ķul* army "having gained ascendancy over the whole world",³⁹ and it seized control of the country's economy as well. When it came to fighting, however, they became less and less valuable, which was manifest in the constant defeats. As a consequence of the growth in the numerical strength and power of the *ķul*, the burden of taxes imposed on the *re'āyā* became intolerable, and they were faced with utter ruin. Koc̄i could not help remarking with resignation: "the present oppression weighing down the *re'āyā* has never happened in any ruler's country before."⁴⁰

Nor was the position of the scholars any better, Koc̄i Beg opines. The ills characterizing the military (such as the social rise of the unworthy, *rüşvet*,

1950–1955, pp. 177–199. These two major works apart, the authorship of several 'reform' — proposals is also attributed to Koc̄i Beg, cf. Uluçaḡ, Çağaray, *op. cit.*, and Murphey, Rhoads, *The Veliyyuddin Telhis: Notes on the Sources and Interrelations Between Koc̄i Bey and Contemporary Writers of Advice to Kings*. In: *Belleten XLIII/171*. 1979, pp. 547–571.

³⁸ Aksüt, Kemal, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

rat race, etc.) plagued them as well, and as an inevitable consequence, wisdom declined and the *'ulemā* fell into disrepute among the people.

Seeing the empire seriously endangered, Kōçi used these phenomena as a point of departure to put pressure on the monarch to take firm action. Naturally his suggestions centred around at least a partial restoration of the timariot army and a considerable reduction in the number of the mercenaries. His advice on how to implement these measures normally remains well within the limits of the existing order, except on one point: he realized that at the core of the problem of the *rüşvet*, the rat race and the extortions, was the overproduction of intellectuals and military elements, and as long as the posts were instable, the former evils could not be eliminated. Partly on the basis of this consideration, and partly based on the experience of other countries — as one of his passages reveals — he suggests that the posts of governors (*beglerbeg*, *sancākbeg*) be assigned for life tenure,⁴¹ and by advocating the establishment or restoration of a closed *sipāhī* stratum in which the prebends would be passed on from father to son or to a distant relative if need be, in essentials he argues for making the *tīmār* estate untransferable and hereditary.⁴² The resulting class of *sipāhīs*, Kōçi Beg contends, would sufficiently counterpoise the mercenary army: also, production would pick up again for the “*zi'āmet* and *tīmār* holders protect their *re'āya* as their own children”.⁴³ It cannot be accidental that though many of Kōçi Beg's proposals were put into practice, these cannot be found among them.

Despite the measures taken in the meantime — many upon the initiative of Kōçi Beg — the affairs of the empire, especially those of finance, deteriorated to such an extent that upon the sultan's request from March 1653 onward the chief administrators of the state held several series of talks to try to remedy the ills and elaborate the proposals in detail. Some of these sessions were also attended by Kātip Çelebi, the great ‘polymath’ of Ottoman culture, an employee of the defterhāne. He summed up his views on the questions raised during the meetings in a short treatise entitled *Destürü'l-'amel li-işlāhü'l-halel* (Directive to the measures needed to heal the damage).⁴⁴

Kātip Çelebi based his arguments on a solid theoretical ground. Following in the wake of Ibn Haldūn's theory he perceived a ‘society organized in the state’ as an organism built on four pillars corresponding to the four elements

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, pp. 68—70.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁴⁴ The Turkish text is available in: Gökbilgin, M. T., *op. cit.*, pp. 119—140. A German translation was edited by: Behrnauer, W. F. A., *Hâgî Chalfa's Dustûru'l-'amel. Ein Beitrag zur osmanischen Finanzgeschichte*. In: *ZDMG* 11. 1857, pp. 111—132. Cf. also Lewis, Bernard, *Ottoman Observers*, pp. 78—81. and Rosenthal, E. I. J., *Political Thought*, pp. 224, 227 ff.

or humours in the human body : the scholars, the army, the traders and the *re'āyā*. The development of the state corresponded to the life of the individual, which proceeds in three stages : an age of growth, an age of stasis and an age of decline. The duration of these periods depended on the constitution and stability of each state. It was, for example, due to the strong constitution of the Ottoman empire that it passed through the age of stasis at such a slow pace. Nevertheless, the empire produced increasing signs indicating the imminence of the last phase : the equilibrium of the elements ensuring the perfect functioning of its 'body' had been disrupted.

One unmistakable symptom was that the subjects, who function like black bile in the body, were undernourished. This was the result of excessive taxation, which in turn was the outcome of the sale and re-sale of offices and of corruption. The exploitation of the masses led to an empty treasury and the demoralization of the army.

The army which corresponded to secretion in the body showed several signs of old age : hypersecretion, that is, the unrealistically high number of the soldiery, was a concomitant of old age which could not be successfully combated, only controlled to some extent.

The functioning of the treasury, the stomach of the social organism, exerted an all-pervading influence over the entire body. If it was empty, due to the excessive subjugation of the peasants, the whole organism would suffer. Kātip Çelebi produced statistics, as he did for the army too, to confirm the disorder, and the fact that expenditure had grown faster than income for some 90 years.

From the enumerated symptoms, Kātip Çelebi deduced that an effective cure was very hard to prescribe. Although he reviewed several possible remedies, he discarded all but one : namely, that a strong-handed 'dictator' (*şāhib-i seyf* = the man of the sword) was needed to cope with the situation.⁴⁵ Among others, he gave the following advice : the deficit of the treasury could be offset by allowing the *re'āyā* respite in paying taxes ; the problem of the army could be solved by reducing their pay ; spending could be curbed by restricting the extravagance of the officials and by employing suitable people ; the terrible plight of the tax-paying *re'āyā* could be relieved by reducing the amount of levies, forbidding the buying and selling of offices and appointing the right persons for a longer tenure in office. At the end of his exposition, Kātip Çelebi offered the consolation that these troubles were nothing new in the empire, and that they were always resolved with the appropriate treatment. His other writings, however, reveal that his optimism was not at all sincere

⁴⁵ Gökbilgin, M. T., *op. cit.*, pp. 136–137. and Behrnauer, W. F. A., *op. cit.*, pp. 129–130.

and he entertained no hope whatever of seeing his suggestions being acted upon in the near future.⁴⁶

In his *Telhîşü'l-beyân fî kavânin-i âl-i 'Osmân* (A memorandum on the laws of the House of 'Osmân) written in 1669/70, Hüseyin Hezârfenn cannot imagine or propose more essential changes either. It is a telling indication of the depletion of the traditional intellectual resources that his book contains hardly any original idea and confirms the practice of wholesale — often verbatim — borrowing from earlier mirrors. He returns to the uncritical idealization of old times, especially the era of Selim I, without being able to uphold any promise of some future progress.⁴⁷

Having thus reviewed some outstanding specimens of the Ottoman mirrors for princes, let us now take a closer look at what relationship there was between the writer and his work, and what are the basic pillars of the ideological structure that can be reconstructed from this literature.

Any definition of the function of the Ottoman mirrors for princes has to start with emphasizing their role of counselling the political administration. This was the express intention of nearly all the writers, which was later coupled with a wish to promote internal reforms. Most writers were firmly convinced that their advice would be of considerable assistance to the ruler and through him to society. Akḫişarî summed up the intentions of all the mirror writers by saying: "Having realized the troubles . . . I have entreated Allah to enlighten me. Allah put the idea into my head that I should write a little book in the interest of good order in the world and that this little book be . . . a guide in reforming the rules of the order of the world. . . Those around the sultan and the members of the *divân* may easily find it useful, and if they act in accordance with it, they will bring fruitful work, benign light and blessing to this world through the help of God Most High."⁴⁸

The advice and the proposals naturally imply a wish to influence the power as well. This aspect seems to be much more pronounced in the Ottoman mirrors than in their classical predecessors, which might derive from the difference in the nature of power. The various Islamic dynasties rivalled the authority of the caliphate before 1258 and shared it out among themselves after that date, and although many assumed the high-sounding title of caliph,

⁴⁶ Behrnauer, W. F. A., *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁴⁷ It was published by Anhegger, Robert, Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi' nin Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatına Dair Mülâhazaları. In: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 10. 1951–53, pp. 365–393. On Hezârfenn: Wurm, Heydrun, *Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyin b. Ğâ'fer, genannt Hezârfenn, und die Istanbul'er Gesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jhs.* Freiburg im Breisgau, 1971.

⁴⁸ Karácson I., *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 9.

before the emergence of the Ottomans no power existed that could have been the legitimate representative of the entire (Sunnī) Islam. The Ottoman dynasty, which had voiced its claim to superiority over the world of Islam since the latter half of the 14th century (as the inscriptions suggest),⁴⁹ became the greatest power after 1517. Instead of the devaluated title of the caliph, they took a liking for the honorific "servant of the two holy cities" which amounts to the same thing: notably, that the Ottoman dynasty is the supreme representative of Islam.⁵⁰ Significantly, in 1554 Luṭfi Pasha devoted a separate treatise to reassure the worried theologians that they were justified in acknowledging the sultan as the caliph of their times, for the latter were indeed the enforcers of the ordinances of the Islamic faith in their domain.⁵¹ It stands to reason that the mirror writers should all share this conviction and place special emphasis on the caliphal role of the sultan. For them the sultanate, the devlet, unequivocally meant the governing function of Islam,⁵² and in this sense, the sultan was not only accountable for his and his house's authority, but for the whole of Islam as well. This view made it possible for the writers to be so outspoken when they reminded the ruler of his duties (it is a recurrent motif that on the day of reckoning the king's pleading that he was unaware of something would not be accepted), and called on him to account for the faults committed by the government. It is the voice of the Muslim community as against kingship when Muṣṭafā 'Ālī asks: ". . . is it congruent with a perfect mind to assume that to obey [the sultan's] orders should be equal . . . to performing a religious duty, while the purport of [these] orders turns out to be — may God prevent it! — a veritable sin and [subject to] eternal punish-

⁴⁹ A Gallipoli inscription for 787/1385 adds to many other titles of Murād I the honorific "lord of the kings of Arabs and non-Arabs," cf. Taeschner, Franz—Wittek, Paul, *Die Vezirfamilie der Ğandarlyzāde (14./15. Jhdt.) und ihre Denkmäler*. In: *Der Islam* XVIII. 1929, p. 77. See also: Taeschner, Franz, *Beiträge zur frühosmanischen Epigraphik und Archäologie*. In: *Der Islam* XX. 1932, pp. 141—142. the inscription of Meḥmed I in Bursa for the year 1419/20, which adds to the above title the claim to the caliphate as well.

⁵⁰ Arnold, Thomas W., *The Caliphate*. With a Concluding Chapter by Sylvia G. Haim. London, 1967², pp. 129 ff. Significantly, when Ta'liḳi-zāde, the fourth or fifth court historiographer, tried to enumerate in his work *Şehnāme-i hümāyūn* of 1596 the virtues that give superiority to the Ottoman Dynasty over the others, he named the sultans, after underlining their unquestionable devotion to Islam, as the "guardians of the two holy city", for it is a religious duty of the whole Islamic world "to obey the ruler of Mecca and Medina," see: Woodhead, Christine, *Ta'liḳi-zāde's şehname-i hümāyūn. A history of the Ottoman campaign into Hungary 1593—95*. Berlin, 1983, p. 116.

⁵¹ Gibb, H. A. R., Luṭfi Paşa on the Ottoman Caliphate. In: *Oriens* 15. 1962, pp. 287—295.

⁵² 'Ālī refers to the sultan as, for example, *şehriyār-i mülk-dîn* = the ruler of the realm of religion (Tietze, A., *op. cit.*, vol. II. 34/155) or *ḫalīfe-i hallāk-i 'ālem* = the vicegerent of the creator of the world (*op. cit.*, vol. II. 30/148), etc.

ment?"⁵³ In other words to obey a bad government was sinful, and it was religion that instructs one in deciding what is bad. Religious arguments however gradually gained ground, not only as theoretical premises, but also as practical approaches to the solution of the problems. Most of the writers demanded the strict enforcement of the *şerī'at*, and to this end they tried to accommodate the greatness and legitimacy of the dynasty to the sublime law. This explains such instructions as respect for the theologians, or that the sultan should summon the *şeyhül-islām* once a week to solicit his opinion on current affairs, as Kōçi Beg proposed.⁵⁴

As for the other elements of the theoretical basis, the Ottoman mirrors cannot boast of too much inventiveness. When they compare the ruler to centre of the body to stress the absolute nature of authority, they only echo their Islamic forerunners. According to Aḳḫişarī, Veysī and Kōçi Beg, the monarch corresponds to the heart in the body, in Anonymus' work he is the soul. Just as the health of the body depends on the heart, so the welfare of the state depends on the righteous ruler. For, to quote Veysī, "should the heart be ailing and off balance, the state of the body is certain to be disturbed. Therefore the source of appropriate action for the padishah is justice and equity . . . oppression and injustice cause the subjects to disperse."⁵⁵ It needed three things to make the sultanate long-lasting: the army, money to support the army, and *re'āyā* to provide the money. As the whole construction was built on the *re'āyā*, justice had to be administered in such a way that the conditions for his prosperity were ensured everywhere. The most significant condition was the preservation of the social balance by maintaining the functional social distinctions. Aḳḫişarī declared that everyone must belong to one of the four social classes (men of the sword, men of the pen, farmers, merchants-craftsmen), or the entire order would begin to crumble. The result was the same if ". . . people in one class are forced to pursue the profession of those in another class".⁵⁶

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, vol. I. 20/94.

⁵⁴ Uluçaç, Çaçatay, *op. cit.*, p. 193. The tendency is apparent that the weaker the Ottoman dynasty's power, the more it drew on Islam for its legitimism. This development culminated in the latter half of the 19th century, when the function and title of the caliph, earlier rather insignificant, assumed an essential role in securing the loyalty of the Muslim subjects of the empire. Notwithstanding the ideological trend generally labelled 'Ottomanism', a product of 19th-century liberal reformism (professing that all imperial subjects are members of the Ottoman nation regardless of religion or ethnic background), the dynasty's policies were dominated by Islamic ideology up to the very end. See: Bernard Lewis' succinct summary: 'The Ottoman Empire and its Aftermath. In: *Journal of Contemporary History* 15. 1980, pp. 27-36.

⁵⁵ Salimzjanova, F. A., *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁵⁶ Karácson I., *op. cit.*, p. 12.

The basic features of the 'good order of the world' as described by the Ottoman mirrors for princes were a just ruler conducting the affairs in person, a functional social stratification in which the norms (*kānūns*) of the early 16th century were observed, the balance between the *kul* and the timariot armies as well as between spending and revenues, and consequently the stable position of the tax-paying *re'āyā*. Violating the order of the world meant a violation of these principles. The gravest offence — analogously to the failure of the heart — was the weakening of the sultanic power and the simultaneous strengthening of the power of the palace and the *harem*, entailing the functional disorders in the uppermost office of the grand vezirate. The precarious position of the grand vizier and the trading in offices for money led to the demolition of social barriers, that is, to moral confusion. Anyone wishing to pinpoint the question of overriding significance in all the Ottoman mirrors for princes is led to the *rüşvet* and the closely related issue of the so-called 'outsiders.' Although modern research labels what from the second half of the 16th century candidates for a post paid to the grand vizier (or the sultan) as 'admission money, fee',⁵⁷ the authors of the mirrors were unanimous in condemning it as *rüşvet*, or bribe. That in this case, the mirror writers were far more likely correct is proven by the circumstance that no trace of any legal sanctioning can be detected,⁵⁸ which itself is conclusive evidence that this institution must have been the hotbed of bribery and corruption, for who paid more, procured more advantages.

Just as with the *rüşvet*, the complaint against the outsiders was in fact a condemnation of incompetent elements intruding various offices and classes. Klaus Röhrborn interprets '*ecnebi*' or '*hāricdan gelen*' as 'unauthorized', that is, someone whose possession of the dignity or property is legally unjustifiable.⁵⁹ On the basis of archival evidence, Gyula Káldy-Nagy pointed out that in the 16th century, *ecnebi* in fact signified the *re'āyā* who left his class to join the military.⁶⁰ The mirrors abundantly attest this assumption, and also draw attention to yet another aspect. In addition to denoting a particular class or layer, the category of the *ecnebi* also had an ethnic connotation, meaning that not the *re'āyā* in general, but their particular ethnic groups were undesirable in military or juridical functions. The mirrors are in complete agreement when declaring the Muslim Turks (separately the nomads), Armenians, Jews, Kurds, Gypsies and the ethnic groups around the Black Sea as unsuitable

⁵⁷ Röhrborn, Klaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 114 ff. (Antritts-Zahlung; the contemporary technical term in Turkish is: *caize*.)

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 123—125.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁶⁰ Káldy-Nagy Gyula, *The First Centuries of the Ottoman Military Organization*. In: *AOH XXXI/2*. 1977, p. 155 (esp. note 33) and pp. 158—59, note 41.

for the service of the sultan.⁶¹ The mirror writers tend to attribute all the symptoms of crisis (excessive growth of *kul*, decline of *timār* system, financial bankruptcy, and ruination of producers, etc.) to the preponderance of the *ecnebis* and the *rüşvet*. They warn that by being committed to individuals, the *ecnebis* would become the main support for those 'great ones' (*ekābir*) who aspired to usurp the authority of power; in other words, the process would lead to the decentralization of power. This induced some of them to advocate the untransferable and hereditary possession of posts, no matter how incongruent this idea may be with despotism. In their opinion the efficiency of the army decreased in direct proportion to its degree of transformation to which some technical backwardness was also added, especially in the handling of fire-arms. This is one reason why most authors seem to militate for a peaceful policy, or at least less belligerence.

In comparison with their Islamic predecessors, the Ottoman mirrors for princes are much more practical in their outlook, and even if some resort to generalization, most of them are concerned with concrete phenomena. What in the final analysis links them to the 'classics' is that the spiritual approach to the problems is the same at either end of the centuries-wide span, and they also wish to resolve the crisis with the traditional formulae. Their 'ideology', as it were, is the object-lesson of dogmatism: they envisage an ideal despotic order and advocate 'improving' the given social structure by adapting it to the ideal, but with one or two exceptions they all fail to realize — despite a growing interest in history — that the phenomena they castigated were intrinsic features of the ideal system just as much as of the actual order. Instead of compelling them to call for real effective changes, the wrongs brought on the ossification of their outlook. Significantly enough, as late as the end of the 18th century, when the pressure for substantial reforms was no longer contestable, the attitude of the majority of the ruling elite towards reforms was still based on 1000-year old recipes.⁶² It is therefore, not sur-

⁶¹ It should be noted that the author of the Janissary lawbook numbers among them the Magyars and Croats too, for — he claims — "the Magyar and the Croat will never be a Muslim; he will abandon the faith at the earliest possible moment," U 12a.

⁶² On Selim III's ambiguous attempts at reform, see: Show, Stanford J., *Between Old and New, The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III. 1789-1807*. Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1971; The other facet of this provincialism is that up to the 19th century the knowledge of, and indeed interest in, the internal development and achievements of Europe, the 'arch-enemy' was meagre. Cf. Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*. New York-London 1982, esp. pp. 151 ff.

prising that by the mid-17th century not a trace of the optimism that used to determine the tone of writing even in the gravest crisis was left in the best mirrors. Nor is it accidental that by 1683 it became as clear as daylight that the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire was an irreversible process which numbered among its many causes the inadequate appraisal of crisis and reform, and the incapability of spiritual, or, to put it in modern terms, 'ideological' revival.

THE SHAMAN TERM *JÜKELI* IN THE SECRET
HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

LAJOS BESE

The following two paragraphs of the *Secret History* inform us of an interesting discord:

§43 *Bodončar-un ablin eme-deče töregsen Barim Sigiratu Qabiči neretü bülege. tere Qabiči bayatur-un eke-yin inje iregsen-i Bodončar tataju bülege. nigen köbegün törebe. Jegüredei neretü bülege. Jegüredei urida jükeli-dü oron bülege.*

§44 *Bodončar ügei boluγsan-u qoyina tere Jegüredei-yi ger daruγa Adangqa Uriyangqadai kümün aluγa. tegünükei büi-je kemeju jükeli-deče γarγaju Jegüreyid oboγtu bolγaju Jegüred-ün ebüge tere bolba.*

§43 He who was born from the wife which Bodonchar himself had taken was named Barim Shigiratu Qabichi. Bodonchar had taken [a girl], who had come as *inje* [that is 'part of the dowry'] of the mother of that Qabichi Baghatür. One son was born. He was named Jegüredei. Jegüredei before had part in the *jükeli*.

§44 After Bodonchar's death, "The mayor of the house had been a man of the Adangqa Uriyangqai clan. It may be that he [that is Jegüredei. — L. Besé.] belongs to him", saying, they [that is he members of the family or clan] expelled Jegüredei out of the *jükeli*. He was caused to become of the Jegüreyid clan. The ancestor of the Jegüred was he.¹

In these two paragraphs of the *SH* we are particularly interested in *jükeli*, a shaman term, concerning which Prof. Ligeti (1962, 142, note 43) wrote the following: "The sacrificial ceremonies in which Jewüredei was allowed to take part in the life of his father were called *jügelü* in Mongolian. In the Chinese summary at the end of the chapter, this word is simply interpreted as 'sacrifice'. According to the interlinear Chinese gloss, it means more precisely a kind of sacrifice offered to Heaven in such a way that — among others — a part of the meat of the slaughtered sacrificial animal is usually

¹ For the translation of these two paragraphs see also Haenisch 1948, 6, Kozin 1941, 83, Pelliot 1949, 127, Ligeti 1962, 13, de Rachewiltz 1971, 124-25, Cleaves 1982, 9.

hung on top of a pole set up askew. The sacrifice was obviously offered to the ancestors of the family and clan, which is borne out by the fact that after his father's death, Jewüredei was forbidden to be present at the rites under the pretext that his father, not being Bodonchar, he did not belong to the family. This meaning of the word has disappeared from contemporary Mongolian languages under the influence of Lamaism; however, some nuances of the ancient word's meaning have been preserved in the Manchu language. In the Manchu, the verb *ǰuge-* means: 'to offer sacrifice to the Big Dipper at night'; *ǰukten* — of the same origin — means: 'sacrifice offered to gods', 'sacrifice offered to ancestors' [E. Hauer, *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache* (Wiesbaden 1952), 552].” This explanation have been quoted, since they serve as a basis for this paper and also because they might have influenced de Rachewiltz 1971, 155 in establishing his opinion: “The sacrifice to the ancestors mentioned in this and in the following paragraph is called *jügelü*; my interpretation ('in which meat is hung on a pole and offered to Heaven') is based on the Chinese interlinear gloss (*YCPS* 1.25b). We have no further details on this ceremony.” Some lines below, de Rachewiltz defines *ǰükeli* as 'ancestor worship ceremony', though there is no such reference in the Mongolian text or the Chinese interlinear gloss either. Kozin 1941, 83 interpretes *ǰükeli* as 'rodovoe zhertvoprinoshenie', which is ambiguous since the Russian expression may mean both 'sacrifice to the ancestors' and 'clan sacrifice'.

According to the Chinese interlinear gloss the meaning of the shaman term *ǰükeli* is 'Opfer für den Himmel mit Fleisch, an e. Stange aufgehängt' (Haenisch 1939, 94), 'to hang meat on a pole and offer to Heaven' (de Rachewiltz 1971, 155) or 'to suspend meat with a pole and sacrifice to Heaven' (Cleaves 1982, 274). It can also be concluded from the Mongolian text that only the members of the family or clan were allowed to take part in the *ǰükeli* ceremonies.

The data quoted below will make it obvious that many important informations concerning *ǰükeli* have escaped the attention of the two outstanding Mongolists mentioned first. It is surprising how they disregarded Cheremisov's Buriat-Mongolian—Russian dictionary (1951) in which the MMo. word is attested in the form *züxeli* (p. 286) and in meaning exactly corresponding tho the Chinese interlinear gloss. The new, enlarged edition of the dictionary (Cheremisov 1973, 270) is cited here: *züxeli* (obs.) skin of a sacrificed animal with the head and shanks (drawn on a long pole), *taxilgata züxelite uula* mountain, where shaman ceremonies were performed; *figur.* a tall and lean man; a great hulking fellow, girl *colloq.* [In Russian.] It can also be quoted from Cheremisov's dictionaries *züxe-* (obs.) to suspend on a pole (the skin of a sacrificed animal with the head and shanks, liver and kidneys with some quantity of hay); to pierce (through), spit, run (in, into). [In Russian.] Thus the word *ǰükeli* in the *SH* is none other than a derivative

of an unattested MMo. **füke-* 'to put on the spit (sg), spit (sg)' with the Mo. dev. n. *-li* 'to form nouns designating abstract ideas' suffix.²

The facts mentioned below will convince us that not only the MMo. word *fükeli* and its meaning, but the relevant shaman ceremony are still present on the map of the so-called Ethnical Mongolia, preserved by the Western Buriats until this very day. Let us quote for instance Prof. Poppe (1972, 111), who has written the following: "The skin of a sheep or a goat which is hung on a high tree as an offering to the gods is called *züxeli* which corresponds to *fükeli* in the *Secret History*. I saw such *züxeli* offerings in large numbers among the Bulagat Buriats in the Western part of the Buriat country when I was collecting folklore in 1932."³ This quotation also suggests that the data referring to the Buriat *züxeli* can be used as analogues to make our knowledge of *fükeli* in the *SH* more perfect. The earlier literature on the Buriat *züxeli* is very important for us, but unfortunately only occasional references and imperfect definitions are available, from which it is impossible to reconstruct it.⁴ So when I met my colleague and friend, Taras Mikhailov, a born

² Cf. also Mo. Kow. *füküli* 'mouton suspendu au bout d'une perche par les chamans' — Further derivatives of the Bur. verb *züxe-* in Cheremisov's dictionary: *züxege* 'with the head drew into the shoulders', *züxer* in *züxer züxer jaba-* 'to go rocking the head'. [In Russian.] On the basis of the Mo. *füke-* ~ *fükü-*, Khal. *dzüxe-* 'to curse, swear, scold', it can be supposed that the *figur.* 'to curse, scold, abuse' meaning given by Cheremisov to the Bur. *züxe-* is the meaning of another verb that is its homonym.

³ The word *fükeli* and the ceremony denoted by it was also known by the Khoriburiats. Cf. *şarim-ud-tur qoni yamayan-i keger-e abuçačıju alayad: urtu modun-u füküli-dü elgüjü bögeleged: . . .* 'Sometimes in the steppe they catch sheep and goats to kill them, and suspending them on a long wooden *füküli* they perform shaman rites, and. . . 'In: *Letopisi khorinskikh buriat. Vyp. 1. Khroniki Tugultur Toboeva i Vandana Yumsunova. Tekst izdal N. N. Poppe. M.-L. 1935, 108.* For the Russian translation of this passage see *Letopisi khorinskikh buriat. Perevod N. N. Poppe. M.-L. 1940, 65.* I want to note that in the autumn of 1969, when visiting the Aga-Buriats living in the northern and north-eastern territories of the MPR, I did not find any evidence of the word *züxeli* or the ceremony denoted by it. The Alt. *d'ükeli* 'picture of a sacrificed animal suspended on a long pole on the shaman drum' may prove the spread of MMo. *fükeli*. A photostate of the Alt. *d'ükeli* is published in Boyle 1963, 205.

Because the subject of the Bur. *züxeli* sacrifice may also be a horse, I refer here to the important contributions of A. Boyle (1963 and 1965) and Alice Sárközi (1979) on the horse sacrifices among the Mongols. These two authors and Viatkina (1969, 26) inform us about several kind of (horse) sacrifices containing features identical with or similar to the Bur. *züxeli* sacrifice from various historical records regarding the so-called Altaic peoples.

Note that the description of the horse sacrifice among the Buriats given by Jeremiah Curtin (and quoted by Sárközi 1979, 253) refers in all probability to the *züxeli* sacrifice.

⁴ I mean, for example, Khangalov I—III, Prof. Poppe's definition (in: *K slovarnomu izucheniiu buriat—mongol'skikh govorov. Sbornik v chest' N. Ya. Marra. Leningrad 1935, 334*), and Manzhigeev 1960, 183 and 189.

Western Buriat and also a researcher of Buriat shamanism, I asked him to answer my relevant questions. I wish to express here my thanks for his willing cooperation, without which I would never have been able to publish this paper in the given form.

With regard to the description of the Buriat *züxeli*, some important information can be learned from Manzhigeev 1978, 55–56: “*züxeli* — the head, the four limbs, the fell and tail of the sacrificed animal suspended on a birch pole like a stuffed animal, and staked into the ground with the end (of the pole); the head is decorated with many-coloured ribbons, with fir-bark squeezed into the teeth and turned to the direction of the sunrise.” [In Russian.] The sunrise may have been the basic direction. However, as stated by Mikhailov 1980, 179–80 the *züxeli* was turned facing different directions, depending on which god or protector the sacrifice was offered to. The birch pole, on top of which the head of the sacrificed animal was suspended by the skin was usually three or four metres long.⁵ The *züxeli* may have been set up at different places, e.g. in the yard (usually the backyard) of the house leant against the fence, or outside inhabited areas often against protruding side-branches of tall pine trees so that it could not be reached by animals. It also happened in olden times that a *züxeli* was set up against a yurt. Several *züxeli*-s could be set up near each other at different times. At some places even thirty or forty *züxeli*-s could be found. The pole of a *züxeli* was not always planted into the ground; on the other hand, a *züxeli* standing alone was often enclosed. Only the place of communal, that is tribal or clan *züxeli* was considered sacred.⁶ It was forbidden to touch or remove a set up *züxeli*, therefore, it remained in its place until it putrefied or dissolved.⁷

The sacrificed animals could be sheep, horses of different colour and also goats, depending on which gods or protector they were offered to. Khangalov I, 515 claims that the sacrificed animals offered to the Western white (that is “good”) smiths⁸ were grey or white horses. According to my friend Mikhailov’s information, originally black horses were offered as a *züxeli* sacrifice to the Azharai Bükhe,⁹ the protector of Western Buriat fighters. Being rather rare, the black horses were later replaced by black sheep. No cattle (cows or bulls) were offered at *züxeli*-s as sacrificed animals, since according to the beliefs the gods and spirits of the next world consumed only horse-meat and mutton. The Buriats never salt the meat of the sacrificed

⁵ Among the Buriats, birch trees had long since been regarded as essential requisites at religious ceremonies. On this see Manzhigeev 1978, 15.

⁶ This is confirmed by the place name *Zakulei* (from Bur. *züxeli*) in Cis-Baikalia. Cf. Melikheev, *Toponimika Buriatii*. Ulan-Ude 1969, 128.

⁷ See also Manzhigeev 1978, 56.

⁸ See, for example, Manzhigeev 1978, 42.

⁹ See Manzhigeev 1978, 14–15.

animal, since they think that the gods and protectors do not accept salted meat and in this case the sacrificed animal will not be reborn.¹⁰ Earlier, live lambs were also drawn onto the sharpened birch pole. According to the beliefs, the reason of setting up the birch pole in a steep angle is that the soul of the sacrificed animal would fly into Heaven as quickly as possible.

The *züxeli* sacrifice was always performed in the dark night.¹¹ A cauldron was set up in advance at the designated place, and the meat of the sacrificed animal was cooked in it lather. After that a bonfire was made of juniper so that the sacrificed animal and the other drinks and foods consumed during the ceremony would be purified in it.¹² At a *züxeli* sacrifice it was forbidden to take the meat of the sacrificed animal into the house. The *züxeli* sacrifice belonged to the so-called bloodless sacrifices, since no blood of the sacrificed animal was shed. As in the case of other animal sacrifices, they had to be careful not to break the bones of the animal. If they did, it was regarded as a bad omen. The meat of the sacrificed animal was divided into parts (*xubi*): one part was given to the god or protector it was offered to, another part was allocated to the members of the family or clan, and a third to the guests. The participants who did not get any of the parts were despised and considered inferior people.¹³ During the ceremony, the participants did not sit around the *züxeli*, but usually around the bonfire. There was a willow branch (*tüürge*)¹⁴ stabbed into the ground in front of each of them. The eating-bowls (*ajaga*) with the meat of the sacrificed animal, as well as the milk brandy or vodka and the milk foods (*sagaan edjeen*) in round birch-bark vessels were placed on the right hand side of the *züxeli*. Since there was no Buriat shaman sacrifice without milk brandy or vodka, many of these drinks were consumed at the *züxeli* sacrifices. At the end of the ceremony, the bones of the animal were burned.

¹⁰ Cf. also Mikhailov 1980, 84.

¹¹ In this respect Ma. *füge*- 'to offer sacrifice to the Big Dipper at night' quoted by Prof. Ligeti may bear significance. Among others, Mikhailov claims that the Mongols attributed supernatural qualities to stars, believing that they could provide them with health, long life, wealth, richness and could ensure the reproduction of animals. The most respected constellation was the Big Dipper. However, I did not manage to establish any connection between the MMo. *fükeli*, the Bur. *züxeli* ceremonies and the cult of stars among the Buriats.

¹² Ritual purification formed an important part of the ceremonies. On this cf. Mikhailov 1980, 83. Baldaev 1970, 154–55 noted an occasion when an unexpected thunderstorm hindered the ritual purification and therefore the sacrifice was offered in vain.

¹³ Recently no part is given to the participant who does not contribute to the price of the sacrificed sheep, which marks the significant changes in the form of the Bur. *züxeli*, namely the survival of a traditional ceremony in a modern form. Compared to traditions, the presence of "guests" also seems allowed.

¹⁴ For this see also Manzhigeev 1978, 73.

The *zūxeli* sacrifices were always organized with the participation of a shaman. As it could be seen above in the *SH*, a *žūkeli* was regarded as an ancestor worship ceremony only because Jegüredei, being a stranger was not allowed to take part in it. However, we must not forget that among the Buriats and undoubtedly also among the old Mongols, strangers were forbidden to be present at several of the ceremonies. (By reason of the clan exogamy wives were also considered strangers. On this subject cf. also Poppe 1972, 111.) All this can be said about *zūxeli* in which — unlike other ceremonies — only the grown-up male members of the clan or family had the right to take part. At the same time, it was obligatory for the members of the clan or family — in some cases only for the grown-up male members — to have part at the sacrificial ceremonies. The person being absent — as they say — offended the clan or the family, which — according to the beliefs — made the god or protector, that is the personage the sacrifice was offered to, angry not only with the given person, but with the whole clan or family.

Three types of shaman ceremonies performed by Buriats and old Mongols can be distinguished: 1. tribal or clan, 2. family, and 3. individual ceremonies.¹⁵ At the same time, there were ceremonies regularly held in certain periods of the year,¹⁶ and ceremonies made necessary by some extraordinary event. Being organized when the tribe or clan was struck by a natural disaster, unusual drought or epidemics, etc., *zūxeli* belongs to the latter type of "occasional" Buriat ceremonies. Such or similar reasons motivated the family *zūxeli*, which were held when no children were born, the sick would not recover or the animals remained barren, etc. Besides, a *zūxeli* sacrifice was performed when boys reached manhood (*šara texe*).¹⁷ Khangalov I, 406 mentions that as a result of the sacrifices *tengeri duudaxa* 'to call god' and *zūxeli gargaxa* 'to perform *zūxeli* offering'¹⁸ Guzhir sagaan *tengeri* may present the sacrificer with a lot of offspring, both children and animals. The Buriats believe that some people go to Heaven and stay there for ever, while others — due to sacrificial ceremonies — may return to Earth. Khangalov II, 138—39 refers to a case when at the request of a girl's parents a woman shaman performed a *zūxeli* sacrifice which was successful for the third time and their daughter could return to earthly life. Thus among the Buriats, the *zūxeli* sacrifices seem to have been offered for fertility and help. It is

¹⁵ Cf. Mikhailov 1980, 249.

¹⁶ Such are the *tailgan* 'offering's. On them cf. for example Manzhigeev 1978, 69, Mikhailov 1980, 176—78, etc. Without doubt a *zūxeli* sacrifice could be also offered at *tailgan*-s.

¹⁷ On *šara texe* see, for example, Manzhigeev 1978, 98.

¹⁸ These two sacrifices are the same in content, but different in form. Cf. also Khangalov II, 205. A concept about the origin of the *zūxeli gargaxa* and *tengeri duudaxa* is expressed by Khangalov I, 228—29.

worth noting that sacrificial or other songs could be performed at many of ceremonies, while it was strictly forbidden at *zūxeli*-s. It can be also read in Khangalov II, 205 that the participants at a *zūxeli* were not allowed to shout, make a noise, fight or use bad language. Thus the *zūxeli* — as it can be seen — was a “serious” ceremony.

Manzhigeev 1978, 56 claims that according to beliefs, the *zūxeli* — more precisely its ideal image — must get into Heaven, and the sacrificed animal after regaining its bones and muscles, of which it was stripped during the ceremony, must return to Earth. Suspending the *zūxeli* on the sacrificial pole expresses heir animistic belief in the rebirth of the slaughtered sacrificial animal, which is realized through the transmigration of its soul. At the same time, the set-up *zūxeli* draws the attention of the god or protector to the offered sacrifice, due to which the troubles must be healed, offspring must be born, the sick must recover, and animals must be reproduced, etc.

This is what I can say just now in the case of the Buriat *zūxeli*. I think that the informations published here about this shaman ceremony may serve as important analogues, which not only supplement our knowledge of *jukeli* in the *SH* and make it more exact, but in several aspect also confirm and verify the facts included in the *SH* and the interlinear Chinese gloss. On the basis of the quoted text of the *SH*, the following can be stated:

The definition of *jukeli* in the interlinear Chinese gloss is in fact acceptable, but not exact enough. With regard to the Buriat analogues, the more exact definition might be the following: *jukeli* ‘skin of the sacrificed animal (horse, sheep) with the head and shanks (and perhaps with the liver and kidneys and some quantity of hay) suspended on a long pole of birch and staked into the ground with the end of the pole for offering to the gods or protectors; the head of the sacrificed animal is turned to the direction of the sunrise’. At the same time, the word *jukeli* may denote the ceremony itself, the place where the ceremony was performed or the place where the *jukeli* was set up. Therefore, *jukeli-dü oro-* in *SH* §43 may be interpreted as ‘to have part in the *jukeli* (offering)’, and also as ‘to enter, to go into (the place of) the *jukeli* (offering)’.¹⁹

It is quite obvious from the Buriat analogues that the *jukeli* cannot be considered as ancestor worship ceremony. The *jukeli* in the *SH* belonged to the bloodless occasional sacrifices, which were offered when the family

¹⁹ The Buriat expression *ongondo oro-* ‘to communicate with the shaman idol’ may also be ambiguous. It must be added that for the translation of the shaman term *jukeli* in the *SH* witty and apposite equivalents can be found in several languages, such as the German translation ‘Stangenopfern’ by Haenisch 1948, 6. In most languages, however, it can be expressed only in stodgy circumlocations. Therefore, I think that Prof. Cleaves’ (1982, 9) solution of using the original Mongolian word in the English translation with the necessary explanation in the notes can be considered most appropriate.

or the clan were in trouble and turned to the gods or protectors for help. Thus *šukeli* must have been a sacrifice for help.

It is verified by the Buriat analogues that the text of the *SH* — in accordance with reality — reflects a custom of the patrilinear exogamous society, that is only the members of the tribe or clan and the family, but sometimes only the grown-up male members were allowed to take part in shaman ceremonies including the *šukeli* sacrifice. This custom or law excluded Jegüredei — regarded as a stranger — from the *šukeli* sacrifice.

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UN TÉMOIGNAGE CAPITAL SUR LA VIE
D'ALEXANDRE CSOMA DE KÖRÖS

LE JOURNAL DE VICTOR JACQUEMONT

BERNARD LE CALLOC'H (Paris)

Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös, né en Transylvanie le 4 avril 1784,¹ mort à Dardjiling le 11 avril 1842, est le fondateur de la tibétologie. Il est l'auteur du premier dictionnaire et de la première grammaire de la langue tibétaine classique, publiés à Calcutta en 1834. On lui doit aussi bon nombre d'études, traductions et analyses relatives au bouddhisme du Nord qui ont achevé d'établir sa réputation de savant orientaliste.

Pour devenir le père des études tibétaines il lui a fallu s'astreindre à résider au total une huitaine d'années dans l'Himalaya occidental entre les années 1822 et 1830.

Au cours d'un premier voyage, de juin à novembre 1822, il a séjourné à Leh, capitale du royaume alors indépendant du Ladakh, pour y apprendre le tibétain parlé «d'une personne connaissant le persan», après qu'il ait fait la connaissance de William Moorcroft,² puis de ses compagnons George Trebeck³ et Mir Izzet Ullah.⁴ Dans son récit de voyage, paru à Londres en 1841 longtemps après sa mort, Moorcroft ne fait toutefois qu'une très courte allusion à cette rencontre décisive.

Au cours de la deuxième période, Csoma s'est installé au Zanskar, successivement à Zangla en 1823-24, puis à Phuktal en 1825-26. Il n'y a reçu la visite d'aucun Européen.

¹ La date de naissance d'Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös fait encore de nos jours l'objet de controverses entre spécialistes. Il se peut qu'il soit né seulement en 1787, comme le propose Ferenc Szilágyi, ou même en 1789, comme le pense László Kádár. Nous avons retenu la date de 1784 comme la plus généralement admise.

² William Moorcroft, officier vétérinaire de l'armée britannique des Indes, inspecteur général de la remonte, explorateur, 1765-1825.

³ George Trebeck, topographe, dessinateur, compagnon de Moorcroft, né à Calcutta en 1798, mort à Mazar-i-Cherif, Afghanistan, en 1825.

⁴ Mir Izzet Ullah, Indien musulman natif de Delhi, compagnon et interprète de Moorcroft : 1790 (?)—1826.

En revanche, pendant la troisième période, qui va de juin 1827 à novembre 1830, il reçut à Kanam, dans le haut Bishawar,⁵ celle de trois personnes qui ont pris la peine d'en laisser un compte-rendu, à savoir:

- en juin 1827, le capitaine C. Johnson;
- en septembre 1828, le docteur J. G. Gerard;
- en juillet, puis en septembre 1830, le naturaliste français Victor Jacquemont.

En ce qui concerne le capitaine C. Johnson, son témoignage fera l'objet d'une étude particulière.

Sur le docteur James Gilbert Gerard il y a assez peu de choses à ajouter maintenant à ce qui a déjà été dit par la plupart des biographes de Csoma. Ceux-ci ont, en effet, repris intégralement, ou tout au moins en grande partie, le rapport détaillé qu'il fit parvenir le 28 janvier 1829 à William Fraser,⁶ résident britannique à Delhi. Il faut toutefois noter qu'ils ne donnent généralement sur ce médecin écossais aucun détail le concernant personnellement, alors qu'il a laissé un nom dans l'histoire de la découverte scientifique de l'Inde, non point tant en raison de ses activités médicales que du fait des nombreux voyages qu'il fit dans l'Himalaya, soit seul, soit avec ses frères aînés Alexandre et Patrick. Né à Aberdeen en 1795, il avait été affecté dès l'âge de dix-neuf ans, comme chirurgien-assistant, au service médical du Bengale et envoyé peu après à Sabathou. C'est là qu'il fit la connaissance de Csoma de Kőrös en 1825 et se prit d'amitié pour lui. Devenu le 5 mai 1826 médecin en titre du corps de Gourkhas que commandait le capitaine Charles Pratt Kennedy, son compatriote écossais, il revit le savant hongrois en janvier 1827, puis lui rendit visite à Kanam en septembre de l'année suivante alors qu'il circulait dans la haute vallée du Satledj en mission de prophylaxie anti-variologique. Il est mort à Sabathou le 31 mars 1835, âgé seulement de quarante ans, des suites de la maladie qu'il avait contractée à Caboul, lors du voyage au cours duquel il accompagnait Sir Alexander Burnes, en 1832.

Au contraire, sur le troisième Européen à s'être présenté chez Alexandre Csoma, à Kanam, c'est à dire Victor Jacquemont, tout reste à dire et à faire, puisque son témoignage a été négligé jusqu'à maintenant.

C'est pourquoi la présente étude se propose un triple but:

- 1) divulguer la partie de son journal de voyage qui concerne ses rencontres et ses conversations avec Csoma de Kőrös;

⁵ Ou Kinnaur. C'est la partie la plus haute du val de Satledj, actuellement dans l'Etat indien de l'Himachal Pradesh.

⁶ William Fraser, fonctionnaire civil de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, résident à Delhi. Né en Ecosse, dans le comté d'Inverness, en 1780, mort assassiné le 22 mars 1835 par les agents du nabab de Firouzpour. Il fit connaissance de Jacquemont au début de novembre 1830 à Sabathou, chez le capitaine Kennedy.

- 2) divulguer celles de ses lettres où il se réfère au savant hongrois;
- 3) et commenter cette documentation nouvelle en faisant connaître la personnalité, le caractère, l'état d'esprit de Victor Jacquemont.

Ce jeune savant avait été envoyé en mission dans l'Inde par le Museum national d'histoire naturelle de Paris en 1828, pour y explorer les régions himalayennes. Il est mort malheureusement en 1832 à Bombay, d'où il comptait se rembarquer bientôt pour la France.

Dans sa correspondance, publiée chez Fournier dès 1833 par les soins de son frère Porphyre⁷ et de son ami Prosper Mérimée,⁸ traduite en de nombreuses langues et rééditée douze fois depuis lors, il évoque parfois le curieux personnage que fut à ses yeux Csoma de Kőrös. Il n'en parle néanmoins que de manière accessoire, à propos d'autres choses, de sorte que cette partie de son témoignage serait mince si elle était la seule.

En fait, c'est dans son journal de voyage qu'il faut chercher l'essentiel des impressions qu'il ressentit et des conversations qu'il eut avec son hôte hongrois. Ce journal a été édité en 1841 chez Firmin Didot, sur ordre de François Guizot,⁹ quand celui-ci était ministre de l'Instruction publique. Il est paru avec l'ensemble de son œuvre scientifique sous le titre «Voyage dans l'Inde», en six volumes de format grand in-quarto, dont 1660 pages de texte. Là, il parle longuement de ses rencontres avec Csoma, ainsi qu'on en peut juger à la lecture des pages en annexe, preuve de l'intérêt que le tibétologue suscita chez le naturaliste. Il nous fait de lui une peinture que, curieusement, aucun biographe hongrois n'a jamais reprise, pas même ceux qui citent le «Voyage en Inde» dans leur bibliographie. Parce qu'il s'exprime à son sujet dans ses lettres intimes avec une certaine désinvolture, parce qu'il lui arrive d'en railler l'aspect insolite et le comportement singulier — sans aucune acrimonie, d'ailleurs — les historiens hongrois qui ont écrit sur Csoma l'ont ignoré. Ils n'ont pas, semble-t-il, apprécié son humour incisif, ses remarques parfois caustiques, quoique dénuées de toute intention méchante. Ils ont complètement rejeté le témoignage capital et quasiment unique qu'il nous livre dans son message posthume, allant comme Ervin Baktay, et d'autres après lui, jusqu'à le déclarer sans aucun intérêt scientifique, alors que, tout au contraire, il est d'une importance primordiale sur de nombreux points, qui ne sont pas toujours, loin s'en faut, de simples détails.

Non seulement il nous brosse un portrait fort vivant de l'ermite de Kanam au moment où celui-ci est en train d'achever l'œuvre de sa vie, mais il nous rapporte aussi fidèlement qu'il le peut leurs entretiens. Il se fait l'écho de

⁷ Porphyre Jacquemont, son frère aîné, officier d'artillerie, 1791—1854.

⁸ Prosper Mérimée, écrivain, archéologue, 1803—1870.

⁹ François Guizot, historien et homme d'Etat, 1787—1874.

ses voyages, de sa rencontre avec Jean-François Allard¹⁰ et Jean-Baptiste Ventura,¹¹ des problèmes qui se sont posés à lui dans la poursuite de ses études, de ses conceptions en matière de science linguistique, et même de ses réflexions sur le monde tibétain qu'il a été le premier à explorer de façon rationnelle. Il remarque non sans perspicacité que cet homme apparemment si modeste et volontairement si effacé, est en réalité animé d'une grande fierté.

D'une façon générale, il nous fournit des quantités de renseignements de tous ordres sur Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös, renseignements d'autant plus précieux qu'ils sont plus rares, puisque Jacquemont est avec Johnson et Gerard, comme nous l'avons vu, le seul Européen qui, ayant été témoin de la vie du savant hongrois dans l'Himalaya, nous en a laissé un récit circonstancié.

On verra plus loin l'importance considérable des informations que l'on peut tirer des pages du journal de Jacquemont. Pour ne prendre maintenant qu'un exemple: le naturaliste français nous signale que son hôte hongrois est parfaitement au fait de la parenté linguistique qui unit les Hongrois aux peuples finnois, même s'il cherche ailleurs une autre parenté plus à son goût, c'est à dire plus orientale, plus asiatique. En quelques mots négligemment confiés au papier — «il y a, dit M. Csoma, une extrême analogie de syntaxe grammaticale entre le hongrois et le finnois»¹² — il nous fournit donc un élément primordial puisqu' on s'est fréquemment demandé jusqu'à quel point Csoma avait admis l'existence de la famille finno-ougrienne, dont il n'a pratiquement parlé qu'une seule fois, et seulement par incidence, dans sa lettre du 5 mai 1825 au capitaine Kennedy.

Mais le témoignage de Jacquemont va plus loin encore. Il nous décrit avec sa minutie de naturaliste le cadre montagneux où se perche à flanc de pente le petit village de Kanam, le site grandiose qui entoure et domine la hutte où habite Csoma, la végétation, les cultures, les mœurs des indigènes, le style des maisons, leur disposition en arc de cercle, etc. . . . Il ne manque pas non plus de nous faire remarquer «l'ordre le plus méthodique» qui règne dans la cellule du tibétologue, trop basse pour la haute taille du Français,¹³ mais suffisante pour celle du Hongrois.¹⁴ Il ne nous fait grâce d'aucun détail pittoresque, énumère les pièces de son curieux accoutrement, nous rapporte avec surprise son comportement exagérément respectueux et compassé, le refus qu'il oppose à Jacquemont de s'asseoir en sa présence, son langage gourmé,

¹⁰ Jean-François Allard, officier français au service du Pendjab à partir de 1822, né à Saint Tropez en 1785, mort à Peshawar en 1839.

¹¹ Jean-Baptiste Ventura, officier français d'origine italienne, compagnon d'Allard, né à Finale d'Emilia en 1790, mort à Toulouse en 1858.

¹² Page 254 du journal. Jacquemont écrit «finois» au lieu de «finnois».

¹³ Jacquemont a dit de lui-même une fois qu'il avait cinq pieds huit pouces, et une autre fois qu'il avait cinq pieds huit pouces et neuf lignes, soit 1,84 ou 1,86 m.

¹⁴ Le passeport de Csoma précise qu'il était de taille «médiocre» (középszerű).

note que son accent anglais est très mauvais mais qu'il écrit en revanche cette langue avec facilité, ou encore qu'il a l'étrange habitude pour un Européen de se déchausser dès qu'il pénètre dans un lieu habité.

Au reste, bien que ce savant original, occupé à chercher en Asie « la peuplade tartare dont sa nation est, dit-on, un essaim », ne soit pas, à l'évidence, le sujet principal de ses préoccupations ni l'objet premier de son journal pas plus que de sa correspondance, il lui consacre tout de même *dix-sept pages* in-quarto, parle de lui dans *onze* de ses lettres et cite au total *cinquante-neuf fois* son nom.

On comprendra dans ces conditions que je souhaite saisir l'occasion qui m'est offerte et montrer que Jacquemont est l'un des auteurs les plus importants pour la connaissance de Csoma à la fin de son long séjour en Himalaya. Il faut que soit enfin réparée une erreur regrettable qui a consisté jusqu'à présent soit à passer sous silence son témoignage, soit à en démontrer la prétendue inanité. Une telle attitude de la part d'historiens, s'ingéniant par ailleurs à rechercher le plus petit détail, à découvrir le moindre indice nouveau, s'explique très mal. Par contre, il est clair qu'elle a eu des conséquences dommageables pour une meilleure compréhension d'Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös, sur lequel on sait, en définitive, relativement peu de choses certaines.

Il serait absurde de continuer indéfiniment à refuser de voir tout ce qu'il apporte en tant que témoin de la vie du tibétologue dans son ermitage de Kanam. Il n'est pas possible non plus de ne retenir de ses écrits, comme certains biographes l'ont fait jusqu'à ce jour, que quelques mots peut-être maladroits, mais certainement pas hostiles. Jacquemont est, en effet, un reflet précieux et généralement fidèle des événements qu'il a traversés, comme des hommes qu'il a croisés sur son chemin. Esprit sagace autant que brillant, intelligence vive et déliée servie par une mémoire admirable, il a été un observateur avisé de son temps. Ce qu'il nous dit donc de ce philologue hongrois qu'il a visité dans sa retraite himalayenne ne peut pas être banal, encore moins insignifiant.

Mais d'abord: qui était Jacquemont ?

Qui était Victor Jacquemont ?

Venceslas-Victor Jacquemont, né à Paris le 8 août 1801 d'une famille originaire de Hesdin, dans le Pas de Calais, était le fils cadet du philosophe Venceslas Jacquemont, Directeur général de l'Instruction publique, membre de l'Institut¹⁵ et député au Tribunat, ancien ami des Girondins pendant la Révolution, connu pour son hostilité à Bonaparte et son appartenance au clan

¹⁵ Venceslas Jacquemont, 1757—1836, avait été élu à l'académie des inscriptions et belles lettres en 1796.

des «idéologues». Il fit des études de chimie, de médecine et de sciences naturelles, avec une prédilection marquée pour la botanique, et fonda alors qu'il n'avait que vingt ans, avec Adrien de Jussieu,¹⁶ Adolphe Brongniart¹⁷ et Hippolyte Jaubert,¹⁸ la Société d'histoire naturelle de Paris. D'une vaste culture, d'une intelligence très fine, doté d'un entregent singulièrement efficace, très sûr de lui, mais romantique et sensible comme on savait l'être à son époque, il se lia d'amitié avec ses aînés tels que le paléontologiste Georges Cuvier,¹⁹ le général marquis de La Fayette,²⁰ ou le peintre Gérard,²¹ ainsi qu'avec des jeunes de sa génération tels que Prosper Mérimée ou Stendhal,²² dont il ira jusqu'à corriger les écrits.

Coqueluche des salons littéraires parisiens, il mena pendant plusieurs années une double vie studieuse et mondaine, scientifique et littéraire. Puis, d'octobre 1826 à octobre 1827, à la suite d'une déconvenue amoureuse,²³ il fit un voyage en Amérique du Nord, ainsi qu'à Haïti où résidait son frère Frédéric.²⁴

Il n'en rentra que pour se voir confier par le Museum national une importante mission d'exploration en Inde. A peine débarqué à Calcutta, il se présenta directement chez le gouverneur général, Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck,²⁵ muni des meilleures recommandations. L'accueil chaleureux que les plus hautes personnalités de l'Inde britannique lui réservèrent ne manqua pas de l'étonner, mais s'explique précisément par ses qualités intellectuelles, sa faconde, son excellente connaissance de l'anglais et son entregent exceptionnel. Il lui valut, en tout cas, de grandes facilités dans ses travaux et ses déplacements, les Anglais ne sachant que faire pour lui être agréable.

C'est alors qu'il remontait la vallée du Satledj en direction de la frontière chinoise, en juillet 1830, qu'il fit la connaissance d'Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös, installé près du monastère tibétain de Kanam depuis plus de trois ans. Il eut avec lui plusieurs entretiens en anglais sur les sujets les plus divers et tout

¹⁶ Adrien de Jussieu, professeur de botanique, 1797—1853.

¹⁷ Adolphe Brongniart, fondateur de la paléo-botanique, 1801—1876.

¹⁸ Hippolyte Jaubert, botaniste et homme politique, 1798—1874.

¹⁹ Georges Cuvier, fondateur de la paléontologie animale, 1769—1832.

²⁰ La Fayette, 1757—1834. Jacquemont fut plusieurs fois l'hôte du général dans sa propriété de campagne.

²¹ Le baron François Gérard, 1770—1837, fut l'un des grands peintres de l'Empire et de la Restauration.

²² Henri Beyle, dit Stendhal, écrivain, romancier, 1783—1842.

²³ Il était tombé follement amoureux de l'actrice italienne Adélaïde Schiasetti, 1800—1838.

²⁴ Frédéric Jacquemont, propriétaire en Haïti, fut aussi consul de France à Panama, 1799—1844.

²⁵ Lord William Bentinck, 1774—1839, fut gouverneur général de l'Inde de 1827 à 1835.

d'abord, naturellement, sur ses propres études relatives au bouddhisme, mais aussi sur la question de l'origine orientale des Hongrois et sur les moyens de l'établir. Deux mois plus tard, à son retour, le Français s'arrêta de nouveau chez Csoma, preuve de l'intérêt amical qu'il lui portait. Il eut encore avec lui une longue conversation. Les détails de ces entrevues successives ont été consignés avec soin dans son journal par le méticuleux Jacquemont, à la vigilance duquel rien n'échappait. Mais celui-ci, après avoir accompli au Pendjab et au Cachemire un extraordinaire voyage de huit mois grâce à l'entremise du général Allard et à la munificence de Randjit Singh,²⁶ mourut à Bombay le 7 décembre 1832, sans avoir pu achever sa mission. Il n'avait que trente-et-un ans.

Victor Jacquemont a donc traversé comme un météore l'histoire de la science française; mais la publication de sa correspondance, de son journal, de ses études et de ses dessins, revêla qu'il avait été au cours de sa brève vie à la fois un épistolier de première grandeur, un explorateur d'un courage héroïque, et la plus brillante illustration de la science naturaliste de son temps. Bref, il ne fut à aucun moment ni en aucune circonstance cet homme « insignifiant pour la science » que les biographes de Csoma ont injustement rejeté dans les ténèbres de l'oubli.

Bien au contraire, son destin posthume devait prouver en quelle haute considération il fut tenu par les générations qui avaient pu, trop brièvement, apprécier ses immenses talents en même temps que son âme ardente et généreuse. On ne sut bientôt plus que faire pour lui témoigner respect par delà la tombe. Ses amis botanistes s'empressèrent de baptiser de son nom plusieurs plantes des régions qu'il avait visitées. En 1855, l'Etat commanda son buste au sculpteur Fernand Talouet. Un décret du 11 septembre 1869 donna son nom à une rue de Paris. Un monument lui fut élevé à Srinagar en octobre 1881. Ses cendres furent rapatriées de Bombay à bord d'un croiseur de la Marine nationale et déposées solennellement dans le grand hall du Museum, le 29 novembre 1893, honneur insigne puisqu'il n'a été réservé qu'à lui et à Guy de La Brosse, fondateur de l'établissement. Sa statue en pied fut placée sur la façade de l'hôtel de ville de Paris, aux côtés des plus grandes célébrités de la capitale. A Hesdin, où existe aussi une « rue Jacquemont », un monument dû au ciseau de sa nièce lui a été élevé le 6 septembre 1908. En mai 1933, le centenaire de sa mort a été commémoré par une séance publique du Museum et une exposition. En octobre 1951, c'est le cent-cinquantième de sa naissance qui a été l'occasion de nouvelles et importantes cérémonies. Enfin, en 1959, le Museum a publié à ses frais un ouvrage collectif de 460 pages qui lui est uniquement consacré et auquel ont collaboré les plus grands noms de la science française.

Mais alors, pourquoi l'a-t-on tellement négligé?

²⁶ Randjit Singh, maharadjah de Lahore, fondateur de l'empire sikh, 1780 — 1839.

Un esprit «radicalement parisien»

Si pourtant les historiens hongrois l'ont négligé, c'est parce qu'il était typiquement un voltairien. Ce garçon aimable et sociable, qui se piquait d'être «radicalement parisien», était prompt à la raillerie. Il tournait volontiers en ridicule les petits et les grands travers de ses semblables, quoique toujours sans intention mauvaise. Capable du plus grand sérieux, il était doué d'un indéniable talent d'humoriste et pratiquait fréquemment l'ironie. D'esprit comme de tempérament, il aimait persifler, se moquer de tout et de tous, y compris de lui-même. Mais ses plaisanteries, jetées à la hâte sur le papier lors des haltes et des bivouacs, ne sauraient tirer à conséquence.

S'agissant du bizarre personnage qu'était Csoma de Kőrös, il ne pouvait manquer de le plaisanter un peu, moins sans doute dans son journal dont il savait qu'il serait publié, que dans ses lettres à ses amis, tenus en principe au secret.

Seulement, sa mort aussi prématurée qu'inattendue remit tout en question. Sa famille crut honorer sa mémoire et contribuer à sa réputation — ce qui était vrai — en rendant publiques les nombreuses lettres qu'il avait écrites alors qu'il était en Inde. Or, dans plusieurs de celles-ci, comme on peut le voir en annexe, il parle de «cet incroyable original hongrois» qu'il a rencontré; il se moque de son accoutrement excentrique, de ses manières et de ses manies. Oubliant que si le portrait qu'il en fait d'un mot est parfois cruel, *il n'en est pas moins exact*, les biographes de Csoma se sont fâchés et ils ont, en quelque sorte, décidé de le boycotter.

A y bien regarder, il faut pourtant se rendre à l'évidence que ce qu'il dit de son hôte hongrois est en définitive tout à l'honneur de ce dernier. Certes, son ironie pouvait être mordante et même sarcastique, mais ce ne fut pas le cas avec Csoma, qu'il avait en grande estime. Une seule lettre semble mal inspirée, celle qu'il adressa de Loudhiana à son frère Porphyre le 23 février 1831. Mais pourquoi Baktay a-t-il justement choisi cette lettre? Pourquoi est-ce la seule et unique citation qu'il retient?

En réalité, ce ton railleur qui indispose tant les biographes hongrois de Csoma ne s'adresse pas à celui-ci en particulier. Il est général. A lire la correspondance de Jacquemont, on constate qu'il n'y renonce pas, même lorsqu'il écrit à son père, respectable philosophe académicien, que pourtant il vénérât tendrement. Très peu porté lui-même vers les systèmes idéologiques comme l'était son père, il le plaisante affectueusement, sans être jamais ni irrévérencieux ni insolent.

Ainsi en est-il aussi de ce qu'il dit de Csoma, dont il admirait le courage et l'indomptable énergie. Telle était sa nature, celle d'un homme éminemment spirituel, facilement enthousiaste, sûr de son savoir et de ses capacités intellectuelles, qui étaient immenses, doué d'un charme fascinant et d'une indiscu-

table séduction, si indiscutable, en effet, qu'elle avait même fait fondre, comme il dit, «les Anglais les plus empesés».

Esprit universel, profond et lucide sous des dehors légers et même primesautiers — mais c'est là le caractère même des Français — il sut s'adonner à la fois avec la même passion et le même bonheur aux sciences, aux arts et aux lettres. Il faisait tout avec facilité, comme en se jouant, rédigeait des lettres qui sont chacune de petits chefs d'œuvre parce qu'elles sont le fruit d'une totale spontanéité, même lorsqu'il devait les écrire sur ses genoux, par un froid sibérien ou par une chaleur caniculaire, dans l'inconfort de ses campements. Cela lui a valu d'être reconnu comme l'un des grands épistoliers de notre XIX-ème siècle. C'est pourquoi on ne saurait reprocher sérieusement à certains de ses propos d'être incivils. Il ne faut retenir que leur fraîcheur, leur vivacité, leur sincérité, et lui faire enfin grâce de cette affectation ironique qui, au fond, ajoute à la richesse de son style sans nuire à la profondeur de ses sentiments. Homme de lettres d'une culture raffinée, il nous a laissé de sa courte vie une œuvre digne de figurer dans nos meilleures anthologies de la littérature française, car il a écrit des pages immortelles.²⁷

En même temps, il avait le caractère élevé et noble, porté à la générosité et à la grandeur. C'était un être courageux, au moral comme au physique, chez qui il y avait du stoïcien. Il fut un explorateur intrépide autant qu'un mondain distingué, aussi à l'aise dans les salons gourmés de la haute aristocratie anglaise que dans les jungles ou les déserts. C'est bien justement pourquoi il force l'admiration et le respect sans réserve de tous ceux qui ont appris à le connaître. S'il n'en avait pas été ainsi, Prosper Mérimée aurait-il jamais écrit, dans une lettre du 18 novembre 1867, que «c'était le plus noble caractère et le plus aimable que j'aie connu» ?²⁸

Malgré le peu de temps qui lui a été imparti par un destin tragique, Jacquemont est aussi l'une des gloires de la science naturaliste française, tant ses travaux qui ont touché à la fois à la géologie, à la botanique, à la météorologie, à la zoologie, à l'ethnologie et à la médecine, ainsi qu'à tous les aspects de la géographie et de l'agriculture, sont remarquables par leur perfection. En vérité, en à peine une décennie, «il a ébauché une œuvre qui tient du prodige et de la magie», selon le mot de Jean Leroy.²⁹ Dans tous les domaines auxquels il a touché, il a été un précurseur d'une surprenante sagacité. Pour que Baktay³⁰ et après lui Csetri³¹ écrivent en termes strictement identiques que Jacquemont

²⁷ L'œuvre écrite de Victor Jacquemont représente plus de 6000 pages manuscrites.

²⁸ Lettre à Madame de Beaulaincourt.

²⁹ Jean Leroy «Jacquemont botaniste», dans «Jacquemont», édition du Museum national d'histoire naturelle, 1959, page 362.

³⁰ «Kőrösi Csoma Sándor», Budapest, éditions Gondolat 1962, page 264.

³¹ «Kőrösi Csoma Sándor», Bucarest, éditions Kriterion 1984, page 140.

était « ce voyageur français complètement insignifiant du point de vue scientifique », il fallait bien certainement qu'ils n'aient jamais rien lu de lui. Mais alors, de quel droit porter un jugement aussi catégorique et faux sur un homme de science d'une telle envergure ? On se le demande.

Réhabiliter Jacquemont

C'est bien pourquoi il est temps de réhabiliter Jacquemont aux yeux des historiens hongrois qui l'ont méjugé sur le vu de quelques propos dont ils ne me paraissent pas avoir bien saisi le sens, ironique sans doute, mais cordial. Car pour cet homme d'élite qu'était Victor Jacquemont l'ironie n'était le plus souvent que le masque sous lequel il dissimulait une sensibilité raffinée au point d'en être parfois douloureuse.

Il ne faut pas perdre non plus de vue que, si remarquable qu'il soit, son journal de voyage, tel qu'il a été publié, n'était pas le texte définitif tel que ce travailleur soucieux de perfection l'aurait souhaité s'il avait eu le temps d'en assurer lui-même la rédaction finale. On peut imaginer qu'il en aurait sans doute modifié certains passages, atténué certaines positions trop tranchées, retouché certains portraits trop abrupts.

Quant à ses lettres — est-il même besoin de le dire ? — elles avaient un caractère strictement privé. S'il n'était pas mort prématurément, sa famille n'aurait jamais songé à les divulguer. Elle ne le fit que parce qu'elle voulait prouver ses dons littéraires, ses magnifiques qualités d'intelligence et de cœur. Il s'agissait de montrer tout ce que le monde des sciences aussi bien que de la littérature perdait en lui.

Le public hongrois qui s'intéresse à Csoma de Kőrös ne connaît pourtant rien de Victor Jacquemont. Ou bien son nom est tout uniment passé sous silence, ou bien il n'est cité que pour être aussitôt dénigré par des écrivains qui, manifestement, ne l'ont pas compris et se sont complètement fourvoyés à son sujet. Et que dire de ceux qui le condamnent sans même l'avoir lu, comme il est parfois aisé de s'en convaincre ? Car ils ne sont pas rares les biographes qui se sont contentés de reprendre à leur compte le jugement défavorable de leurs prédécesseurs, sans même avoir cherché à s'informer de ce qui a pu le motiver. De la sorte, le lecteur hongrois n'est jamais en mesure de se rendre compte à quel point les pages que Jacquemont a consacrées à Csoma sont importantes pour se faire une juste idée de ce que fut la vie de leur illustre compatriote lors de son quatrième séjour dans l'Himalaya. Il ignore, par exemple, que le Français a proposé son aide quand il a vu dans quel dénuement vivait son hôte. Il ignore que, le 5 septembre 1830, alors qu'il campe au pied du fort de Dankar, au Ladakh, il écrit au président de la Société royale asiatique de Londres, Sir Alexander Johnston, pour lui dire « le vif intérêt » qu'il porte à Csoma et son

désir de voir les orientalistes de la capitale anglaise prendre en main la publication des œuvres du premier tibétologue. Il ignore que le naturaliste, dans une lettre adressée à son père d'Ellora le 22 mai 1832, a appelé Csoma «mon ami de Kanum». Il ignore qu'il lui a manifesté une sympathie bien réelle puisque, à son retour du Spiti, il s'est arrêté une seconde fois dans son village pour le revoir.

J'ai, somme toute, la forte impression que les biographes de Csoma ont délibérément écarté Jacquemont de leurs préoccupations parce que leur maître à tous, Théodore Duka, a lui-même négligé complètement le témoignage du jeune savant français. Dans l'édition anglaise de son livre sur Csoma, il n'en dit absolument rien, bien que le nom du Français figurât sur une liste à propos d'un projet de monument à élever au Cachemire en souvenir des premiers Européens qui y ont vécu. Si l'on prend l'édition hongroise qui porte le titre de «Kőrösi Csoma Sándor dolgozatai», on constate qu'il cite le nom de Jacquemont en page 20 à côté de celui de Karl von Hügel,³² mais seulement pour rejeter aussitôt sans explication ce qu'il appelle étrangement «la remarque insipide» (izetlen megjegyzés) du Français au sujet de «Skander Beg», le nom que porte Csoma en Orient. C'est tout. Il n'écrit pas un mot de plus, comme si Jacquemont n'avait pas abordé cent autres questions beaucoup plus intéressantes que celle-ci; comme s'il n'était pas l'auteur d'un journal où pendant dix-sept pages il n'est question que de son héros, pages qui révèlent sur lui un grand nombre de choses peu ou pas connues.

Il ne fait pas non plus allusion aux rencontres qu'ils ont eues pendant l'été 1830, puisque Jacquemont a séjourné à Kanam du 26 au 31 juillet et de nouveau du 20 au 21 septembre, soit huit jours au total, au cours desquels il dit lui-même qu'il a vu *souvent* le Hongrois. Tout cela me porte à croire que Duka n'a pas eu connaissance des travaux et des écrits du Français. Il me paraît exclus qu'il ait expédié d'une chiquenaude en forme de boutade, lui, si consciencieux d'ordinaire, un témoignage aussi capital. S'il l'avait connu, en effet, et s'il en avait été choqué pour quelque mystérieux motif, il aurait agi comme il le fit pour les dires du baron de Hügel. Il se serait avisé de le réfuter. Il ne l'a négligé que parce qu'il l'ignorait.

Mais ses successeurs n'avaient pas les mêmes raisons de rejeter Jacquemont. C'est bien pourquoi je pense que leur attitude a été le plus souvent copiée sur celle de Duka, et (faut-il l'ajouter?) copiée sans discernement. Puisque Duka avait fait l'impasse sur Jacquemont, ils ont agi de même à leur tour. Et c'est ainsi que s'est constituée dans la littérature hongroise relative à Csoma de Kőrös une sorte de légende, transférée d'un auteur à un autre, selon laquelle il était à la fois inutile de reprendre les textes de Jacquemont pour

³² Karl baron von Hügel, voyageur et botaniste allemand, 1796—1870.

voir s'il n'y avait pas quelque chose d'intéressant à y découvrir, et de bon ton d'affirmer que s'attarder à le lire serait perdre son temps.

Et donc personne ne l'a lu.

Bref, Duka avait négligé Jacquemont parce qu'il n'avait vraisemblablement pas eu connaissance de son œuvre posthume. Ses successeurs l'ont ignoré, eux, parce qu'ils ne se sont pas préoccupés de la connaître.

En vérité, si je prête aux biographes de Csoma ce comportement peu objectif, ce n'est pas par un jugement a priori, mais par un jugement a contrario. Duka a donné dans son livre une place de choix au docteur Gerard, auteur d'une lettre célèbre entre toutes, qu'il écrivit à la suite d'un compte rendu de voyage dans le Kinnaur. Dès lors, tous ses successeurs et continuateurs en ont fait autant. Tous ont vivement insisté sur le rôle joué par le médecin écossais dans la description de la vie que menait l'ermite de Kanam. De même qu'ils ont ignoré Jacquemont parce que Duka l'ignorait, de même ils ont porté l'accent sur l'intervention de Gerard parce qu'il l'avait fait avant eux.

Ceci dit, il est vrai que la lettre de Gerard est pleine d'une compassion touchante. On sent qu'elle est celle d'un homme qui a pitié du pauvre savant hongrois et qui essaie de faire quelque chose en sa faveur pour lui prouver sa sympathie et son admiration. Sans aucun doute le contraste est grand entre le ton charitable de l'Écossais et le ton railleur du Français, du moins tant qu'on ne lit pas la lettre au président Johnston dont il a été question plus haut. Cette lettre, en effet, rétablit l'équilibre en démontrant que Jacquemont n'était pas moins sensible que Gerard au problème qui se posait à Csoma et qu'il entendait, lui aussi, à sa manière, lui témoigner son admiration et sa sympathie. Car il faut comparer les choses comparables, c'est à dire en l'occurrence deux lettres d'intervention, et non pas une lettre et le journal, lequel est par essence un document d'une certaine aridité scientifique.

D'ailleurs, si l'on veut bien un moment faire abstraction de l'importance que le rapport de Gerard aura finalement dans le bon déroulement des projets de Csoma, force est aussi de constater que ce document fournit aux historiens du tibétologue des renseignements parfois peu précis, voire inexacts. On n'écrit pas la biographie d'un homme en s'apitoyant sur lui, mais en établissant des données sur quoi l'on peut ensuite s'appuyer en toute sécurité. Tel n'est pas toujours le cas du docteur Gerard qui, encore moins que Jacquemont, ne saisit guère le bien-fondé des travaux et des intentions de son protégé. Il admire l'ascète, mais ne comprend pas le linguiste. Quand il dit, par exemple, que Csoma voit dans l'étude de la langue mongole « la clef de la littérature chinoise », il est évident qu'il se fourvoie. Il n'a pas compris le sens de la démarche de Csoma qui souhaite se rendre en Mongolie, non pour y découvrir les lettres chinoises, mais pour tenter de retrouver le berceau des Magyars.

Mais venons-en précisément aux différents aspects que Jacquemont nous fait découvrir en Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös.

« Rien de tartare dans la physionomie »

Et d'abord, son apparence. Ce que Jacquemont nous en dit est d'autant plus significatif qu'il est le seul à nous le décrire avec précision et qu'il nous est loisible de comparer sa description à l'unique portrait authentique qui nous soit parvenu, celui que dessina en 1842 à Calcutta le peintre hongrois Auguste Schoefft.³³ Quand le Français a vu Csoma, celui-ci avait entre quarante et quarante-cinq ans, selon l'hypothèse que l'on retient pour sa date de naissance. Cette différence dans les appréciations de son âge doit nous faire souvenir que jusqu'au milieu de ce siècle on ignorait sa date de naissance, car Csoma ne s'est jamais soucié de la donner. Comme il est entré au collège de Nagyenyed en 1799, c'est à dire à l'âge de quinze ans par dérogation spéciale, et que d'ordinaire les élèves y entraient vers l'âge de dix ans, on a longtemps cru qu'il était né aux alentours de 1789. On a retrouvé par ailleurs le laissez-passer dont il usa pour quitter la Transylvanie en novembre 1819. Or, ce document officiel porte qu'il avait alors trente-deux ans, et non pas trente-cinq comme il est généralement admis. Il aurait donc été miraculeux que Jacquemont pût déterminer exactement l'âge de son hôte puisque celui-ci était le premier à s'en désintéresser. Le fait est qu'il avait au moins la quarantaine.

Il le décrit comme étant de petite taille, ce que confirment les autres renseignements en notre possession. Cette taille au dessous de la moyenne européenne explique qu'il n'ait pas été gêné par une maisonnette conçue aux dimensions réduites des Kanaoris.

Il nous le donne pour « assez laid », avec « le nez, la bouche grands et mal formés », « le front ridé, les yeux très fendus relevés vers les tempes ». C'est bien de la sorte que le portrait de Schoefft nous l'a restitué. Il est probable que Csoma n'était pas beau et que son mode de vie avait contribué à le vieillir prématurément. La « barbe assez longue qui commence à grisonner » a disparu chez Schoefft, mais d'autres témoins nous précisent aussi que le tibétologue porta souvent la barbe, sinon toujours. Tant qu'il fut dans l'Himalaya, où le froid intense l'obligeait même à renoncer à seulement se laver les mains, il ne pouvait pas être question pour lui de se raser. A Calcutta, où les conditions d'existence étaient différentes, il était généralement glabre.

Jacquemont note encore avec intérêt que « les pommettes des joues sont très effacées » et qu'il n'a « rien de tartare dans la physionomie ». Cette réflexion peut nous paraître étrange, mais il faut se souvenir qu'à l'époque les Hongrois étaient les premiers à se vouloir une origine « tartare », c'est à dire asiatique, et que c'était précisément dans le but de la prouver que Csoma était un beau jour parti pour l'Asie. Or, l'idée que l'on se faisait des anciens Hongrois était celle

³³ Auguste Schoefft, 1809—1888, travailla en Inde et en plusieurs pays d'Orient.

d'un peuple de race jaune, aux pommettes saillantes et aux yeux bridés, alors que les Hongrois, si loin que l'on remonte dans le temps, ont toujours appartenu à la race blanche, même si au cours des siècles, à la faveur des migrations, des guerres et des invasions, il leur est arrivé de se mélanger à des peuples qualifiés, à tort ou à raison, de « tartares ».

N'oublions pas que Csoma et la quasi totalité de ses contemporains plaçaient le berceau de leur race en haute Asie, là où aujourd'hui vivent les Mongols et qu'il leur paraissait donc tout à fait justifié de se croire des ancêtres ressemblant à ces derniers.

Déjà, depuis 1770 avec Jean Sajnovics et surtout depuis 1799 avec Samuel Gyarmathi, il avait été démontré que la langue hongroise n'avait pas son origine en ces régions reculées de l'Asie mais qu'elle s'apparentait aux différents idiomes finnois, constituant avec eux ce que l'on commençait alors d'appeler la famille linguistique ougro-finnoise ou finno-ougrienne. Mais les tenants de l'origine asiatique n'en avaient pas désarmé pour autant. Les uns avaient traité par le mépris la prétention des grammairiens à contredire les belles légendes qui faisaient depuis des siècles des Magyars les « fils d'Attila » et de celui-ci « le premier roi des Hongrois ». Les autres, plus prudents, avaient préféré en conclure que les Finnois étaient tout simplement, eux aussi, sans qu'on s'en soit douté jusque là, des . . . descendants des Huns. C'était à peu près ainsi qu'Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös avait pris la question. Refusant de se laisser convaincre par les arguments pourtant décisifs de l'« Affinitas », ³⁴ et bien qu'il ait personnellement rencontré Samuel Gyarmathi ³⁵ à plusieurs reprises lors de séjours à Kolozsvár, il était demeuré irréductiblement convaincu de ce qu'il fallait chercher le berceau de sa nation, non en Finlande, dans les plaines de Russie ou les montagnes de l'Oural, mais au cœur de l'Asie profonde, là où, s'obstinait-il à croire, était née jadis la puissance hunnique.

Il n'y avait donc rien que de très normal dans l'attitude de Jacquemont, peu au fait des questions qui faisaient l'intérêt majeur de Csoma, et s'étonnant de trouver au visage de son visiteur des traits qui n'avaient rien d'asiatique.

«Un incroyable original»

Dès le premier moment, par contre, le Français sut qu'il avait affaire à un original. Il en avait été prévenu par le capitaine Charles Pratt Kennedy, chef de la région frontalière des Hill States, qui connaissait Csoma depuis sa

³⁴ «Affinitas linguae hungaricae cum linguis fennicae originis grammaticae demonstrata», Göttingen 1799.

³⁵ Samuel Gyarmathi, médecin, grammairien, fondateur de la théorie finno-ougrienne, 1751—1830.

première apparition en cet endroit perdu, le 26 novembre 1824, et qui avait eu le temps d'apprendre à apprécier sa rigueur morale, sa valeur intellectuelle, mais aussi à juger de son curieux caractère et de ses réactions souvent surprenantes. C'était d'ailleurs cet officier qui lui avait conseillé de ne pas manquer de voir le tibétologue pendant son passage à Kanam et qui avait écrit une lettre à ce dernier, plusieurs semaines à l'avance, pour l'informer de cette visite.

Original, Csoma l'était assurément de tout son être. Il y avait déjà en soi quelque chose d'assez paradoxal à voir ce Hongrois qui se disait Sicule de Transylvanie — nul ne savait ce que cela voulait dire au juste — et qui était sujet de l'empereur d'Autriche, venu étudier pour le compte des Anglais des Indes une langue dont personne n'avait voulu jusque là.

Il fallait, en effet, un certain temps avant que de saisir par quel jeu subtil de circonstances, parti d'Europe pour rechercher le berceau de son peuple, il était finalement venu échouer en cette région de l'Himalaya où il travaillait à la découverte de la civilisation tibétaine. Le lien entre les anciens Magyars et les Tibétains était d'autant moins évident qu'il n'existait pas et que Csoma lui-même en était bien persuadé, même si au début de sa courageuse expérience il avait sans doute espéré découvrir quelque rapport ignoré.

Original, il l'était encore par son costume. Ayant renoncé au vêtement européen depuis son départ de Téhéran, le 1er mars 1820, il endossait selon les circonstances ce qui lui paraissait le mieux convenir aux nécessités auxquelles il devait faire face compte tenu du climat. Tantôt portant la robe de grosse bure, tantôt le « costume de berger tartare », comme dit Jacquemont, c'est à dire la houppelande de peau de mouton tombant jusqu'à terre, il l'accueillit à Kanam « en bonnet national du Kinawar, robe de chambre de serge bleue, caleçons de coton blanc grossier et bas de soie à semelles de peau ». N'oublions pas que face à cette fantaisie vestimentaire que les lieux et les saisons lui imposaient, les Anglais de l'Inde demeuraient imperturbablement fidèles aux modes de Londres, et que la manière de se vêtir qui était celle de Csoma — la manière pratique, somme toute — passait pour tout à fait déplacée et contraire à la dignité que les Blancs se devaient de garder au milieu des natifs.

Originale aussi, l'habitude que Csoma avait prise de « laisser ses souliers à la porte ». C'est là un usage que l'on retrouve chez beaucoup de peuples de l'Orient et que les Tibétains pratiquent aussi (à leur manière, à cause du froid) en changeant du moins de bottes. Si Jacquemont trouve étranges ces bas à semelle de cuir que porte son hôte, c'est parce qu'il oublie qu'il est dans une cabane dont le sol est de terre battue. Et puis Kanam, qui est situé à une altitude égale au plus haut col de France, celui de la Bonette, connaît une saison froide assez rigoureuse pendant environ trois mois.

Original, Csoma l'était encore davantage par son comportement. Jacquemont note avec surprise que « les formes de son langage sont celles d'un inférieur », et que malgré ses protestations et alors qu'il est de beaucoup son

cadet (il a dix-sept ans de moins) Csoma «persiste dans cette ridicule affectation», que le Français ne sait trop à quoi attribuer si ce n'est au fait qu'il vit depuis longtemps parmi des populations où l'humilité du langage fait partie de la politesse.

De même, il plaisante son hôte qui «jamais ne s'assit devant un Européen et ne lui parla jamais sans ôter ses souliers». Lors de la première visite que Csoma vint faire à Jacquemont, il se refusa, en effet, à s'asseoir devant lui, ce qui contraignit le naturaliste, pour prouver sa bonne éducation, à s'entretenir avec lui debout, position d'autant plus mal commode que ce dernier venait de subir les fatigues d'une rude étape de montagne. C'était la première fois depuis qu'il était en Inde qu'il voyait l'un de ses semblables adopter curieusement la conduite d'un domestique, alors que dans la grande colonie le comportement inverse paraissait beaucoup plus normal. Là-bas, le dernier des Blancs devenait un sahib, c'est à dire un seigneur, par le fait de la couleur de sa peau, et ne se privait pas de le faire sentir.

Le lendemain, lorsque le Français alla lui rendre sa visite, la même scène se reproduisit. Mais cette fois il ne crut pas devoir se conduire «asiatiquement» et il s'assit tout bonnement sur la couchette qui se trouvait là, cependant que Csoma s'obstinait à ne lui parler que debout. Comment s'étonner après cela que Jacquemont ait vu «un peu de folie» dans une façon de faire aussi contraire aux usages?

Au fond, Jacquemont, qui était un cœur généreux, en dépit de sa tendance à la raillerie, aurait aimé se faire un ami de cet homme dont il devenait qu'il était un être exceptionnel, comme on en rencontre rarement deux fois dans une existence. Dans l'une de ses lettres, lui qui, dit-il, «ne prodigue pas le saint nom d'ami»,³⁶ l'appelle ainsi; mais le moyen de se lier d'amitié avec un excentrique qui ne vous parle que debout ou qui vous adresse une lettre où le mot «honneur» et les formules respectueuses figurent à toutes les lignes? «Je l'envoyai au diable avec son honneur et lui répondis *avec amitié* qu'il n'avait pas le sens commun», raconte-t-il à son frère Porphyre le 23 février 1831, dans une lettre qu'il lui envoie de Loudhiana.

Certains biographes de Csoma ont reproché à Jacquemont d'avoir voulu dégrader leur grand homme en disant de lui, par exemple, qu'il avait «voyagé sous un misérable travestissement». Si les mots ont un sens, c'est pourtant la stricte vérité. Comment appeler l'homme qui apparut, le 16 juillet 1822, près de Dras, à William Moorcroft, «vêtu d'une robe arménienne», dit ce dernier, hirsute, déguenillé, brûlé de soleil, le sac sur l'épaule, comme un de ces mendiants gyrovagues que l'on voit parfois sur les sentiers himalayens? Allez donc essayer d'appeler ce genre de personnage hors du commun autrement qu'«un incroyable original»?

³⁶ Lettre à Mlle Zoë Noizet de Saint Paul, datée du 21 février 1832.

Jacquemont a peut-être été le seul à l'écrire. Mais tous ceux qui ont approché Csoma de Kőrös ont partagé son opinion. Une lettre du capitaine Kennedy en date du 3 septembre 1829 à Horace H. Wilson, secrétaire général de la Société asiatique du Bengale, en apporte la preuve: «Je suis disposé à croire que si vous connaissiez mieux M. Csoma, vous lui trouveriez le caractère des plus excentriques», lui indique-t-il, et il ajoute: «Selon moi, dans le but de se garder l'incognito dont il jouit au monastère de Kanum, il se donne le plus grand mal pour éviter la société des Européens. . .».

Dans sa lettre du 21 janvier 1829 à William Fraser, le docteur J. G. Gerard affirme qu'au cours de ses voyages il n'a «pour ainsi dire jamais rencontré de personne plus intéressante», et qu'il est extraordinaire de voir vivre Csoma «comme un sage des temps antiques». Qu'est-ce donc que ce sage antique qui fuit la compagnie de ses semblables, sinon un original? Gerard met simplement des formes moins abruptes et moins railleuses pour dire, en fin de compte, la même chose que Jacquemont et Kennedy. Parce qu'il le décrit emmitouflé des pieds à la tête dans des peaux de mouton au lieu de se moquer de son «costume de berger tartare», Gerard a droit à l'indulgence, de même que, curieusement, Kennedy qui pourtant ne s'est pas fait faute de le traiter de fou, ainsi que Csoma lui-même nous le révèle.

Encore convient-il d'observer que Jacquemont affectionne manifestement le mot «original». Il ne l'emploie pas uniquement à propos de Csoma, mais aussi, par exemple, au sujet de Randjit Singh qu'il appelle «mon original de Ranjet Sing»,³⁷ ou de William Fraser, dont il dit qu'il est «un original à montrer pour de l'argent».³⁸

«Tout l'ordre de l'Européen le plus méthodique»

La maisonnette où demeure Csoma est, nous dit Jacquemont, «la même que celle des montagnards» quant à l'extérieur, et il suffit de jeter un regard sur des photographies de Kanam pour en avoir une idée précise, car l'architecture paysanne du Kinnaur n'a pas changé depuis le siècle dernier. C'est une hutte de bois et de torchis, sans étage, fort petite et fort basse pour mieux garder la chaleur en hiver.

Il constate que les meubles y sont des plus rustiques et s'il s'assied sur la couchette de son hôte, c'est que, en vérité, il n'a pas le choix. Cette couchette basse, dure comme le bois dont elle est faite, est le seul meuble. Le reste est une table à écrire et la «chaise à bras» où il a surpris Csoma en plein travail. Peu de chose à voir donc avec le dessin qu'a laissé de cette pièce l'explorateur suédois Sven Hedin, lorsqu'il est passé à Kanam, soixante-dix ans plus tard.

³⁷ Lettre à M. Joseph Cordier, fin septembre 1832.

³⁸ Lettre à M. Joseph Cordier, 10 octobre 1832.

Malgré ce dénuement qui saute aux yeux, la hutte est «arrangée avec tout l'ordre de l'Européen le plus méthodique». Il n'en faut pas moins à Csoma pour s'y reconnaître dans ses classements lexicographiques et ses recherches philologiques. Sur la table, les papiers eux-mêmes, note le Français, «sont disposés avec symétrie». Nous sommes dans la phase finale des travaux du Hongrois. Voilà plus de trois ans qu'il est venu s'installer, au début de juin 1827, dans ce village du haut Bishawar. Son but était à la fois de se rapprocher des Anglais, d'éviter un troisième retour au Ladakh où il savait n'être plus désiré, et fuir par la même occasion le climat atroce du Zanskar. Son dictionnaire et sa grammaire sont pratiquement terminés. Le lama Sangye Phuntsog l'a même quitté «il y a peu de temps» (nous savons qu'il est parti le 20 juin), puisque Csoma n'avait plus besoin de son aide. C'est dommage, car Jacquemont, observateur malicieux comme il l'était, n'aurait pas manqué de nous brosser un savoureux portrait de cet érudit tibétain sur lequel nous savons peu de choses. La seule remarque qu'il fait à son sujet, rapportant les propos de Csoma, c'est que les moines d'une telle qualité et d'une science aussi étendue sont à présent très rares au Ladakh et dans les régions occidentales de l'Himalaya. La connaissance de la langue classique se perd de plus en plus, ce qui n'en rehausse que davantage le mérite de Sangye-Phuntsog, et ce qui explique d'un autre côté le grand respect que les indigènes témoignent au Roumi sahib, capable de lire et de comprendre les saintes écritures comme un lama de haut rang.

Un travail monumental a été mené par les deux hommes, le maître et le disciple, dans cet espace réduit qu'éclaire seulement une «assez grande fenêtre fermée d'une toile de coton». Elle laisse du moins passer assez de lumière pour qu'il ne soit pas nécessaire de maintenir la porte ouverte, comme le font la plupart des Kanaoris.

Un luxe surtout dont Csoma n'est pas peu fier: il dispose de la seule cheminée du village et s'empresse de la montrer à son hôte. Elle lui a permis, les deux hivers précédents, de se chauffer enfin à peu près et de ne plus souffrir si cruellement du froid. A vrai dire, ce chef d'œuvre de confort bourgeois est plus que rudimentaire, mais elle canalise assez la fumée du foyer d'argol pour éviter à son propriétaire de se brûler la gorge et les yeux ou de périr asphyxié. Dans son rapport déjà cité, le docteur Gerard y fait également allusion. Que n'aurait pas donné le pauvre Hongrois quand il était dans le Zanskar pour jouir d'une telle merveille! Mais les Zanskaris sont si primitifs et si peu soucieux de leur bien-être qu'ils ne savent même pas ce que le mot cheminée veut dire.

Le séjour à Kanam a été particulièrement long puisque, au total, Csoma y est resté trois ans et six mois. C'est peut-être ce qui explique que Jacquemont le trouve «fatigué, dégoûté, ennuyé de tout». J'y vois pour ma part la preuve que le Hongrois en a assez de cet intermède tibétain, dont il avait pensé à l'origine qu'il ne durerait pas plus d'un an. Il voudrait y mettre fin parce qu'il

aspire à reprendre le cours normal de son voyage, à repartir à la recherche du berceau de son peuple. Si je le crois, c'est aussi parce que Jacquemont ajoute: «L'idée de retourner dans son pays ne paraît nullement lui sourire». Il est clair qu'il ne veut pas rentrer en Transylvanie bredouille. Jeter les fondements de la tibétologie ne lui apparaît pas comme un mérite suffisant. Il ne doit songer à reprendre le chemin de l'Europe que le jour où il aura découvert d'où sont venus ses ancêtres. Et il n'ignore pas qu'il lui reste à accomplir un très grand voyage avant d'y réussir.

«Ce Hongrois mystérieux pour l'Europe»

Jacquemont sait que Csoma est venu en Asie «à la recherche de la peuplade tartare dont sa nation est, dit-on, un essaim», mais ne précise pas si son hôte lui a révélé à ce sujet le fond de sa pensée. C'est douteux, car Csoma n'était pas très communicatif. Il mettait beaucoup de réticence à parler de ce dont il n'était pas sûr. Or, il est avéré qu'en se rendant en Orient il n'avait pas une idée précise du lieu où il pouvait espérer retrouver quelque chose ayant rapport avec les Huns et les anciens Hongrois. Selon les lettres ou documents auxquels on se réfère, on constate qu'il place le pays d'origine des Magyars tantôt dans l'un et l'autre des deux Turkestans, tantôt en Mongolie, sans d'ailleurs avancer d'arguments décisifs en faveur de l'une ou l'autre de ces thèses. Il n'a jamais dit clairement pourquoi il pensait devoir placer le berceau des Hongrois plutôt ici que là. De plus, il lui arrivera par la suite de croire aussi à quelque parenté entre sa langue maternelle et le sanscrit, d'y croire assez fort, en tout cas, pour en faire état dans la préface de son dictionnaire tibétain. Mais il ne nous a pas dit quels rapports cela supposait avec l'Inde védique ou le brahmanisme. Enfin, quand il entreprendra son dernier voyage, celui au cours duquel il mourra à Dardjiling, il tentera d'aller retrouver un certain peuple yougar qui n'était vraisemblablement qu'une tribu ouïgoure installée au Kansou depuis le IX-ème siècle, les Sarö-ouïgours. Or, ces derniers, comme l'indique leur nom (sarö signifie jaune), sont de race mongolique.

Bref, en dépit du désir ardent qu'il avait eu toute sa vie de découvrir la trace de ses ancêtres en haute Asie, il ne trouva jamais rien. Nous savons aujourd'hui qu'il n'avait aucune chance de trouver quoi que ce fût dans la direction où il s'était engagé, qui n'était pas la bonne. L'origine des Hongrois n'est pas en haute Asie. Mais en son temps, ce n'était pas du tout une évidence, et surtout pas à ses yeux.

Jacquemont déclare ignorer «ce qu'il était, ce qu'il faisait en Europe» et relève qu'il semble n'avoir voyagé qu'en Prusse. En réalité, c'est en Hanovre qu'il est allé, à Göttingen, où il s'était inscrit à l'université et où il poursuivit, dans des conditions assez mystérieuses, des études linguistiques, théologiques et médicales simultanément, d'avril 1815 à juillet 1818.

Il est parti de Transylvanie en direction du Sud « par la Moldavie » (en réalité, l'autre province roumaine, la Valachie), mais a dû éviter Constantinople. Puis il a traversé plusieurs pays du Proche Orient avant d'arriver à Téhéran en 1820. Il est allé jusqu'à Boukhara, mais n'a pas pu se rendre à Samarcande, bien qu'il en ait eu l'intention. Il a gardé, paraît-il, un très mauvais souvenir de l'Afghanistan, où il ne voudrait retourner à aucun prix. Mais pourquoi au juste ? Jacquemont ne le dit pas.

Il a accompagné Allard et Ventura, « ainsi que d'autres officiers français », jusque dans le Pendjab « où ils venaient prendre du service auprès de Rendjit Sing ». Mais il « les a laissés alors que leur sort n'était pas encore décidé ». Enfin, « il a visité Cachemire et Ladakh », c'est à dire Srinagar et Leh, mais « ne s'est avancé que fort peu dans la Tartarie chinoise ». En fait, il n'y a jamais pénétré puisqu'il n'a pas pu franchir les passes du Karakorum.

Ce récit de seconde main est une utile confirmation de la lettre que Csoma adressa aux autorités anglaises le 28 janvier 1825, lettre qui visait à leur faire connaître dans le détail les circonstances de son long voyage à travers l'Asie. On notera toutefois qu'il n'y fit aucune allusion aux mauvais souvenirs qu'il avait conservés de l'Afghanistan. Que s'y est-il passé ? Nous ne le saurons sans doute jamais. On peut seulement imaginer que, comme cela arrivera à Moorcroft, à Burnes et encore à bien d'autres, il fut attaqué par des pillards et peut-être dévalisé du peu d'argent qu'il possédait.

Dans ce récit du naturaliste français, il faut relever encore deux phrases parce qu'elles ont une importance singulière, à savoir qu'Allard et Ventura « venaient prendre du service auprès de Rendjit Sing » et que Csoma les a quittés « alors que leur sort n'était pas encore décidé ». C'est important parce que ces deux phrases prouvent qu'Ervin Baktay n'a jamais lu le journal de Jacquemont, bien qu'il ait porté sur lui un jugement sévère. S'il l'avait lu, en effet, il n'aurait pas déclaré que « tous deux (Allard et Ventura) étaient des personnages de poids, des généraux, d'anciens officiers de Napoléon. Ils étaient au service du maharadjah Randjit Singh » ; et plus loin : « les officiers français chargés de la réorganisation de l'armée du maharadjah sikh étaient, semble-t-il, en voyage d'inspection, car ils s'arrêtèrent beaucoup en route. . . ».³⁹ En fait, le sort des deux « généraux », qui pour l'instant ne sont même pas en demi-solde, n'était tellement pas réglé qu'il leur a fallu attendre après le départ de Csoma pour être admis à servir dans l'armée du Pendjab. Alors, bien entendu, s'ils ont mis si longtemps pour descendre de Peshawar et gagner Lahore, ce n'est pas parce qu'ils étaient en tournée d'inspection, mais parce qu'ils se cachaient sous un déguisement et eurent probablement quelque mal à franchir la frontière qui se situait alors sur l'Indus, à Attock. Quand ils arrivent à Shahdehra, en face de Lahore, ils n'ont pas encore été repérés par la police.

³⁹ « Kőrösi Csoma Sándor », Budapest 1962, pages 78 et 79.

C'est ce qu'ils voulaient: mettre le maharadjah en face d'un fait accompli et en quelque sorte s'imposer à lui par leur seule présence dans ses États.

Le journal de Jacquemont est très instructif sur ce point, car il ne fait, somme toute, que nous rapporter les propos de Csoma lui-même. Or, que dit-il? Il dit qu'Allard «ne manquait pas d'argent et en eut beaucoup à dépenser pour gagner Lahor», ce qui laisse entendre qu'il s'en servit pour acheter des consciences ou corrompre des fonctionnaires. C'est qu'il était en situation passablement irrégulière, laquelle pouvait lui valoir la prison, étant parvenu aux abords de la capitale royale «sans demander aucune permission spéciale». Si Csoma le quitte avant que l'affaire soit réglée, c'est peut-être parce qu'il ne tient pas à accompagner les deux Français en prison, car lui non plus n'a pas sollicité de visa d'entrée ni de permis de séjour.

Dans ces conditions, il me paraît évident que le Hongrois n'est jamais entré à Lahore. Jacquemont est formel sur ce point. «Monsieur Csoma, écrit-il, était avec lui (Allard) *près de Lahor*», et il ajoute: «C'est *des environs* de cette capitale . . . que M. Allard envoya à Rendjit Sing ses offres de service». Une fois de plus, le texte de Baktay prouve qu'il n'a pas lue le journal de Jacquemont puisqu'il déclare que «le 12 mars il arrive avec eux (Allard et Ventura) à Lahore»,⁴⁰ et croit devoir ajouter fort mal à propos que: «en tout cas Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös fut le premier Hongrois à voir Lahore». Il aggrave son cas en poursuivant: «Il n'est pas impossible que les généraux français aient emmené Csoma assister à l'une ou l'autre des réceptions publiques de la cour, les durbars, et peut-être même l'ont-ils présenté au prince». Ils auraient été bien en peine de le faire, ces deux officiers en chômage, puisqu'au moment où la chose est censée s'être passée, Jacquemont prend soin de nous préciser que «M. Csoma quitta Allard avant l'issue de cette négociation», c'est à dire avant qu'il n'ait été arrêté si le souverain sikh consentirait à l'engager à son service. Cela n'empêche pas Baktay, qui décidément ne tient aucun compte de Jacquemont, d'affirmer que «Csoma est resté onze jours à Lahore» et que «on peut supposer que les deux Français ont proposé à Csoma de s'employer au service des Sikhs». Supposition gratuite, puisqu'ils étaient eux-mêmes dans l'expectative la moins assurée.

«Privé de livres et de toutes ressources»

Tout comme Gerard, Jacquemont observe combien sont réduits les moyens dont dispose cet homme qui s'apprête à fonder la tibétologie. La pauvreté se lit sur tout ce qui le touche; sa maisonnette inconfortable, ses meubles rudimentaires, son vêtement fait de bric et de broc, les aliments

⁴⁰ «Kőrösi Csoma Sándor», Budapest 1962, page 79.

médiocres dont il se nourrit, l'absence de domestiques, d'une façon générale l'absence de tous ces impedimenta dont s'encombrent à l'époque les Européens lorsqu'ils circulent ou lorsqu'ils s'installent.

Csoma lui avoue, au reste, qu'il est venu en Orient « sans aucune ressource », ce qui amène le Français à s'imaginer que son hôte n'est parvenu jusque là qu'en mendiant le long du chemin ! Il est certain que le voyage de Csoma jusque dans l'Himalaya tient du prodige. Voyager deux ans et huit mois avec quelques pièces d'or, parcourir plus de neuf mille kilomètres à travers une dizaine de pays différents sans être obligé de mendier paraît tout simplement impossible. Certes, dit Jacquemont, « il vécut dans le costume d'un pauvre, mais encore un pauvre a-t-il besoin de dîner tous les jours ». Comment s'y est-il pris ? Nul ne le saura jamais.

Néanmoins, il convient de rappeler que, contrairement à une légende tenace, il n'est pas parti tout à fait démuné d'argent. Outre le pécule qu'il s'était constitué sou à sou pendant les années précédentes et qu'il avait pu accroître après qu'il ait été remboursé dans l'été 1819 des cent florins d'or qu'il avait imprudemment prêtés au pasteur unitarien Kanyaró, il avait reçu du conseiller du gouvernement de Transylvanie Michel Kenderessy, son ami et protecteur, un don d'une autre centaine de florins. On peut donc estimer qu'il se mit en route avec en poche à peu près trois fois cette somme.

C'était peu, puisque quand il arriva à Bagdad il se vit contraint de solliciter un secours, non pas du consul d'Angleterre comme il est dit souvent, mais du résident de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, l'archéologue Cladius-James Rich.⁴¹ Il en obtint effectivement une certaine aide matérielle par l'intermédiaire d'un agent de ce dernier qui se trouvait être son compatriote, Anton Swoboda, et du secrétaire de Rich, le jeune orientaliste wurtembergeois Karl Anton Bellino.⁴²

A Téhéran, Sir Henry Willock qui, comme Rich à Bagdad, était non pas l'ambassadeur du roi d'Angleterre mais le résident de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales,⁴³ l'a hébergé pendant quatre mois. On sait qu'au moment de lui

⁴¹ Cladius-James Rich, né à Dijon le 28 mars 1787, fut le résident de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales à Bagdad de 1808 à 1813, puis de nouveau de 1819 à 1820. Il fut le premier archéologue à fouiller les sites de Ninive et de Babylone. On lui doit la découverte des premières tablettes cunéiformes. Au cours de l'été 1820, alors que Csoma était à Bagdad, séjournait dans le Kourdistan. Il est mort à Chiraz, Iran, le 5 octobre 1820, à 33 ans.

⁴² Anton Swoboda, que Csoma remerciera dans la préface de son dictionnaire, était un négociant tchèque installé à Bagdad et le représentant dans cette ville du négociant autrichien Ignace Pohle, d'Alep, lui aussi originaire de Bohême. Ils étaient tous trois compatriotes dans la mesure où ils étaient sujets de l'empereur d'Autriche.

⁴³ Sir Henry Willock (1790—1858), était major dans l'armée des Indes, où il appartenait au corps de cavalerie de Madras, quand il fut désigné par la Compagnie des Indes Orientales pour la représenter auprès du shah d'Iran en 1815. Il resta en poste onze

dire adieu, il lui fournit des vêtements et même des livres. Sans doute y ajouta-t-il quelque argent.

Entre Dakka et Lahore, il fut l'hôte d'Allard et de Ventura qui, selon Jacquemont, ne manquaient pas de moyens pécuniaires. Ils lui en donnèrent peut-être un peu pour continuer son chemin, puisque dans la préface de son dictionnaire il évoque « le traitement aimable et généreux » dont il fut l'objet de leur part.

Enfin, à partir de juillet 1822, il reçoit l'aide de Moorcroft et loge chez lui pendant l'hiver suivant, alors qu'il est à Srinagar, dans « la maison avec jardin, appartenant autrefois à un personnage noble du nom de Dilawar Khan, située sur le Biari nam bal, un petit lac ou plutôt une extension de l'un des principaux canaux de la ville », ⁴⁴ qui a été attribuée aux voyageurs pour leur résidence au Cachemire.

Tout cela ne retire rien à ses mérites, qui demeurent dignes d'admiration. Même si l'on tient compte des sommes dont il a bénéficié de la part de ses divers protecteurs, il reste le champion de l'économie. D'ailleurs, quand il arrive à Leh et envisage de franchir le Karakorum, il y renonce non seulement parce que c'est, dit-il, « difficile et dangereux pour un chrétien », mais aussi parce que c'est coûteux. Il est très probable que le manque d'argent qui l'amène à abandonner son projet est aussi la raison qui le détermine à repartir pour Lahore, et plus tard, après sa rencontre avec Moorcroft, celle qui l'incite à entreprendre l'étude du tibétain. Le 16 juillet 1822, quand il arrive à Dras, il n'a sans doute plus un sou vaillant.

Il n'est donc pas surprenant que Jacquemont, lui aussi, se pose la question de savoir de quoi a vécu ce voyageur solitaire avant de recevoir de Lord Amherst ⁴⁵ une allocation mensuelle de cinquante roupies pour ses travaux linguistiques, s'il a, comme il le pense, « refusé avec opiniâtreté les offres généreuses de quelques particuliers ». Encore cette allocation est-elle finalement fort peu de chose puisqu'il en cède la moitié à son maître; si peu de chose en vérité

ans et rentra de là en Angleterre en 1826, pour devenir le directeur, puis le président de l'honorable compagnie. C'est en cette dernière qualité qu'en 1838 il s'éleva contre les projets de Lord Auckland de remettre sur le trône de Caboul Shah Shujah avec l'aide des Sikhs de Randjit Singh, mais il ne fut pas écouté. Il fut un membre actif de la Société royale asiatique de Londres, de même que son frère George, lui aussi major dans le corps de cavalerie de Madras.

⁴⁴ *Travels in the Himalayan provinces*, Londres Trübner 1841, tome II, pp. 104-105. Cette résidence fut aussi celle de Jacquemont en juin 1831. « Moorcroft habitait ici le même jardin que j'occupe », dit-il (lettre du 11 juin 1831).

⁴⁵ William Pitt, Lord Amherst of Arakan (1773-1857), fut gouverneur général de l'Inde de 1823 à 1828. Alexandre Csoma lui fut présenté par Kennedy vers le 1-er avril 1827, lorsqu'il vint sur le site de Simla.

qu'au moment de quitter l'Himalaya il se voit obligé de «solliciter quelques secours du gouvernement pour se rendre à Calcutta avec ses manuscrits».

Jacquemont est lui-même loin d'être riche. Avant son voyage au Pendjab, au cours duquel Randjit Singh le couvrira d'or, il ne dispose que de crédits très limités; mais il a pour lui l'immense bonne volonté des fonctionnaires anglais, à commencer par la sympathie active de Lord William Bentinck, le gouverneur-général. On lui fournit à peu près tout ce dont il a besoin, y compris une escorte de soldats gourkhas et une armée de porteurs ou de domestiques. Quand il arrive à Kanam, par exemple, le 26 juillet 1830, il est à la tête d'un convoi de soixante-et-une personnes.⁴⁶ C'est encore du grand luxe à côté de l'ascétique train de vie du Hongrois, coutumier des privations de toutes sortes. Jacquemont en a le sentiment dès le premier coup d'œil et il en parle certainement puisque son hôte, malgré sa grande réserve, lui avoue lors de l'entretien qu'ils ont le 20 septembre qu'il «est venu dans l'Orient sans aucune ressource». Il estime toutefois qu'il n'a «jamais été aussi à l'aise qu'à Kanam». N'empêche que, même à l'aise, il vit dans des conditions qu'aucun Européen n'eût acceptées à l'époque, réduit qu'il est à se contenter d'une mensualité dérisoire qui lui suffit à peine à ne pas mourir de faim.

Pour ses études il ne dispose que de peu d'ouvrages lui appartenant en propre. Il n'a pas les moyens d'en acheter beaucoup.⁴⁷ La Société asiatique du Bengale, sollicitée en 1823 par Moorcroft en sa faveur, n'a pas réagi. Elle ne lui a adressé aucun livre, ne lui a apporté aucun soutien. Quand elle se décide à se manifester, il est trop tard; Csoma est en train d'achever ses travaux. A la lettre que Wilson lui a adressée le 15 juillet 1829 de Calcutta il répond par une fin de non-recevoir. Blessé par une attitude qu'il juge désinvolte, il rejette la proposition du Secrétaire général, refuse l'argent et les livres qu'on se proposait enfin de lui faire parvenir, et ceci malgré le grand besoin qu'il en aurait. Son geste, inspiré par la fierté, le prive d'une ressource pourtant non négligeable, puisque la Société asiatique s'apprêtait à doubler son allocation. Au cours d'une séance à laquelle Victor Jacquemont avait assisté, le principe d'une mensualité de cinquante roupies s'ajoutant à celle du gouvernement avait été voté, «pour que M. Csoma soit tout à fait riche», avait-il noté de son ton railleur.

Mais le Hongrois était si peu âpre au gain qu'il préféra souffrir en silence plutôt que de se reconnaître l'obligé d'un homme qui l'a si longtemps ignoré. Ce refus n'a pas que des conséquences matérielles; il entraînera aussi une du-

⁴⁶ Six soldats, dix domestiques, quarante-cinq porteurs et palefreniers.

⁴⁷ La bibliothèque tibétaine qu'il offrira au pasteur Salamon Caesar Malan (1812—1894) au début de 1840, lorsque celui-ci regagnera l'Angleterre, ne se composera que d'une quarantaine d'ouvrages, dont les six «livres pour Alexandre» rédigés à son intention par les trois lamas du Zanskar, Sangye Phuntsog, Kundga Tchenleg et Tsultrim Gyatso.

nable hostilité de Wilson envers lui, hostilité où je vois la cause du grand retard qui sera apporté à la publication de son dictionnaire et de sa grammaire. En fait, cette publication ne deviendra possible qu'après le départ de Wilson en janvier 1833.

« Dieu nous garde du tibétain! »

En bon naturaliste qu'il est, Jacquemont ne manque pas de nous décrire avec précision ces populations tibétaines qu'il aperçoit pour la première fois en pénétrant dans le Kinnaur. Il nous détaille les costumes des hommes, les « lourds ornements dont sont chargées » les femmes, l'usage du moulin à prières qu'il appelle « cylindre rotatoire ». Il remarque l'aspect misérable des moines « vêtus de guenilles rouges » qui travaillent à la terre comme les paysans. Il s'étonne que la polyandrie, « bizarre institution » en usage dans les régions himalayennes, paraisse donner satisfaction aux intéressés et apporter la paix aux ménages, malgré son caractère si contraire à la morale commune. Partout, dit-il, on lui répond qu'ainsi se dispense-t-on des habituelles querelles au sujet des héritages et que « chacun est fier de la part qu'il prend à l'accroissement de la famille ». Mais pourquoi en déduire, comme il le fait aussitôt, que « le sentiment de l'amour » est inconnu de ces pauvres gens qui n'ont pas trouvé d'autre méthode pour empêcher une prolifération fatale ?

Il s'intéresse à l'agriculture, qui n'est possible que par irrigation dans ces régions très sèches. Il souligne qu'on y peut faire deux récoltes par an d'orge ou de sarrasin grâce à l'intensité de l'insolation, et que les arbres fruitiers aussi bien que la vigne y poussent en abondance. Quel contraste avec l'aridité saharienne du Zanskar où Csoma a vécu plus de deux interminables années !

Excellent polyglotte mais non point linguiste, il cherche à se faire expliquer par Csoma ce qu'est au juste le tibétain. L'a-t-il bien compris lorsqu'il déclare que cette langue est d'une structure comparable à celle du hongrois et des langues finnoises notamment ? Si oui, il faudrait croire, par la force des choses, que c'était l'avis de Csoma. Ce serait surprenant et remettrait en cause la question de savoir si, dans son esprit, les études tibétaines avaient, oui ou non, un rapport avec les recherches qu'il était venu faire en Asie. Toujours est-il que son visiteur français note que le tibétain classique est assez divergent du langage parlé au Tibet pour être purement et simplement « inintelligible à ses habitants illettrés ». Somme toute, c'est une langue morte, une langue d'église, dont l'écriture est compliquée à plaisir par une orthographe aberrante et des règles de prononciation qui défient le sens commun. Il n'en éprouve que plus d'admiration pour le courage dont son hôte a fait preuve en s'attaquant sans moyens à un idiome aussi singulier.

Il est manifeste que Csoma lui a donné des leçons et s'est probablement apesanti sur certaines particularités, notamment sur le système suffixal qui

permet, comme en sanscrit et aussi comme dans les langues finno-ougriennes, de modifier par l'adjonction d'une seule syllabe le verbe initial et d'en faire, par exemple, un verbe passif, causal ou factitif. Plus tard, Csoma reprendra cette théorie, non pour affirmer quelque parenté que ce soit entre sa langue maternelle et le tibétain, mais pour proposer à l'attention des savants de son pays l'étude approfondie du sanscrit et des langues aryennes de l'Inde. Dans la préface de son dictionnaire, il se dira « fier d'annoncer à sa propre nation que l'étude du sanscrit lui apportera plus de satisfaction qu'à tout autre peuple de l'Europe ».

Mais ces problèmes de philologie sont d'autant plus loin des préoccupations de Jacquemont qu'il avoue ne rien savoir du sanscrit, ne voir dans son étude aucune espèce d'intérêt et pour tout dire n'y comprendre goutte. On sent à le lire qu'il se les ait fait expliquer parce qu'il a l'esprit curieux de tout, mais que ce que son hôte a pu lui en dire ne l'a guère touché, tant il est étranger à ce monde où, en fin de compte, il est venu étudier la nature et non pas les hommes.

Néanmoins, sa curiosité l'incite à multiplier les interrogations, ce qui est pour nous une bonne chose puisqu'il s'empresse de nous communiquer la réponse que lui en fait Csoma. C'est ainsi que, à l'en croire, bien qu'il y ait eu jadis des missionnaires catholiques au Tibet, « on ignore ce qu'ils connurent de la langue du pays ». Si ce qu'il nous confie est le reflet fidèle de leur entretien, comme on peut le supposer, cela signifie que Csoma ne savait pas que le dictionnaire édité en 1826 à Serampour par Joshua Marshman⁴⁸ et William Carey⁴⁹ avait eu pour base un lexique tibétain-italien composé par le capucin Orazio della Penna,⁵⁰ chef de la mission catholique de Lhassa décédé au Népal en 1747, et confié ultérieurement à un pasteur allemand de la Church Missionary Society en résidence à Titaliah, le révérend Friedrich-Christian-Gott-helf Schroeter.⁵¹ Ce point n'est pas sans importance puisque la publication du dictionnaire de Serampour faillit faire échouer l'entreprise d'Alexandre Csoma et constituait de toute manière, avec ou sans les défauts et les lacunes dont il fut accusé, une sérieuse concurrence. De ce que nous en dit Jacquemont, il

⁴⁸ Joshua Marshman, 1768—1837, missionnaire baptiste anglais, sinologue, traducteur de Confucius. Il fut aussi l'auteur de travaux sur la langue bengalie qu'il connaissait à la perfection.

⁴⁹ William Carey, 1761—1834, fut le fondateur des missions protestantes anglaises de Serampour. Professeur de sanscrit, il écrivit la grammaire de sept langues de l'Inde et traduisit en prose le Ramayana avec l'aide de Joshua Marshman.

⁵⁰ Fra Francisco Orazio della Penna, 1680—1747, fut le préfet de la mission catholique à Lhassa, à la suite du jésuite Ippolito Desideri. Il consacra une vingtaine d'années à l'étude du tibétain. Les lettres qu'il envoya à ses supérieurs ont servi de base à *Alphabetum Tibetanum* du père Giorgi.

⁵¹ Le révérend Schroeter était l'aumônier de la garnison de Titaliah, dans le haut Bengale, ville près de laquelle vécut Csoma entre février 1836 et novembre 1837.

semblerait que Csoma n'ait pas fait allusion à l'existence de ce dictionnaire et ne l'ait pas critiqué devant lui, ce qui peut s'expliquer par le fait que, bien qu'ayant eu connaissance de sa publication, il ne l'avait pas encore vu et ne le verra, d'ailleurs, qu'après son arrivée à Calcutta en 1831.

En revanche, il a dû lui parler de l'Alphabetum tibetanum du père Augustin-Antoine Giorgi⁵² et n'en pas dire que du bien puisque Jacquemont déclare sans ambages que c'est «un tissu d'absurdités». Cette opinion catégorique qu'il n'a pas pu inventer puisqu'il ne connaissait certainement pas l'ouvrage, tranche avec les termes de la lettre du 28 janvier 1825 à Kennedy, dans laquelle Csoma affirmait qu'il y avait trouvé «beaucoup de choses instructives».

Quand on lit à la suite le journal puis la correspondance de Victor Jacquemont, on observe un décalage très sensible entre la manière dont il rapporte ses conversations avec Csoma, spécialement à propos du bouddhisme. Tandis que dans son journal il s'efforce visiblement à une certaine objectivité, dans ses lettres le persifleur impénitent qu'il est réapparaît immédiatement. Esprit rationnel, habitué à raisonner en termes logiques, homme de science qui ne veut croire que ce qu'il sait, il s'indigne des «platitudes extravagantes» dont sont pleins, à l'entendre, les livres saints du bouddhisme. Il se moque des pratiques superstitieuses et des cérémonies religieuses auxquelles il lui est donné d'assister. Il trouve que les lamas ressemblent à des évêques «crossés et mitrés» et que la «messe tibétaine» n'est pas éloignée de la romaine.

Bien entendu, le fameux mantra «Om mani padmé hum», que Csoma s'efforce vainement de lui traduire en un texte intelligible, et que les Tibétains répètent à longueur de journée comme une litanie, lui paraît «le comble de l'ineptie». Et pourtant, à Kanam où les moines sont eux-mêmes des ignares, il est «le texte exclusif de leurs prières». Lui qui est incrédule et voltairien dans l'âme, n'a pas de mots assez durs pour condamner le peu qu'il a pu se faire lire par Csoma du «galimatias de l'encyclopédie thibétaine». «C'est à dormir debout!», affirme-t-il, péremptoire. Et il ajoute: «Ce serait assez, j'imagine, du titre des principaux ouvrages de la bibliothèque sacrée de Kanum pour guérir radicalement de toute velléité thibétaine les Allemands les plus creux». Etranger, comme l'est ce représentant typique de la jeunesse libérale française au temps de la Restauration, à toute spiritualité, hostile par principe à la religion et à ses prêtres, il ne saurait être un juge impartial. Il ne cherche pas à l'être, même dans le texte de son journal, malgré l'effort qu'il fait sur lui-même pour

⁵² Augustin-Antoine Giorgi, 1711—1798, était un moine augustinien qui ne quitta jamais l'Italie. Il n'était donc pas missionnaire comme l'écrivent plusieurs biographes de Csoma. Doté d'une immense érudition, mais esprit brouillon et débatteur confus, il a transformé le livre qu'il avait été chargé de rédiger d'après les lettres d'Orazio della Penna en une tribune d'où il attaqua avec violence le pasteur français Beausobre, auteur d'une histoire du manichéisme.

réprimer une immense envie de rire et de protester. Ce « fatras théologique », ces « balivernes métaphysiques » le mettent mal à l'aise. En dépit de sa très vaste culture, de sa sensibilité d'artiste, de son romantisme, en dépit ou à cause de sa lucidité, il est si peu porté vers les systèmes abstraits et sentimentalement si éloigné de la sagesse bouddhique, qu'il ne parvient pas à trouver le moindre attrait à la forme que cette sagesse revêt en pays tibétains. A Benarès, n'a-t-il pas, un an plus tôt, renoncé à visiter les temples et « leur pouillerie », préférant les beautés de la nature aux créations délirantes du brahmanisme ? Lui qui estime que « le sanscrit ne mène à rien qu'au sanscrit », lui qui affiche « un mépris sans bornes » pour le persan, il se demande comment Alexandre Csoma a pu consacrer tant d'efforts et consentir tant de sacrifices pour cette langue et cette civilisation du Tibet qu'il juge sans complaisance, ou plutôt condamne sans appel.

En fait, il ne les comprend pas et sans doute ne cherche guère à les comprendre, estimant simplement qu'il faut être un personnage bien étrange et quelque peu fou comme l'est Csoma pour s'y adonner si longtemps et si complètement.

Il a beau être le fils d'un philosophe « idéologue » de haute réputation, la scolastique et ses subtilités, la métaphysique et ses hypothèses invérifiables lui sont en horreur. Dès lors, le Kandjour et le Tandjour sont à ses yeux « un épouvantable galimatias qui n'a pas même le mérite de l'originalité » puisque Csoma lui indique que la plupart des traités dont ils se composent ne sont que la traduction d'ouvrages sanscrits. Tout cela le déconcerte, mieux encore le hérise comme sous l'effet d'une profonde répulsion, et suscite chez lui une réaction de rejet. « Dieu nous garde du thibétain ! », s'exclame-t-il dans une lettre adressée le 25 avril 1832 à M. de Tracy, pair de France.⁵³ Car la langue à laquelle Csoma vient de sacrifier les plus belles années de sa vie n'est à ses yeux que « le patois sacré des moines crasseux du Ladak et des régions circonvoisines ». Et quant à la civilisation dont elle est porteuse, elle n'est pour lui qu'un tissu d'inepties et de billevesées « qui déposent contre l'utilité d'apprendre le thibétain ».

Deux hommes et deux tempéraments

On ne peut apprécier la valeur du témoignage de Victor Jacquemont que si l'on en comprend la toile de fond. Et celle-ci est d'abord faite d'un contraste saisissant entre les deux hommes. Il ne me paraît pas exagéré d'affirmer qu'ils étaient, d'une certaine manière, le contraire l'un de l'autre.

⁵³ Le philosophe et homme politique comte Antoine Destutt de Tracy, 1754—1836, était considéré comme le chef de file des « idéologues », dont le père de Jacquemont était l'un des représentants les plus en vue.

Il y avait à cela des raisons qui me paraissent tenir autant au milieu familial, à la condition sociale, aux croyances religieuses, à la nationalité, que bien sûr à leur caractère propre.

Csoma était issu d'une humble famille paysanne. Né au petit village de Kőrös, un hameau de trois cents habitants, il avait grandi à la campagne dans l'ignorance de la grande ville et de ses séductions. Son père était à la fois agriculteur et soldat des confins, comme l'étaient alors la plupart des Sicules de Transylvanie. Il n'avait pas de fortune et ne disposait que d'un minimum de terres cultivables.

Jacquemont était le fils d'un haut fonctionnaire, homme de lettres et homme politique influent, membre de l'Institut. Il n'était pas riche à proprement parler, mais il jouissait tout de même d'une agréable aisance et d'une situation sociale relativement brillante. Jusqu'à son départ pour l'Amérique du Nord puis pour l'Inde, le jeune Victor avait vécu dans l'ambiance feutrée d'un confortable appartement bourgeois du faubourg saint Germain, l'un des quartiers les plus élégants de cette ville extraordinaire qu'était déjà Paris. Bien qu'il ait eu le malheur de perdre sa mère alors qu'il venait d'avoir dix-sept ans, il avait été un enfant heureux, choyé et même gâté non seulement par son père qui l'adorait mais aussi par son frère Porphyre, de dix ans plus âgé que lui.

Au lieu de cela, Csoma n'avait connu que la pension au collège de Nagyenyed, petite ville provinciale moins grande qu'un seul arrondissement parisien. En l'absence de ses parents qui jamais ne lui envoyèrent un centime, il vécut dans le dénuement le plus complet, sans cette affection et cette chaleur qui sont le propre d'un véritable foyer. Le pain sec et la maigre pitance furent son lot quotidien. Pour subvenir à ses besoins les plus impératifs — en fait, pour survivre — il avait dû se faire « élève-servant » (*szolgadiák*), c'est à dire domestique. Pendant les vacances, ne sachant où aller et ne disposant d'aucun argent, il avait été contraint de se louer dans les fermes des alentours.

En revanche, élevé dans le protestantisme calviniste qui est la principale religion des Sicules, il avait reçu une éducation religieuse d'autant plus forte qu'il s'était longtemps préparé au sacerdoce. S'il n'était pas parti finalement en Asie, il serait devenu pasteur. Aussi bien à Nagyenyed qu'à Göttingen, les études qu'il avait faites étaient donc d'abord des études théologiques.

Jacquemont, au contraire, avait été élevé hors des préoccupations religieuses, par un père demeuré ardemment « girondin », c'est à dire d'esprit républicain et athée, dans un milieu qu'inspirait la libre pensée. Certes, il avait été baptisé dans la confession catholique à la demande de sa mère, mais de son propre aveu il était « fort tiède catholique et chrétien peu brûlant ». Il l'était si peu, en effet, que sur son lit de mort, sentant venir sa fin, il ne songera pas à appeler un prêtre et demandera à être inhumé selon l'usage protestant. La lecture de ses lettres et de ses papiers intimes montre assez qu'il n'était ni

croyant ni pratiquant et qu'il éprouvait un malin plaisir à se moquer de « ces histoires à dormir debout, débitées dans une langue étrangère » ou ces « lourdes platitudes » qu'étaient à ses yeux les cérémonies religieuses en général.

Au plan social, tandis que le jeune Alexandre n'avait d'autre distraction que le travail, la compagnie de ses camarades ou la prédication du dimanche, le jeune Victor avait dès l'adolescence été admis dans les cénacles littéraires les plus en vue de la capitale française. A dix-huit ans, il avait déjà ses grandes et ses petites entrées dans le salon huppé de l'élégante et raffinée Madame Sophie Duvaucel, belle-fille de Georges Cuvier, dans celui du peintre Gérard ou du baron de Mareste, chez Madame Ancelot, ou chez le général marquis de La Fayette, tous amis intimes de son père. Il s'était lié avec une étonnante facilité aux savants, écrivains, explorateurs, naturalistes, militaires et hommes politiques libéraux qui faisaient la gloire de son temps. A vingt ans il se comptait davantage d'amis véritables — sa correspondance en fait foi — que bien des hommes de soixante. Reçu comme chez lui dans le château de La Fayette ou dans celui du comte de Tracy, il fréquentait les cercles mondains, les théâtres et la compagnie des artistes. Il était au mieux avec Rossini, tutoyait Stendhal et Mérimée. En fait, il était partout à l'aise et savait parler d'égal à égal avec les plus grands sans que cela parût de l'impertinence.

Csoma ne commencera de mener une vie sociale limitée qu'à son retour de Göttingen, quand il liera connaissance avec Samuel Gyarmathi, le père des études finno-ougriennes, ainsi qu'avec les animateurs de la revue « Erdélyi magyar múzeum », notamment avec Gabriel Döbrentei⁵⁴ et Michel Kenderessy.⁵⁵ Mais cela n'aura jamais le caractère mondain que cela supposait à Paris. En outre, son départ pour Temesvár en février 1819, puis pour l'Orient en novembre, viendra de toute manière interrompre ces relations qui, autrement, auraient pu déboucher sur des activités littéraires et même sur l'action politique.

Précisément, du point de vue politique aussi, la situation des deux hommes était fort différente. En tant qu'habitant de la Transylvanie, Csoma était le sujet de François II, empereur du saint empire romain de nation germanique, devenu à partir de 1804 l'empereur d'Autriche François I-er. En outre, en tant que Sicule, il était soumis depuis 1762 à un statut spécial⁵⁶ qui, s'il ne s'était préparé au pastorat, aurait fait de lui un soldat à perpétuité comme

⁵⁴ La revue « Erdélyi magyar múzeum » a été fondée en 1814 par Gabriel Döbrentei (1785—1851).

⁵⁵ Michel Kenderessy, conseiller près le gouvernement de la principauté de Transylvanie : 1758—1824.

⁵⁶ Ce statut avait été créé sous Marie Thérèse. Il soumettait les Sicules au service militaire obligatoire et perpétuel. Il avait suscité une révolte, mais celle-ci avait été écrasée par les troupes impériales en 1764 à Mádéfalva.

l'était son père et comme le sera son frère puiné Gabriel. En tant que Hongrois, son patriotisme n'était pas le même que celui dont pouvait être animé un Français. En France, au lendemain de la Révolution et de l'Empire, il s'agissait plutôt de s'affirmer pour ou contre la monarchie. En Hongrie, il fallait refaire une nation que l'histoire avait pratiquement rayée de la carte. Il n'y avait pas d'Etat hongrois. La couronne de saint Etienne, symbole et palladium de l'ancien royaume, était censée être portée par les Habsbourg; mais il leur était même arrivé, sous Joseph II, de ne pas seulement prendre la peine de se faire couronner. Jacquemont et Csoma, chacun à sa manière, aimaient d'un amour égal leur pays, mais la France existait, en quelque sorte, de toute éternité. La question de sa perennité ne se posait pas. La Hongrie, en revanche, était à réinventer. Il s'agissait moins de son avenir que de sa résurrection. Combien Csoma aurait souhaité offrir à sa patrie renaissante le magnifique cadeau de quelque lointaine origine orientale! S'il avait tout sacrifié à cette idée, si celle-ci était devenue chez lui une obsession, c'était par amour de sa malheureuse patrie, démembrée, meurtrie, asservie. Il était persuadé qu'en partant à la recherche du berceau des Magyars en Asie il apporterait une contribution insigne à l'édifice qu'il s'agissait de reconstruire. «Enrichir le monde d'une nation nouvelle», cette formule célèbre d'Etienne Széchenyi, promoteur du réveil national hongrois, n'avait jamais cessé de résonner aux oreilles du pauvre pèlerin, même lorsqu'il était allé s'ensevelir au plus profond de l'Himalaya.

Si, quant à leur formation et leur éducation, les deux hommes étaient diamétralement opposés, ils l'étaient tout autant quant aux traits de leur caractère. Csoma était un être imperturbablement sérieux, taciturne, renfermé, peu enclin aux confidences, encore moins aux jeux de l'esprit, qui jamais ne se livra à des tâches futiles ou frivoles. Même quand il était étudiant à Göttingen, il refusa de faire partie du club où tous ses camarades se réunissaient. Il ne prenait rien à la légère et surtout pas la mission patriotique qu'il s'était assignée. Ses écrits laissent penser qu'il n'avait pas le sens de l'humour ni de la répartie.

En cela aussi il se distinguait fondamentalement de Jacquemont, qui aimait prendre les choses du bon côté et que son tempérament gai portait tout naturellement à l'ironie. En dépit de ses goûts très studieux, ce savant naturaliste, le plus grand de sa génération, était spirituel comme on sait l'être au pays de Voltaire et de Molière. Son sérieux était souvent tempéré et comme adouci par son penchant pour la plaisanterie, dont il était le premier à rire. «Malgré mon métier de savant un peu grave, confesse-t-il à son ami le baron de Mareste le 11 décembre 1828, il me reste assez de goût pour le futile». Ce n'est pas par hasard qu'il avait été si aisément admis, à peine adolescent, au sein de la haute société parisienne, et ce n'était pas seulement à sa très bonne éducation qu'il le devait, mais aussi au charme incomparable de sa conversa-

tion, à ses manières engageantes, à son intelligence d'une rare vivacité, à sa sensibilité enfin, qui en faisaient un être d'exception.

Ces qualités du cœur et de l'esprit lui valurent des succès retentissants non seulement dans les salons à la mode, mais aussi dans les amphithéâtres de la Sorbonne ou du Collège de France, ainsi que dans les laboratoires du Museum. Mieux encore, elles lui permirent de triompher de toutes les réticences lorsqu'il se rendit à Londres avant son départ pour l'Inde. N'est-il pas étonnant que ce jeune homme encore peu connu soit devenu en un jour l'ami de Sir Alexander Johnston,⁵⁷ président de la très digne et très savante Société royale asiatique, et qu'il ait été admis parmi les membres de ce club très fermé alors qu'il n'était même pas orientaliste? Les lettres de recommandation qui lui furent délivrées étaient si élogieuses qu'elles lui ouvrirent aussitôt toutes les portes, quand il débarqua à Calcutta. «Nul voyageur, ni français, ni même anglais, n'y sera jamais arrivé aussi puissamment recommandé», écrit-il à son ami Achille Chaper, le 6 août 1828.

Aussi bien avait-il été reçu splendidement dès le premier jour. L'avocat-général Pearson l'avait accueilli comme un fils. Sir Charles Grey, président de la Cour suprême, l'avait adopté. Le gouverneur général Lord Cavendish Bentinck et sa femme lui avaient fait fête. Bref, le Français avait littéralement fait la conquête des Anglais de l'Inde et obtenu, sans effort apparent, leur protection. Reçu par les Bentinck dans leur résidence de Barrackpour, par le capitaine Kennedy dans sa villa de Simla, par William Fraser dans son château de Delhi, il allait même accomplir, grâce aux appuis innombrables dont il bénéficiait, la plus royale visite qui se fût jamais faite au Pendjab et au Cachemire. Il faut croire que ce grand garçon à la beauté byronienne avait un charme irrésistible puisque le redoutable Randjit Singh lui même fondit à son approche, se prit pour lui d'une réelle amitié, lui facilita grandement ses déplacements à l'intérieur de son empire, et lui proposa finalement sans rire... la vice royauté du Cachemire!

Incontestablement, son aisance, son assurance, sa facilité à tout faire bien, opéraient comme par magie. A la stupéfaction de ses hôtes, par exemple, il obtint, alors qu'il était à Delhi, que le dernier des Grands Moghols, Shah Mohammed, descendant singulièrement abatardi de Tamerlan, le reçoive au milieu de sa cour dans un déploiement de faste oriental. Du reste, lui qui n'était rien qu'un naturaliste en mission scientifique, il ne passait jamais dans une ville sans se faire présenter les notabilités. On l'appelait «le meilleur ami de Son Altesse» (le gouverneur-général), «le puits de science, l'abîme de sa-

⁵⁷ Sir Alexander Johnston, 1775—1849, spécialiste des langues de l'Inde du Sud, notamment du tamoul, avait été le gouverneur de Ceylan. Après son retour en Angleterre, il avait personnellement contribué à la fondation de la Société royale asiatique de Londres, dont il devint vice-président dès 1823.

voir»,⁵⁸ auprès duquel chacun devait s'empresser. Les rajahs venaient à sa rencontre à dos d'éléphant et ne manquaient pas d'en descendre pour le saluer. Une escorte armée l'accompagnait jusqu'à sa résidence, et l'on se disputait l'honneur de sa compagnie. Même dans l'Himalaya, d'où les Anglais étaient pratiquement absents, il n'en était pas autrement. En arrivant en vue de Rampour, capitale du Bishawar, alors qu'il fait route vers Kanam, le rajah vient lui présenter ses devoirs et s'assurer personnellement qu'il ne manque de rien. Il met son palais à sa disposition.

Tout cela fait un vivant contraste avec l'effacement volontaire de Csoma qui, selon ce qu'en dit Kennedy dans sa lettre à Wilson en date du 3 septembre 1829, «évite la compagnie des Européens. . . pour mieux garder l'incognito». Par tempérament beaucoup plus que par nécessité, il fuit les hommes et la société. Il se complait dans une vie érémitique où seul l'occupe son travail, loin de ses semblables et de leurs vanités. Cela pouvait se comprendre tant qu'il était dans l'Himalaya, du fait même qu'il lui fallait consentir à s'isoler dans des monastères tibétains. Mais on sait qu'il n'agit pas différemment lorsqu'il se trouva à Calcutta. Il y poursuivit la vie ascétique et solitaire qui, de fait, était la sienne depuis toujours.

Bref, Jacquemont et Csoma étaient à tous égards des êtres que leurs dispositions morales et psychiques, innées ou acquises par l'éducation, rendaient assez peu propres au dialogue. Il y avait entre eux plus qu'une simple différence, un abîme. C'est pourquoi il convient, d'une part de se souvenir qu'ils ne partageaient pas du tout la même vision du monde, et d'autre part d'être indulgent pour l'incompréhension que le Français témoigne envers les travaux ou les aspirations du Hongrois.

Cela dit, il n'empêche que le journal et accessoirement les lettres de Jacquemont constituent un apport important à une meilleure connaissance et à une plus complète appréhension de la vie et de l'œuvre d'Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös.

(*A Suivre*)

⁵⁸ «C'est sous ces titres modestes, écrit-il à M. de Meslay, gouverneur de Pondichéry, le 12 février 1831, que par ordre de Lord William le résident de Delhi me présenta au ministre de Randjit Singh accrédité auprès de lui».

A KEY FACTOR IN AVICENNA'S THEORY OF PHONATION

ISTVÁN ORMOS

The great Arab philosopher and physician Avicenna (d. 428/1037) devoted a treatise¹ to the general problems of phonation and the production of Arabic sounds which has aroused considerable interest among linguists in this century. But one of the key factors in Avicenna's theory of phonation, which he refers to as *ruṭūba*, still awaits adequate interpretation by scholars, an omission which in practice prevents a satisfactory evaluation of Avicenna's views on the subject, for the expression *ruṭūba* is central to Avicenna's theory of phonation and his description of how individual sounds are produced. Although it recurs innumerable times, interpretation of it has proved rather difficult, and interpreters of the *Treatise* differ widely on what it means.

The basic meaning of the word is *dampness, softness of body*;² it is the infinitive of the verb meaning *it was, or became, moist, humid, succulent, sappy, or juicy*.³ According to Bravmann the expression denotes the air: "Feuchtigkeit scheint die Luft genannt zu werden, solange sie nicht in Schall umgesetzt ist. Unter Feuchtigkeit (*ruṭūba*) ist wohl der Atemstrom zu ver-

¹ Ibn Sīnā *Maḥārīḡ al-ḥurūf* ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ḥaṭīb. Cairo 1332; the German translation of this edition was published in Max Bravmann, *Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den phonetischen Lehren der Araber*. Göttingen 1934; Ibn Sīnā, *Maḥārīḡ al-ḥurūf* ed. P. N. Ḥānlārī. Teheran 1333, 1349², on the basis of additional manuscripts Ḥānlārī gives two independent versions of the *Treatise* with the Persian translation of the first version attached, he considers the first far superior to the second (all references to the text of the *Treatise* below will be to Ḥānlārī's second edition); *Arabic Phonetics, Ibn Sīnā's Risalah on the points of articulation of the speech-sounds* transl. by Kh. I. Semaan. Lahore 1963. Semaan gives the English translation of Ḥānlārī's first version; В. Г. Ахведиани, *Фонетический трактат Авиценны, текст, перевод, исследования* Тбилиси 1966, Akhvediani reproduces Ḥānlārī's Arabic text of both versions with Russian translations attached; A. Bausani, *L'Enciclopedia dei Fratelli della Purità*, Napoli 1981. Bausani gives the Italian translation of Ḥānlārī's first version as an appendix to his paper; the latest edition, which appeared too late to be used for this paper: *Asbāb ḥudūt al-ḥurūf li-l-ṣayḥ al-ra'īs Abī 'Alī al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abdallāh Ibn Sīnā* ed. Muḥammad Ḥassān al-Ṭayyān and Yaḥyā Mīr 'Alam Damascus 1403/1983.

² J. G. Hava, *Al-Faraid Arabic-English Dictionary*, Beirut 1970, p. 256.

³ E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, London 1863-1893, p. 1100.

stehen, kaum der Speichel.”⁴ Throughout his English translation of the *Treatise* Semaan uses for *ruṭūba* the expression *yielding membrane(s)*.⁵ In the Persian translation Ḥānlārī simply retains the Arabic term without further interpretation.⁶ In his Russian translation Akhvlediani uses the term влага for *ruṭūba*, which means *moisture, dampness*, but nowhere in his 85-page interpretative essay is there a single allusion to the term,⁷ nor does he mention this problem in his summary of Avicenna’s views on linguistics, published for the Avicenna anniversary.⁸ In Haim Blanc’s view: “. . . Passage bien malaisé à interpréter, d’abord à cause de ce terme peu clair de *ruṭūba*. Il est question de *ruṭūba* ou de *ruṭūbāt* en plusieurs autres endroits, mais j’avoue que le sens m’en échappe.”⁹ The term eludes Bausani, too: “Come vedremo in seguito la *ruṭūbah* entra quasi sempre in gioco là dove Avicenna vuole descrivere una sonora pur non essendo vero il contrario: il concetto preciso di sonorità è infatti ignoto ai teorici musulmani della fonetica. Resta sempre misteriosa quella funzione della umidità cui già abbiamo accennato . . . L’umidità del ḡ è però maggiore di quella del x. (Altro sintomo che mostra l’umidità collegata con la sonorità).”¹⁰ Pavlova arbitrarily interprets it as saliva, and it has never apparently occurred to her to ask why Avicenna did not use the Arabic word for saliva if that was what he really meant.¹¹ In a recent article on early Arab and Muslim phoneticians Bakalla accepted and quoted Semaan’s identification of *ruṭūba* with membranes.¹²

Initially this writer attempted to define the term from its context. The most plausible interpretation to suggest itself was saliva; in view of the basic meaning of the word and of the fact that all the processes described by Avicenna take place in the oral cavity, and without some other justification there seemed no reason to assume any “further oral moisture”. Yet that left open the question why Avicenna never used the Arabic word for saliva (*lu‘āb*) if that was what he meant. Also striking was the matter-of-fact way in which

⁴ Bravmann, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁵ Semaan, *op. cit.*

⁶ Ibn Sinā, *Maḥāriḡ al-ḥurūf* ed. P. N. Ḥānlārī Teheran 1349.

⁷ Akhvlediani, *op. cit.*

⁸ В. Г. Ахвледяни, О языковедческом наследии Ибн Сины in: *Абу Али Ибн Сина, к 1000-летию со дня рождения* ed. М. Б. Баратов, П. Г. Булгаков, У. И. Қаримов. Ташкент, 1980, pp. 201–212; cf. also В. Г. Ахвледяни, Арабское языкознание средних веков in: *История лингвистических учений, Средневековый восток*. Ленинград 1981, pp. 53–95.

⁹ H. Blanc, Les deux prononciations du Qaf d’après Avicenne in: *Arabica* 13 (1966), p. 132.

¹⁰ Bausani, *op. cit.*, pp. 198–200.

¹¹ А. Павлова, Авиценна о роли влаги в образовании аффрикат in: *Изв. АН Тадж. ССР отд. общ. наук* 1974 № 4.

¹² M. H. Bakalla, The treatment of nasal elements by early Arab and Muslim phoneticians in: *Historiographia Linguistica* VIII 2/3 (1981), p. 288.

Avicenna employed the term,¹³ which excluded the possibility of it having been a recent coinage of his own.

A comparison between the processes attributed to the oral cavity by Avicenna and those identified by contemporary phoneticians might have made interpretation of the term easier, but this proved impossible.

Let us take a few examples (without making any claim at completeness) of what Avicenna saw as going on in the mouth. In the production of *ḥā'*, "the air . . . subdues the *ruṭūba*, drives it forward and causes in it such a parting and breaking into particles that was not caused by *ʿayn*, and so harshness can be heard there".¹⁴ The variant text has ". . . makes it vibrate forward . . ."¹⁵ instead of ". . . drives it forward . . .", and further on the description differs again. During the production of *ḥā'* "the *ruṭūbāt* are less but more viscous".¹⁶ As for *ḡīm*, "a sharp whistling sound is produced which mingles with the burst of the highly viscous *ruṭūba*".¹⁷ The variant has a different wording: "And the *ruṭūba* which bursts forth in the meantime, while exploding induces a burst in it (i.e. the air), then it (i.e. the *ruṭūba*) explodes, without however the explosion extending to a great distance or expanding; on the contrary, the explosion occurs in the place where the closure opens."¹⁸ As for *ʿayn*, it "is produced by a gust of air and the propulsion of it upwards in such a way that it reverberates in the middle of the *ruṭūba*, rolling along in it so that the power of the propulsion does not favour any side".¹⁹

Thus the *ruṭūba* is said to part, break into particles, to burst, to explode; the air is said to reverberate in the middle of it, roll along in it without deflecting sideways, to vibrate forward etc., and we could cite numerous other examples. These attributes cannot be interpreted in terms of traditional or contemporary linguistics.

¹³ In addition to using this term (*ruṭūba*) in describing processes taking place in the oral cavity, Avicenna also uses it in the last chapter of the *Treatise* when writing about the formation of articulated sounds (*ḥarf*) in nature. See Ibn Sīnā, *Maḥārīḡ*, pp. 27—29, 53—55.

¹⁴ *al-hawā' . . . fa-yaqsiru l-ruṭūba wa-yumīluhā ilā quddām wa-yuḥdītu fihā min al-tašazzī wa-l-tašaddub mā kāna lā yuḥdītuḥū l-ʿayn fa-li-sabab ḡālika tusmaʿu hunāka ḥuṣūna* Ibn Sīnā, *Maḥārīḡ*, p. 16.

¹⁵ *yahuzzuhā ilā quddām* Ibn Sīnā, *Maḥārīḡ*, p. 44.

¹⁶ *wa-l-ruṭūbāt aqall wa-alzaḡ* Ibn Sīnā, *Maḥārīḡ*, p. 16.

¹⁷ *li-yahduta . . . ṣawt ḥādd ṣaffār wa-yaḥtaliṭa bi-ḡarḡaʿat al-ruṭūba al-šadīdat al-luzūḡa* Ibn Sīnā, *Maḥārīḡ*, p. 17.

¹⁸ *wa-tarudduhū ilā l-ḡarḡaʿa l-ruṭūba l-mundafīʿa fī-mā bayna ḡālika mutafaqqiʿatan ṭumma tatafaqquʿu illā annahā lā yamtaddu bihā l-tafaqquʿ ilā baʿīd wa-lā yattasiʿu bal tafaqquʿuhā fī l-makān alladī yuṭlaḡu fihī l-ḡabs* Ibn Sīnā, *Maḥārīḡ*, p. 45.

¹⁹ *wa-ammā l-ʿayn fa-yafʿaluhā ḥiḡz al-hawā' . . . wa-irsāl al-hawā' ilā ḡawḡ li-yataraddada fī wasaḡ ruṭūba yatadaḡraḡu fihā min ḡayr an yakūna ḡibal al-ḡiḡz ḡāṣṣan bi-ḡānīb* Ibn Sīnā, *Maḥārīḡ*, p. 43.

It was then decided to turn to relevant works of Avicenna's. First of all *De anima* was consulted: in the chapter on taste it was discovered that in speaking of saliva he first uses the term "salivary moisture" (*ruṭūba lu'ābīya*) but subsequently *ruṭūba* alone, without the adjective; "saliva" (*lu'āb*) never occurs alone.²⁰

Next it seemed worth checking the *Canon*, and of a sudden it appeared we were facing one of the basic constituents in the theory of humours.²¹ Avicenna maintains the following view:²² The human body consists of simple, primary and indivisible elements (*rukn*), and a mixture of these (*imtizāğ*) results in the various kinds of matter in existence. The physician must believe the natural scientist when he says there are four of them, no more and no less. Two of the four are light — air and fire — and two are heavy — water and earth. These four elements possess four primary qualities (*qūwa auwalīya*): warmth (*ḥarāra*), coldness (*burūda*), humidity (*ruṭūba*) and dryness (*yabūsa*). The mixture of these produces the ensemble of qualities possessed by every thing in existence (*mizāğ*). It may be temperate (*mu'tadil*, the state itself: *i'tidāl*) when all the primary qualities are present in equal proportions, or otherwise intemperate (*ḥāriğ* 'an *al-i'tidāl*, the state itself: *ḥurūğ* 'an *al-i'tidāl*).

It is not desirable to go into the details of this theory here but it is worth mentioning that the matter has yet to be subjected to a thorough examination within the framework of Islamic culture.²³ The theory itself was not invented by the Arabs or Islamic peoples, for they had taken it over from the Greeks along with Greek medicine. The history of this theory within Greek medicine is dealt with in Schöner's seminal work,²⁴ and only certain implications that bear directly on Avicenna's views will be emphasized here.

Even specialized studies of a high standard have to be treated with the utmost caution, since unfounded statements have been taken over by one author from another.²⁵ Moreover the important role of the theory of humours in Greek medicine was not an exclusive one, and the doctrine was rejected by certain major schools. The theory underwent a long and manifold development with some authors even hinting at possible Indian connections,²⁶ until

²⁰ Ibn Sinā, *al-Nafs (al-Šifā'*: *al-Ṭabī'iyāt* 6) ed. G. C. Anawati, Sa'īd Zāyid Cairo 1395/1975, pp. 64–65.

²¹ Ibn Sinā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*. Cairo 1294, vol. I, p. 6.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 5–13.

²³ M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*. Leiden 1970, *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Erste Abteilung, Ergänzungsband VI, 1. Abschnitt, pp. 97–100.

²⁴ E. Schöner, *Das Viererschema in der antiken Humoralpathologie*. Wiesbaden 1964, Sudhoff's Archiv, Beiheft 4.

²⁵ Cf. Herrlinger's foreword to Schöner, *op. cit.*

²⁶ Cf. Vogel, *Zur Entstehung der hippokratischen Viersäftelehre*. Marburg 1956, pp. 17–23.

it was systematized and perfected by Galen. But Schöner, having examined all the relevant passages in the works of Galen, concludes that he nowhere set forth in detail a coherent, integral or rigid system, and that he instead applied the theory as a working hypothesis, in a way that left ample scope for adapting it to the requirements of actual practice.²⁷ The rigid scheme that later authors attribute to Galen is a medieval invention,²⁸ for the Greeks had common sense enough to base therapy principally on practice before inducing a philosophical interpretation of the methods followed in accordance with the tenets of their respective schools. These tenets had a certain influence upon medical treatment, but on the whole the Greeks seem to have given practice precedence over theory, endeavouring to interpret a chosen therapy within the framework of a given theory. Some of the best examples of this procedure can be found in the case-histories described in Galen's *On Prognosis*. It is fully realized among scholars how frequently representatives of various Greek schools of medicine would engage in bitter debates on the philosophical basis of medicine and its scientific background, and on the nature and character of diseases and treatment etc., while applying in practice therapeutic methods that were virtually identical. Greek physicians incessantly strove to elaborate a comprehensive theory that might allow the functioning and the disorders of the human body to be thoroughly explained and also permit conclusions to be drawn about the future. But the stock of learning at their disposal was still insufficient for so grandiose a purpose and so they were doomed to failure. Of this too they seem to have been fully aware, or so one would conclude from the decisive role they ascribed to practice. In terms of the theory of humours, the practical role is appropriately illustrated in one of Galen's anecdotes. He gives a detailed, almost verbatim description of his dispute with one of his teachers on the elements and qualities. The 19-year-old student wanted to know precisely what should be understood by element and quality, how one related to the other and to concrete, existing things, how many of them were, etc., but the teacher quickly lost his temper, because he was unable to give a definite and coherent answer even to the simplest questions. He therefore declared in front of the students that Galen was merely displaying his erudition in logic in order to distort deliberately the meaning of everything and make fun of them.²⁹ Elsewhere Galen wrote: "As for my own view, I maintain that natural bodies are produced simply from *fire, earth, water and air*, as Hippocrates first proved. It makes no difference if you refer to the elements by their substances, as I have done here, and talk of *fire, water, air*

²⁷ Temkin points out numerous contradictory statements in Galen; O. Temkin, *Galenism: rise and decline of a medical philosophy*. London 1973, pp. 17–21, 103–104.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 106–107.

²⁹ Galeni *Opera omnia*, ed. C. G. Kühn. Leipzig 1821–1833, vol. I, pp. 462–465.

and earth, or if you call them after their qualities and speak of moist, dry, hot and cold.”³⁰

Islam took over the ancient theory of humours along with ancient medicine. The history of the theory of humours within Islam has yet to be thoroughly examined, but if one opens the major Arabic textbooks on medicine at the introductory chapters that cover the theoretical foundations of medicine, al-Ṭabarī, al-Mağūsī or Avicenna for instance, one finds they all expound the theory of humours but they do so in different ways. Although they agree in attributing the paramount role to the number four, they differ substantially in certain other basic ideas and in the theoretical schemes that result from them. Later on these detailed theories play a negligible role in the “specialized” part of the works, merely providing the lexicon for the descriptions. Here we shall refrain from an exhaustive analysis of these theories, which should be the subject of a special monograph, and say simply that *ruṭūba* is referred to as *ṭabī‘a* in al-Ṭabarī,³¹ *uṣṭuquṣṣ* in al-Mağūsī³² and *qūwa awwalīya* in Avicenna.³³ In addition, this term is used in the later “specialized” parts of their respective works to describe bodily fluids ranging from intestinal juice³⁴ through hepatic fluids,³⁵ amniotic fluid³⁶ and blood³⁷ to gastric juice,³⁸ but it is also applied to the crystalline lens³⁹ and the vitreous body⁴⁰ as well. In one of Galen’s works, which has come down to us only in Arabic translation, breast-milk, sperm and saliva also figure as *ruṭūba*.⁴¹ In the *Treatise* Avicenna

³⁰ *wa-ammā anā fa-aqūlu inna l-aḡsām al-ṭabī‘īya innamā takawwanat min al-nār wa-l-arḡ wa-l-mā’ wa-l-hawā’ fa-inna Buqrāṭ qad kāna qabla ḡamī’ al-nās awrada l-burhān ‘alayhi wa-lā farq bayna an tusammā l-uṣṭuquṣṣāt min qibal ḡawāhīrihā kamā sammaytuhā anā fi hādā l-mawḡi’ fa-tuḡāla nār wa-mā’ wa-hawā’ wa-arḡ wa-bayna an tusammā min qibal kayḡiyātihā fa-tuḡāla raṭb wa-yābis wa-hārr wa-bārid Galen, *On the Parts of Medicine, On Cohesive Causes, On Regimen in Acute Diseases in Accordance with the Theories of Hippocrates*, ed. M. Lyons. Berlin 1969, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, Supplementum Orientale II*, p. 56.*

³¹ al-Ṭabarī, *Firdausu’l-Hikmat or Paradise of Wisdom*, ed. M. Z. Siddiqi. Berlin 1928, p. 11.

³² E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*. Cambridge 1921, pp. 120–121; M. Ullmann, *Islamic medicine*. Edinburgh 1978, *Islamic Surveys 11*, p. 56.

³³ Ibn Sinā, *al-Qānūn*, vol. I, p. 6.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 399.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 380.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 562.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 279.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 279.

³⁹ *ruṭūba ḡalīdīya ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 108–109; cf. the Greek τὸ κρυσταλλοειδές ὄργαν Galeni *Opera*, vol. III, p. 641.

⁴⁰ *ruṭūba zuḡāḡīya* Ibn Sinā, *al-Qānūn*, vol. II, pp. 108–109; cf. the Greek τὸ ὑαλοειδές ὄργαν Galeni *Opera*, vol. III, p. 779.

⁴¹ Galen, *Über die Verschiedenheit der homoiomeren Körperteile*, ed. G. Strohmaier, Berlin 1970. *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, Supplementum Orientale III*, p. 70.

adduces as an example for *ruṭūba* a drop of water. In one instance he uses this word interchangeably with "water", and in another instance he adduces "oil, fat" as an example of *ruṭūba*.⁴² One sign of the term's broad semantic range is Avicenna's application of the homoradical adjective *raṭb* as a synonym for *sayyāl* (liquid), adducing water and air (!) as examples for substances in this state.⁴³ The four humours of the theory are referred to as *ḥilt*, but this term is sometimes used interchangeably with *ruṭūba* as well. As for the use of *ruṭūba* to denote saliva, as in *De anima*, mentioned above, *ruṭūba* never appears in the *Canon* for saliva in the description of the mouth, only *lu'āb*.⁴⁴ In the chapter on the mouth al-Maḡūsī applies the term *ruṭūba balḡamīya* for saliva,⁴⁵ whereas al-Rāzī uses the term *lu'āb* in parallel places.⁴⁶

To sum up in the light of the place the theory of humours occupied in Greek medicine, it may be stated that the term *ruṭūba*, in addition to the primary quality, was also used to denote various bodily fluids.⁴⁷ There are numerous examples for its occurrence in the sense of saliva, and so in the treatise under discussion it can only mean saliva, since the matter under discussion is moisture in the oral cavity. Yet automatic translation of it as saliva remains unacceptable, since that would be out of step with Avicenna's overall view of the human body and the humours, and be a distortion of his system of ideas. The only acceptable translation of this term remains moisture, with adequate explanation of its exact meaning.

On the basis of all these points the following question may be put: How did Avicenna arrive at the astonishing conclusion of attributing to saliva so paramount an importance and so manifold a role in voice production? Probably in an entirely theoretical way. Avicenna was unaware of the real nature of the difference between voiced and unvoiced sounds, and in spite of what he says in the second chapter, practically every sound according to his detailed description of it is produced by noises arising in the oral cavity. But the number of variables at his disposal (complete/incomplete closure, the force effected by the organs of closure, the force of the air-stream, the place of closure) was too small to explain the variety of articulated sounds, suffice it to mention the following sounds, which all differ considerably in

⁴² Ibn Sīnā, *Maḥārīḡ*, pp. 24, 28–29.

⁴³ Ibn Sīnā, *al-Nafs*, p. 11.

⁴⁴ Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn*, vol. II, p. 175.

⁴⁵ al-Maḡūsī, *Kāmil al-ṣinā'a fī l-ṭibb*. Cairo 1294, vol. I, p. 102.

⁴⁶ P. Koning, *Trois Traités d'Anatomie Arabes*. Leiden 1903, p. 54.

⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that the Presocratics were still unaware of the notion of quality. "Where we should talk of qualities they tended to talk of things. The traditional opposites, for example qualities like heat and cold, were always thought of as things." It was Plato who first made a distinction between a quality and its bearer. D. W. Hamlyn, *Sensation and Perception, A History of the Philosophy of Perception*, London 1961, pp. 2–3.

their aural effect: h, q, ġ, s, š, z, ž, č, d, b etc. For instance, Avicenna had to explain why the sounds t, d, č, ġ differed so much, although they were produced in practically the same way. To explain this he had to posit at least one more variable, and saliva seemed to be the most suitable solution under the circumstances. A contribution to this merely speculative solution had doubtless been made by his observations of nature. In the sixth chapter of the *Treatise* he writes about the ways of producing articulated sounds (*harf*) with the help of moistures (*ruṭūba*), and at one point he says, "...and it (ž) can be heard when viscous moistures (*ruṭūbāt*) such as oil, fat (*duhn*) are boiling".⁴⁸ In all probability he assumed that similar processes took place in the oral cavity as well.

This idea is completely new. There is no trace of it before Avicenna, and as for his successors, it is not until the 20th century that certain phoneticians have come to attribute to saliva a certain role in sound production (see below). Only in one passage have we found anything that can be distantly related to the idea sketched here. Galen, in his description of the state of the glottis in Book VII of *De usu partium*, writes about a moisture which, under the impact of the air-stream, "being quickly resolved into vapour, is easily dispersed and immediately flows off",⁴⁹ and he goes on to discuss the importance of the viscosity of this moisture. No doubt Avicenna was familiar with this passage. By a fortunate accident we have come across part of Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī's⁵⁰ commentary on *De usu partium*⁵¹ and this part also contains a paraphrase of the passage in Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī's own words: "...that is, the moisture of fine consistency, being resolved, becomes vapour, dries out and becomes quickly resolved, at the same time it also breaks up and splits into particles. It does not last as the viscous and greasy moisture does, espe-

⁴⁸ *inda ġilyān al-ruṭūbāt al-laziġa ka-l-duhn* Ibn Sīnā, *Mahāriġ*, p. 24.

⁴⁹ Galeni *Opera*, vol. III, p. 566; translation from Galen, *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*, transl. M. T. May Ithaca. New York 1968, vol. I, pp. 360–361.

⁵⁰ On Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī see M. Meyerhof, *Joannes Grammatikos (Philoponos) von Alexandrien und die arabische Medizin* in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo* 2 (1932), pp. 1–21; and Ullmann, *Die Medizin*, pp. 89–91.

⁵¹ I am deeply indebted to Gotthard Strohmaier, who magnanimously lent me his copy of al-Maġūsī, *op. cit.*, where by mere chance I found this description under the title: *Fī l-ġumla l-ṭālīḡa min al-maqāla l-sābiqa min tafsīr Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī li-kitāb Ġ(ā)līmūs fī manāfi' al-a'qā'* al-Maġūsī, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 123–128. Ullmann knows of a single manuscript of this work: Ms. Gotha 1906 Ullmann, *Die Medizin*, p. 90. Nr. 3. This passage is, however, not to be found in this manuscript, which contains only the description of the tegument, as I had the chance to verify on the spot myself. Cf. F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden 1970, vol. III, p. 107. Nr. 40a; W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*. Gotha 1881, vol. III. The edition of al-Maġūsī's work mentioned contains no further commentaries by Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī.

cially if the passage, into which it has been poured, is upright and erect. As for the viscous and greasy moisture, it lasts for a long while without breaking up and splitting into particles, and it does not dry out quickly either."⁵² The corresponding Greek phrase runs: "For a thin, watery liquid, being quickly resolved into vapour, is easily dispersed and immediately flows off, particularly when the channel is sloping, but a sticky, greasy liquid lasts for a long time, since it does not readily flow off or dry out."⁵³

Avicenna's idea cannot be proved to have originated from here even partially, yet there is a striking similarity between the processes described and those that Avicenna considered took place in the oral cavity, and so, even if one does not posit a direct linkage, one must note that similar ideas may have not been completely unknown to Avicenna.⁵⁴

Perhaps it may not be entirely without interest to note that modern phoneticians do not usually attach great importance to saliva in sound production.⁵⁵ However, Buttler carried out experiments when investigating the production of affricates to find out whether saliva played a role in the production of these sounds or not.⁵⁶ Having inhibited the secretion of saliva experimentally, he found that the oscillogram of affricates produced in this way differed considerably from those produced normally, and he concluded that saliva plays an important role in the production of these sounds. But as to the exact nature of this role, he could obtain no experimental results and likewise had to fall back on speculation. It is worth quoting him *in extenso*, since what he says bears a striking resemblance to the description by Avi-

⁵² *wa-dālīka anna l-ruṭūba l-raqīqat al-māhīya tanḥallu wa-taṣīru buḥāran ja-tanṣafu wa-tanḥallu sarī'an wa-hīya ma'a hādā tatafajza'u ayḍan wa-tatafarrāqu wa-lā talbatu ka-labṭ al-ruṭūba l-laziḡa l-dasima wa-sīyyamā idā kāna l-maḡrā llaḡī hīya maṣbūba fihī qā'iman muntaṣiban wa-ammā l-ruṭūba l-laziḡa l-dasima ja-innahā tamkuṭu zamānan ṭawīlan min ḡayr an tatafajza'a wa-tatafarrāqu wa-lā taḡīffu sarī'an al-Maḡūsī, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 125—126.*

⁵³ Galeni *Opera*, vol. III, p. 566; translation from Galen, *On the Usefulness*, vol. I, pp. 360—361.

⁵⁴ There is good evidence that Avicenna was thoroughly familiar with Galen's *De Usu Partium*, or if not with the whole work at least with Book VII. Moreover the Arabic terms used by Avicenna are practically identical with those used by Yahyā al-Naḥwī.

⁵⁵ "Together with the mucous glands it (= saliva) lubricates the oral cavity so that the tongue remains moist, sensitive, and pliable. Whenever oral secretions are reduced by disease or drugs (atropine), the mouth feels unpleasantly dry, the tongue becomes clumsy and sticky, and fails to execute its finely coordinated articulatory movements with the accustomed precision." G. E. Arnold, *Morphology and physiology of the speech organs in Manual of phonetics*, ed. L. Kaiser, Amsterdam 1957, p. 52. Arnold based this statement on Kaiser's investigations from the first half of our century.

⁵⁶ J. Buttler, The formation and acoustic structure of affricates in: *Acta Linguistica* (Budapest) 14 (1964), pp. 263—273.

cenna: "In our interpretation, the articulation of the affricates is affected by the moisture covering the articulatory surfaces . . . The viscosity of the saliva connects the surfaces to a certain extent and therefore . . . makes way for the air-stream rapidly but gradually . . . It may even be conceived that particles of the saliva refill the gap just formed which then can be opened again. The phenomenon involved here . . . is an irregular repetition . . . The very narrow aperture . . . is closed by a thin membrane of saliva whose explosion starts the gradual opening of the aperture . . . The moisture of the oral cavity may also act as a more direct modifier of the sound character. The membrane connecting the dissociating surfaces explodes and may turn into microdrops which are then carried on by the escaping air and precipitated on the surfaces in its way."⁵⁷ Nevertheless, Buttler warns that his results should be treated with reservations, as he has based his conclusions on the results of a single experiment, in view of the unpleasant side-effects it caused.

As has been seen, Avicenna, since he had no opportunity to conduct exact experiments to discover the minute processes of sound production, came up with a speculative system, borrowing the missing "building stone" (moisture) from medicine. The choice was lucky enough for his views to be corroborated, at least in part, by modern science. Avicenna resorted to the same method in other cases too, on occasions with less luck than he did here.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 267–268.

⁵⁸ for such a case see U. Weisser, Beiträge Ibn Sina's zur Kenntnis der weiblichen Genitalien und zur Embryologie. Eine kritische Betrachtung. In: *XXVII Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Medicina, Actas*. Barcelona 1981, pp. 761–765. I am indebted to Gotthard Strohmaier for this reference.

LES CONTACTS MÉDIÉVAUX ALBANO-COMANS REFLÉTÉS PAR L'ONOMASTIQUE DE KOSOVO

ISTVÁN SCHÜTZ

En été 1985 nous avons eu l'occasion de chercher sur place les vestiges encore vivant des contacts médiévaux albano-comans dans les agglomérations de la Région Socialiste Autonome de Kosovo de Yougoslavie. Nos interlocuteurs de Priština/Prishtinë, Prizren et Đakova/Gjakovë connaissaient — sans exception! — l'ethnonyme *coman*, mais ils ont catégoriquement affirmé que c'était un ancien patronyme albanais, plus précisément un nom et un prénom albanais, et pas le nom d'un peuple quelconque. La propagation du patronyme *Komani* (-i: article enclitique défini, dans l'albanais les noms propres peuvent avoir aussi leur forme définie!) nous l'avons constatée personnellement dans les vieux quartiers de Prizren et de Gjakovë, sur les petites enseignes des différents artisans, comme d'ailleurs c'était à prévoir. A plus forte raison nous a frappé le fait que ce mot soit conservé même dans une tournure populaire, généralement connue et utilisée, notamment: «Ik, more koman!» — Va-t-en, coman!» En ce qui concerne le sens proprement dit de ce mot, personne ne le sait plus, mais dans cette tournure populaire il est utilisé dans un sens péjoratif, vu que l'on s'en use quand on voudrait se débarrasser de quelqu'un, quand quelqu'un en conte de belles ou met trop haut ses prix. Nous n'avons pas réussi à apprendre l'origine ou l'explication de cette tournure.

Dans les chartes et diplômes serbes du moyen âge, presque sans exception, nous trouvons toujours l'ethnonyme *coman*, mais soit sous la forme d'un toponyme, soit dans celle d'un patronyme. Dans la charte de fondation du monastère de Dečan, émise par le tzar Štefan Dušan en 1330, parmi les possessions concédées au nouveau monastère figure le village de *Kumanovo*, à proximité de la ville de Prishtinë d'aujourd'hui.¹ Le village est disparu, sans laisser de

¹ Novaković, Stojan, Selo, *Iz dela «Narod i zemlja u srpskoj državi»*. Beograd 1965 (nouvelle édition), cité par: Gashi, Skënder, Prania e etnosit shqiptar në Kosovë gjatë shekujve XIII—XIV, in: *Onomastika e Kosovës*. Prishtinë 1979, p. 72. — Sk. Gashi arrive à la conclusion suivante: «Point de doute que cette toponymie du type anthroponymique conserve l'anthroponyme albanais *Koman*, gardé comme tel par cette ethnie jusqu'à nos jours sous la forme de *Koman* (anthroponyme) et *Komani* (en fonction de

traces, sous la domination turque. L'investigateur yougoslave Atanasije Urošević l'identifie au village de Llapnasellë de nos jours.² Au moyen âge il y avait un village nommé *Komanovo* dans les environs de la bourgade de Prizren aussi, comme le prouve une lettre de Štefan Uroš (Dečanski) de 1327. Dans cette lettre, avec d'autres villages, le souverain cède ce *Komanovo* («*Komanovo selište*») au monastère célèbre de Hilendar.³ Il est à supposer que ces deux agglomérations ont été fondées par des Comans pendant leurs incursions médiévales. Peut-être eux-mêmes ont-ils nommé leur cantonnement «village coman», mais il est plus vraisemblable que le nom leur a été donné par d'autres ethnies environnantes, justement pour marquer l'appartenance ethnique de leurs habitants. Des exemples analogues se trouvent un peu partout dans l'espace centre-balkanique. Ainsi dans la vallée de Ibar, à proximité de Titovska Mitrovica, le centre administratif de *Srbovac* (en albanais *Sërbovic*) est toujours mentionné par la population locale serbe et albanaise sous le nom de *Bugarić*/*Bugariq*. Selon le témoignage de la chrysobulle du roi Milutin, datée autour des années de 1315, le nom de cette agglomération a été *Bolgarski katun*, c'est-à-dire *Village bulgare*, habité par des Bulgares au XIII–XIV^{ème} siècles.⁴

Mais dans les chartes et diplômes serbes médiévaux nous trouvons, outre les vestiges de l'ethnonyme *coman*, aussi d'autres toponymes intéressants. Ainsi par exemple, dans la charte de fondation déjà mentionnée du monastère de Dečan, le tzar Štefan Dušan défend expressément aux bergers albanais de mener paître leurs troupeaux de moutons «dans les alpes de *Altin*» («... i smesih s *altinskami* planinami...»), concédées également au monastère.⁵ Ce toponyme nous le retrouvons dans le premier recensement foncier turc (*defter-i mufassal*) du sandjak de Shkodër, fait en 1485, c'est-à-dire six ans après la chute de la forteresse de Shkodër, sous la forme de *Altin-ili nahije*.⁶ Dans l'Empire ottoman le nahije était une unité administrative inférieure, formée d'un ou de plusieurs villages, avec en tête le müdür. Le chercheur albanais Skënder Rizaj considère d'abord le nom de ce nahije comme un toponyme d'origine

patronyme) ...» («Nuk ka dyshim se ky toponim i tipit antroponimik ruan në vete antroponimin shqiptar *Koman* i ruajtur te ky etnos gjer në ditët tonat si antroponim *Koman* e në funksion patronimi *Komani*.»)

² Urošević, Atanasije, *O iščezlom selo Kumanovu na Kosovo*. Priština/Prishtinë 1956.

³ Gashi, Skënder, *œuvre citée*, p. 72.

⁴ *Imenik geografskih naziva srednjovekovne Zete*. Titograd, 1959., cité par Mulaku, Latif, Mbi disa toponime mesjetare shqipe të Kosovës, in: *Onomastika e Kosovës*, pp. 164–165.

⁵ Milojević, Miloš S., *Dečanske Hrisovulje*. Beograde 1880, cité par Gashi, Skënder, *œuvre citée*, p. 77.

⁶ Pulaha, Selami, *Nahija e Altun-ilisë dhe popullsia e sajë në fund të shekullit XV*. Prishtinë, «Gjurmime albanologjike» Seria e shkencave historike, I—1971, pp. 193–272.

turque (turc *altin* 'or'; 'abondance, richesse' + turc *ili* 'environs, pays'), mais puisque le toponyme *Altin* est déjà mentionné par la chrysobulle de Dečan en 1330, c'est-à-dire 125 ans avant le commencement de l'occupation turque de la région, il en arrive à la conclusion que les auteurs du-dit defter aient trouvé ce toponyme sur place, ils lui auraient ajouté le mot turc *ili* et l'auraient marqué sous cette forme dans leur defter,⁷ comme ils ont procédé aussi dans le cas des anciens fiefs de la famille des *Dushmani* figurant dans le premier defter du sandjak de Shkodër sous le nom de *Duşman-ili*. La conclusion de notre collègue albanais correspond à la situation réelle dans la mesure où les auteurs du recensement ont vraiment trouvé sur place le toponyme *Altin*, mais ce toponyme est d'origine comane. Selon le témoignage de ce defter, nous pouvons placer ce *Altin-ili nahiye* dans le triangle de Tropojë-Junik-Gjakovë de nos jours, où le microtoponyme *Lugaltini* (*Lugë* + *altini*) est également connu. Puisque l'albanais *lugë* signifie 'cuillère'; 'dépression, vallée', le sens de ce microtoponyme doit être 'Vallée d'or' ou 'Vallée de l'abondance'.

Dans le defter du 1485 du sandjak de Shkodër nous trouvons d'autres toponymes aussi, montrant une origine comane: (en transcription albanaise) *Boshuçi*, *Bugjani*, *Kalkandelen*, *Orhanje*, *Shipçani*, *Shishmançi*. Parmi ceux-ci *Bugjani* (turc *bu* 'celui-ci' + turc *gani* 'abondance') et *Shishmançi* (turc *şişman* 'graisse, matière grasse') font allusion à la fertilité des parages, à ses richesses, à ses bonnes pâturages, selon l'exemple du toponyme *Altin-ili*. L'agglomération de *Boshuçi* (turc *boş* 'vide' + turc *uc* 'point'; 'finage'), selon son étymologie a du naître dans un endroit libre, déshabité, où donc les Comans ont pu s'établir tranquillement, sans aucune difficulté. Mais même si ce fut une autre ethnie qui y ait habité, son nom doit être d'origine comane. Le nom du village de *Orhanje* fait allusion à une digue ou à un arrêt des environs (turc *or* 'digue, arrêt' + turc *hane* 'l'endroit de quelque chose') où les Comans se sont établis. L'étymologie de *Kalkandelen* et de *Shipçani* n'est plus tellement claire, mais ces deux toponymes montrent également une origine comane, comme les toponymes antérieures.⁸

Un autre toponyme du defter qui retient notre attention est *Komarani nahiye*. Vu que le suffixe *-an* est un morphème fréquent de noms propres (patronymes et toponymes) dans l'albanais et dans le serbe, il est à supposer que le toponyme original aurait été *Koman-an* > *Komanan* > *Komaran* et il est d'origine comane, comme le village de *Comarnic* (avec le suffixe *-nic* d'origine slave) de la Roumanie de nos jours (sur le territoire de la Valachie historique), ensuite en Bulgarie, au cours inférieur du fleuve de Vit, le village de

⁷ Rizaj, Skënder, *Političko-upravni sistem na Kosovu i Metohiji od XV do XVII veka*. Prishtinë, «Gjurmime albanologjike» No 2/1965, pp. 293–308.

⁸ Pulaha, *Selami*, œuvre citée, p. 195.

Komarevo aussi. Le changement $n > r$ (rhotacisme) nous fait penser à une influence valaque (aroumaine ?).

Les chartes et les diplômes serbes médiévaux que nous venons de citer, et le premier recensement foncier du sandjak de Shkodër contiennent de nombreux patronymes reflétant une origine comane. Ainsi, par exemple, la *Svetostefanska Hrisovula* fait mention de la famille de *Komani* parmi les habitants valaques du village médiéval de Pijainci, de la famille également valaque de *Komanic*, parmi les habitants du «katun Bariljevski» (aujourd'hui le village de Barilevë).

Ces données datent des années 30 du XIV^{ème} siècle, mais l'utilisation du patronyme *Koman*, reflétant une origine ethnique de son porteur, est d'une date antérieure puisque nous le trouvons déjà dans une lettre signée entre 1222—1228 par le roi Stefan, où, parmi les paysans serfs donnés au monastère de Ziče (Crna Gora) figure un certain paysan «valaque» ayant porté le patronyme *Kuman*.⁹

Avant de prendre une position dans l'appartenance ethnique des patronymes du type de *Koman*, *Kumanic*, *Kuman*, regardons quelques autres données du defter du sandjak de Shkodër. Au temps du recensement, dans le kaza (village) de Gorno vivait un certain Leka et Pavli, les deux fils d'un certain *Dermani*,¹⁰ dans le kaza de Gorani vivaient Andrija, Lleshi et Gura, les trois fils d'un autre *Dermani*,¹¹ dans le kaza de Shishmançi, un certain Leka, fils d'un certain *Shishmani*,¹² dans le kaza de Boshuçi, un certain *Ivmani*, fils d'un certain Petrit.¹³

Tout d'abord nous devons souligner que dans le cas de ce defter toute possibilité d'avoir à faire à des patronymes osmanlis (à des paysans osmanlis) est hors de cause, parce que le premier recensement foncier détaillé de Shkodër, dans chaque cas, met en évidence devant le nom de la personne donnée s'il s'agit d'un petit propriétaire musulman, malgré le fait que ses auteurs n'aient fait aucune attention à l'appartenance ethnique ou confessionnelle des paysans recensés.

Nous retrouvons le patronyme *Derman(i)* aussi dans la toponymie de la Bulgarie: le village de *Dermanci* (avec le suffixe *-ci*) est situé dans la vallée du Vit, comme l'agglomération déjà mentionnée de *Komarevo*. Ce patronyme connu des chroniques latines médiévales de la Hongrie sous la forme de *Dormanus* (une faute de copiste ?) devait être très fréquent parmi les Comans, puisque c'est ce patronyme que nous devons chercher aussi à l'origine du nom

⁹ Solovjev, A., *Odabrani spomenici srpskog prava*. Beograd 1926, cité par Gashi, *Skënder*, œuvre citée, p. 93.

¹⁰ Pulaha, Selami, œuvre citée, p. 210.

¹¹ Pulaha, Selami, œuvre citée, p. 219.

¹² Pulaha, Selami, œuvre citée, p. 235.

¹³ Pulaha, Selami, œuvre citée, p. 237.

du village de *Därmănești*, ou plutôt des villages portant ce même nom, parce que sur le territoire de la Roumanie de nos jours il y en a trois, ni plus ni moins: le premier dans la vallée du ruisseau de Tatros (dans le voisinage de *Comănești* !), le deuxième dans la proximité de la ville de Suceava et le troisième entre les villes de Târgoviște et de Ploiești (c'est à dire dans la région où se trouve, un peu plus au nord, le village de *Comarnic* que nous avons déjà mentionné).

Il est à remarquer que trois sur les quatre patronymes cités du defter du sandjak de Shkodër, témoignent que les pères portant des patronymes d'origine comane ont donné à leurs fils des noms albanais (chrétiens), et le quatrième exemple seul nous montre le cas contraire où le père ayant porté un nom albanais (chrétien) a donné à son fils un nom d'origine comane. Ainsi, même sans préciser l'origine ethnique des recensés, le defter du sandjak de Shkodër nous prouve une étape importante de l'assimilation de l'ethnie comane établie au centre du Balkan. Notamment l'étape dans laquelle les patronymes conservés en tant qu'un souvenir de l'origine ethnique commençaient à s'éclipser. Dans le procès d'assimilation, les générations successives de l'ethnie comane «oubliaient» de plus en plus leur langue maternelle originale et, après avoir oublié le contenu sémantique des patronymes comans, elles se sont passées progressivement à l'emploi des noms albanais ou serbes (chrétiens). Selon le témoignage du defter, ce processus a du avoir lieu dans la deuxième moitié du XV^{ème} siècle.

A propos de ce que nous venons de dire, il vaut la peine de faire mention encore du fait que de l'époque antérieure à la domination turque nous ne trouvons qu'une seule donnée qui porte à supposer que le porteur du nom (peut-être d'origine comane lui aussi) était un musulman. Cette donnée nous la trouvons dans la charte de fondation du monastère de Dečan, faisant mention d'un certain *Braimil* (évidemment une transcription erronée du nom musulman Ibrahim) du village de Bunjane, sans préciser son appartenance ethnique, comme c'est le cas d'un certain Ivan *Tatarin* du village de Çabiq (aujourd'hui Llapushë). Le dernier se laisse ramener, sans doute, à une erreur presque générale des chroniques latines médiévales de l'Europe centrale, ayant nommé les Mongoles conquérants de *Tatares*, nom attaché ensuite aux Comans aussi, alliés des Mongoles.

Et maintenant nous devons examiner d'une façon plus détaillée le problème de l'attribut *v l a c h e* (vlach), utilisé souvent à côté des patronymes d'origine comane et reflétant, à première vue, une origine ethnique. En ce qui concerne l'origine et l'étymologie du patronyme *Dushman(i)* nous nous en sommes occupés auparavant.¹⁴ Par l'unité administrative de *Duşman-ili nahiye*

¹⁴ Schütz, István, Des «Comans noirs» dans la poésie populaire albanaise, in: *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung.*, Tomus XXXIX (1985) (2-3), pp. 193-203.

le defter du sandjak de Shkodër nous donne une preuve de plus de la réalité historique de cette famille de seigneurs féodaux de l'Albanie du nord. Mais l'origine de cette famille, son origine albanaise est un fait prouvé jusqu'à l'évidence, et la famille appartenait aux vassaux de la famille des Ballshë. L'attribut *v a l a q u e* de notre Dushman de la charte de fondation du monastère de Dečan, ainsi que celui des *Koman*, *Komanic* et *Kuman* nous pouvons l'expliquer par l'assimilation des Comans, établis dans de petits groupes et à des distances plus ou moins grandes les uns des autres (dans de différents endroits de Kosovo de nos jours, sur le territoire de Crna Gora et même sur celui de l'Albanie), à de différentes ethnies voisines (des Albanais, des Serbes ou des Valaques). Mais vu que selon le témoignage des diplômes médiévaux de Raguse, au XIII^{ème} siècle l'attribut *v a l a q u e* ne devait plus se référer nécessairement à l'origine ethnique de la personne en question, mais plutôt à sa profession, c'est-à-dire il s'employait dans le sens de 'pasteur', il est à présumer que les diplômes cités l'emploient également dans ce nouveau sens. Il est évident que pendant le XIII^{ème} siècle et même dans la première moitié du XIV^{ème} siècle, la majorité des Comans établis ont gardé encore leur profession originale ayant continué à faire paître leurs troupeaux de vaches et de chevaux. Vu que pendant quelques générations successives les groupes comans se sont assimilés aux ethnies voisines, l'explication de leur attribut *v a l a q u e* ne peut être cherchée dans la discrimination ethnique (sociale ?) du Moyen Âge qui a défendu le mariage des Serbes avec des membres de l'ethnie valaque.

Puisque le premier diplôme prouvant la présence des *Comans* dans le centre des Balkans date des années de 1222—1228 (du territoire de Crna Gora de nos jours) — et nous n'avons aucune raison de mettre en doute son authenticité! — les Comans maraudeurs ont du arriver sur le territoire de Kosovo de nos jours le plus tard dans la deuxième moitié du XII^{ème} siècle. Il est à supposer qu'ils y étaient attirés non seulement par les riches pâturages, mais aussi par ces parages relativement moins peuplés, puisque les diplômes serbes médiévaux reflètent fidèlement le fait qu'un village n'avait souvent même pas vingt maisons. En s'établissant sur ce territoire, les Comans ont fuit les agglomérations plus grandes, les villes. Selon un recensement (defter) établi à l'époque du sultan Sélim II (1566—1574),¹⁵ parmi les habitants de la bourgade de Prishtinë de l'époque nous ne trouvons aucun homme dont l'anthroponyme pourrait montrer une origine comane. Ils étaient des étrangers arrivés de loins, des maraudeurs venus dans de petits groupes, dont la langue était inconnue tant pour les Albanais que pour les Serbes et les Valaques. Se

¹⁵ Tërnavi, Muhamet, Popullsia e Prishtinës në gjysmën e dytë të shekullit XVI në bazë të të dhënave antroponimike të një defteri turk, in: *Onomastika e Kosovës*, pp. 105—136.

fiant à leurs chevaux rapides et à leurs armes, ils pouvaient toujours se défendre contre les hommes armés d'une agglomération moindre. Leurs groupes, ayant trouvé des pâturages libres et de l'eau en abondance pour leurs troupeaux, se sont établis et sont devenus, tôt ou tard, des «survenants tolérés», tandis que les autres groupes ont continué leur chevauchée ou ont rebroussé chemin vers le nord. Ayant franchi des fleuves et des hautes montagnes, ces maraudeurs intrépides sont arrivés jusqu'à Crna Gora, voire même sur le territoire de l'Albanie de nos jours. Leurs agglomérations parsemées ont perdu tout contact entre elles et même avec les cantonnements comans du Bas-Danube. Avec les clans fermés albanais et serbes ils n'ont pu établir des relations plus étroites qu'à condition qu'un jeune membre d'un clan, conformément aux vertues de l'époque, ait enlevé une jeune fille comane pour l'épouser. Mais de l'autre côté, la communauté multinationale de paysans, le *katun* ayant joué un rôle tellement important dans l'histoire du Balkan, a vite accueilli parmi ses habitants les Comans guerriers, ces éleveurs de chevaux et de vaches dures et tenaces. Nous ne devons pas oublier que dans les XII—XIII^{ème} et même XIV^{ème} siècle la profession principale de la population paysanne de la région continuait à être l'élevage.

Avant l'entrée en scène des Osmanlis, presque l'ensemble de la région balkanique avait connu de vifs déplacements et migrations ethniques aux quatre coins du monde. Les guerres des tzars bulgares contre les despotes serbes n'ont pas dérangé (voire, en quelques cas elles ont même déclenché) ces mouvements ethniques. Dans la vie d'une génération toute la physionomie ethnique d'une région plus ou moins large a pu changer dans le cas où toute la population d'une zone dévastée ou sérieusement menacée s'est mise en route pour chercher refuge et trouver un nouveau foyer sur le bien féodal plus sûr d'un seigneur puissant. Les Comans maraudeurs, établis par place, ne pouvaient signifier qu'une touche moindre dans ce mouvement multicolore du point de vue ethnique, et justement à cause de leur nombre inférieur, leur sort inévitable était l'assimilation complète, c'est-à-dire leur disparition comme ethnie. Un siècle et demi, deux siècles après leur parution dans les Balkans, leurs successeurs gardaient le souvenir de leur origine ethnique au plus dans leurs anthroponymes et dans les noms de leurs villages, tandis qu'une partie de leurs agglomérations sont disparues sans laisser de traces dans l'orage de la conquête turque.

Pendant le temps qu'ils ont continué à parler leur langue, les Comans exerçaient, comme il est à présumer, une certaine influence même sur les langues de leur voisinage, comme le prouve, entre autres le mot *duşman* 'ennemi', emprunté au coman par l'albanais, le bulgare, le serbe et le roumain. La linguistique comparée considère ce mot jusqu'à présent comme un emprunt au turc. Mais, pendant que cet emprunt s'est complètement éclipsé de l'albanais, du bulgare et du serbo-croate et nous le retrouvons au plus dans des

œuvres littéraires en tant qu'un archaïsme conscient de l'auteur, dans le roumain il a pris la place des mots antérieurs d'origine slave: *vrajbă* 'hostilité', *vrăjmaş* 'ennemi', etc., et a formé un grand nombre de dérivés d'une vitalité comme celle des éléments latins du roumain: *duşman* 'ennemi (substantif)', *duşmănesc* 'ennemi (adjectif)', *duşmănos* 'hostile', *duşmăneşte* 'hostilement, haineusement', *duşmănie* 'hostilité', *a duşmăni* 'se conduire en ennemi'.¹⁶

Si ce mot était vraiment d'origine turque, nous devrions obtenir une image tout à fait contraire, c'est-à-dire que le mot aurait dû s'implanter avant tout dans l'albanais et le bulgare pendant la domination turque de presque cinq siècles, tandis que dans le roumain, par la plus brève durée de l'occupation même, il serait rentré dans les périphéries de la langue parlée et en aucun cas il n'y aurait pu former tant de dérivés. L'explication est logique et tout à fait évidente: pendant le symbiose comano-valaque ayant duré au moins pendant deux siècles, les voïvodes de la Valachie et les Comans, en tant que deux alliés des tzars bulgares, ont lutté ensemble contre les despotes serbes, contre un **e n n e m i c o m m u n**. Dans certaines zones des territoires situés parmi les Carpathes, le Dniestr et le Bas-Danube, respectivement, l'ethnie comane devait être, pour un certain temps, même en supériorité numérique, et le mot *duşman* 'ennemi' n'est aucunement le seul emprunt au coman que la langue roumaine ait conservé jusqu'à nos jours. Dans son étude sur quelques mots dialectaux d'origine comane de Nagyunság (région de la Grande plaine de la Hongrie, habitée par des successeurs des anciens Comans y sédentarisés), le turcologue hongrois István K. Mándoki nous donne une série de mots comans.¹⁷ A première vue, deux sur ces quelques mots — roumain *arcan* 'lacet' et roumain *capcană* 'attrape' — sont largement employés dans le roumain moderne, malgré le fait que le Dictionnaire explicatif de la langue roumaine les considère comme des mots soit d'origine tataro-ukrainienne (le premier), soit d'origine turque (le deuxième).¹⁸

Les diplômes serbes médiévaux, ainsi que les premiers recensements fonciers turcs (defters) établis au milieu ou dans la deuxième moitié du XV^{ème} siècle réservent encore, sans doute, beaucoup de surprises aux chercheurs, à condition qu'ils ne perdent jamais de vue un phénomène de tous les jours, notamment qu'un anthroponyme quelconque ne doit correspondre toujours et inconditionnellement à la langue maternelle actuelle du porteur de ce-même anthroponyme. En Hongrie, les nombreux Oláh, Rác(z), Szász et Tót(h) se disent et se considèrent, sans exception, comme des Hongrois de vieille souche, malgré leur nom attestant sans équivoque une origine ethnique roumaine (valaque), serbe (de Rascia), allemande (saxonne) ou slovaque.

¹⁶ *Dicţionarul explicativ al limbii române*. Bucarest 1975, p. 287.

¹⁷ Mándoki K., István, Néhány kun eredetű nagyunsági tájszó, in: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, Tomus LXXIII (1971), pp. 365–385 (avec un résumé en anglais).

¹⁸ *Dicţionarul explicativ al limbii române*, p. 49. et p. 117.

MILITARY SYSTEM OF THE KŌTĀ STATE*

C. 1650 to 1947

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(New Delhi and Kurukshetra)

Much more has been written on the political history of the Hārā clan of the Rājput̄s by the modern historians,¹ but scanty attention has been paid to study the military system of the Hārās. When I was working in Rājasthān State Archives I found plenty of unpublished material to draw a sketch in this direction for which I am grateful the authority of the Rājasthān State Archives, Government of Rājasthān.

Brief Military History

Kōtā was the name of that state in the present Rājasthān which has been the traditional abode of the Hārā Rājput̄s for more than six centuries.² In India, it comprises the south east corner belt of Rajasthan which is now known as Hārōtī. At the beginning of the twelfth century A. D. the whole of this region was divided into many principalities inhabited and ruled by the Minās, Rājput̄s, Bhils, Dahiyās, Gōhilās, Chauhāns, Gūjars, Gōṛs etc.³ This entire tract of land was never, even once during the few centuries preceding the Hārā conquest of Hārōtī,⁴ under the domination of any single ruler, nor was it ever organised as one political unit. The beginning of the Hārā military power in Hārōtī almost coincided with the accession of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud on the throne of Delhi. During Nasir-ud-din's time, Hārā Devī Singh a Thikānedār of Bambāwadā in Mewār State, captured Hārōtī from Minās and founded Būndī State in Bandū Ghāti. Devī Singh was succeeded by Rāo Samer Singh, under whom the tract of Kōtā developed as a seat of Hārā military power.⁵ About 1342 A. D. Rāo Jeet Singh, son of Samar Singh, cap-

* I am deeply indebted to Mahārāj Kumār Shri Brījraj Singh of Kōtā State for his kind permission to consult Palace Records.

¹ Noteworthy are Sharmā, Mathurā Lāl, *Kōtā Rājya Kā Itihās*, Kōtā 1939, Vol. I. & II; Guptā, Beni, *Marāthā Penetration into Rājasthān Through Mukandā Pass of Kōtā*, Delhi 1979. And Shāstri R. P., *Jhālā Zālīm Singh*, Jaipur 1971.

² Sharmā, Mathurā Lāl, *Kōtā Rājya Kā Itihās*, Vol. I. pp. 5-31. Henceforth *Kōtā Rājya Kā Itihās*.

³ MS. *Boondī Kī Tawārīkh*, preserved in the Būndī Palace Library, pp. 11-28.

⁴ *Kōtā Rājya Kā Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 18-21.

⁵ Mishran, Sooryā Mull, *Vensha Bhāskar*, Jōdhpur, 1899, Vol. III, pp. 1678-81.

tured Kōtā city which was in the possession of Bhils. He and his descendants successfully ruled over it for five generations. In C. 1530 Rāo Surjan Hārā⁶ the ruler of Būndī, occupied it, two centuries later, during the reign of Rāo Ratan Singh, he gave away Kōtā and its dependencies as a Jāgīr to his second son, Mādhō Singh. Mādhō Singh maintained a huge army of Hārā soldiers and fought many battles for the Mughals.⁷ This is interesting to note here that when Khurram, son of the Emperor Jahāngīr, raised a revolt against his father, Hārā Mādhō Singh joined the Imperial army. For this service, the Mughal Emperor presented Ratan Singh with the governorship of Burhānpur, and Mādhō Singh obtained Kōtā with its 360 dependencies to be ruled by him and heirs in perpetuity. The revenue of Kōtā State then was only two Lakhs. Kōtā became a separate pricipality in C. 1625, and then and there its first ruler, Mādhō Singh obtained the title of Rājā.⁸

Passing over a number of chiefs we come to Bhīm Singh, who was the first to assume the title of Mahārāo, and who won the distinction of Panj Hazārī from the Mughals.⁹ During his time he managed to add largely to his dominions. Like Mādhō Singh,¹⁰ under his command, the army of Kōtā reached on its zenith and established new military Salāb. His son, Durjan Shāl, who occupied the Gaddī for over thirty years, thwarted the military designs of the Jaipur ruler, who tried to capture Kōtā State. The ruler of Jaipur¹¹ directed his arms against the Kōtā, impelled by the ambition to reduce the Hārās to vassalage. The Jaipur armies, though strong in number, met with a serious disaster.¹² The young commander of the Kōtā army, Zālīm Singh, who later on administered the state as 'Regent', greatly distinguished himself in the struggle. Ūmmed Singh I, the nephew of great Shaṭrushāl, came to power in C. 1771. For well-nigh fifty years, Ūmmed Singh was but

⁶ Tod, Col. James, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Bombay 1914, Vol. III, p. 1484.

⁷ Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Military System of the Rājputs*, pp. 131—36. Based on Ph. D. thesis under the supervision of Dr. K. S. Lal, Professor and Head, Department of History, University of Jōdhpur and the University of Hyderābad (in press): Henceforth *Thesis*.

⁸ Compare MS. *Nancy Kī Khyāt*, preserved in the Government Oriental Research Institute, Jōdhpur, Vol. I, p. 111; Lāhōri, Abdul Hamid, *Badshāhnāmā, Persian Text*, Vol. II, See *Mādhō Singh's Balkh expeditions*, pp. 484—86.

⁹ Cf. Ināyat Khān, *Shāhjahān Nāmā, Persian Text*, Vol. II, p. 28.

¹⁰ Sharmā, G. N., *Rājasthān Kā Itihās*, Jaipur 1971, Vol. I, p. 425.

¹¹ Mahārāo Bhīm and Durajansāl's letters to Sawāi Jai Singh, the Ruler of Jaipur, see letters dated 28th June, 15th October, 1726 and Feb. 15, 17 & 27 & Dec. 21, 1727 A. D. Preserved in the Rājasthān State Archives, Bikāner.

¹² Mahārāo Durjan Sāl's letter to Sawāi Jai Singh dated December 21, 1727 A. D. Preserved in the Rājasthān State Archives, Bikāner; also Bastā No. 56 Bhandār No. 1 for the list of the army officers who took active part in this battle; Vadivelu, A., *The ruling chiefs of India*, Bombay 1914, pp. 124—25.

a nominal ruler as the sole civil and military authority remained in the hands of Zālim Singh, who was active, vigilant and enterprising. He brought into working order a constitutional form of administration, he gave new vigour to the army by the introduction of European methods of arming and drilling; and he revised the whole military administration. Soon Kōtā developed cordial relations with the British Government which were must for their contemporary requirements. The engagement with Kōtā would be framed on principles similar to those on which the British connection with other state would be established. The local situation of the territory of Kōtā and the character of its de facto ruler Rāj Rāṇā Jhālā Zālim Singh, would render a useful adherent to the British Governor, in the approaching operations against the Pindārīs, and "an efficient instrument" for upholding and promoting the system which was proposed to substitute for that which has so long desolated the central provinces of India. Rāj Rāṇā Zālim Singh, should, therefore, be invited to cooperate with the British Government in the work (military alliances) under an assurance of British protection and guarantee. Soon Zālim Singh became fast friend of the British power, and by their turn the British Government encouraged by every practicable means to employ his troops with zeal and vigour in intercepting and destroying the Pindārīs retreating before the Britisher's armies in central India. Moreover the cooperation of Kōtā State was essential for guarding the principal passages of the river Chambal to 'obstruct the fight' of any bodies of Pindārīs who may take that direction on the advance of the British troops.¹³ For reasons stated earlier, the British Government attached special importance to alliance with Kōtā among the Rājput States. Metcalfe invited Kōtā to join the proposed alliance. When the negotiations were opened, the Governor-General decided to depute captain Tod, then first Assistant to the Resident with Sindhīā, to induce the ruler of Kōtā State to act as much as possible from their own sense of expediency against the Pindārīs. Col. James Tod's local knowledge was expected to enable him to expedite, the arrangements. Living the British Residency at Gwālior, Col. Tod reached Rāj Rāṇā Zālim Singh's camp at Rautā, about 25 miles S. S. E. of Kōtā on November 23, 1817. He was cordially received there by Zālim Singh. Meanwhile an agent from Kōtā was on his way to Delhi. Metcalfe decided that if on his arrival the agent was prepared to conclude a treaty, he himself would conclude it without delay. While Tod was concerting measures with Zālim Singh for employment of forces against the Pindārī, the treaty was being finalized by Metcalfe at Delhi in accordance with the principles enjoined by the Governor-General. Ultimately the treaty was concluded on December

¹³ Secret Consultations, 1817, November 28, No. 3 and 50 National Archives of India, New Delhi and Rājputānā Agency Office Records, Vol. XI, pp. 5—7. National Archives of India, Henceforth N. A. I. New Delhi.

26, 1817. The agents of Kōtā signed it in the name of Mahārāo Ūmed Singh of Kōtā, though the real negotiator was Zālīm Singh. After the treaty, Rāj Rāṇā Zālīm Singh blocked all the important military passes in the territory of Kōtā. Later on a contingent of 500 cavalry and 1000 infantry, with 4 guns, was sent to cooperate with General Sir John Malcolm. Early in December the troops of Kōtā had a skirmish with the freebooters at 'Burrode' and killed 'a few dozens' of these 'Scoundrels'. As Tod says,¹⁴ "Throughout that brilliant and eventful period in the history of British India, when every province from the Ganges to the ocean was agitated by warlike demonstrations, the camp of the regent was the pivot of operations and the focus of intelligence. The part he acted was decided, mainly, and consistent."¹⁵ In the same year the Pindārīs attempted to force an entrance into Kōtā by Ūmri Ghāt, close to Digdōali. An action took place between them and the Kōtā troops there. The latter repelled the Pindārīs, killing several of them. Operations against the Pindārīs were now confined to the whole region of Hārōtī. Colonel Adams, General Marshall, Malcolm and Colonel Tod played a vital role in uprooting the Pindārīs in collaborations with the Kōtā's army. "During military action many persons belonging to the Durrās of Pindārīs leaders, loitering in the Jungles and mountains of Kōtā, surrendered to Rāj Rāṇā Zālīm Singh." Zālīm Singh's troops acted with Tod in taking possession of every district of Holkar's territory adjacent to Kōtā. Besides, while early in 1818 the British settled the very turbulent district of Sondwārā lying to the west of Mālwā, Zālīm Singh's forces "cooperated with the utmost alacrity". The Rāj Rāṇā's commander, Mihrāb Khān and his troops particularly distinguished themselves in the assault of the village and fortress of Narellā. When the breach was hardly practicable, the Kōtā commander stormed Narellā. He captured it with the loss of 200 men and few officers. It was "an exploit which reflects the highest credit on every one engaged". In the military operations in central India in C. 1817-18 the Hārā State of Kōtā rendered useful political and military cooperations to the British for the overthrow of the predatory system and the Marathas military power.¹⁶ After the elimination of the Pindārīs the

¹⁴ Rājputānā Agency Office Records, Vol. XIV, pp. 7-10, 78-82, 123-124 Foreign Miscellaneous Records, Vol. 124 A, pp. 237, 38, 283. N. A. I New Delhi.

¹⁵ Tod, James, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1441, 1578; Duff, James Grant, *A History of the Marāthās*, Calcutta 1912; Vol. III, pp. 404, 457-58, 464 etc. Prinsep H. T., *History of the Political and military transactions in India during the administration of the Marquess of Hastings (1813-1823)*, London 1825, Vol. II, pp. 114-118, 146-47, 182-83, 213, 214 & 458; Burton, Lt. Col., R. C., *The Maharath War and Pindārī War*, Simlā 1910, pp. 43, 44, 45, 61, 75; Kaye, John William, *The Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, London 1858, Vol. II, p. 230, etc.

¹⁶ Rājputānā Agency Office Records, Vol. XXIX, pp. 91-92; Malleon, Col. G. B., *An Historical Sketch of the Native States of India*, London 1875, p. 131; Malcolm, Sir John, *A Memoir of Central India*, London 1832 Vol. I, p. 550.

new relations between the company and the Kōtā State began to take shape in the context of the internal situation. The treaty and military cooperations, broadly speaking, were intended to ensure peace and security in the region. Therefore, again the British Government formed a separate treaty with Kōtā in C. 1838, and the Mahārāo of Kōtā consented to maintain an auxilliary force at a cost of not more than three lakhs, which was reduced to two lakhs in 1844. Again in 1857, Kōtā rendered useful military cooperation to the British cause in India¹⁷ In course of the time His Highness the Mahārāo Umed Singh II was placed on the Gaddī in C. 1889. He lately adopted the Imperial System. He obtained the distinction of K. C. S. I. in 1900, and in 1903 he became an Honorary Major in the 42nd Devalī Regiment. His Highness the Mahārāo obtained a G. C. I. E. in 1907, and on the occasion of the Delhi Durbār, His Imperial Majesty conferred on him the distinction of G. C. S. I. and Mahārāo was made entitled to a salute of seventeen guns. From 1900 to 1915 A. D. many new regiments were raised and old were modernized. During the year 1914 an artillery regiment was remodelled. Mahārāo of Kōtā founded new Tōp derāḥ in the same year. During 1915 the army of the Kōtā State consisted 956 (603 irregular and 353 artillerymen) and infantry 6650 (5,456 irregular). There were 193 guns also. There were no British cantonments in Kōtā, but according to the treaty of 1838 A. D. as amended in 1844, the State contributes two lakhs annually towards the cost of the 42nd Devalī Regiment. In the same year there were two kinds of military police, one for the city (117 of all ranks), and the other for the districts numbering 5164 with 3490 Sepoys Sawārs and 1668 Chaukidārs. The State Government invited British Officer of Indian Army to trained the soldiers of Kōtā according to European pattern. This is a well-known fact of the Indian military history that the Europeans, particularly Britishers were the well trained gunners and, in fact, they brought new system with them from Great Britain to India and so in Kōtā. Realizing the superiority of British military technology and striking power, Mahārāo of Kōtā engaged Britishers to raise and discipline a couple of battalions of Kōtā. Mahārāo of Kōtā also took personal interest in the modernisation of the state army whose services were also sought by the British Government, particularly during first World War, whenever British waged a difficult war anywhere in the world, Kōtā was called upon to supply soldiers. So the Kōtā army had to be ever ready and strong to meet the requirements. Mahārāo of Kōtā, following the military tradition of their house placed all the resources of his state at the disposal of the British Government and offered the services of his army in the Great World Wars. During World Wars Hārā soldiers displayed active service and won several military medals, certificates of appre-

¹⁷ Cf. Khadgawat, Nāthū Rām, *The Role of Rājasthān in 1857*, pp. 22—31; Thākur Lakman Dān, *Tawārīkh-i-Rāj Kōtā* p. 38.

ciation, laurels for their bravery, and this tradition remained continue up to 1947 A. D.

During the period under reference the rulers of Kōtā built up a formidable army, disciplined and trained according to the Mughal¹⁸ and later on British patterns. The rulers of Kōtā always remained keen on adopting Mughal and European methods, but never wanted completely to discard their own system which they had inherited from their forefathers, because of several reasons. Firstly, being well known for its skirmishing and manoeuvring ability, dash and gallantry, the inherited system could be of great service to them. Secondly, the Hārās were reluctant to change for the new arms proposed to be raised absolutely under European discipline. Thirdly, on the ground of political expediency, they thought that by retaining it they could accommodate most of the high class troops of Rājput Jāgirdārs who might otherwise indulge in conspiracies against the ruler. However, the rulers of Kōtā always wished to reform the old practice so as to be able to gain the maximum benefit out of it. The military system of the Hārās, as finally evolved, was thus a happy compromise between the old and the new i.e. west and east or European and Rājput military ideas. It was an earnest and successful endeavour to have the best of both the system as per the requirements of their State and Muhim which were from time to time undertaken by them. Neither they were the blind imitator of the west nor were orthodox followers of the east. Their approach were selective and discriminating.

Out of the traditional four divisions of the Rājput army, the infantry, cavalry, elephant corps and chariot, the last seemed to have fallen in disuse in Kōtā State for the purpose of war and consequently the army of Kōtā consisted of four corps—infantry, cavalry, elephant and camel corps. The other important departments were selehkhānā, Bārōodkhānā, Mashalkhānā, Butāyat, Zeenkhānā, Nakkārkhānā, Aṭishkhānā, Mahalkhānā and Ṭōpkhānā. The Kōtā state's military records are available in the Rājasthān State Archives from C. 1534 and down to the 1947 A. D. Besides archeological evidences, copper plates, Jāgīri Pattās religious grants, paintings and lot of other informations are also available in the contemporary Persian, Sanskrit and Rājasthānī chronicles which throw a flood of light on their military system and can be studied under the following heads:

¹⁸ Bhandār No. 2, 5, 17, 20, 21, V. S. 1706 to 1922 section A/I old records Jhālā-Ki-Havelī Kōtā Archives section Rājasthān State Archives, Bikāner, Bhandār No. 21, Kōtā Records V. S. 1866; Bhandār No. 3 Tālik Bahī Jagat Hukam Ahkām V. S. 1858; Section R/1 Old Records Jhālā-ki-Havelī, Bakhshī Khānā Kōtā, S. N. 14, V. S. 1906 Section R/1 Old Records Secretariat, Records S. N. 25 Commission Jāgīr F. 1 V. S. 1965 Rājasthān State Archives, Henceforth R. S. A. also Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Thesis*, pp. 316, 398.

Recruitment, Officers and Pay

Every person of Kōtā was considered to be a soldier in the State as soon as he was able to hold a sword or musket, attached himself to a chief and joined his army which was known as Jāgīrī Senā, however, direct recruitment was also available for job seekers.¹⁹ State and Jāgīrs recruited their own armies.²⁰ The Jāgīrdārs were also responsible for the recruitment of Jāgīrī Senā in their respective areas.²¹ When an expedition was announced, the chief with their contingents²² whose numbers varied in proportion²³ to the nature and importance of the expedition,²⁴ offered their services to the sovereign.²⁵ There were two categories of Jāgīrdārs from the military point of view and were known as Desh-Kā-Jāgīrdārs and Darbār-Kā-Jāgīrdārs. Desh-Kā-Jāgīrdārs were those who held a Jāgīr in lieu of their military services. The army was composed of a number of clans such as Hāṛās, Rāthōrs, Chauhāns, Panwārs, Rānāwaṭs, Jhālās and Kachhwāhār clan of the Rājput, Indian Muslims, Sindhīs, Mewātīs, Afghans, Irānīs, Purabiās, Dakḥanīs, Pindārīs, Gōndwānī, Burhānpurī and the Europeans were also enlisted in it. Darbār-Kā-Jāgīrdārs were those who were closely related to the Mahārāo such as his brothers, cousins, uncles near or distant relations. In emergencies, or in time of great urgency, however, authority usually delegated the power of recruitment to their Jāgīrdārs. During his tenure as Prime minister Jhālā Zālim Singh created a new category of Jāgīrdārs of Jhālā Rājputs who were closely related to him in order to strengthen his own position and to maintain balance military power in the army.

After Mahārāo the highest officer in the army was Senāpatī. Among the other high officers were, Pradhān, Diwān, Bakḥshī²⁶ Durgpāl,²⁷ Darōga-i-

¹⁹ Cf. Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *fThesis op. cit.*, Chapter on the Army Recruitments.

²⁰ Bhandār No. 5 Fauj Kilājāt, 38/2 Bahī Fauj Kōtā, V. S. 1869, R. S. A.; Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Thesis op. cit.*, Chapter on the Jāgīr Army, pp. 139—86.

²¹ Bhandār No. 21, V. S. 1866, R. S. A.

²² *Ibid* No. 23.

²³ Bhandār No. 3 Kōtā Tālik, V. S. 1840, R. S. A.

²⁴ Badshahnāmā *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 152, 484—87, 571.

²⁵ Section C. Secretariat Record, part two, S. No. 25 and 30 F. No. 3 14, 38, 155.

²⁶ Cf. Sharmā Ravindra Kumār, *Thesis op. cit.*, Chapter on the Army Personnels; also my paper Rājput Bakḥshī, *Journal of Rājasthān Sāhitya Samitī*, Bissau, Vol. XVI, No. IV, October, 1973, pp. 29—31.

²⁷ Bhandār No. 8—9, Kōtā Tōji Taqsim V. S. 1771 Kōtā Records, R. S. A.; Mool Chand, Munshī, *Tawārīkh-i- Rāj Kōtā*, Government College Library, MS. pp 68—71.

Tōpkhānā, Selehkhānā,²⁸ Nakkārkhānā, Baroodkhānā,²⁹ Subedār, Kilādār,³⁰ and assisted by Havaldār,³¹ Jamādār, Hukkāwālā, Mashālchī and Chābüksawār.³² Every Officer was given a Jāgīr in lieu of his services where as petty officials were always paid in cash.³³ We also find references of deductions and fines from the salary³⁴ of the soldiers for non-production of horse, delay in producing branding and verification of his horse, going without leave, not keeping horse in good health,³⁵ and these deductions were made from their salaries by the Bakhshī³⁶ of the State. There was no strict regularity or punctuality observed in the matter of payment particularly from C. 1707 to 1800 pay was seldom issued before the troops were many months in arrears.³⁷ It was from the time of Zālim Singh when regular payment become permanent feature of the state army.³

Rewards

The principal modes of rewards may be enumerated as awards of Jāgīrs, weapon like swords, spears, guns etc., clothing like Khilat, Pōshak, Pagri, Kurtā, ornaments like bangles, goldnecklaces and strings of pearls, cash donations, increments and promotions, titles, medals and certificates, horses and elephants with gold and silver saddles and Howdāhs, kettledrums and standards.³⁹ The value of reward was decided by the Mahārāo on the spur of the moment and could amount to anything ranging from a few rupees to more than a lakh.⁴⁰ The house of Kōtā was also rewarded occasionally by the Mughal Emperors for their extraordinary courage, shown by them in the various battles,⁴¹ particularly in the battle of Balkh, Dharmat, Ujjain, Khajuwā, Bijāpur, were lounded and rewarded by the then Mughal Emperors.

²⁸ Bhandār No. 7, Tōji Dārūki. V. S. 1844, R. S. A.

²⁹ Bhandār No. 3, Kōtā, Khātā Tālik V. S. 1832, R. S. A.

³⁰ Bhandār No. 5, Fouj Kilājāt Kōtā V. S. 1838 R. S. A.

³¹ Shāstrī R. P. Jhālā Zālim Singh, p. 296.

³² Bhandār No. 21, V. S. 1861, Kōtā R. S. A.

³³ Sharmā, G. C., *Administrative System of the Rājput*, Delhi 1979, p. 73.

³⁴ Section A/1, Old Records, Jhālā-ki-Havelī, Tankhā Kharch V. S. 1856 Kōtā, R. S. A.

³⁵ Bhandār No. 8, V. S. 1868, R. S. A.

³⁶ Section A/1, Old Records, Jhālā-ki-Havelī, Sigā Bakhshikhānā V. S. 1, 906, Kōtā R. S. A.

³⁷ Kāgjāt Bhandār Kōtā V. S. 1782, R. S. A.; Anwān Mutfarrik, V. S. 1783—84, 84—85.

³⁸ Shāstrī, R. P. *op. cit.*, pp. 296—98.

³⁹ Bhandār No. 7, V. S. 1784, R. S. A.

⁴⁰ Bhandār No. 21, V. S. 1800, R. S. A.

⁴¹ Vansha Bhāskar, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 2630—34.

Infantry

The infantry of Kōtā may be termed as Paidalsenā. This decentralized⁴² organization proved very useful particularly during hand to hand fighting, which was the most common mode then.⁴³ The soldiers used traditional weapons⁴⁴ but in due course firearms were also used. Every unit of infantry which was headed by their clan leader can be classified as under (i) Traditional and Remodelled (ii) Regular and Irregular (iii) State and Jāgīr (iv) Mansabī and Kilājāt and remained in force up to the end of the seventeenth century.⁴⁵ Jhālā Zālīm Singh, while remodelling the military administration appointed Zulfikar Khān⁴⁶ as the commandant of infantry. Zulfikar Khān had fourteen Paltan under his command and was assisted by unit adjutant. The size of the Paltan was varied from each other.⁴⁷ Each Paltan was divided into Nishāns which was commanded by a Subedār who had a Jamādār, a Havaldār, a Nishandār and a Kothāwāldār under him. Forty to one hundred fifty soldiers were recruited in each Nishān.⁴⁸ Every regiment was, however, a manoeuvring unit. Every battalion had its own staff. This is interesting to note here that the Kōtā battalions were not designated numerically as was the practice in the contemporary world. They were mostly named after their commanding officers or by their cast or village which were also recorded. The various Paltans were known by their names such as Jāfri Paltan Gopāl Paltan, Husainī Paltan, Naseem Paltan, Dhamākā Paltan, Ardālī Paltan, Rāj, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhav, Bhīm and Firangī Paltan.⁴⁹

Cavalry

The cavalry was divided into two parts, viz: (i) Irregular and Regular (ii) Jāgīrī Fauj. There was no supreme commander for the entire body of the irregular cavalry. Each unit formed an independent unit by itself and was commanded by its leader and were dispersed after every campaign and

⁴² Section A/1-Old Records Jhālā-ki- Haveli Sigā, Paygaḥ Paltan, V. S. 1885, Kōtā Records, R. S. A.

⁴³ Compare, Badshahnāmā, *op. cit.*, pp. 93—117, 152; M. Kambu, *Amal-i-Salih*, *Persian Text*, vol. III, pp. 286—87; Vol. II, Muhammad Kāzīm, *Alamgīrnāmā*, *Persian Text*, pp. 56—78; Vansha Bhāskar, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 2666—67.

⁴⁴ Bhandār No. 2, Sigā Silehkhānā Kōtā, Bastā 137 section A/2 Old Records, R. S. A.

⁴⁵ Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Thesis op. cit.*, Chapter on the Army Organisation.

⁴⁶ Bhandār No. 21, V. S. 1861, Bastā 73/2853 Kōtā R. S. A.

⁴⁷ Bhandār No. 21, V. S. 1860 Bastā 189/1364 Kōtā, R. S. A.

⁴⁸ Bhandār No. 21, V. S. Bastā 38/3673 Kōtā R. S. A.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, V. S. 1860 R. S. A.; Anwān Mutfarrik V. S. 1860—61.

were not enlisted in the Rōznāmchā of the state. The regular units were paid in cash by the state as per the Rōznāmchā⁵⁰ of the state and commanded by a Jāgirdār. Every Jāgirdār was bound by his deed to enlist equip and maintain the prescribed quota of troops and to furnish them at his own cost and were known as Jāgīri Fauj. Besides this the rulers of Kōtā had to maintain Mansabī as per the requirement of their Mansabs,⁵¹ which were required to serve in the Mughal Muhims. Every unit of cavalry consisted of Risālās and each Risālā was commanded by an officer which was assisted by Jamādār, who commanded a squadron of fifty to two hundred soldiers.⁵² Further Risālā was divided into Paigā, again these Paigā were also supported by a Jamādār, Hukkāwālā, a Chabuksawār, a Mashālchī and Bhisties etc.⁵³ The wages of a Hārā Sawār depended upon the kind of horse he rode.⁵⁴ The all payments were subject to the state rule and regulations laid down by the state authority and circulated through Bakhshi.⁵⁵ The State began to pay more attention towards the modernization of their cavalry units from the time of Mahārō Mukand Singh. For this the help of European instructors were obtained who were highly paid.⁵⁶ During entire period of our study the cavalry units won several medals, Kharitās,⁵⁷ awards, appreciation certificates,⁵⁸ laurels and cash prizes from the Mughals⁵⁹ and later from the British Government.⁶⁰

⁵⁰ Fauj Kilājāt Bhandār No. 5, Bastā 14/5379, V. S. 1862, Kōtā Records, R. S. A.

⁵¹ Compare, Hammīd Khān, *Umrā-i-Hanood*, *Persian Text*, p. 95; Shāhnawāj Khān, *Maasir-ul Umarā*, p. 274 *Persian Text*; Jahāngīr and Mutāmīdkhān, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, *Persian Text*, Vol. II, pp. 294—95, Bādshāhnāmā, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 99—117; Amal-i-Sālah, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 286—87; Khāfikhān, *Muntakhāb-ul-Lubāb*, *Persian Text*, pp. 316, 395. Kāsimkhān, *Maasir-i-Ālamgīrī*, *Persian Text*, p. 308 and Kāgājāt Bhandār Kōtā V. S. 1740, R. S. A.; Sharmā Ravindra Kumār, *Thesis*, *op. cit.*, Chapter on the Rājput Mansabdārs.

⁵² Bhandār No. 21, Kōtā Kāgājāt, V. S. 1866, R. S. A.; Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Thesis*, *op. cit.*, Chapter on the Cavalry.

⁵³ Bhandār No. 21, Kōtā Kāgājāt, V. S. 1866, R. S. A.

⁵⁴ Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Thesis* *op. cit.*, Chapter on the Cavalry.

⁵⁵ Bhandār No. 8, Kōtā Kāgājāt, Taqsim Samvat 1711, 1718 and Tālik Samvat 1707 Kāgājāt 1707 and V. S. 1763 Kōtā R. S. A.

⁵⁶ Kōtā Rājya Kā Itihās, Vol. I, pp. 142—47.

⁵⁷ Sarkār J. N., *History of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta 1949, Vol. I, pp. 103—110; *Rājasthān kā Itihās*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 422—23; *Kōtā Rājya Kā Itihās*, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 162—196.

⁵⁸ Compare, Kharitās of the Mughal emperor Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb addressed to Rāo Mādho Singh, Mukand Singh, Kishōre Singh and Jagat Singh preserved in the Rājasthān State Archives, Bikāner.

⁵⁹ Compare, Cash prizes, Gold, Silver and Khilat presented to Mādho Singh by the Mughal emperor and Khilats presented to Rāo Mukand Singh and Jagat Singh by Mughal emperors.

⁶⁰ Letters of the Governor General to the ruler of Kōtā for their timely services during the war of 1857. Mutiny papers File No. 3/A, R. S. A. Bikāner.

Elephant Corps

The Pheelkhānā was supervised by a Darōga, who was assisted by accountants, Mushrif, Potedār etc.⁶¹ Mahāvats were appointed to look after the elephants and to train them for the war. Indian Muslim formed the majority of the Mahāvats of the elephant corps.⁶² The records available in the various Archives reveal that the elephants were used either in a block or even in line or individually. Generally elephants were used for three correlated operations of the army in actual warfare, that is to carry, supply of the food and armaments from one place to another and to breach in the defence of the fortress⁶³ gate, the heavy cannons could only be taken to the battle field by elephants and, therefore, these cannons were known as Gajnāl or Hathnāl.⁶⁴ The elephants were also provided with armour girth, blankets, neckrops, belts, hooks, quivers, banners and Pākhar.⁶⁵ Their training centres were known as Gaj Aggars and were existed in most of the forts.⁶⁶ Following were the famous names of the elephant corps of Kōtā: Mahesh Raghunāth Gaj, Gajberī, Gaj Keshrī, Pawan, Mangal, Jaitoo, Gaj Bahādur, Gaj Mōhan, Rājā and Shivā.⁶⁷

Artillery

In the beginning the rulers of Kōtā got some cannons from the Mughals and began to develop the artillery of their own. Later on they started manufacturing wrought cannons, Larger wrought iron guns were soon developed at Kōtā, Gāgrōn and Barsānā.⁶⁸ Ironballs were used initially but as their cost and weight were disadvantageous as guns became larger and stone balls were used.⁶⁹ There were no gun carriage up to the seventeenth century and the guns were simply secured to wooden beams by ropes or iron straps, or placed on the ground and lashed to wooden frames known as "Top Ghaduchiya" which were erected on each side the breech butting against a wooden barrier secured by stakes driven into the ground. They were transported from

⁶¹ Bhandār No. 2, Sigā Pheel Khānā V. S. 1860, Bastā 638/3698 Kōtā Records, R. S. A.

⁶² Bhandār No. 17, Sigā pheelkhānā, V. S. 1861, Bastā 56/337, Kōtā Records, R. S. A.

⁶³ Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Thesis op. cit.*, Chapter on the Elephant Corps.

⁶⁴ William Irwin, *Army of the Great Moghal*, Delhi 1962, p. 135.

⁶⁵ Pheelkhānā, Bastā 58, Record No. 7, Kōtā V. S. 1780.

⁶⁶ Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Thesis, op. cit.*, Chapter on the Elephant Corps.

⁶⁷ Pheelkhānā Kōtā V. S. 1788, Bastā No. 53, R. S. A.

⁶⁸ Bhandār No. 17, V. S. 1866.

⁶⁹ Bhandār No. 17, Tōpkhānā Kōtā V. S. 1860, R. S. A.

site to site on ponderous carriages with iron chain wheels.⁷⁰ The cannons used by the army can be classified as heavy and light guns and were pulled by bullocks, elephants⁷¹ and camels and therefore known as Hathnāl, Gajnāl, Shuternāl⁷² and Chhatnāl.⁷³ As stated above the field and wall pieces were used separately. Rockets and Bārood Bāṅs were also used and rocketers were employed in most of the forts. But stone ball had not been discarded. Few arms, were also presented to the rulers of Kōtā by the Mughal Emperors which were placed on the city walls. In the beginning the cannons of Kōtā were too small to play an effective part in siege warfare, although they were certainly used for sieges. But during the eighteenth century larger cannons become available which temporarily improved the firing capacity of the artillery. After the Mughal military collaborations,⁷⁴ it become, therefore, imperative necessity for the rulers of Kōtā to furnish themselves with equally powerful artillery. In medieval Rājasthān the merchants of Gujrāt, Āgrā and Delhi carried on a regular trade in arms and artillery and the rulers of Kōtā, like their neighbours, naturally looked towards them for the requirement of their Ṭōpkhānā,⁷⁵ Gujrāti merchants were their main supplier. The Ṭōpkhānā was known as Ṭōpkhānā-i-Jinshī or Derāḥ-i-Ṭōpkhānā, was headed by Darōga-i-Ṭōpkhānā, who was assisted by Mushrif, Ṭōpchī, Golandāz, Barkandāz and Blacksmith.⁷⁶ Generally salary was paid in cash but soldiers were also offered land. The Sindhi, Multāni, Arabs, Gōndwānis, Burhānpuris formed the majority of the Ṭōpkhānā. Later on the Firangīs⁷⁷ were also recruited. During the time of Zālim Singh the state gun foundary was headed by Dalekhān⁷⁸ and maintained by engineer Khān Daulā Ustād⁷⁹ who also supervised the casting of the guns in Shergarh gun-foundry.⁸⁰ After the advent of the British military

⁷⁰ Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Thesis op. cit.*, Chapter on the Artillery.

⁷¹ Section A/1 Old Records, Jhālā-ki-Havelī, Jamboorkhānā Records, Kōtā, V. S. 1708, 1735, 1788, R. S. A.

⁷² Bhandār No. 7, Tōji Dārūki, Kōtā Records, V. S. 1832, R. S. A.

⁷³ Bhandār No. 8, Kōtā Records V. S. 1832, R. S. A. For various type of Rājput guns and muskets, see, Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, Rājput, Ṭōpkhānā, Journal of Lōk Sanskriti Shōdh Sansthān, Nagar Shree, Chūrū, Rājasthān, December, 1973, pp. 28—33 also my paper Madhya Yugīn Rājput Ṭōpkhāne Kā Vikās Kram. Journal of the MMM Institute Deoriā, October 1982, pp. 14—25.

⁷⁴ Bhandār No. 2, Section A/2, Old Records Jhālā-ki-Havelī, Ṭōpkhānā Kōtā, V. S. 1811/No. 4689, R. S. A.

⁷⁵ Cf. Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Thesis, op. cit.*, Chapter on the Artillery.

⁷⁶ Bhandār No. 2, Section A/2, Old Records, Jhālā-ki-Havelī V. 8, 1860 Records Garh Gāgrōn, R. S. A.

⁷⁷ R. P. Shastri, Jhālā Zālim Singh, pp. 268—301.

⁷⁸ Cf. Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, Military System of the Rājput States during grand Anarchy. International Review of History, No. 4, August, Vol. XVIII, 1980, pp. 77—88.

⁷⁹ R. P. Shāstrī, *op. cit.*, pp. 301.

⁸⁰ Bhandār No. 21, V. S. 1866, Kōtā Kāgzāt, R. S. A.

power a few European gunners were also employed. The cannons cast, and manufactured were given dignified names such as Rāmchangī, Ṭōp Jwālā, Kishan Ṭōp Lakshman Ṭōp, Baldev Ṭōp, Gāgrōnki, Delhiwālī, Ṭōp Ummed, Kanhaiyā Ṭōp, Ṭōp Firangī etc.⁸¹

Weapons

The arms and equipments were of a heterogeneous character. While they adopted new arms they did not reject the old ones. Consequently the weapons used by the soldiers represented all stages of militarisation, and some of them were certainly headed down from the period of emperor Chandergupta Mauryā and Harṣa. Their important weapons were swords, shields, maces, spears, daggers, battle axe, Khāndā, Kuntī, Barchhā, Khanjar, Peshqabaz Gurj, Nezhā, Ballem, Katāri, Chahār, Ainaḥ, Bow and Arrows, Quiver, Matchlocks and guns.⁸²

Different types of sword were used by the soldiers and were of different shapes, sizes, weights and hilts and were known as Manāshāhī, Rahimshāhī, Sindhī, Dakkanī, Madhōshāhī, Jōdhpur-ri-Kamanidār, Sirōhikī nipani etc.⁸³ Towards the end of the seventeenth century officers, relatives of the rulers and leaders of the contingent of the army began to carry two swords.⁸⁴ From now every commander of the Kōtā army was armed with two swords.⁸⁵ Sword scabbards were made of two thin pieces of wood, shaped to fit the outline of the blade, then covered with parchment, leather or textile, which was glued to the wood and sewn either down the middle of the inner face or along one edge. To protect the point of the scabbard and sword a metal fitting known as a Chāpr was riveted to the bottom and of the scabbard.⁸⁶

Next comes the spears. This consisted of an ash or cypress shaft from 12 to 14 ft. long, topped by a small, slender head of steel and even frequently used by Mahārāo Mukand Singh of Kōtā. Axe was also one of the popular weapons for dismounted men at arms. Until the end of sixteenth century it had become obvious that to overcome heavily armoured cavalymen of the Mughals, and marched later the Marāthās and the Pindāris a more effective infantry stuff weapon was required, for example a long handled weapon which could be used for

⁸¹ Cf. Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Artillery and the Guns*. Inscriptions of the Rājput. *Journal of the Rājasthān Institute of Historical Research*, March 1985.

⁸² Bhandār No. 2, Sigā Silekhkhānā, V. S. 1866, Bastā 38, 79, 103, Old Records, Jhālā-ki-Havelī, Kōtā, R. S. A.

⁸³ Cf. Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Thesis op. cit.*, Chapter on the Arms and Armoury.

⁸⁴ Compare, Paintings of Kōtā Museum, particularly portrait of Mahārāo Mādho Singh.

⁸⁵ Cf. Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Thesis op. cit.*, Chapter on the Arms and Armoury

⁸⁶ Ibid.

stabbling, or for a heavy cleaving blow capable of breaking through plate armour. Brotherly weapons of this series: Shel, Khaḍag, Wāri bills, daggers and knives. Armour of different kinds,⁸⁷ shields and swords were also in use. The biggest arms arsenal was at Kōtā. Next in the importance were the magazines of Gāgrōn,⁸⁸ Manōharpur, Shāhpurā, and Ummedgarh.⁸⁹ The officers responsible for such store were required to furnish periodical report which were subject to state audits. Similarly, frequent inspections were also carried out to check whether the goods were arranged in proper order or not.⁹⁰ Jhālā Zālīm Singh had friendly relations with some Europeans such as Jean Baptise, Duderine, Pulmet and Poleman and was influenced by the striking capabilities of their units. He got some guns from them.⁹¹ The Government had to spend every year a considerable sum of money on the purchasing of a magazine, stores, arms and armours. The record of total annual expenses occurred were maintained in the state Bahīs clearly show that the rulers of Kōtā were spent maximum for the defence of their state, forts, cities, village and their people.⁹²

The Banners and Standard

The use of banner was originally restricted to king, princes and Jāgirdārs but from the battle of Balkh and Badakhshān it was also granted to those experienced soldier below the status of a Jāgirdār, commander or Nāyak, who had valuable military experience, and were known as Dhwajawāhak or Paṭakāadhyaksha or sometime Nagārābāz. The banner might be borne by its owner, or by a selected soldier, but it was displayed only when the owner was present, and then only if his forces were arrayed for battle or actually advancing to attack. The military banners of Kōtā appear to have been rectangular in shape 2—3 ft. deep by half that in width. Squar banners became als popular after Mughal collaborations. There was never any hard and fast rule as to which shape should be used, or exact measurements, but slightly smaller banners have been used always by those below the rank of a Darbār-Kā-Jāgirdār.⁹³

⁸⁷ Bhandār No. 2 Section A/2 Jhālā-ki-Havelī, Old Records, Silehkhānā, Kōtā V. S. 1868, R. S. A.

⁸⁸ Bhandār No. 2, Section A/2, Jhālā-ki-Havelī Old Records Sigā Silehkhānā, Bastā Kāgzāt Garh Gāgrōn V. S. 1866, R. S. A.

⁸⁹ Bhandār No. 7, Tōji Daruka, Garh Ummedgarh, old records, V. S. 1832, R. S. A.

⁹⁰ Bhandār No. 3, Toji Daruka Garh Manōharpur, V. S. 1869, R. S. A.; Gulgule Daftar, A letter from Mahārāo Ummed Singh to Kilādār of Gāgrōn dated October 1745, Poona Collections.

⁹¹ R. P. Shāstrī, Jhālā Zālīm Singh, pp. 290—301.

⁹² Bhandār No. 3, Old Records Kōtā Talik, V. S. 1840, R. S. A.

⁹³ Cf. Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār Thesis op. cit., Chapter on the Banners.

The standard was not a personal flag but was used to mark the position within an army of a body of men commanded by a Jāgirdār. It was never furled during a campaign but was used at the head of the force when on the march. The standards were also used in the composition of a battle field just before the outbreak of the announced war. The banners and standards were presented to the rulers of Kōtā by the Mughal Emperors⁹⁴ are still preserved in the personal museum of the His Highness of Kōtā.

Forts and Fortification

As per the saying of medieval Rājasthān the Hāṛā clan of the Rājput̄s were famous for their fighting genius and were well versed in the art of siege craft.⁹⁵ Castles were very much alike throughout Kōtā State, and the only factor which caused preference to be given to one design or another was the terrain, for the primary concern was always that the design should make full use of advantageous features in the terrain. From the last quarter of the thirteenth century the predecessor of the Hāṛā rulers of Kōtā learnt new ideas on fortification from their invaders. Many new features began to be added to existing forts or incorporated into new ones. The greatest period for fort building in the Kōtā State began in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Although there were no new developments in design but the sites were generally well selected. The forts of Ranthambhōr and Būndī could be reached by one narrow steep and difficult footpath that zigzagged along an inaccessible precipice and every care had been taken to provide for its defence. No less strong was the site of the fort of Kōtā, Achalgarh, Ummedgarh, Madukargarh, Mukandrāpās, Shergarh, Suket, Gāgrōn and every fort was well defended by a stout stone wall. Besides strongholds not a pass was left undefended, not a important peak was left unfortified, and every Parganā was provided with one or more strongholds, and the whole boundries of the Kōtā State was secured by a network of forts. The cities were incircled by the wall of stones⁹⁶ or bricks and was known as shaharpanāh. Armed soldiers equipped with bow and arrow and matchlocks were posted on the walls of Shaharpanāh as well as on bastions. Guns were also mounted on these walls to keep the enemy riders away. Every fort was also garrisoned with heavy and light cannon.⁹⁷ But to remain in the fort for defence was not always very safe.

⁹⁴ Cf. Sharmā, G. N. *Rājasthān Kā Itihās*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 424.

⁹⁵ Cf. Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār *Thesis op. cit.*, Chapter on the Forts and Fortifications. See couplet "Bal Hāth Bankā Devaṛā, Kirtab Bankā Gōdh Hāṛā Bankā Gārḥ Me Ran Bana Rāthad"; Reu, *Visveshwar Nāth*, *Mārwar Kā Itihās*, Jodhpur, 1939, Vol. I, Preface p. (i).

⁹⁶ Col. Tod. *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 1600—1601.

⁹⁷ Bhandār No. 21, Kōtā Tālik, V. S. 1840, Tōpkhānā Kōtā, R. S. A.

To avoid such incidents they generally preferred to resist the enemies on their frontiers. But when they found it difficult to face the enemy at the boundary of the State then they took shelter in a fort. This strategy was known as Garh-Jhāllā because only by it a new reinforcement, arms and provisions could be supplied. In emergency the policy of Garh-Jhāllā was also provided shelter to the refuge of the affected area.⁹⁸ This policy was used at par during Maratha and Pindāris raids. Prior to Garh-Jhāllā, the Kilādār made elaborate arrangements of food and provisions to meet out any emergency, which could be lasted for months together and couple of years to come.⁹⁹ The Kiladars and officers of Kōtā State seem to have duly maintained the Mughal tradition of carefully preserving the official papers, particularly Khātā Bahīs related to the managements of the forts which throw flood of light on the administrative set up of a fort particularly during siege. Archival papers related to the managements of the forts of Kōtā, Ummadgarh, Gāgrōn,¹⁰⁰ Manōharpur and Būndī also of great values.¹⁰¹ It is important to remember that the fort was not only a place of refuge, but also served the purpose of military cantonment from where the surrounding countryside could be dominated, or a vital pass commanded, or a Mandī or trade routs along a river be protected. Therefore a fort's garrison frequently contained a large proportion of mounted man who patrolled an area with a radius of about fifty miles. In times of siege, sorties were often made from the postern gates, for even under siege conditions the fort maintained its ability to take aggressive action. A fort was also a storehouse for munition, horses, foodgrains, salt, gur, oil, cotton, wool, grass, potatoes, Bhāng, tobacco, gunpowder, Ironballs¹⁰² and spices, an advanced headquarters and a place where all subjects could be secured from attacks by enemies. Each fort had its own Kārkhānās where the necessary articles for defence were prepared and manufactured. Sikligars, Tōpchies, gunmakers and Blacksmiths were also employed to manufacture new arms and repair old ones. All provisions of the forts were annually renewed.¹⁰³ Old grain was sometimes given to the garrison in lieu of pay and sometimes sold or auction, and new grains were brought out of the proceeds. This was expected from the Kilādār to keep adequate number of horses, camels, guns, soldiers, required provisions in the fort.¹⁰⁴ The water supply was not forgotten, and even a small fort like Manōharpur can boast of more than one well that yield excellent

⁹⁸ Sharmā, G. C., *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁹⁹ Bhandār No. 3, Tālik Bahī Jagat Ahkam, V. S. 1858, R. S. A.

¹⁰⁰ Bahī Gāgrōn V. S. 1888; Bahī Manōharpur V. S. 1881 and Bahī Fouj Kilājāt Kōtā Bhandār No. 2, R. S. A.

¹⁰¹ Tōji Darukī Bhandār No. 7 Kōtā R. S. A.

¹⁰² Bahī Gārū Ummadgarh, V. S. 1888 Kōtā, R. S. A.

¹⁰³ Fauj Kharch Tōpkhānā Sigā Gōrālā Garh Gāgrōn, V. S. 1879 Kōtā R. S. A.

¹⁰⁴ Mahā Budi 14 Budhawār samvat 1840, Kāgzāt Zālīm Singh Kōtā, R. S. A.

drinking water. Gāgrōn, Kōtā, Būndī, Achalgarh, ummedgarh, Shāhpurā, Manōharthānā, Bambūwadā Shahabād, Nagargarh etc. had quite a number of tanks lakes and walls.¹⁰⁵ Each fort was placed under the charge of an officer, which was known as Durgpala, Durgādhyaksha or Kōtpāla during pre mughal, era. This was redesignated as kilādār¹⁰⁶ after Mughal collaborations, and was always assisted by a Bakhshī, a Biyād Bakhshī, a Munschrf and a Pōtedār, Wakiānavis, Khabarnavis, Thānedār, Purōhīt, Vaidya, Hukkāwalā, Havalāgir Mashalchī, Paniwālā.¹⁰⁷ Besides, some petty servants such as Havaldār, Gumāshta, Pāndav, Chelās, Gulām, Durbōrs, porters and Chowkidārs were also appointed. If the provisions of the forts were necessary, the repairs demanded no less care; Rs. 7100/— were spent for the repair of Gāgrōn fort in V. S. 1630¹⁰⁸ this shows that the soldiers were skilled worker and well versed with the repair works. It reveals that they had to expense levishly on the maintenance of their forts. To meet out with such expenditure they had to impose a few military taxes which were known as GarhBrār, Garhkālā, Garhchākri, Chatt Brār, Rekhnī and Radhbarār.¹⁰⁹

Mashālkhānā

The department of Mashālkhānā was headed by a Darōga who was responsible for made arrangements for lights, which were used at the time of the marches of the army (particularly during night attacks). A day to day account was kept by the Darōga-i-Mashālkhānā who dealt with the supply of Mashals as per the requirements of the State. It reveals from the Kōtā records that all purchasings including oil, cotton, clothes, Bamboos' wood, iron etc. were made available by him for the purpose.¹¹⁰

Road and Transport

Kōtā being a hilly area and for want of good roads and bridges the military transport problem in those days was beset with many difficulties. Therefore, the roads in Kōtā were attracted special attention by the rulers

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Sharmā Ravindra Kumār, *op. cit.*, Chapter on the Forts and Fortification.

¹⁰⁶ Bhandār No. 3, Fauj Kilājāt Kōtā V. S. 1866, R. S. A.

¹⁰⁷ Bhandār No. 7, Tōji Daruki V. S. 1832, Kōtā, R. S. A.

¹⁰⁸ Bhandār No. 3 Khatā Tālik, V. S. 1840, Kōtā, R. S. A.

¹⁰⁹ Bhandār No. 7 Tōji chontra V. S. 1616 Bhandār No. 3 Khātā Tālik V. S. 1840, Kōtā Kāgzāt Tālik V. S. 1843; R. S. A.

¹¹⁰ Mashālkhānā Bhandār Khātā Kāgzāt Kōtā V. S. 1778, Sigā Kilājāt Bhandār No. 2, R. S. A.

of Kōtā. Roads were utilized for military movements, transportation of military and public goods. The famous routes were from Kōtā to Ujjain, Kōtā to Ahmedābād, Kōtā to Chittōr, Kōtā to Būndī, Kōtā to Ajmer, Kōtā to Gwālior, Kōtā to Burhānpur, Kōtā to Sirōhī, Kōtā to Jaipur, Kōtā to Surat and from Kōtā to Pāli. The principal means of military transport were horses, mules, bullocks, ponies, camels and elephant carts. In the hilly areas where the problem of transport presented peculiar difficulties, camels were discarded in favour of bullocks, mules, ponies and elephant. Caravān was also a most common mode then and was guarded by the State army and police.¹¹¹

Intelligence

After Mughal collaboration an elaborate and efficient spy system was developed which was must for its contemporary requirements. From Mādhō Singh to Bhīm Singh they had very successfully utilized the services of their detectives. However, department suffered during the Marāthā and Pindārī raids on Kōtā.¹¹² Again the department was remodelled and reorganized by Zālim Singh. Informers were called Etlānavis and were appointed in every parganā and fort. They maintained a report on the information received from the Chaukidārs, posted in every village. Other officers and official were Nazarbāz Shaharkhabariyās.¹¹³ This is important to note here that the Nazarbāz kept the reports of village happenings and informed the Kōtwāl where as Shaharkhabariā watched every thing independently and sent his reports to the regent. The secretaries compared the reports of the Kōtwāls with those of the Shaharkhabariyās and pointed out discrepancies, if any, to the authority, the other officials were Khufiyānavis, Khabarnavis, Wākiyanavis etc.¹¹⁴

Mercenary

Rulers of Kōtā remained famous for their bravery¹¹⁵ but, 'Grand Anarchy' (1707—1857 A. D.) witnessed the Marathā Pindārī raids and rebellion of feudals against their own Dātās. The rulers of Kōtā, therefore, forced to maintain a mercenary force to suppress the rebel Jāgirdārs and to face the Marathā

¹¹¹ Sanad Parwānā Bahī (Marwār) V. S. 1840, F. 65 R. S. A. Bikāner.

¹¹² Bhandār No. 3, V. S. 1866, R. S. A.

¹¹³ Tod, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 440.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *op. cit.*, Chapter on the Intelligence Department and Scouts.

¹¹⁵ Compare, Military Movements of Mādhō Singh and Mukand Singh Badshahnāmā *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 620—644; Vansha Bhāskar, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 2595—2650 and Alamgīrināmā, *op. cit.*, pp. 226—65.

raids,¹¹⁶ the mercenaries formed a barrier between the crown and his feudals. It is interesting to note here that, though the mercenary force proved a failure in all over Rājputānā, it was utilised successfully by the rulers of Kōtā. In Kōtā the predominance of hired companies of professional soldiers led to the evolution of a completely different system of warfare.¹¹⁷ Because the wars between the native states in India were mostly economic in motive, the captains of the mercenary companies tended to regard the wars as a business, and their men as their capital. Since most of the men fighting in both rival sides were hired professionals known as Pindārīs, Dakkhnis, Sindhis, Multānis, Rōhillās and Firangīs who might be on the same side next month, there was little point in fierce and bloody battles. Therefore the mercenaries, who were mostly armoured cavalry or mounted Pindārīs avoided the direct action,¹¹⁸ night battles and straight battles. Another method of waging war was to lay siege to an important city or fort which the citizens did not want damaged or could not afford to lose, and attempt to obtain a surrender by encirclement. The besieged would conduct a number of raids to cut the supply lines of the mercenaries and the first side to run out of food used for peace. There was also a great deal of time spent in burning corps and destroying vineyards and orchards, for a successful war required money, which meant prosperous trade and agriculture. The Motto was "if you destroyed an enemy's crops, you crippled his ability to maintain a mercenary force in the field". On the other hand, complete victory could end the employment of such armies, and so they tended to be dragged out for long as the employer's patience and money would last. But in spite of efficiency they were not reliable. Therefore, soon they become unpopular in the Kōtā State. The mercenaries and their methods were crushed and swept aside when the army of East India company invaded central India in general and Kōtā in particular.¹¹⁹

State's Military Position in Retrospect

After the Mughal military collaborations the Mughal system of warfare was initiated by the rulers of Kōtā. From the reign of Mahārāo Mādhō Singh to the reign of Mahārāo Bhim Singh it was used with great success even in the

¹¹⁶ Bhandār No. 21, Fauj Kilājāt V. S. 1861, R. S. A.

¹¹⁷ Section A/1 Old Records Jhālā-Ki-Haveli S. No. 45, Ghur Tōpān Firangī Kāgzāt 23, V. S. 1870, R. S. A. Also Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, Rājput Sanya Prabandha Men Anya Tatva, Varadā Quarterly Rājasthān Vol. XVII, January 1974, pp. 29—31.

¹¹⁸ Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *op. cit.*, Chapter on the Mercenary Force.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Thesis, op. cit.*, Chapter on the Mercenary Force. Also my paper *Military System of the Rājputs: A Case Study of Rājasthān*, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Circār Felicitation Vol. Delhi 1982 p. 165.

remote area of the Mughal empire. Mahārāo Mādhō Singh and Mahārāo Mukand Singh used it in their Balkh and Deccan expeditions respectively.¹²⁰ Mahārāo Mādhō Singh can be regarded as the most successful imitator of the medieval war technology in the Kōtā State. The superiority of this new school was proved by the great successes in Balkh, Badakhshān and Ujjain expeditions. It is interesting to note here that though the military system of Kōtā had an influence of the Mughal military system, yet it was different from the later to some extent. Of course, the designation and officials work were similar¹²¹ to the Mughal system but their functions in Kōtā were quite different, that is, the Mughal system was based on Jāgirdāri system which remained in force during entire period of our study. Some slackness did creep into this system during the later part of the reigns of Mahārāo Bhīm Singh and his successors, meanwhile their defeat in the battle of Gāgrōn and the results of the battle of Rāmpurā¹²² convinced them that an army modelled on European patterns was definitely superior to the forces of Kōtā and old system become absolute and now therefore, they tried to effect a change and consequently under Zālim Singh the army units of Kōtā were remodelled.¹²³ Soon Zālim Singh developed cordial military relation with the rising British power and a treaty of perpetual friendship, alliance and military interest were concluded with the British Government. Thus an era of military cooperation began knowing the importance of European technology, Mahārāo of Kōtā took a personal and most conspicuous part in the modernisation of the State army and raised some new regiments whose services were also sought by the Britishers,¹²⁴ as already stated. During the Great World Wars the army of Kōtā entered into a war of great magnitude, for various war theaters the demand for Kōtā's soldiers and weapons was staggering which was timely fulfilled by the state military department,¹²⁵ and here too their services were lauded by the British Government.¹²⁶ This glorious tradition continued till the accession of the Kōtā State into the Union of India.¹²⁷

¹²⁰ Badshahnāmā, *op. cit.*, Vol. II pp. 152, 484—88.

¹²¹ Bhandar No. 4, Taqsim V. S. 1707—1718 R. S. A.

¹²² Bhandār No. 3, Kōtā Tālik V. S. 1866, R. S. A.

¹²³ Bhandār No. 21, Kāgzāt Fauj Kōtā, V ½ S. 1866, R. S. A.

¹²⁴ Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Rājput Imperial Troops in the World Wars*. Dissertation D. A. K. N. A. I, 1977, pp. 23—25 MS. — National Archives of India 1977.

¹²⁵ Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Military System of the Būndī State c. 1242 to 1947*. Paper presented and discussed in the All-India Seminar: *Society Economy and Administration of Medieval Rājasthān* held at Shree Nat Nāgar Shōdh Sansthān, Sitāmau (Malwā) Research Institute Madhya Pradesh, India, Oct. 10—12, 1984 and published in the *Journal of African, Asian and Latin American Studies, Czechoslovakia* Vol. II. pp. 146—57. 1985.

¹²⁶ Cf. Sharmā, Ravindra Kumār, *Thesis op. cit.*, Rājput, pp. 468—9.

¹²⁷ A Glossary of Several Local language words, which I have used in my research paper under reference, are as under:

Glossary

Sultan	Ruler, King, Monarch
<u>Thikānedār</u>	Fief holder
<u>Silehkhānā</u>	Department of Armoury
Baroodkhānā	State gun foundry
<u>Mashālkhānā</u>	The Department made arrangements for lights
Butāyāt	The Department made arrangements for arms
<u>Nakkārkhānā</u>	Department made arrangements for Kettledrums
<u>Zeenkhānā</u>	Department dealing with saddlery of horse, camel etc. maintained by the state
<u>Ātishkhānā</u>	Department of firearms
<u>Mahalkhānā</u>	Records of Income and Expenditure
<u>Tōpkhānā</u>	Department of artillery
Jāgīri Pattā	Certificate of holding the land
Jāgīri Senā	Local levy
Jāgīr	A fief, land given by government as a reward for services or as a fee
<u>Desh-kā-Jāgīrdār</u>	Who held a Jāgīr in lieu of the military services they rendered to the State
Mahārāo	The King, Ruler of Kōtā
Senāpati	Commander-in-Chief
Pradhān	Prime Minister
Diwān	Chief Finance Minister
Bakshī	Pay Master General
Durgpāl	Keeper of the Fort
Darogā-i- Tōpkhānā	Incharge of Artillery
Darogā-i- Selehkhānā	Incharge of Armoury
Darogā-i-Nakkār Khānā	Incharge of Kettledrums
Darogā-i- Baroodkhānā	Incharge of the state gun-foundry
Subedār	Governor of a Province, Commander
Kilādār	Garrison Master
Havaldār	Junior Commissioned Officer
Jamādār	Petty Officer
Hukkāwālā	Rocket Throwers
Chābuchsawār	Skillful Rider
<u>Khilat</u>	A Robe of honour generally conferred by princes on persons of rank
Pagrī	A Turban; a kind of head-gear
Kurtā	Long Shirt
Hōwdāh	Seat carried by an elephant
Paidal Senā	Infantry
Kilājāt	Forts (Garrison)
Mansabī	A title to keep with, designation, reserved force
Paltan	Regiment
Nishān	Letter written by an imperial, Prince, mark, unit, flag.
Nishāndār	Flag, bearer, leader of a contingent
Kothāwaldār	Storekeeper
Jāgīri Fauj	Contingent from Fief
Rōznāmchā	Daily account of receipts and expenditure

Jāgirdār	Feudal lord, Incharge of a fief
Risālā	A unit of irregular force, troopers
Paigā	Infantry, Trooper
Mashalchī	Torch bearer
Bhisties	Watermen, water carriers
Pheelkhānā	The department dealt with the maintenance of elephants of the State
Mushrif	Manager
Pōtedārs	Keeper of daily account
Mahāvāt	Elephant trainer and rider
Gajnāl	Elephant barrel-gun
Hathnal	Gun carried on elephant back, sometimes placed on the elephant for transport and dismounted before use
Pākhar	Defensive armour for an elephant protecting its forehead and trunk
Gaj Āggars	Training center of an elephant
Ṭōp Ghaduchiyā	Artillery stand, Camp
Pōshāk	Embroidered dress
Chhatnāl	Walled cannon displayed on roof tops
Baroodbān	Rocket
Ṭōpkhānā-i-Jinshī	Mixed Artillery.
Derāh-i-Ṭōpkhānā	Artillery Camp, Abiding Place.
Darogā-i-Ṭōpkhānā	Incharge of the Artillery.
Ṭōpchī	Cannoneer
Gōlandāz	A gunner, a Cannoneer
Barakandāz	Matchlock man
Sindhī	Inhabitant of Sindh
Multānī	Inhabitant of Multān
Gondwānī	Inhabitant of Gondwānā
Burhānpurī	Inhabitant of Burhānpur
Firangī	Europeans, Foreigners
Ustād	Master
Rāmchangī	Name of a matchlock, sometimes used for light cannons
Khāndā	Stuff sword
Kuntī	A kind of dagger
Barchhā	A kind of lance, pike
Khanjar	A kind of dagger, poinard
Peshqabaza	One edged dagger having generally a thick straight back to the blade.
Gurj	A short handled club with three large balls at the end
Nezāh	Lance used by Cavalry
Ballam	A kind of spear with broad head used by infantry
Katāri	A kind of spear, A short poinard, Peculiar to India
Chahār Āinaḥ	Four mirrors, a kind of armour
Risāldār	Unit Officer (Infantry)
Mashalkhānā	This department made arrangements for lights mostly the Mashāls, used at the time of the marches of the army
Bahīs	Office Ledger, Statement ledger
Nāyak	Leader of a contingent or unit
Dhwajawāhak	Flag bearer

Patākaadhyaksha	Head of the flag bearers
Nagarābāz	Drummer
Pindārī	Afghan Warlike tribe
Jhālā-ki-Haveli	Place of Jhālā
Parganā	A District, Unit for assessment
Shahar Panāh	Sheltering in a fort
Mandī	District grain center
Guṛ	Raw sugar
Bhāng	A kind of Indian intoxicant
Karkhānā	Workshop, Place of manufacturing
Sikligar	Swordmaker, Blacksmith
Durgādhyaksha	Chief Commander, of the Forts
Kōtpāl	Garrison Master
Durgpāl	Commandant of a fort
Biyād Bakhshī	Paymaster in chief of a fort
Thānedār	The Officer Incharge of a subordinate Police station or a Petty civil and military officer
Purohit	Minister of religious affairs
Vaidya	Physicians
Havālagir	Informers, Dak agent, Incharge of a post
Pāniwālā	Waterman
Havaldār	Police official
Gumāshtā	Agent or factor
Pāndav	Servant, menial
Chelās	Servants
Gilāma	Personal attendant
Chowkidār	Watchman
Garhbrāṛ	A tax for the construction of forts
Garhkāllā	Atax for the construction and maintenance of fort
Chattbrāṛ	A tax imposed in and around cantonment
Rekhnī	A kind of military tax
Bādhbarāṛ	A tax to appease the Marathas
Darogā	A Superintendent of a Department
Darogā-i-Mashalkhānā	Incharge lights
Nazarbāz	Security official
Shaharkhabariā	(Secret News) Reporter
Kōtwāl	The chief officer of the police of a city or town or camp
Khufiānavīs	Confidential assistant, writer
Khabarnavīs	Informers, Agent
Wākianavīs	News writer
Dātā	Ruler, King, Mahārājā etc.
Rājya	State
Itihās	History
Shāstri	Professor; a cast
Tawārikh	History
Khyāt	Narration of historical events, deeds or acts
Bāṇḍār	Rocket thrower or holder
Bakhshikhānā	Office of the paymaster general
Tōji Taqsim	Account ledger (army)
Tankhākhārach	Salary expenditure

Sigā	Register's bag, documents
Kāgzāt <u>Bhandār</u>	Record Room, Ledger
Pāygāḥ	Infantry
Bastā	Bundles, packet containing records
<u>Kharitā</u>	State letters to the other states
Rāo	Chief, a title
Jamboorkhānā	Department dealt with Shuturnāls
Tōji Dārūki	Ledger related to the artillery
<u>Khātā Tālik</u>	Army records book
Sanad	A kind of a certificate dealing with the duties of various officials and the condition of administration
Parwānā	An order, a passport, licence, command warrant, grant etc. usually issued by a sovereign to his subordinates
Panj Ḥajārī	Commander, Mansabdār holding the rank of five thousand troopers
<u>Ghat</u>	Valley Pass; Section
Durrās	Units, Regiments, Groups
<u>Gaddi</u>	Royal Seat
Tōpderāḥ	Artillery Center
Tālik	They contain copies of the orders and letters dispatched to officers
Mutfarrīk	News letters, collections of official information

MISCELLANEA

UNGARISCHE MUSLIME IN JERUSALEM IM JAHRE 1217

In seinem *Mu'djam al-buldān* berichtet Yāqūt über seine Begegnung in Aleppo mit ungarischen Muslimen, die dort um das Jahr 1220 ḥanafitisches Recht studierten.¹ Dieser Bericht, den Forschern der muslimischen Bevölkerungselemente des mittelalterlichen Ungarn wohlbekannt,² galt bisher als einziger Beleg für die Anwesenheit muslimischer Studenten aus Ungarn in den Ländern der Ayyūbiden. Doch darf man jetzt eine andere, lateinische Quelle hinzufügen, die das Vorhandensein solcher Studenten im ayyūbidischen Jerusalem im Jahre 1217 bezeugt.

Diese Quelle ist der Bericht des deutschen Pilgers Thietmar über seine Reise durch das Heilige Land. Thietmar, der im christlichen Akkon landete und sich als grusinischer Mönch verkleidet auf den Weg zum Sinaikloster begab, ist Ende 1217 unweit von Jerusalem von Muslimen gefangen genommen und zwei Tage lang außerhalb der Stadtmauer in Haft gehalten worden. Zu seinem Glück teilte er die Gefangenschaft mit einem ungarischen Adligen, der wußte, daß einige "sarazenische Ungarn" sich studienhalber (*obtentu studii*) in Jerusalem befanden. Er ließ sie zu sich rufen, und nachdem er von ihnen erkannt und freundlich empfangen worden war, erwirkten sie seine und Thietmars Freilassung.³

¹ *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*. Hrsg. F. Wüstenfeld, I, Leipzig 1866, S. 469-70.

² Siehe, z.B., T. Lewicki, Węgry i muzułmanie węgierscy w świetle relacji podróżnika arabskiego z. XII w. Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġarnāṭī'ego. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 13 (1937), 110; I. Hrbek, Ein arabischer Bericht über Ungarn. (Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġarnāṭī, 1080-1170). *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5 (1955), 205, 212; S. Balić, Der Islam im mittelalterlichen Ungarn. *Südost-Forschungen* 23 (1964), 30; G. Székely, Les contacts entre Hongrois et Musulmans aux IX^e-XII^e siècles. In: *The Muslim East. Studies in Honour of Julius Germanus*. Hrsg. G. Káldy-Nagy. Budapest 1974, S. 71. (Ich möchte an dieser Stelle Herrn Dr. Jenő Szűcs, Budapest, für den Hinweis auf die zwei letztgenannte wie auch auf andere sachdienliche Werke freundlich danken.)

³ "Habui comitem Hungarum nobilem, qui sciuit quosdam conprovinciales suos Hungaros sarracenos obtentu studii existere Iherusalem. Quos fecit uocari. Quibus uocatis et agnitus ab ipsis amicissime receptus est. Qui dum intellexissent casum captiuitatis nostre partes suas interposuerunt, et labore non modico fecerunt nos expeditos." J. C. M. Laurent, hrsg., *Mag. Thietmari Peregrinatio*, Hamburg 1857, S. 26.

Die sich gegenseitig stützenden Aussagen von Yākūt und Thietmar bezeugen, daß es anfangs des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts ungarische Muslime gab, die das Bedürfnis empfanden, ihre Religion gründlicher kennenzulernen und deshalb die Schulen des Ayyūbidenreiches aufsuchten. Das scheint ein neues Phänomen gewesen zu sein. Noch in den Jahren 1150—1153 mußte der reisende Theologe aus Andalusien, Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī, den Muslimen Ungarns das Freitaggebet, die Predigt und andere Elementargebote des Islams beibringen.⁴ Abū Ḥāmid erwähnt zwar einen ungarischen Muslim der gut Arabisch sprach und ein Interesse am Abschreiben und Studium arabischer Bücher zeigte,⁵ aber vom Studium in den Ländern des Islam, oder von irgendwelchen unmittelbaren Beziehungen mit ihnen, weiß Abū Ḥāmid nichts. Er erwähnt auch nicht, daß ungarische Muslime seiner Zeit Träger hoher Staatsämter gewesen wären. Dagegen wird im dritten und vierten Jahrzehnt des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts öfters erwähnt, daß Muslime (und Juden) als Münzer, Salzbergwerkvorsteher und Inhaber anderer öffentlicher Ämter in Ungarn tätig waren.⁶ Es ist anzunehmen, daß ungarische Muslime, die solche einträgliche Ämter innehatten, im Stande waren, ihre Söhne zum Studium ins Ayyūbidenreich zu schicken. Ihr Aufenthalt im Orient war offenbar kein Geheimnis, da der ungarische Adlige, der mit Thietmar in Gefangenschaft geriet, von der Anwesenheit seiner sarazenischen Landsleute in Jerusalem vornherein unterrichtet war.⁷

Studierten tatsächlich ungarische Muslime sowohl in Jerusalem als auch in Aleppo? Diese Möglichkeit besteht; aber man sollte auch in Betracht ziehen, daß vielleicht die selbe ungarische Studentengruppe von der einen in die

⁴ Hrbek, Ein arabischer Bericht, S. 208, 210.

⁵ *Abū Ḥāmid el Grenadino y su relación de viaje por tierras eurasiáticas*. Hrsg. u. übersetzt C. E. Dubler, Madrid 1953, S. 28 (Text), 66 (Übersetzung). Der Passus wurde nicht von Hrbek übersetzt.

⁶ Vgl., z.B., I. A. Fessler, *Geschichte von Ungarn*² I. Leipzig 1867, S. 344—48; Székely, *Les contacts*, S. 59. Ein diesbezüglicher Erlaß des Papstes Honorius III vom Jahre 1225 wurde in die *compilatio quinta* aufgenommen: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae*. Hrsg. G. Fejér, III/2, Budapest 1829, S. 48—50 (= Po 7466); *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, hrsg. E. Friedberg, Leipzig 1882, S. 182. (Friedberg —und Potthast vor ihm — haben nicht erkannt, daß 5 Comp. 5.3 = Po 7835 mit Po 7466 identisch ist).

⁷ Thietmars Herausgeber vermutet, daß dieser Adlige mit dem Kreuzzug Königs Andreas II. von Ungarn nach Palästina kam: Laurent, *Mag. Thietmari Peregrinatio*, S. 26, Anm. 307. Über den Kreuzzug des ungarischen Königs siehe zuletzt J. R. Sweeney, *Hungary in the Crusades, 1169—1218 International History Review* 3 (1981), 478—81. Der ungarische Priester Kosmas kam um das Jahr 1135 nach Jerusalem und lebte als Einsiedler in einer Zelle der Stadtmauer: Gerard von Nazareth, *De conversatione virorum Dei in Terra Sancta morantium*, c. 9, in B. Z. Kedar, Gerard of Nazareth: A Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer in the Latin East. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983), 72; *Le cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*. Hrsg. G. Bresc-Bautier, Paris 1984, S. 202.

andere Stadt gezogen war. Im März 1219 — also etwa 15 Monate, nachdem Thietmar die ungarisch-muslimischen Studenten in Jerusalem getroffen hatte — befahl der Sultan al-Mu‘azzam, die Mauern Jerusalems zu schleifen, da er fürchtete, daß die Kreuzfahrer sich der Stadt in Kürze bemächtigen würden. In großer Bestürzung verließ die muslimische Bevölkerung die Stadt: einige flohen nach Ägypten, andere nach Damaskus.⁸ Es ist möglich, daß auch die ungarischen Muslime damals Jerusalem verlassen haben und nach Aleppo gezogen sind.

Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem)

⁸ Abū Shāma in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux* V. Paris 1906, S. 173—74.

IN MEMORIAM

JOSEPH F. FLETCHER JR.

(1934—1984)

Untimely death abruptly a scholarly life, which was full of the greatest promise in Central Asiatic studies. Joseph Fletcher received his tenure at Harvard University in 1972, where he was a devoted teacher in Central Asiatic and Chinese history. He was the type of scholar who accumulated an unusually great knowledge for solving problems of the highest relevance. He was of the very few scholars, who mastered the Chinese and Islamic sources from first hand. He was the most outstanding pupil of Francis Woodman Cleaves, from whom he learnt the best traditions of world-wide Mongolian scholarship. Always a good friend, ready to help colleagues in the United States and all over the world, he maintained warm contacts with scholars even in his last years with the terrible burden of his illness. We shall all miss him and those works which he planned to publish. One can but hope that some of his manuscripts, about which he spoke with great enthusiasm at our last meeting, will reach the press with the understanding help of his pupils.

A. Róna-Tas

CHRONICA

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH MEETING OF THE PIAC IN VENICE

For a week during the summer of 1985, various groups of Altaists were in Venice becoming hopelessly lost, wandering the streets, but eventually, thanks to maps, compasses and helpful notions — or by sheer luck — finding their way to the beautiful Palazzo Bonvicini, where the Twenty-Eighth Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC) took place between July 8th—14th.

This was the second time that the PIAC was organized in Italy (and the first time in Venice) jointly by the Department of Euro-Asiatic Studies and its Uralo-Altaistic Section, together with the Centro-Linguistico Interfacoltà of the University of Venice. According to the sphere of interests of the two organizers, the central themes of the conference were "Venice and Italy in their Relationship with the Altaic World" and "The Problems of Bilingualism and Diglossia: Linguistic Education in the Altaic World", though the topics were not exclusive. While papers on Turkology were few, which may be due to the fact that the Fifth International Congress of Turkology would be held the same year, it was interesting to see the growing interests in Manchu studies.

After the opening dinner in the Trattoria S. Toma on the July 8th, the opening session of the conference was held in the building of Ca' Dolfin on the following day. After the general welcome by the University authorities, A. Csillaghy, the President, and D. Sinor, the General Secretary of the PIAC, greeted the participants. Then W. Heissig, the Honorary President of the PIAC, in his paper *The Present State of Research in Mongolian Epics and the Oral Tradition*, gave an overview of Mongolian epics that have preserved an archaic state of Mongolian society. In other papers to follow, S. Jagchid spoke about *Chung-tu, the Central of the Yüan*, T. Kocaoğlu discussed the world *ančaqlı*, meaning 'so much, so great', in the modern Khorasmian written language, while D. Devahuti, in her paper *Tentative Remarks on Possible Direct Hindu Contacts with the Early Turkic Peoples*, mentioned translations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, traces of Śīva-worship in Central Asia and Hindu archeological remains along the Karakorum highway. The afternoon session, held in the Palazzo Bonvicini, was devoted to the "confessions" under the chairmanship of D. Sinor.

In the following three days, some interesting papers dealt with the given theme of the conference. I. Rachewiltz (*Dante's Aleppe a Tartar Word in Tartarus?*) suggested that the world *aleppe* in Dante, which refers to Satàn, was ultimately the Mongolian word *elbe* that had reached Dante through Turkic mediation. D. Sinor drew the Altaic background of the motif of the dog-headed king — Attila and the King of Hungary — found in Italian literature. E. Tryjarsky talked about a new edition of an Armeno-Kipchak *Chronicle of Venice*. Three other papers discussed the given topic, namely, G. Bellingeri: *Zone e imperi "altaici" secondo un mappamondo del XVI° secolo*, N. Di Cosmo: *Florio Beneveni, un italiano al servizio di Pietro il Grande, e le sua missione a Khiva*, and M. P. Weidlich: *Philatelic Exposure to Italian Art in Mongolia*.

Many papers were read that discussed other topics of Altaic studies in the field of Turkology: S. Abbiati-Sivazliyan: *Uno studio dei russismi nell' opera giornalistica dell' azerbaiqiano Zardabi*, Ch. F. Carlson: *Towards a Differentiation of Common Turkic Synonyms*, Ching-Lung Chen: *Concepts Regarding Numbers, Colours and the Cardinal Points among the Turkic Peoples*, N. Z. Gadžieva: *Metodika rekonstrukcii tjurkskogo archetipa*, and M. M. Tatar: *From Substrate-Languages to Loan Words: Today's Caatans in Mongolia*. In the field of Mongolian studies, J. Miyawaki (*Historical Significance of the Biography of Jaya Paṇḍita*) compared the Oirat version of the text to its later Khalkha Mongolian translation, emphasizing its significance as a source of seventeenth-century Oirat history. Chieh-hsien Ch'en in his paper, *The Manchu Emperor K'ang-hsi and Father Ripa (Based Mainly on the Chinese Archival Materials)* spoke about the relationship between K'ang-hsi and the Italian missionaries, Father Matteo Ripa and Father Pedrini, and the papal envoy, Carolus Mezzabarba. Jesuit influence in the sphere of astronomy, mapping and medicine on the Manchu Emperor K'ang-hsi, as seen from his letters addressed to his crown prince In Ceng were discussed by H. Okada.

Chinese written documents write much about the Po-hai Kingdom, but nothing is known about their language. Therefore, the Old Japanese *furuki* 'sable skins, furs, for clothing', a Po-hai loan-word in Old Japanese that came with the fur-trade to Japan, provides an item of information about the Po-hai language, argued R. A. Miller (*A Po-hai Word*). He further assumed that the word can be explained from the Tungusian languages. Considering the evidence of the orthography of literary Manchu and Modern Manchu (Šive) where vowel length is a redundant feature and its occurrence is structurally restricted, Baeg-in Seong (*Vowel Length in Manchu*) argued that this was the case in 17th—18th century Manchu as well.

More general aspects of Altaic studies were dwelt upon by V. M. Solntsev (*On the Typology of Language Unions (Sprachbünde)*) and H.-P. Vietze (*Oriental Studies and Philology*), while I. F. Vardul discussed a problem of Japanese linguistics (*Accent and Word-Bounding in Japanese*).

Hungarian Altaistics were represented at the conference by G. Fehér (Hungarian National Museum) and a small group of young researchers — including E. Lénárt (University of Venice) — who all graduated from the University of Szeged. É. Csáki (Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences) in her paper *Middle Mongolian Loan-Words in the Volga-Kipchak Languages*, discussed a few Mongolian loan-words in Kazan-Tatar and Bashkir, and she emphasized their importance in the research on the chronology of the complicated linguistic history of the Volga-Kipchak languages. Little is known about the possible Volga-Bulgarian borrowings in Bashkir. J. Torma (University of Szeged) considered the phonetic criteria of these words, discussing in detail the Bashkir word *bīyma* 'felt boots' and its dialectal forms. Á. Molnár (University of Szeged) attempted to determine the exact meanings and functions of Old Turkic *qām* 'diviner, healer', *yātēi* 'rain-magician' and *biüü* 'a wise man' — all connected with Old Turkic Shamanism.

During the afternoon session on July 12th, a round-table discussion was held under the chairmanship of Ms. E. Zuanelli Sonino on the second central topic of the conference. The discussion was opened by A. Csillaghy, and there followed talks by J. Torma, V. M. Solntsev, D. Sinor, H. P. Vietze and contributions by many others.

In the closing session of the 28th PIAC on Saturday, July 13th, the Indiana University Prize for Altaic Studies — usually referred to as the "PIAC Medal" — was awarded to the distinguished Finnish scholar, A. Joki. V. P. Solntsev invited the next PIAC to be held in Tashkent, between September 15th—21th, 1986.

Participants to the conference were invited on a boat-trip to the islands of the Venetian Lagoon (Murano, Burano and Torcello), and on another trip to some Venetian

Villas near Castelfranco. Beyond doubt, the 28th PIAC was organized in a somewhat more "secular" atmosphere than the previous one in the Dominican Monastery at Walberberg, but this PIAC was an excellent opportunity to summarize, and on certain points to reconsider how strong and manifold were the contacts between Italy, particularly Venice, and the Altaic World, to mention only the unique manuscript of the *Codex Cumanicus*, which was also visited by the participants in the Marciana Library.

Finally, Venice needs no praise for her beauty, which was amply complemented by the hospitality of the Venetian hosts of the conference. Thanks are due to A. Csillaghy, President of the 28th PIAC, and to his staff, particularly G. Stary and N. Di Cosmo, for all their efforts to make this conference a remarkable event of Altaic studies.

Ádám Molnár

CRITICA

MAHMŪD AL-KĀŠĀRĪ, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects* (Dīwān luḡāt at-Turk). Edited and translated with introduction and indices by ROBERT DANKOFF in collaboration with JAMES KELLY. Vol. I-III Printed at the Harvard University Printing Office. Sources of Oriental languages and literatures 7. 1982-1985, XII 416, III + 382, 338 pp. with one map and 7 microfiche cards.

"... I am one of the most elegant among them in language, and the most eloquent in speech; one of the best educated, the most deep-rooted in lineage, and the most penetrating in throwing the lance. Thus I have perfectly acquired the dialect of each one of their groups; and I have set it down in an encompassing book, in a well ordered system." — this is how the author of the Dīwān luḡāt at-Turk estimated his own person and work (the translation is quoted from the book under review, I. 70). And the first known reflection on it: "I have studied many compilations on Turkiyya, and I know the language well; but I have not seen any [book] more comprehensive [than this one]. Only he will understand its value who is well versed in the language of the Turks." (AKD, I. 10) This statement can be read on the title-page and is written by a later hand, according to D/K, in 1266. This judgement is still valid; even if some of the later works contain a larger number of lexical items, it remains the best and most fascinating work written on Turkic.

The unique MS-copy of 1266 of the lost original was first edited by Kilisli Rifat in 1917-1919 and since then we have more or less complete editions by Brockelman (1928), Besim Atalay (1939-1942), Abdurahmanov and Mutallibov (1960-1963) and two works which contain the whole lexical material: the Drevnetjurkskij Slovar' (1969) and the Etymological Dictionary of Sir Gerard Clauson (1972). A new, complete Russian edition has been in print for a longer time. The number of studies on parts or details of the Dīwān is extraordinarily extensive. All earlier works have their special merits, but their respective deficiencies made it necessary to publish a new edition.

The edition under review is a joint work of R. D. and J. K. D is responsible for the final form of the translation, the introduction and the indices. K wrote the grammar outline, contributed substantially to the translation and had a critical role in formulating the introduction. All matters relating to methodology were decided jointly (see I, p. V). The work consists of three parts: Introduction, Translation and Indices. Three Appendices and the microfiche are added.

The high scholarly level of this edition was facilitated by the possibility to study the original unique MS in detail, take colour photographs for later use, further by a new translation of the Arabic text and by using a more adequate editing method than the earlier editors did. One of the major merits of this edition is that D/K have

done everything to distinguish the hand of the author of the MS-copy from later hands, which added to or corrected the original. Until now we had access to the facsimile-edition of Besim Atalay (1941) which, being black-and-white, did not allow the different shades of the colours of ink to be distinguished and thus it was almost impossible to distinguish the later changes. The study of the ink colour made it possible to select out one of the later hands, which has worked through the whole MS, even where this hand did not use a different, now brownish, ink. According to D/K "the most, perhaps 99% of the additions and corrections to the main text belong to a single individual" (p. 10) whom they call *the* later hand to distinguish him from others who are called "*a* later hand" — not a very ingenious, but practical distinction.

D/K made an attempt to get behind the fourteenth-century additions and to reconstruct the original thirteenth-century autograph (p. 11). Their success is an important step forward in the Kāšyarī-studies.

The Introduction consists of thirteen chapters. The first three deal with the description of the MS, the previous editions, the principles of this edition and translation, general remarks on the author, title and contents. The fourth chapter recalls the discussion on the dates of the original. D/K propose that the work, which the author begun to write on January 25th 1072, was finally finished and left the workshop of the author on January 9th 1077, that is they do not accept the arguments of L. Bazin who put the final date at 1083. Since it is clear that some of the dates in the texts are miswritten, none of the calculations can work without emendation. The author himself stated in the colophon that he revised, corrected his work and redacted it four times. The caliph al-Muqtadi to whom the work was, finally, dedicated, ruled between 1075 and 1094. That means that the final form of the original could not have been finished

before 1075. That eight years passed before it was sent to Baghdad is unlikely, though not impossible.

The fifth chapter deals with the title-page not pertaining to the original text. This is the only place where the author is called not only Maḥmud ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad, but also al-Kāšyarī. D/K find the *nisba* suspect, since the author was not from Kāšyar but from Barsyān. (p. 4 note 5). In spite of all the arguments raised so far, I am not quite sure that our author was born there. On p. 220—221 of the MS we read a verse, which runs in the translation of D/K:

The worst bird is the magpie
 The worst tree is (the) one (called)
 Azyān
 The worst land is the eroded
 The worst people are those of Barsyān

and the author adds: — since they are unsociable and miserly. Even if we assume that our author was born there and this statement reflected some feud between him and other inhabitants of Barsyān, it is sure that he did not live there when he wrote the book, but in Kāšyar, which was also called Ordu känd. It must not be forgotten that Kāšyar was also the name of a larger territory cf. e.g. MS 60 *artuĉ* "Juniper; in Kāšyar there are two villages named Artuĉ". Since the *nisba* does not necessarily reflect the birthplace, but can also be given after the place where somebody is residing and working or acting, I do not see any reason to doubt the authenticity of the *nisba* al-Kāšyarī. D/K do not accept the opinion of K. Rifat and Rossi, according to whom the author of the text on the title-page was Muhammad ibn Aḥmad Khaṭīb Dārayyā and that it was written in 1400—1401. This is convincing, Dārayyā was a later owner of the MS. D/K's hypothesis is "that it was written in Damascus around 664/1266 — i.e. that it was written down (though not necessarily composed) by the copyist of the main text, who names himself in the colophon (MS. 638) as Muḥammad ibn abī Bakr ibn abī

l-Fatḥ of Sava, then of Damascus" (p. 9). This is based on their judgement that the text of the title-page was written down by the copyist of the rest of the MS., "though perhaps with a different pen" (p. 8). Though I am not fully convinced, I am ready for the time being, to accept the opinion of two colleagues who have worked with the original manuscript for long years. But in this case, one cannot wholly dismiss the doubt: is our MS in fact the autograph of the text written in 1266? The author of the text of the title-page expresses his view that the language of the Diwan is not "Türkmän", but it is Turk, that is "Qifčaq" and who says the contrary knows neither Qipchak nor Türkmän. This curious statement, treated by Rossi, is typical for later Mameluk authors. In 1266 it is not impossible, but would need some corroboration. Since Qipchak is mentioned in the Diwan many times as being different from the language of the author, one asks: did the author of the title-page text read the Diwan in detail? The copyist had to. Thus we cannot exclude the following: Muhammad of Sāva copied the autograph in 1266. A second person wrote the remark on the title page a few years later and then somebody recopied the whole work, including the text of the title page. The extant text ends at the bottom of what is now numbered as p. 638, and if there was a third colophon of the second copyist it would have been on a 639. page.

Further chapters deal with the later hand and other later interpolations, glosses, and marginal notes, most of them noted in the translation. It seems to be a correct observation of D/K that the later hand spoke a Kipchak language (e.g. *āw* "house" is 'corrected' to *ōw*) but once again, if the 1266 text had *āw*, why did the author of the text on the title-page claim that this reflects the Qipchak dialect. In a later chapter, D/K discuss the question whether Badraddīn al-'Aynī who quotes at length from the Diwan in the first volume of his book, written in 1422, used our MS or had seen another copy. D/K's arguments

convincingly prove that it was our MS. Further chapters deal with scribal errors, ghost words and textual emendations, further with the structure of the Diwan. The treatment of the Arabic terminology used by Kāšyarī (more detailed in UAJb 1972, 1973, 1976) is very useful. The chapter Phonology is rather the description of how Kāšyarī explains the phonology reflected in the Diwan than its modern analysis and this is an important contribution of the former to the second, and a sound basis for further studies.

The main part of the work is, of course, the translation which also partly functions as an edition. The Turkic words are transliterated with a special system, e.g. *آقوچو* is transliterated as 'AWUVS·KUV where' stands for the *aliph*, A for the *fatha* on the *aliph*, W for *ḥ*, U for the *damma* on it, but underlined because it is added by the later hand, V is for the *vav*, and the raised dot · for the *sukun* on the *sīn*, etc. This type of transliteration is very helpful, but does not substitute the original, since in the above case the fact that the *sīn* is written with three dots beneath is not marked. If dots are misplaced, the transliteration follows the original, and the following transcription has the correct reading, so e.g. YAWRA' *tawra*, YURKAK *bürkāk* which means that in the original two dots are beneath though in the first case two should be above and in the second one should be beneath. It is, however, not possible to see from this transliteration when the dots are missing at all and when not correctly placed. The transliteration is followed by the transcription, which is already an interpretation which "represents what we believe is the phonemic system of the language Kāšyarī is describing, with some allowance also for phonetic peculiarities as indicated by the orthography . . . To a large extent, especially in the vocalism, it is a reconstruction based on historical principles." (p. 3). In a footnote the authors acknowledge their debt to "the industry and judiciousness of Sir Gerard Clauson . . ." which is not an

empty compliment even if in many cases they go a step forward and depart from Sir Gerard's interpretation. Samples of the corrections to the readings and translations of earlier scholars are presented on Vol I. pp. 27–31.

The English is throughout a translation of the Arabic and not of the Turkic. In those cases where the Arabic is not a direct translation of the Turkic, e.g. in verses or proverbs D/K give a verbatim translation of the Turkic, in parentheses, as well.

Perhaps a longer daily use of the Translation will convince me that the repeating of the head items on the right margin is useful. The cross references are given to MS page and head item. In this case I would have put the pagination of the edition down to the page bottom, and use the pagination of the MS as running headings on the top of the page.

In the third volume we find the indices and appendices. The "Base Index" takes 237 pages. Here the words are grouped according to "roots". D/K are aware that to put *äšgäk* "donkey" under *äš-* "to trot" "is plausible, though speculative" (III, p. 2). I am afraid that to put together e.g. *quzyir-* "come pouring and swirling(snow)", *quyma* "type of bread; tool manufactured by casting", *qudur-* "to exert oneself, do the utmost", *qutur-* "pour out" and *qutuz* "rabid (dog)" under an asterisked **qud-* (III, pp. 145–6) is not only implausible and speculative, but definitely wrong. With the exception of a few very common words, this is a full index giving, or intended to give, all occurrences of the same word on the same place with crossreferences from variants. An index of proper names is followed by a topical index, this index also registers papers, which have dealt with some semantic groups of the lexical stock of Kāšyarī. The Dialect Index gives all instances where a dialectal form is mentioned as such. It is grouped according to phonological, morphological, lexical and semantical peculiarities. Here a cross index gives the occurrences according to dialects. Index 5 is a verse index arranged according

to rhyme and is followed by a cross index according to "theme".

Appendix I deals with the grammar of the Diwan, with the exception of phonology, which was treated in the introduction. It is a skeleton-grammar mainly of the morphology following the scheme of the *Philologia Turcicae Fundamenta*. We know that Kāšyarī wrote another work (*Kitāb ĵawāhir an-nahw fi luyat at-turk* cf. MS p. 18) on the grammar of the Karakhanid language, which was lost. D/K try to reconstruct in a very succinct way, the main traits of the morphology as used by Kāšyarī. The last, but one, Appendix lists forms peculiar to verses and proverbs assuming that they "may represent not only dialectal, but even different historical stages in the development of Turkic" (III, p. 333). This is a short index of sixty-odd items, thus it is not very disturbing that at the end of the great work the editors had no time or possibility to also put this and the following list in an alphabetical order. This last list contains dialectal forms occurring in verses and proverbs. The entire MS is attached to the third volume on microfiche cards, in black-and-white.

I gave a detailed account of the content and structure of the book to make it clear that it is an indispensable tool for everybody working in Turkological studies. It would not be fair to point out some misprints (they are few and in most cases not disturbing) and this is not the place to offer alternative readings. I would mention only one question, which seems to me to be of theoretical relevance. D/K consider the phoneme *i* to be neutral, i.e. they assume that there did not exist an opposition of front and back vocalic *i* in Kāšyarī's language (I, pp. 61–62). From the fact that in the MS *d* and *ḍ* are wavering in the text they conclude that "It seems to us that the wavering in the text reflects confusion in K's mind, perhaps compounded by carelessness of the copyist" (I, p. 56). The fact that in the Diwan there are some words with *i* which take only back vocalic suffixes, others only front vocalic

ones, while many are "wavering", is the same phenomena as with *d* and \underline{d} . In the first case, we can observe the *process of the disappearing of the opposition* $i : \bar{i}$; in the second case, we find a stage where the stop *d* is *just changing into* the fricative *d* which in other dialects is already *y* or *z*. This change occurring in the time of Kāšyarī may have caused "a confusion in K's mind", but should not in ours. These kinds of "irregularities" reflect regularities of the diachrony.

One has to congratulate Œinasi Tekin and Gönül Alpay Tekin, the editors of the series: *Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures* for including this important work as its seventh volume. This is a major service to the scholarly world and to their native culture.

It may be useful to add here that the book is available from the Tekins: P. O. Box 1447 Duxbury, Mass. 02332, USA where it should be less expensive than through bookshops.

A. Róna-Tas

С. Ю. Неклюдов, Ж. Тумурцэрэн, *Монгольские сказания о Гесере*. Новые записи. Ответственный редактор Б. Л. Рифтин. АН СССР, Институт мировой литературы им. А. М. Горького. Издательство «Наука». Главная редакция восточной литературы. Москва 1982.

[S. NEKLJUDOV et Ž. TÖMÖRCERING, *Chants épiques (des bardes) mongols sur Geser*. Textes récemment enregistrés] Moscou 1982], 373 p.

S. JU. NEKLJUDOV und Ž. TÖMÖRCEREN, *Mongolische Erzählungen über Geser*. Neue Aufzeichnungen von — Asiatische Forschungen 92. Wiesbaden 1985. VII + 326 S.

Dans les années soixante-dix deux philologues de Moscou enregistrèrent de nouveaux matériaux folkloriques au Sud de la Mongolie. Ils les ont réunis maintenant, à l'intention du public, sous forme de volume séparé. L'un d'eux, B. L. Rifting (qui est aussi un excellent spécialiste

du folklore et de la littérature populaire chinois) a rédigé aussi une brève note d'éditeur (pp. 4—6) sur l'histoire de leur enquête, au cours de laquelle les textes publiés dans le volume ont été enregistrés de la bouche de Čoinxor et de Sambūdaš, bardes (*würči*) bārin et qaračïn, resp., qui pendant les années de la «révolution culturelle» chinoise s'étaient réfugiés dans la province de Dundgowi de la R. P. M.

Ces textes mongols, chants épiques du cycle de Geser, sont édités (déchiffrés, traduits et commentés) par l'autre philologue de Moscou, M. S. Nekljudov et par Ž. Tömörčering, éminent mongolisant d'origine tchakhare qui publie, également ici, une petite épopée üjümčïn (Est), enregistrée par lui en 1969 dans le district de Bayantūmen (de la province Dornod de la R. P. M.).

Outre les données «techniques» la préface (pp. 7—12) contient d'importants renseignements concernant les bardes, leur vie, leur «théâtre à un seul acteur», leurs différents styles et manières. Sous les «Notes dialectologiques» (pp. 13—33) M. Tömörčering esquisse brièvement l'histoire des «tribus» mongoles en question et précède à une étude des dialectes mongoles de la Mongolie chinoise; il relève bien des traits intéressants de la phonétique et de la morphologie des dialectes bārin, qaračïn et üjümčïn, p. ex. la convergence des allophones palatales et vélaires des phonèmes gutturaux dans le bārin et dans le qaračïn (*g* et *x* contre $\underline{üj}$. g/g et x/x), **egü* > qar. de Wangfu \bar{d} (comme dans certains dialectes occidentaux); l'assimilation semi-consonantique *w(a)* < **u* dans la première syllabe des mots qaračïn polysyllabiques (comme, entre autres, dans le dahour), qaračïn *nanār* (instrum. de *bi* «je»), adverbe déverbal (de cause) *-mānj'in*^A, adverbe concessif *-yāč*^A (voluntatif + **čü*), etc.

Trois chapitres écrits par M. Nekljudov sont consacrés aux aspects folkloriques des textes: «Le chant épique dans la Mongolie du Sud et de l'Est», avec une histoire des recherches (pp. 34—47); le cycle de Geser dans le répertoire des

bardes; problèmes de l'apparition de ce cycle dans le folklore (pp. 48—68) et l'analyse thématique de l'épopée üjümčün intitulée «Le mont Sumeru d'Or» la confrontant avec ses variantes khalkha (*Šilün galjū batar*) et bargou (*Bayanbolod*; pp. 69—76) et même avec des motifs yakoutes qui révèlent des rapports bien anciens. Si le premier de ces chapitres montre la richesse de la tradition épique des Mongols de la Mongolie chinoise, dans le deuxième chapitre on trouve une belle étude sur l'interférence des traditions orales et «livresques», qui caractérise souvent les chants épiques du Sud-Est, région, peut-être, la plus lettrée du monde mongol traditionnel, mais où l'influence orale de la littérature chinoise semble aussi la plus forte.

Les textes publiés en transcription phonétique comprennent: 1) un chant qaračün sur la lutte de Geser contre Gilban Šar, fille de l'Ogre (1952 vers), 2) un chant qaračün sur la lutte de Geser contre l'Ogre Galdan (633 vers), 3) chant qaračün, les pleurs de Rōmen-gowa (Rogmo), 104 vers assez inégaux, 4) un chant bārin sur la naissance de Gilban Šar (709 vers ou lignes assez inégaux, de 4 à 15 syllabes, avec des lignes en prose); les chants 1—4 sont accompagnés au violon *xūčir* ou *xūr*; enfin 5) «Le Mont Sumeru d'Or», petite épopée üjümčün chantée par la conteuse Dūt (sans instrument musical, 404 vers). Une traduction russe s'ajoute à chacun de ces textes. (Pp. 77—281.)

Le commentaire (pp. 282—288) consiste en remarques sur la traduction des vers ou des termes, tandis que le glossaire des termes et des noms propres (pp. 289—293) renferme aussi quelques articles, comme celui traitant les fonctions du barde (*xūrčü*, mong. *qujurčü*) ou informant sur l'Ogre (mong. *mangγus*).

Pour le linguiste mongolisant c'est surtout le vocabulaire des mots bārin, qaračün et üjümčün (pp. 294—359) qui offre un trésor d'information sur le lexique des chants. Bien entendu, il faut tenir compte du fait qu'il s'agit ici de mots provenant de textes chantés qui abondent

en formes livresques ou de formes dont les voyelles longues sont dues à la prosodie de la musique. Avant de procéder à mes notes critiques et additions, je me dois de corriger ici une faute grave que j'ai commise dans mon glossaire üjümčün (*AOH* XVI, 1963): les mots *ilčün* et *ilč-* signifiant «masseur/masseuse» et «masser», resp.; l'interprétation erronée «funéraire» s'explique par l'ambiguïté de l'expression mong. *yasun bari-* signifiant à la fois «enterrer» et «guérir des fractures, etc.».

Et voici maintenant quelques remarques sur certains points problématiques: qar. *asar üser/xüser*, noms de deux chiens de Geser, cf. *zasar/asar* et *basar/wasar*, noms de deux chiens fabuleux, p. ex. dans la petite épopée khalkha *Erin sain Erincen mergen* éditée par M. N. Poppe (*Obrazcy narodnoj slovesnosti chalcha-mongolov*, vol. III, Leningrad 1932, p. 86, *Mongolische Volksdichtung*, Wiesbaden 1955, p. 156, *zasar basar*),

bārin *as asdā* «séparément», cf. qar., üj. *astā* «seule»,

bārin *ādal* «biens, ménage, bétail», mong. *a-*, dah. etc. *ā-* «être», oïr. *adl mal*,

bārin *dāgan* «être céleste de sexe féminin», mong. *dagini* < ouïg. *dakini* < < sanskrit *dākinī*; tib. *mkha'-gro-ma*; d'ailleurs plusieurs mots d'origine sanskrite sont en fait transmis par l'ouïg.,

bārin *dālan*: deux mots homophones d'origine chinoise, cf. khalkha *dālin(g)* «porte-monnaie» et *dālinjin*, *dālimba* «sorte de tissu», ordos *dālin* «(bourse ayant la forme d'un petit) bissac» et *dālinjū*, *dālinjē* etc. «espèce de coutil», chin. *dalian-* (Mostaert, *Dict. ord.*, 116),

bārin *xētön*, moyen-mong. *köyiten*, mong. *küiten*,

bārin *ī-* ~ mong. *yeyi-*,

bārin, qar. *qoxon* ~ mong. *ökin*,

qar. *pōg-* «bouillir, jaillir», cf. khalkha *por por xix* et *pur pur xix* (*xix* ~ *gex*),

üj. *šājin*, chin. *chazhong* («tasse de thé»), khalkha *šājan(g)* «porcelaine»; pour ce qui est de l'initial mong., cf. khalkha *šüdenj* < chin. dial. *qudengzi* «allumette» (mong. écrit moderne *sidünge*),

qar. *uḡlāxū* = *uglax*, les voyelles longues sont anorganiques et dues à la prosodie musicale,

üj. *üljir* ~ mong. *ayuljar* ≠ *ayuljaburi*,

üj. *ūšag* ~ mong. *ayuski*, lire *ayuški*, cf. en outre, jarut *žseg*,

bārin *üyēnd orson bōrgōd* «aigle qui a commencé à manger sa portion de butin», *üyüge*, cf. mong. *öyüke*, *üyüke* «the thin flesh of the belly» etc. (Lessing), ord. *ūkō*, *ike* «partie de la peau du bœuf qui couvre le ventre. (Quand on abat un bœuf, on découpe de la peau une bande large d'une dizaine de centimètres allant de la gorge jusqu'à l'aîne, et on la donne à celui qui a tué l'animal)» (Mostaert, *Dict. ord.* 765), etc., et Geser de Pékin, xyl. de 1716, V 4a: *ai keriy-e ečijü üyüke-yügen idegebe* «O, corbeau, va et mange ta portion (de viande)! — dit-il».

Une bibliographie très utile (pp. 361 — 371) complète ce volume qui est d'un grand intérêt pour les mongolisants et pour les spécialistes du folklore de la Haute Asie.

La traduction allemande du livre est publiée récemment dans le vol. 92 des *Asiatische Forschungen: Mongolische Erzählungen über Geser*. Neue Aufzeichnungen von S. Ju. Nekljudov und Ž. Tömörörceren. Wiesbaden 1985, VII + 326 p.

G. Kara

Collected Works of ALEXANDER CSOMA DE KÖRÖS. Edited by J. TERJÉK. Vol. 1: *Tibetan-English Dictionary*. LX + 352 pages. 34.0 \$; Vol. 2: *Grammar of the Tibetan Language*. XVI + 240 pages. 24.0 \$; Vol. 3: *Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary*, XXXVIII + 390 pages US \$ 38.0; Vol. 1: *Tibetan Studies X* + 460 pages. US \$ 44.0

The Hungarian people have honoured Csoma de Kőrös as a national hero. At an age of 36 he started on foot from Transylvania with the intention of finding the original home of the Hungarian nation and the descendants who still spoke our language at that time. He was regarded as a tragic figure, who was prevented from attaining

his goal by intemely death. His Tibetan studies were believed to be a secondary assignment. However, public opinion abroad especially those in Britain, were the first to recognize him as a founder of a science, who laid the foundation of a new branch of research and opened a window onto what was up to that time an unknown corner of the world.

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences commemorated the 200th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös by publishing reprints of all of his works in four volumes.

The first volume contains the Tibetan-English Dictionary, with 30,000 words that the compiled between 1823 and 1830, with the assistance of Sañs-rgyas Phuntsogs lama in the Zangla, Phuktal and Kanam monasteries.

The Grammar, contained in the second volume, was also drawn up during that period. These works are considered important even by modern Tibetology.

The third volume contains another of his outstanding works, the Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Terminological Dictionary — better known among experts as Mahāvvyutpatti. It is arranged with reference to certain matters of subjects under general headings, and contains many thousand words of every description. It is of considerable assistance in better understanding the whole system and principles of the Buddhist doctrine. This work was never published in the author's lifetime.

The fourth volume contains all of Csoma's articles published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. His papers touched upon every important sphere concerning Tibetan language and literature, and even today they serve as a basis for all those dealing with these subjects.

A preface to the collection was written by J. Szentágothai, President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the detailed introduction by J. Terjék describes the life-story of Csoma in detail.

These four volumes are a valuable contribution to the commemoration of the

200th anniversary of the birth of this outstanding scholar.

The reprinting of this collection is to be welcomed, because the works published in them are today bibliographical rarities.

Alice Sárközi

BIELMEIER, ROLAND, *Das Märchen vom Prinzen Čobzañ. Eine tibetische Erzählung aus Baltistan. Text, Übersetzung, Grammatik und westtibetisch vergleichendes Glossar. Beiträge zur tibetischen Erzählforschung Bd. 6. VGH Wissenschaftsverlag Sankt Augustin, 1985, 254 p.*

The book is a detailed linguistic description of a Balti text recorded by K. Sagaster in 1980 in Khapalu (see Sagaster, ZAS 15, 1981, 476–477 there: “Die Doppelköpfige Taube”). It consists of four main chapters: 1. Introduction; 2. Text in transcription and German translation; 3. A descriptive grammar of the text; 4. A detailed word list with location, grammatical and etymological remarks and the comparative data from the other Balti or West Tibetan sources. To this two other indices are added: an index of the non-Tibetan Loanwords and a list of the Written Tibetan forms equivalent to or cited in connection with the Balti lemmata. The book is the first part of a “Habilitationsschrift” thesis submitted to the University of Bonn in 1983.

Balti together with Purig and Ladakhi is a member of the Western Archaic Tibetan dialect group. It came under Islamic influence and due to that it borrowed a high percentage of Persian words, some of them of ultimately Arabic origin. It preserved many old traits of the Tibetan protolanguage, though in some cases it is uncertain whether we deal with preserved old features or special West Tibetan innovations. In the Introduction, the author gives a short survey of earlier studies on Balti. As we are now in a position to have better access to living linguistic material, I would have been

more flexible in grouping the dialects and prefer to fix isoglosses.

The text itself is not very long, the recording lasts 27 minutes which gives about 250 printed lines or 4,000 words according to Bielmeier's segmentation. The transcription uses a simple system and APhI symbols are given only where it is unavoidable. The description technique is kept in a classical structuralist line, which facilitates the comparison with earlier data.

The author distinguished only five vocalic phonemes: (a), (e), (i), (o) and (u) and there is no quantitative opposition. The stops and affricates occur in a three-fold opposition, the glottal fricative and the *r* have no voiced: voiceless phonemic pairs, all other consonants have. The realisation of the phonemes is dealt with on pp. 65–68. Special attention is given to the accent where we have such minimal pairs as: *bútsha* “männlich, Mann”: *butshá* “Junge, Sohn”.

A well elaborated part of the book is the description of the morphology. In some places it rectifies, in others it complements the Balti Grammar of Read (1934). In some cases, Bielmeier's material or interpretation differs from that given by Sprigg in his several papers using first hand Balti material, which is mostly due to the difference in dialect.

We need more, similarly solid, descriptions and it is to be hoped that the other texts, already fixed, will be made available in the not too distant future.

A. Róna-Tas

GÉZA BETHLENFALVY, *A hand-list of the Ulan Bator manuscript of the Kanjur Rgyal-rtse Them-spañs-ma*, Debter—Debther—Debtelin, Materials for Central Asiatic and Altaic Studies 1. Fontes Tibetani I. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1982, 112 p.

Usually there is some obscurity about the formation-process of the holy scriptures of the great religions. This is also the

case with the Kanjur (*bka'-'gyur*), viz. the first part of the Tibetan Buddhist canon. In the recent years, the researches of H. Eimer, Yoshiro Imaeda, Tarthang Tulku and others (including the author) throw some more light on this complex of problems.

The volume is primal in more than one sense. It is the first volume of a new series in which the recent publications of the Research Group for Altaic Studies are to be published. Consequently it is also the first volume of the subseries called *Fontes Tibetani*.

Nonetheless, it is a pioneering work in its content, being the first essay toward a comprehensive description of the *Rgyal-rcé Them-spañs-ma* Kanjur. The importance of this fact may not be obvious at the first moment for every reader, therefore, I try to summarize some of the last results of Tibetology in this field.

It is generally supposed that every edition of the Kanjur goes back to a common origin, which is the "Old Narthang Kanjur" Ms., collected in the monastery of *Snar-thañ* between 1310–1320. Various corrected and enlarged editions were made based on it, such as the *Chal-pa* Kanjur Ms. (prepared by *Si-tu Dge-ba'i blo-gros* and kept in the *Chal Guñ-thuñ* monastery), which was re-arranged by the famous *Bu-ston-Rin-chen-grub*. As Dr. Eimer pointed out, this edition provided the foundation of the Central/Eastern group of the canonical versions.

Another version based on the Old Narthang Kanjur is the *Them-spañs-*(or *-dpañ-*)*ma* manuscript, which was kept in Gyantse (*Rgyal-rcé*) and was one of the sources of the Western Kanjur branch. The questions concerning the etymology of its name or the date of its compilation are still open. (According to various traditions, it can be placed in either the 14th or 15th century.) Even its later history is not exactly known. Most probably it is no longer extant, but in later copies which, according to Eimer (*Einige Ergebnisse der Kanjurforschung*

im Überblick, in: *Contributions on Tibetan Language, History and Culture*, WSTB 10, Vienna, 1983, pp. 53–60) are nowadays in London and Tokyo. Bethlenfalvy supposed — and with good reason — that he had identified a new copy of it in the State Library of Ulan Bator, Mongolia.

The common *differentia specifica* of this branch of Kanjur-s, which isolates it from other canonical traditions is its special order of works in the first (*'Dul-ba*) and the second (*Mdo*) part of the canon, and the fact that the latter section consists of 37 volumes (instead of the usual 30 or 32).

Turning now to the book itself, the author after a short presentation of the history of the Kanjur and a description of his researches in Mongolia (pp. 5–10), gives us the *list* of the more than 800 works contained in a handwritten *dkar-čhang* of the *Them-spañs-ma* Kanjur (pp. 11–15). He adds some missing titles according to the *Thob-yig gsal-ba'i me-loñ* written by Zaya pañdita *Blo-bzañ 'phrin-las* (1642–1715). (About this "Clear Mirror" cf. the article of Prof. Bira in AOH XXXIV (1980), pp. 7–16). The Kanjur described by the Khalkha master on the one hand, and the Ms. kept in the Tōyō Bunko (Tokyo) on the other, turned out to be identical with the Ulan Bator manuscript.

In the next part of his book, Bethlenfalvy goes on to show the *correspondences* of the order of works in the *Them-spañs-ma* Kanjur with that of the Tokyo Ms. and of various other block-printed Kanjur-editions from Derge (*Sde-dge*, 1729–1733) Narthang (*Snar-thañ* 1730–1732), Peking (under the Ch'ien lung imperial period, 1737), Lhasa (1934), Co-ne (1721–1731) and Urga (1908–1911) (pp. 57–81).

While writing the book, unfortunately the author had no access to the London Kanjur Ms. (Or. 6724). The order of titles in this incomplete version corresponds to the followings numbers of the book reviewed:

- 1—7 'Dul-ba (*Vinaya*)
 8 Šes-phyin (Prajñāpāramitā) I
 81—160
 170—190
 202—216 *Mdo (Sūtra)*
 227—300
 321—377
 10 Šes-phyin II.
 398—522 *Rgyud (Tantra)*
 536—834
 31 *Phal-po čhe (Buddhāvataṃsaka)*
 32—49
 67—80 *Dkon-brcegs (Ratnakūṭa)*
 11
 9 Šes-phyin III.
 378 *Myaṅ'das (Mahāpariṇirvāṇasūtra)*
 12—30 Šes-phyin IV.

(I have not taken into consideration the titles missing from the London Ms.). At the end of the booklet an *Index of titles* (pp. 83—110) makes the work much easier to use.

We cannot be grateful enough to the Mongolian Academy of Sciences for supporting this research and we hope that the cooperation will be continued until the completion of a thorough examination of this very important milestone of the mediaeval culture of Central Asia. The solving of the difficulties concerning the origin and development of Kanjur-traditions, and the determination and isolation of their different branches would obviously enormously improve our knowledge regarding the culture and history of this area. And though the author describes his book as "just a preliminary survey of limited use", in reality it is a very important step towards this purpose.

Z. Horváth

A. EGYED, *The Eighty-Four Siddhas. A Tibetan blockprint from Mongolia*. Debter — Deb-ther — Debtelin, Materials for Central Asiatic and Altaic Studies 3. Fontes Tibetani II. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1984, 122 p.

The young Hungarian scholar of Tibetan studies — Alice Egyed — published a very interesting book — under a project of the Research Group for Altaic Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences — about the subject (also mentioned in title) of *siddhas* or *mahāsiddhas*.

In this field of researches, numerous studies of some length were previously published by eminent scholars (such as "Die Geschichte der vierundachtzig Zauberer" by A. Grünwedel, in Baessler-Archiv, Band V. Leipzig 1916; G. Tucci in his TPS, Roma 1949; T. Schmid entitled "The Eighty-five Siddhas", Stockholm 1958; or the latest by J. B. Robinson, "The eighty-four siddhas." Wisconsin 1975, Ph. D. dissertation).

This new publication by A. Egyed contains three Tibetan texts in transliteration (*Grub-thob brgyad-ču-rcā-bži'i rtogs-pa'i sñin-po*, *Grub-thob brgyad-ču-rcā-bži'i gsol-'debs* and *Smom-lam*), which we can consider as versions of those which are included in the *Bstan-'gyur* (cf. Reprint edition of Tibetan Tripitaka — Peking print by the Suzuki Research Foundation, No. 3140, 4578, 5091, 5092), and the representations of the related persons.

However, the arrangement of the published texts can arouse scholarly interest. The artistic representations (*sku-brñan*) of the siddhas, may also attract interest. Although the above-mentioned book by T. Schmid contains — on the basis of 13 thañ-khas — the portraits of related persons. Representations of similar value were published earlier by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra in their *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*, Vol. 16, and by J. Kolmaš in his *Iconography of Derge Kanjur and Tanjur*. [It is of importance to mention that there are about ten large

paintings about these siddhas in the Library of the *Dga'-ldan Monastery* at Ulaanbaator. These pictures were painted by the monks of the monastery during the fifties.]

Nevertheless, until the work of A. Egyed, we were unaware of the existence of such blockprints. It is also praiseworthy that she could find another copy of this blockprint — although slightly different, to compare the two texts.

It is unfortunate that the author did not have the opportunity to write about the subject in more detail — in the introduction. Such a study — even in the case of a publication of this kind — would have made the book much more illuminating.

I would like to illustrate this with one example. The author offers a brief survey of eight *siddhis* or *mahāsiddhis*, according to the two works written by Coñ-kha-pa. *Srog-rcol-gyi de-kho-na-ñid gsal-ba* and *Rgyud-bśad thabs-kyi man-ñag gsal-bar bstan-pa*. (c.f. PTT. Nr. 6168, 6198). Merely in order to compare the list of Coñ-kha-pa with those of others let us look at some other sources.

In the *Gsañ-sñags rig-pa 'jin-pa'i sde-snod-las byuñ-ba'i miñ-gi grañs* of Kloñ-rdol bla-ma (Collected Works vol. Ga.) we find:

[f. 22a]

*grub-chen brgyad ni 'di-lta-ste //
ri-lu mig-smān sa-'og dañ //
ral-gri namkhar [sic!] 'phur-ba dañ //
mi-snañ 'chi-med grub-pa dañ //
nad-'joms-dañ bčas brgyad yino //*

Koñ-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas in his *Šes-bya la kun-khyab-pa'i gžuñ-lugs ñuñ-ñu'i chig-gis rnam-par 'grol-ba legs-bśad yoñs-'du šes-bya mtha'-yas-pa'i rgya-mcho žes-bya-ba-las glegs-bam gsum-pa* quotes from the *Dpal mkha'-gro rgya-mcho čhen-po rnal-'byor-ma'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po* (cf. P. Nr. 19) as follows:

[f. 334a]

*Mkha'-gro rgya-mcho-las /
ral-gri mig-smān ril-bu dañ //
rkañ-pa byug dañ bčud-len dañ //
mčhil-lhvam dñul-čhu sa-'og-gi //
dños-grub sgrub-pa mkhas-pas bya //*

and gives another citation from *'Phags-pa mkha'-gro-ma rdo-rje gur žes-bya-ba'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po čhen-po'i brtag-pa* on the same folio:

*Rdo-rje gur-las /
mig-smān dañ ni rkañ-byug dañ //
ral-gri sa-'og sgrub-pa dañ //
ril-bu dañ ni mkha'-spyod ñid //
mi-snañ-ba dañ bčud-kyis len //*

His explanations slightly differ from those of Coñ-kha-pa: [f. 334b] *mig-smān mig-la byug-pas 'fig-rtēn-gsum mthoñ-ba dañ / rkañ-pa-la rjas byug-pas rkañ-mgyogs dañ / ral-gri lag-tu bzuiñ-nas nam-mkhar 'gro-ba dañ / sa-'og-gi gter-ram bum-pa bzañ-po bton-nas sems-čān-rnams-la či 'dod ster-ba dañ / ril-bu khar bčug-pas sus-kyañ mi-mthoñ žiñ gnod-sbyin-ltar 'dod-pa'i gzugs-čān-tu 'gyur-pa-ste / 'di'i khoñs-su gzugs sgyur-ba'añ 'du'o //*

If we compare the *siddhi*-list of Coñ-kha-pa with that of *Rdo-rje gur*, we can find only one variant (*žiñ-skyoñ* given by Coñ-kha-pa to equal *ril-bu* given in *Rdo-rje gur*). But with a comparison of the *siddhis* written by Coñ-kha-pa and those of *Mkha'-gro rgya-mcho* or of *Kloñ-rdol bla-ma*, the differences are greater:

Coñ-kha-pa	Mkha'-gro	Kloñ-rdol
<i>ral-gri</i>	<i>ral-gri</i>	<i>ri-lu</i>
<i>mig-rci</i>	<i>mig-smān</i>	<i>mig-smān</i>
<i>rkañ-pa'i 'byug-pa</i>	<i>ril-bu</i>	<i>sa-'og</i>
<i>mi-snañ</i>	<i>rkañ-pa byug</i>	<i>ral-gri</i>
<i>bčud-kyis len</i>	<i>bčud-len</i>	<i>nam-mkhar 'phur-ba</i>
<i>mkha'-spyod</i>	<i>mčhil-lhvam</i>	<i>mi-snañ</i>
<i>žiñ-skyoñ</i>	<i>dñul-čhu</i>	<i>'čhi-med</i>
<i>sa-'og</i>	<i>sa-'og</i>	<i>nad-'joms</i>

If we accept the — above-mentioned — correspondence of *zin-skyon* and *ril-bu/ri-lu* we still have two-two names in all columns! (But these need further detailed considerations.) So one can say that the Tibetan traditions do not agree in the matter of *siddhis/mahāsiddhis*.

A. Egyed — for all that — could not write more details about all the subjects, nevertheless she referred to the main things relating to *siddhis* and *siddhas*.

The introduction — despite its brevity — is inspiring and instructive.

The publication was supplemented by the concordance of the three sources and closed with a complete index of names, which makes the identification of names and persons easier.

There are some misprints in the book: p. 34 instead of *Šante-pa Šanti-pa*; p. 40 we read *grub-pa* in transcription and *grub-pa'a* [sic!] in facsimile; p. 82 text gives *brygad* not *bryad*; p. 90 we find *gsol-ba'i debs-so* instead of the *gsol-ba 'debs-so*.

To summarize: A. Egyed published a unique and not only textual material for further research that could produce very interesting results. Publication of such a book is also the object of the *Fontes Tibetani* series.

György Somlai

S. ANACKER, *Seven Works of Vasubandhu*. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi—Varanasi—Patna—Madras 1984, X + 491 p.

Here is a book that gives an English translation of the selected works of Vasubandhu for the first time. Although Vasubandhu was regarded as a thinker of Buddhist scholastics, very few scholars ventured to undertake the job of interpreting his ideas. (I will refer to the available German and French translations in the appropriate place). Anacker a research fellow at the University of Lausanne has a superb command of the respective languages and proficiency in philosophy and psychology. This circumstance enabled him to carry out this work with great erudition.

In the introduction to the translation part, he re-examined the problem of “two Vasubandhus”. Anacker rejected the assumption of two different persons and displayed considerable energy to make his own point. In my view, the question of authorship or biography have not so much weight in the Indian context.

Before going into detail, it seems appropriate to say a few words about Anacker's general attitude to the problems. His approach is that of a student of philosophy, rather than of a philologist. In other words, he did not deal with the textual criticism, but highlighted problems of a philosophical nature. He set out ideals of humanism and definitely had sympathy towards Buddhism. All these facts do credit to his book.

The chapters in the volume are as follows: *Vādavidhi* (A method for argumentation), *Pañcaskandhaka-Prakarāṇa* (A discussion of the five aggregates), *Karma-Siddhi-Prakarāṇa* (A discussion for the demonstration of action), *Viṃśatikā-Kārikā-Vṛtti* (The twenty verses and their commentary), *Triṃśikā-Kārikā* (The thirty verses), *Madhyānta-Vibhāgā-Bhāṣya* (Commentary on the separation of the middle from extremes), *Tri-Svabhāva-Nirdeśa* (The teaching of the three own-beings). There are appendices such as a glossary of key terms in English-Sanskrit-Tibetan, of the Sanskrit texts of the works that have come down to us, providing a comprehensive bibliography and indexes.

Concerning the *Vādavidhi*, a treatise on logic, Anacker presented us with an explicit and lucid translation. His rendering was based on the text established by Frauwallner, however, he pursued new paths in the interpretation. He excelled in coining prompt terms: his state-of-arising-immediately-upon-an-effort (*prayatnānantarīyakatva*) seems to me happier than the German “*das durch eine Bemühung entstandene*”, etc. In the case of *arthāpatti* — in his translation “conjecture” — I rather incline to Frauwallner's “*selbstverständliche Folgerung*”, which better corresponds

to the basic meaning "presumption", "implication" according to the *Mīmāṃsākas*. What is common in Anacker and Frauwallner, is that they left the fragment number 25 unexplained.

Pañcaskandhaka-Prakarāṇa is a work discussing the five aggregates making an individual. Particularly interesting is what is called the "motivating disposition". For instance what is volition? "It is mental action, which implies a *citta* towards good qualities, flaws, and that which is neither." (In Anacker's terminology *citta* denotes "basic conscious-moment"). Anacker rightly made a difference in the meanings of *rūpa* as "matter, "materiality" and as an object of the first consciousness "visible." His interpretation of *manas* as "basically an afflicted-object-of-consciousness of the underlying store-consciousness" appears to me convincingly.

With regard to *Karma-Siddhi-Prakarāṇa*, a writing on the retribution of actions in the past, as well as a polemic essay, Anacker justly opted for the Tibetan version, instead of the Chinese one and could produce a more reliable translation than that of E. Lamotte's French rendering based on the Chinese text.

As Anacker put it "perhaps no work of Vasubandhu's has been more consistently misunderstood than *The Twenty Verses*. It poses several intricate questions, such as the problem of "realities" i.e. they are not separable from "illusion" of "hallucination"; negation of the existence of the "hell-states" in the sense of traditional Buddhism and explaining them for internal phenomena i.e. a psychophysical complex; and refutation of atomic theory, etc.

Madhyānta-Vibhāṅga-Bhāṣya is worthy of special interest due to its *śūnyavāda* doctrine and a description of meditational practice.

Anacker could make a fairly intelligible translation of *Tri-Svabhāva-Nirdeśa* a *śūnyavāda* work abounding in "obscure" parts and lacking in commentaries.

The carefully prepared and arranged glossary provides us with immense help,

if we read the English translation together with the Sanskrit original. Anacker was going to furnish us with a means of control, by adding the Sanskrit texts in a separate appendix, if I am not wrong.

The standard of the translation remains steady throughout and confirms the fully mature ideas of many years of research. The book represents a high quality of scholarship and is a real gain for the students of Buddhism. I can safely recommend it to scholars working in the field of logic and psychology, too.

Thanks are due to Messrs. Motilal Banarsidass for bringing out the brilliant publication.

Gyula Wojtilla

FUMIMARO WATANABE, *Philosophy and its Development in the Nikāyas and Abhidhamma*. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, 1983, XVI + 241 pp.

In the book under review the author, a professor of linguistics at Kinki University in Osaka, Japan and the representative of the Pali Text Society in Japan, engaged himself in a work, which has exceedingly great importance. He is searching for the roots of Buddhist logic and traces the development of the early methods of reasoning from the *Nikāyas* down to the *Abhidhamma* texts, which (especially the Pāli *Kathāvatthu* and the Chinese translation *Vijñānakāya*) already represent the phase of strictly formalised arguments. To gather and to analyze the earliest methods of argument is of the utmost importance, since the early Buddhists did not preserve any manual on the art of debate (though it is supposed by several scholars that such kinds of manuals must have existed).

Continuing the research of his former professor, A. K. Warder, F. Watanabe first seeks the origin of the *Abhidhamma* philosophy in the Pāli *Nikāyas* and the Chinese *Āgamas* (Part One), and then examines how the earliest logical techniques, the

dialogue form used by Buddha and his disciples, were developed in the *Abhidhamma* texts (Part Two).

Part One consists of five chapters, from which Chapter 1 comprises the Introduction. In Chapter 2 (pp. 9–17) the author on the basis of A. K. Warder's studies investigates and classifies the different meanings of *dhamma* in the *Nikāyas* and the *Āgamas*, the oldest available Buddhist texts (see also: A. K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Second Edition, Delhi, 1980; "Dharmas and Data," *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1, No. 3.). A major merit of the author's treatment is that he examines several contexts in which the term *dhamma* occurs, and he constantly collates its meanings determined on the basis of the Pāli texts with those of the Chinese ones. He sets up four categories of its meanings. These are: truth, doctrine, morality, principle of matter and sentience (*nāmarūpa*). Following A. K. Warder's lead, F. Watanabe renders the fourth meaning of *dhamma* as "principle", since he considers it more adequate than "element" or, in the case of the 12th *āyatana*, "non-sensuous object" (Stcherbatsky's renderings; see *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word "Dharma"*. MLBD (Reprint) 1980).

After clarifying the meanings of the term *dhamma*, the author in Chapter 3 (pp. 18–36) attempts to define the meaning of the word *abhidhamma* occurring in the *Nikāyas* and the *Āgamas*, so that he can grasp the origin of the philosophy expounded in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. He delineates the relationship between *abhidhamma*, *dhamma*, and *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* respectively, and concludes that they have quite different meanings. The final outcome of his investigation is that *abhidhamma* may be considered the early logic of the Buddhists. Though the word may etymologically simply mean "concerning *dhamma*", one must also acknowledge that in this term the Buddha and his disciples "have already formed a philosophical conception" and used the term

abhidhamma for "develop *dhamma* (doctrine) and to define *dhammas* (principles)".

In Chapter 4 (pp. 37–45) F. Watanabe concentrates on examining the *Mātikās* (defined and arranged *dhammas*, doctrines or list of topics) in the *Nikāyas* and the *Āgamas*, and asserts that this early attempt of the Buddhists to define and arrange the *dhammas* considerably contributed to the formation of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. Buddha himself encouraged his disciples to analyze the meaning of his teachings (*dhammas*) and to classify them into different types in numerical order so that they could arrive at a deeper understanding. On the basis of the *Vinaya* and *Sutta* texts, the author is led to the conclusion that the enumerative definition and analysis of the doctrinal topics (*mātikās*) can be regarded as the simple form of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*.

In Chapter 5 (pp. 46–67) the author traces how the earliest *Mātikās*, which had already existed in the time of Buddha, were worked up in the *Abhidhamma* texts. He finds that on one hand the thirty-seven "practical" doctrines of meditation (*bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*) taught by Buddha at Vesāli became elaborated synthetically by way of collecting the relevant *Sutta* texts, and on the other hand the "theoretical" doctrines of the *Suttas* (such as *khandhāyatanaadhātuyo*, and *pañcicasamuppāda*, etc.) were profoundly analyzed and philosophically systematized. F. Watanabe also points out to set up *Mātikās* of *dukas* and *tikas* (dichotomies and trichotomies being based on contradictory and contrary terms respectively) became an established method in the *Abhidhamma* texts, which were to facilitate and promote the comprehension of the Buddhist doctrines.

Part Two consists of seven chapters. Chapter 6 (pp. 71–87) is devoted to the examination of the earliest dialogues. F. Watanabe underlines the earliest representative forms of a dialogue in the *Nikāyas* and the *Āgamas*, i.e. the four methods of answering questions whose proper use had to be well acquainted. Concerning these four

methods of answering questions (*pañhabyākaraṇas* the author relies on their definitions found in the *Mūlindapañha* and its *Tikkā*. Furthermore he is dealing with the wrong and correct methods of progressing a dialogue, which were determined by Buddha himself, and also collects the other devices to be found in the *Nikāyas* and the *Āgamas* which were applied to make the arguments more effective or to clarify one's position (similes, analogues, and metaphors).

In Chapter 7 (pp. 88—93) the author correctly dwells on the 16 metaphysical questions (*avyākatas*) since this subject matter is closely related to the fourth method of answering questions, the *Thapanīya-pañhabyākaraṇa*, which deserves our close attention. According to the definition, *Thapanīya-pañhabyākaraṇa* means to waive the question or to keep silent, and it is that very instruction that refers to the 16 *avyākata* questions involving the four kinds of metaphysical problems. The 16 metaphysical questions on the evidence of the *Nikāyas* have been already treated by Buddha and the early Buddhists by *catuṣkoti*-type (tetralemma) answers, which exerted immense influence on the school of Nāgārjuna, and the *mādhyamika* or *sūnyatā-vāda* school.

In Chapter 8 (pp. 94—106) the author makes clear the relationship between the terms *takka* and *dhammatakkā*, and demonstrates that though Buddha stressed the importance of arriving at the state of *atakkāvacara*, "beyond logic", nevertheless, he never rejected the validity of logical methods. F. Watanabe concludes that the early Buddhists accepted the reasoning based on truth (*dhammatakkā*), i.e. on the knowledge of the fourfold truth and dependent origination, but attacked the false-reasoner (*takkīn*), who reasons according to them merely for the sake of reasoning. In this way, the term *takka*, which originally had a neutral meaning, has to be interpreted in the contexts of the early Buddhist texts as false-reasoning.

In Chapter 9 (pp. 107—126) F. Wata-

nabe traces the forms of argument and reasoning in the *Nikāyas*, while he constantly collates them with those of the traditional and modern western logic. At the same time, he examines their influence and development in the *Abhidhamma* philosophy. The author brings to our notice that may the first *pañhabyākaraṇa* demands one to give a categorical reply or a direct answer in the affirmative, nevertheless, the *Nikāyas* also abound in double negative statements (S is not non-P) thus avoiding the direct affirmation.

F. Watanabe finds that the early Buddhists frequently used sorites composed of hypothetical judgement(s) (e.g. the twelve *paṭiccasamuppāda*), and points to the fact that in the *Kathāvatthu* these hypothetical statements were further developed into strictly formalized hypothetical syllogisms. On the basis of the preference of these sorites and the alternative statements, being another characteristic form of argument in the *Nikāyas*, the author is led to the conclusion that the early forms of Buddhist argument were mainly hypothetical and alternative statements rather than categorical ones.

Chapter 10 (pp. 127—153) is again devoted to the analysis of the sorites composed of hypothetical judgements. Using the terminology and symbols of western logic, F. Watanabe shows us that the sorites of the *suttas* (dialogues) can be analyzed into mixed and pure hypothetical syllogisms, which fact is of significance, since they somehow anticipated the later formal logical procedures.

In Chapter 11 (pp. 154—208) the author proceeds to examine how the logical techniques, the questions and answers are improved in two *Abhidhamma* texts, namely in the *puggala* chapter of both the Pāli *Kathāvatthu* and the Chinese *Vijñānakāya*. In this chapter, the great debates between the *Pudgala* school and the *Sthaviravādin* or *Sarvāstivādin* respectively are recorded, which appear to have taken place in the 3rd century B. C. Following the lead of A. K. Warder, F. Watanabe

analyzes the forms of refutations found in the *puggalakathā* of *Kathāvattu*, and demonstrates that the *Staviravādin* argue by using mixed hypothetical syllogism denying the consequent in particular. Though not being a manual on the art of debate, the *Kathāvattu* is also considered by A. K. Warder to be the earliest Buddhist text, where we find a "truly formal logic" working by well-established logical techniques (definition, distribution of terms, classification, etc.).

In addition, F. Watanabe analyzes and translates the Chinese *pudgalaskandha* of the *Vinjanakāya* into English, and compares it to the *puggalakathā*. Judging from the methods of argument and contents of the two texts, he comes to the conclusion that the *pudgalaskandha* is likely to be a simpler version of the debates in the *puggalakathā*, in which the *Sarvāstivādin* also aim at establishing the existence of the *dhammas*.

In Chapter 12 (pp. 209—211) there is a summary of the author's conclusions, where he underlines that we must get back to Buddha if we want to understand how Buddha's "negative thinking" was and could be developed by his direct and indirect followers. The early philosophy and "logic" of the Buddhists, about which there are rich stores of information in this book, are themes that have to be profoundly studied on the basis of the available texts, and it is hoped that F. Watanabe will continue his valuable research work on the very subjects.

J. Fehér

HAROLD W. BAILEY, *The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan. Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies*. Edited by Ehsan Yarshater. Number 1. Caravan Books. Delmar, New York, 1982, xii + 109 p.

This book is "based on five lectures on the Iranian culture of ancient Khotan, given by the author during the month of

October 1979, at Columbia University, New York" (p. vii, Foreword by E. Yarshater). As the author, the teacher of many of the leading Iranists of our time (p. ix, About the Author), says in his own Preface (pp. xi—xii), the five lectures "serve to introduce the background to the linguistic investigation of the language *hwatanau* 'of Khotan' until the invasion of the Turks (*tūrka-*) about 1000 of our era. The earlier 1,200 years have long been known... from the... records of the Annals of Chinese Dynasties. For the period after 1000 there is the full monograph on Cotan in Paul Pelliot's Notes on Marco Polo". He also inform the reader that, in some way, the present work continues the tradition of W. Geiger's *Ostiranische Kultur* (1882), in which "a similar survey was made for the ancient Zoroastrian Avesta tradition". The five lectures written in a lucid and vivid style (each on about 20 to 24 pages including the most necessary notes with bibliography) deal with the following topics:

1. Khotan, the Land and People, Cult, and Daily Life,
2. The Habitations, Surroundings, and Social Life,
3. Cultural Life,
4. A Survey of Excerpted Texts of Khotanese Literature,
5. The Peoples around Khotan.

In this "full monograph", another document of the fragility of human culture, the author explores the world of the Khotanese Saka Khotan as it remained reflected by the notions imprinted in words and expressions in the written sources that survived. The picture he paints is most informative and very instructive even for non-Iranist experts of Inner Asia, such as the reviewer whose Altaistic field of interest interlaces in several ways with this medieval world of Iranian Khotan. Moreover, his Hungarian still uses some important Alan words representing the western end of that world, the eastern border of which was once in Eastern

Turkistan (cf., e.g., *namatā*-, Hung. *nemez* 'felt').

The culture of Ancient Iranian Khotan, like other cultures of the area, amalgamated the influence of India, China, Tibet, of other Indo-Europeans, and of Turks. Long after its disappearance, mainly Uigur Turks conveyed the elements of this culture to the Mongols, and the latter transmitted them further, e.g., to the Manchus.

Otherwise Khotan played a significant role in the history of Chinese Buddhism: Khotanese men of letters translated several important texts into Chinese as witnessed by the Chinese Tripiṭaka (see, e.g., Śikṣānanda's entry in the *Répertoire du Canon bouddhique sino-japonais* par P. Demiéville, H. Durt et Anna Seidel, Paris—Tōkyō 1978, p. 289, s.v. *Jisshananda*).

The following mixed remarks may illustrate the wide range of topics touched upon in this wise book.

P. 5: Xuanzang's record on Khotan is now also available in Uigur in a large Leningrad fragment recently edited by L. Tuguševa, *Fragmenty uigurskoj versii biografii Sjuan'-czana* (Moskva 1980). — The Chinese transcription of Saka terms quoted does not necessarily reflect Karlgren's Ancient Chinese, dialect of the *Qieyun*, cf., among others, P. Ch. Bagchi's *Deux lexiques sanskrit-chinois* and F. Mártonfi's *Yi-ching's Buddhist Sanskrit-Chinese glossary: a source for T'ang phonology* (*Acta Orient. Hung.* XXVIII, 1974, pp. 359–392, XXIX, 1975, pp. 15–53, 225–246). Saka transcriptions of Chinese words on their part are not less valuable for the phonetic history of Chinese. — P. 12: as for Xiongnu *sayday*, cf. also L. Ligeti's *Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise* (*Acta Orient. Hung.* I, 1950, pp. 141–185), pp. 143–146, 149. Concerning the language of the Huns and the Xiongnu we now have G. Doerfer's large study (*Zur Sprache der Hunnen: CAJ* XVII, 1973, pp. 1–50). — Terms of official titles and ranks borrowed from Chin., Tib., and Turk. (pp. 13–14) show inconsequences in trans-

cription (and/or pronunciation), and it is a rather intricate question, whether this resulted from different ages or dialects or both. As for *bāduna*, Turk. *bodun/budun*, Khotanese *ā* suggests Turk. *o*, cf. *chārā*, Turk. *čor*, or *chāsi*, Tib. *čhos*, etc. Both Turk. *qaš* 'jade' and *čaš* or *čāš* 'turquoise' are also known in Middle Mongolian texts. Among the names of instruments: Khot. *thura-ma* 'spoon' ~ Tib. *thur-ma* 'chopsticks'. To Khotanese *pīlirūvī* 'pipes' are related Uig. *bīlir* 'flute' (> Mong.), and Chin. *bīlī* (cf. Zieme—Kara, *Berliner Turfantexte* VII, Berlin 1976, p. 37, n. A 140, and B. Riftin, *Iz istorii kul'turnych svjazej Srednej Azii i Kitaja*... in *Problemy vostokovedenija* 1960: 5, pp. 122–125). Khot. *thauna* 'cloth; silk': cf. Turk. *ton* 'clothes', Khot. *mvakalai* 'glove': cf. Mong. *begelei* id.? — P. 20, n. 46: although Chin. *Dunhuang* 'Throana' is surely connected with Iranian *druvāna*, its second syllable (or the final of the first) still waits for a satisfactory explanation. — P. 22, n. 52: old *-as* > Khotan Saka *ā*, Sogdian *y* "(pronounced *i* in the modern loan-word *erdeni* in Mongol)": the Mongol form was borrowed from Uig. like the very large amount of Buddhist terms of Indian, Tokhar, and Iranian origin, in which Indian *e*, Saka *ā* or Sogdian *y* is regularly represented by Uig. and Mong. *i/ě*. For the semantics of Ossetic *täreγād* 1. 'sin', 2. 'pity', cf. Uig. *tsui* 'sin' (< Chin.) and *tsuyurqa* 'to have pity' (> Mong. *soyurqa*), Mong. *nigül* 'sin' and *nigüles* 'to have pity' or 'to have mercy'. — P. 23, n. 55: Khot. Saka *hvū:sunna* clearly shows that in the given Chin. dialect Ancient Middle Chin. *pju-nziēn* had been changed into **ju-žin*. Khot. Saka *šai-teünā* < Chin. *šāi-tsuon*, modern *shizun*, Skt. *Lokajyeṣṭha*. — P. 27, Saka *kanthā* 'town', cf. Uig. *kānt*, *känd* (< Sogd.) in *k. uluš* 'town and land' or perhaps 'a country with a town'. — P. 44, Saka *pīda*-, *pīrū*-, *pīs*- 'to write or paint' (like Russian *pisá*-): cf. Turk. *biti*-? — P. 50, Uig. *ačari*, Skt. *ācārya*,... Manchu *šeli*: see now J. Hamilton's etymology of the Uigur title *šāli* (*A propos de S'LY en ouïgour*, paper delivered at The

31st International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa, Tōkyō and Kyōto, 1983); cf. also K. Röhrborn's *Uigurisches Wörterbuch*, I, Wiesbaden 1977, pp. 39–40. Manchu *šeli* is unattested in Hauer's Manchu lexicon. — Pp. 57–58, *buvān*: cf. Chin. *fan* (in *Xifan* 'Tibet'), older *b'īwan*? — Ch. 4, "A Survey of... Khotanese Literature" also gives a short account of the history of the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet, a rather instructive case of adaption and adaptation of an alien writing system. Khotanese literature as viewed in this Survey looks analogous, among others, to that of the medieval Uigurs and their Mongolian followers whose old literature absorbed the manifold influence of the surrounding cultures. — P. 74: cf. *Berliner Turfantexte* VII, pp. 37–40, a good late Uigur parallel to the Khotanese series of the personified perfections, which also contains the "original" Indian names in the charms, *dhāraṇīs*, is based on a 13th century Tibetan work compiled by 'Phagspa. — P. 76: Mong. *Abida* < Uig. < Chin; *Emito*'s T'ang dialectal form. — P. 86: earlier *Huihu* is to be added to the Chinese forms of the Uigur's name.

A large note (p. 41, n. 8) offers the list of the Twelve Animals in several languages. In the Uigur column *luu* (= *lii*) must be the usual equivalent for 'dragon'; this Chinese loan-word was recently found written *ulu* in runiform script, the latter form representing another tradition.

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No. 142, automne 1984.

Table des Matières:

Pierre Rondot, *Notes sur le caractère des relations entre les Musulmans, Chrétiens et Juifs du Proche-Orient*
..... pp. 3–13.

Alain Chenal, *Egypte: des élections sans importance?* pp. 14–25.

Alfred Schlicht, *Le renouveau de l'Islam et les Coptes ou l'unité égyptienne face aux tensions entre Musulmans et Chrétiens.*
..... pp. 26–32.

Hermann Nicolai, *La politisation de la crise sociale libanaise.*
..... pp. 33–52.

Maged Nehmé, *La politique syrienne au Liban.* pp. 53–62.

Roger Gruner, *Des Maghrébiens à la recherche de leur identité culturelle.*
..... pp. 63–86.

Marc-Jacques Yared, *Dix ans après la chute de l'Empire l'Ethiopie convalescente s'aligne sur Moscou.*
..... pp. 87–97.

Lectures pp. 98–119.

No. 143, hiver 1984–85:

Table de matières:

Philippe Decraene, *La politique africaine du Maroc.* pp. 3–11.

Mevlüt Bozdemir, *Aux antipodes de l'Islam*
..... pp. 12–30.

André du Castel, *Banladesh: A l'avant des Pays les moins avancés.*
..... pp. 31–46.

Pierre Rondot, *Le grand Maghreb arabe*
..... pp. 47–60.

Georges Naccache, *Clés pour le Liban et l'Orient arabe.*
..... pp. 61–69.

Sandrine Tolotti, *L'Arabie Saoudite, nouveau centre du Monde arabe?*
..... pp. 70–84.

Georges Dussault, *Israel: l'enjeu démographique.*
..... pp. 85–98.

Pascal Chaigneau, *La stratégie soviétique en Afrique.*
..... pp. 99–115.

Lectures pp. 116–121.

Bibliographie pp. 122–126.

Nouvelles du CHEAM
..... pp. 127–133.

No. 145, été 1985:

Tables des matières:

Philippe Decraene, *L'archipel des Pescadores et Formose, un siècle après l'inter-vention de l'amiral Courbet.*

..... pp. 3-9.

Pascal Chaigneau, *Politique et franc-maçonnerie dans le Tiers-monde: l'exemple de Madagascar.*

..... pp. 10-18.

Jean-Pierre Gomane, *L'anticolonialisme dans la politique étrangère des Etats-Unis, spécialement dans le Pacifique: un point de vue européen*

..... pp. 19-32.

Habib Ishow, *L'évolution de la population du Koweït et ses conséquences socio-économiques et politiques.*

..... pp. 35-55.

Marion Calvo Platero, *La neutralisation de l'Asie du Sud-Est: entre le rêve et la réalité*

..... pp. 56-66.

Gassem Samarbakhsh, *L'Etat de non-droit ou l'Etat sans parti en Iran.*

..... pp. 67-84.

Rencontre et lectures:

1. *Colloques* pp. 85-95.

2. *Notes de lectures*
..... pp. 96-108.

3. *Bibliographie* pp. 109-115.

Bulletin de l'Association des Anciens du CHEAM

..... pp. 116-127.

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Bulletin D'Études Karaites — I. (1983)
Editions Peeters/France, Paris.

Table des matières: Études:

Joseph Thaddée Milik, *Abba Zosimas et le thème des Tribus Perdues (Résumé en anglais)*

..... pp. 7-18.

Adrian Schenker, *Der Karaer Jafet ben Eli, die Buyiden und das Datum seines Danielkommentars (Résumé en italien).*

..... pp. 19-26.

Giuliano Tamani, *La tradizione delle opere di Yefet b. Ali (Résumé en anglais)*

..... pp. 27-76.

Simon Szyszman, *Le "talisman" de Pouchkine, (Résumé en allemand).*

..... pp. 77-84.

Échanges:

Simon Szyszman, *Correspondance entre Metternich et Sir Travers Twiss.*

..... pp. 85-86.

Simon Szyszman, *Lettres de Jan Wandorph (XVII siècle).*

..... pp. 87-88.

Comptes rendus pp. 89-103.

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MOOJAM MOMEN, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam (The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism)* Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1985, 397 + xxii p.

"The majority of books written in the West on Islam are concerned with Sunni Islam and have tended to ignore or minimise the importance of Shi'i Islam. This is not surprising in view of the fact that Sunni Islam represents the belief of the majority of Muslims and is the states religion of most of the countries of the Middle East and North Africa." — states the author at the very beginning of the Preface of his book. This statement contains a part of the truth, but not the whole truth. Perhaps in the beginning and the middle of the last century, when Islamic studies started in Europe, scholarly interest was really guided by outside points of view as mentioned above, but the great Islamists of the turn of the century are not to be blamed for one-sided bias against shi'ism. Their interest was concentrated on Sunnism simply because their guiding star was "historism" and they understood that historically, at the time of the emergence and magnificent rise of Islam and Kalifate there were no two sunnī and shi'ī Islam sects, differing only in the roles they played in the state affairs and in the number of their adherents. There developed only one Islam the iğmā'ī (sunnī) Islam, with different kinds of undercurrent trends and secret or open dissidents. Shi'ī Islam

developed only later in the form of a sect or rather a bunch of loosely connected sects and this fact only explains why its study was not in the focus as much as *iğmā'i* Islam was. It is only today's shi'ite religious fundamentalism that views early Islam with an already "well shaped" shi'ite — sunnite differentiation.

The book under review is an attempt as the author says in the Preface "to present to a Western audience a general outline of Shi'i Islam". While he has not assumed that the reader already has a knowledge of Sunni Islam, the author has tended to concentrate on explaining those areas in which Shi'i Islam differs most considerably from Sunni Islam: such matters as the question of the succession to Muhammad, the nature of the Imamate, and the Twelfth Imam, etc.

The first chapter "An Outline of the Life of Muhammad and the Early History of Islam" is included in this book, as the writer explains, in order to outline and confirm the large area of agreement between Sunni and Shi'i Islam, in the matter of station and centrality of the Prophet Muhammad in the religion, in the ritual observances of daily life, and in many doctrinal and theological matters.

The succession to Muhammad is clearly the key question in Shi'i Islam and the principal factor separating Shi'is from the Sunni majority. That is why Chapter Two is dedicated to this question. In Chapter Three, bearing the title "The Lives of the Imams and Early Divisions among the Shi'is", the traditional Shi'i history is examined as recorded by the Shi'i writers in the Middle Ages. The subtitles show, that by "Shi'i history": biographies of Imams are understood: "The Imamate of 'Alī" (The first part of the life of 'Alī has already been dealt with in the previous chapter), "Hasan, the Second Imam", "Husayn, the Third Imam", "Alī, Zaynu'l-Ābidīn, the Fourth Imam", "Muhammad al-Bāqir, the Fifth Imam", "Ja'far as-Šādiq, the Sixth Imam" "Mūsā al-Kāzim, the Seventh", "Alī ar-Riḍā, the Eight

Imam", "Muhammad at-Taqī, the Ninth Imam", "'Alī al-Mādī, the Tenth Imam", "Ḥasan al-'Askarī, the Eleventh Imam", and "Mohammad al-Mahdī, the Twelfth Imam" — (further details of the available historical information regarding the Twelfth Imam can be found in Chapter 8). The traditional accounts of the history of the Shi'a are mostly a recital of the various sects that split off from the main body of the Shi'a in different times, starting from the time of 'Alī. It is difficult to determine how many of these sects really existed as historical entities and how many are inventions of later writers. What is certain is that even if these sects did exist, the majority died out within a century. A few have survived to the present day and a brief description of the later developments of these sects is given in the remaining part of the chapter under the subtitle "Early Divisions among the Shi'is".

Chapter Four bears the title "Early History of Shi'i Islam, AD 632—1000" and deals with the European scholarly approach to the question of shi'ite history. In surveying the whole of shi'i history, it is without doubt the early period in which modern, mainly Western, critical scholarship has presented a picture, which differs most markedly from that found in the books of traditional Muslim historians, whether Shi'i or Sunni. Having discarded the traditional account of early Shi'i history it is, of course, difficult to replace this with a complete alternative picture. By a close analysis of the European scholarly efforts, the author tries to depict this "other" history of Shi'ism. These efforts are continued in Chapter Five, "Shi'i Islam in the Medieval Period AD 1000—1500" and Chapter Six "Shi'i Islam in Modern Times AD 1500—1900", where two adjectives "medieval" and "modern" are perhaps a little strangely applied, contrary to the usual chronological division.

Chapter Seven is dedicated to the central notion of Shi'a conception of Islam — "The Imamate", with the following subtitles showing the contents "The

Continuity of the Imamate", "The Stating of the Imams", "Necessary Attributes of the Imams", "The Necessity of Recognizing the Imam", and "Rational Proofs for the Imamate".

Because most of the Shiites are "twelvers", the person of the Twelfth Imam and his miraculous disappearance are very important questions for any book dealing with Shi'i Islam. Perhaps no aspect of the history of Shi'i Islam is as confused as the stories relating to the Twelfth Imam. This is the point where the events related become of a miraculous, extraordinary nature and even for a believer it is difficult to decide which of the many and often contradictory versions presented in the Traditions to follow. The version presented in Chapter Eight ("The Twelfth Imam, His Occultation and Return") is the one that is usually presented in the books published for popular reading.

After finishing the relationship of the historical developments of Shi'i Islam, the author turns to the question of the characterization of Shi'i Islam. Chapter Nine gives a concise description of Shiite "Doctrines, Ritual Practices and Social Transactions", while Chapter Ten deals with "Shi'i Jurisprudence and the Religious Hierarchy" concentrating on the development of the principles of jurisprudence (Uṣūl al-fiqh), the evolution of the role of the ulema, their attitude towards political authority, (which became an important question in the late seventies in Iran), and the sources of their authority and social prestige, their education and hierarchy.

Chapter Eleven deals with mysticism and Shiite philosophical thinking ("Sufism, 'irfān and Hikma").

Chapter Twelve maps the different "Schools in Twelver Shi'ism", (the Akubānī School, the Shaykhī School, the Bābī movement and the Bahā'ī religion).

While in Chapter Ten Shi'i Islam is viewed from the aspect of the ulema, in Chapter Thirteen the author tries to give an impression of what religion means to the Shi'i masses and how it affects their

lives, what is their personal religious outlook, what is the pattern of their religious life, what are the main religious gatherings (giving a detailed calendar of religious commemorations), and what is the role and position of women.

The 20th century has seen major changes in all the Shi'i communities of the world. Chapter Fourteen gives an overall picture about "Contemporary Shi'ism", dealing with all the countries having a Shi'i population one by one (Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the Gulf States, India and Pakistan, Afghanistan, the USSR, and some African countries). The author's attention then turns to the Iranian revolution in 1979 and what happened after.

The book ends with various appendices: "A Chronology of Political and Religious Events in Shi'i History" (Appendix I); "Shi'i Dynasties" (Appendix II); and "Biographies of Prominent Ulema" (Appendix III).

After reading through Moojam Moemen's work one can state that it is really a long awaited introductory book, which can be usefully consulted by anybody interested in Shi'i themes. Why it cannot be called the "handbook" of Shi'ism after all is the lack of an overall ruling concept of what history and especially religious history mean in connection with Islam and how the different historical and religious elements of Shi'i Islam should be put together in a general conceptual framework.

T. Iványi

HAIM GERBER—JACOB BARNAI, *The Jews in Izmir in the 19th Century* (Ottoman Documents from the Shar'i Court). Misgav Yerushalayim — Institute for Research on the Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Heritage. (Sources — I.). Jerusalem 1984, 114 p + VI.

The present volume, the first of a series of sources and documents to be published, is a collection of legal documents

from the records of the religious court' of Izmir (Western Anatolia), dating from the years 1847—1866, all dealing with different aspects of the social and economic life of the Jewish community in that city.

As a direct consequence of the social and economic changes that occurred in Izmir during the previous centuries (and especially, from the middle of the last century), Izmir Jewry, too, underwent significant changes over the centuries. This current of changes is well reflected in the documents. To mention just the most significant one, there was a definite change of attitude among the Jews of Izmir towards the Ottoman Court. They very often had recourse to it, not only in cases relating to business matters between Jews and non-Jews, but even in matters of personal status, disregarding the traditional Jewish prohibition, in an effort to break out of the former isolation.

The volume contains 45 documents in original Turkic, together with word-for-word Hebrew translations and an English summary. The documents comprise a wide range of aspects of in Izmir life. E.g. cases between Jews: "The appointment of a Chief Rabbi" (No. 1), "An inheritance dispute between Jews" (No. 2), "The sale of a house by one Jew to another" (No. 3), "The settlement of a financial suit between two Jews" (No. 8), "A Jewish bankruptcy case" (No. 17), "The sale of a store between Jews" (No. 34), "A murder case involving two Jews" (No. 39), "The settlement of a debt between two Jews" (No. 45). For cases between Jews and non-Jews see "A commercial suit by a Jew against a Moslem" (No. 4), "A financial dispute between a Moslem and a Jew" (No. 11), "A financial suit by a Moslem against a Jew" (No. 12), "The sale of a house by a Jew to a Christian" (No. 16), "A commercial dispute between a Christian and a Jew" (No. 19), "A dispute over a house between a Jew and a non-Jew" (No. 22), "A dispute between a Jew and a European over a store" (No. 24), "A suit by a Jew against two governmental officials" (No. 27), "A dispute over

the rental of a house between a Jew and a non-Jew" (No. 37), "The settlement of a criminal suit by a Jew against a Moslem" (No. 41).

The Hebrew text is introduced by a detailed study (in Hebrew) dealing with the historical developments that took place in Izmir during the centuries prior to 1847 and the social changes the Izmir Jewry underwent, and sums up the significance of the documents and their usefulness concerning the history of both the Ottoman Empire and the Oriental Jewish communities.

T. Iványi

HAIM GERBER, *Ottoman Rule in Jerusalem 1890—1914*. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Bd. 101. Klaus Schwarz Verlag, Berlin 1985. 343 p.

This study is mainly based on a hitherto unduly neglected type of source: the remains of the Ottoman archive of the administration of the province of Jerusalem, the most important part of the archive being the three registers containing the protocols of the Administrative Council of Jerusalem for the years 1322/1906—7, 1323/1907—8 and 1327/1911—12. Together these three registers contain some 5,000 documents, encompassing almost all spheres of life in Jerusalem, and represent a mine of information unmatched by any known source today.

The aim of the author is to describe the factors that contributed to the modernization of nineteenth-century Palestine, of which many have already received their due (the Western impact, Jewish immigration and changes within Palestinian society), but one factor has been hitherto neglected — that of the Ottoman Government. The author endeavours to show the significant effect the Ottoman administration exerted on the course of modernization in Palestine.

H. Gerber, after characterising his main sources (see Introduction), surveys the

main aspects of the administrative, economic, and private life of the time. He considers the main initiative for modernization to come first from the centralization of government and other measures, taken after driving out the Egyptian occupation forces from Syria and Palestine, and later on, from the introduction of the Ottoman reforms (mainly the imitations of similar Egyptian ones) — the so-called *tanzimat*. (First Chapter: "Establishment of Law and Order").

The author then sums up the considerably rapid economic development, beginning from the thirties of the last century (Chapter Three), which caused significant growth in the population (Chapter Two: "Demographic Aspects"). The reforms meant, among other things, establishing local councils, into which not only the representatives of the Moslem community could enter, but the delegates of the different local religious minorities (e.g. Druzes, Christians, and Jews) as well (cf. Chapter Five: "Rule by Councils"). All these reforms were accompanied by important changes in the legal system (Chapter Six). But the most important factor seems to have been beyond dispute, the major changes that occurred in the function of the provincial governor. While formerly many of the Ottoman rulers were tyrants who had captured their post by force and vacated them only by force, a totally different situation existed at the end of the 19th century: the governor became a government bureaucrat with no army at his disposal, receiving orders from Istanbul and relying on the local councils. (Chapter Four: "Patterns of Government and Administration").

Modernization also took place in the economic policy of the Ottoman government — in the field of *waqfs* (religious mortgage properties), and problems, accelerating the spread of the administrative

centres and changes in the structure of the tax farming institution. (Chapter Seven: "The Decline of Tax Farming", Chapter Eight: "Waqf Reform", Chapter Nine: "Land Problems and Land Registration", and Chapter Ten: "Changes in the Economic Policy of the Government").

The author correctly states that his findings about the changes in Ottoman rule over Palestine by the beginning of the 20th century are in clear contradiction with some accounts of, e.g. Syria in the eighties of the 19th century. He supposes that the explanation lies in the timing, i.e. in fact that the Ottoman reforms came gradually and slowly to fruition at the end of the century by a process cumulative in nature until the actual effect made itself felt only in the beginning of the 20th century. That means at the same time that the period of reforms did not come to an end in 1876, but continued during the reign of Abdülhamid. Concerning the question of Jerusalem's position within the Empire and whether or not its case is to be considered as exceptional, the author — contrary to many — maintains that Jerusalem does have a bearing on the state of the reforms in the Empire at large.

All in all, the book under review is an important contribution to the near past history of the peoples living in the Middle East, being meticulously supported by relevant documents and data. There remains, however, some doubt on the part of the reviewer whether it is correct to regard the history of the Ottoman Empire in the last century and its *tanzimat* (reform) movement from such a standpoint as "*modernization*" (which even according to the author means nothing else than *Westernization*) — which is a (nowadays much debated) outside, European point of view, raised posterior to the historical period under study.

T. Iványi

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