

ALTAIC AND CHAGATAY LECTURES

*Studies in Honour of Éva Kincses-Nagy*



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*Studies in Honour of Éva Kincses-Nagy*

Edited by István Zimonyi

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Everyone acts according to his own disposition (Q 17,84, written in nasta'liq)  
Calligraphy of Mustafa Khudair  
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## Preface

Éva Kincses-Nagy was born on 6 June 1955 in Hódmezővásárhely (Hungary). After completing her primary and secondary education, she studied Hungarian Language and Literature, History and Altaic Languages (Turkology) at the József Attila University in Szeged. She received her MA degree in 1982. She was invited by the chair of the Department of Altaic Studies, Professor András Róna-Tas, to work on building up the new department at the József Attila University (Szeged). She taught at that university and its legal successors until her retirement. First, she worked as an assistant lecturer, then as a senior lecturer after defending her doctoral dissertation. She took an active part in the projects “Onomastica Turcica” and “Question of origin and social consciousness between the two world wars in Hungary”. Between 1985 and 1995 she was on leave for raising her children. She defended her PhD dissertation entitled ‘Mongol elements of Chagatay literary language’ (Summa cum laude) in 2009. She was appointed assistant professor in 2010. She was then appointed Hungarian lecturer at Ankara University in the Department of Hungarology from 2011 to 2016. She returned to the Department of Altaic Studies in 2016 and has worked there since, publishing an outstanding monograph in English, teaching different courses and helping the development of the international relations of the departments and the University of Szeged.

Her outstanding scholarly work is well known internationally and widely appreciated. Her studies have been published in Turkish, Hungarian and English.<sup>1</sup> She has presented papers at approximately thirty international and Hungarian conferences and organized several conferences.

The magnum opus of Éva Kincses-Nagy is the monography entitled *Mongolic Copies in Chaghatay* published in 2018. It contains a list of about 350 words, each entry consists of the Chagatay data and the phonological reconstruction of the copied Middle Mongolic word along with its morphological structure. The Mongolian linguistic elements in the Turkic languages was the consequence of the formation and existence of the Mongol Empire in the 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries when a huge Mongolic lexical stock entered into the Middle Turkic languages and dialects. She gathered the complete lexicon of words of Mongolic origin in Chagatay (15<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries).<sup>2</sup>

She has given lectures and led seminars at the BA, MA and PhD levels for Hungarian and foreign students in Hungarian, English and Turkish. Her courses

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1 For a complete list of her publication see: <https://m2.mtmt.hu/gui2/?type=authors&mode=browse&sel=10007783&paging=1;1000>

2 Éva Kincses-Nagy, *Mongolic Copies in Chaghatay*. (Turcologica 115). Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2018. 292 pp.

covered the following topics: Introduction to Altaic Studies, Introduction into Turkology, Comparative and Historical Turkology; Turkic-Mongolian language contacts; Turkic loanwords in Hungarian, History of the Turkic speaking Peoples, Reading Middle Turkic texts written in Arabic Script, Turkish language, Descriptive Turkish Grammar; Cultural history of the Turkic speaking peoples; Hungarian language for foreigners. She has supervised several theses and dissertations of Hungarian and foreign BA, MA and PhD students.

She is actively involved in public scientific life. She was the editor and co-editor of different monographs (*Őstörténet és nemzettudat, 1919-1931.* 1991, Róna-Tas, András, *A magyarság korai története.* 1995, *Néptörténet – Nyelvtörténet.* Eds. László Károly and Éva Kincses-Nagy. 2001 and *The Szeged Conference.* Eds. Éva Kincses-Nagy and Mónika Biacsi. 2012). She has been a member of the editorial boards of *Journal of Folklore/Literature*, Cyprus International University and *Türk Dünyası Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi* (Ankara). She worked as a professional reviewer for *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil- ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Türkoloji Dergisi*, *Journal of Endangered Languages/Turkic Languages (Tehlikedeki Diller Dergisi/Türk Dilleri)* (Ankara), *Turkic Languages* (Harrassowitz), *Türk Dil Kurumu* (Ankara), *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*. She has been an active member of the Hungarian-Turkish Friendship Society.

Éva Kincses-Nagy is not only an outstanding scholar and excellent lecturer, but a fascinating and delightful personality who has been the guardian of community cohesion within the department throughout her time there. All colleagues and students can turn to her with their difficulties. We studied together at the university and since then Éva has been a true friend of mine. I could always count on her considered opinion and wise advice.

Szeged, 2021.

István Zimonyi

*Tabula Gratulatoria*

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Róna-Tas András  
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Sipőcz Katalin  
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Szeverényi Sándor  
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# On the Etymology and Word Formation of *Arıbeyi* ‘Queen Bee’: How did the Female Bee Become *Bey* ‘Male Ruler’ in Turkish?

Şükrü Halûk Akalın

*For Éva, my highly esteemed friend.*

## Introduction

The word *queen bee*, the name of the female bee, in numerous languages is *méhkirálynő* in Hungarian, *Bienenkönigin* in German, *Reine des abeilles* in French, all with the same meaning. In these compound words, next to the word for bee, is the word *queen* in English, *királynő* in Hungarian, *königin* in German, and *reine* in French, indicate her role in the hive as well as her gender. In encyclopedic dictionaries, the word *queen bee* is defined as ‘the single reproductive female in a hive or colony of honeybees’ (Soanes & Stevenson 2003: 1441). However, only in Turkish, this female creature is given the name *bey* ‘male ruler’ in the word *arı beyi* ‘queen bee’, and its definition in the dictionary is given as ‘queen bee, that of which one is found in each hive and which has the ability to reproduce’ (TDK 2019: 149).

It is interesting that the bee, known to be a female, is called *bey* in Turkish. How is it that the female bee is named with a title used for males?

Those whose professions are beekeeping in Turkey know this detail and are aware that this creature, which is called the *arı beyi*, and which differs from other bees at a glance in its size and appearance, is the only reproductive female in the hive. However, it is not possible for those who have nothing to do with beekeeping to know this. In the television quiz show “Who Wants to be a Millionaire?”, the question “What is a female bee, one of which is found in each hive and has the reproductive ability, called in Turkey?” was asked a few years ago. When the options *arı hanımı* ‘lady of the bees’, *arı sultanı* ‘sultan of the bees’, *arı beyi* ‘queen bee’, *arı padişahı* ‘king of the bees’ were given, the competitor commented that it could be called the *arı beyi* ‘queen bee’ or *arı padişahı* ‘king of the bees’ since there is only one in a hive and since the Turks are a patriarchal society. However, considering that the bee was a female, the competitor said later that it could not be called a *bey* and that the right

option was the *arı sultanı* ‘sultan of the bees’, and he was eliminated from the competition with this wrong answer.

### 1. The word *arıbeyi* ‘queen bee’ and its definitions in historical Turkish dictionaries

At the end of the last century, considering both its gender and function in the hive, the term *ana arı* ‘mother of the bees’ started to be used in Turkish. In recent years, with the influence of English, the words *ana kraliçe* ‘queen mother’ and *ana arı* ‘mother bee’ have also started to be used in Turkish. The word *ana kraliçe* ‘the queen mother’ was used in the seventh edition of the *Turkish Dictionary* in 1983 to name the female bee in question. The calque of the queen bee from English, *kraliçe arı*, however, has not been put into dictionaries so far. In short, although *ana arı*, *ana kraliçe*, *kraliçe arı* are used in Turkish, in the oldest Turkish dictionaries, *arı beyi* is the only name used for female bees.

The oldest source on this subject is Mustafa al-Karahisari’s *Ahter-i Kebir* (1545) Arabic-Turkish dictionary in 16<sup>th</sup> century. For the Arabic word *أرينك بكي* *ya süb*, *أرينك بكي* *arınuy begi* ‘male ruler of the bees’ is given (Kırkkılıç & Sancak 2009: 1102).

Mütercim Asım Effendi in his dictionary named *el-Okyanusu’l-Basit fi Tercemeti’l-Kamusi’l-Muhit* (1814), defined the headword *العيسوب* *el-ya süb* as *arıların begi* ‘male ruler of the bees’. He stated that it is called *أري بكي* *arı begi* ‘queen bee’ in Turkish, and then gave long encyclopedic information about the queen bee (Koç & Tanrıverdi 2013: 551–552). Mütercim Asım Effendi, stated that the Turkish equivalent of the Arabic word *الخشرم* *el-ħaşrem* is *أري بكي* *arı begi* ‘queen bee’ (Koç & Tanrıverdi 2013: 4952).

In his dictionary *Lehce-i Osmanî* (1876), Ahmed Vefik Pasha defined the word *بک أري* *beğ arı* ‘male ruler bee’ as “female bee, one in each hive” (Toparlı 2000: 21). In the dictionary’s *beğ* item, the word *kılavuz* ‘leader’ was given in return for the word *beğ arısı*. ‘the male ruler bee’ (Toparlı 2000: 51).

Ebüzziya Tevfik, in his unfinished dictionary *Lügat-i Ebüzziya* (1888), similarly interpreted the word *أري* *arı* ‘bee’ in the headword of *أري بكي* *arı beği* ‘queen bee’ as “female bee of which there is one in every hive” (Ebüzziya Tevfik 1888: 35).

Sami Frashëri, in his famous dictionary (1900) *Kamus-ı Türki*, defines the words *بک أري* *beğ arı*, *أري بكي* *arı beği* ‘queen bee’ as “female bee managing each hive” under the headword of *أري* *arı* (Yavuzarslan 2010: 64) and the word *أري بكي* *arı beği* as *arıların kulağuzu* “guide of the bees” under the headword of *beğ* (Yavuzarslan 2010: 126).

In *Resimli Kamus-ı Osmanî* (1908), Ali Seydi defined the word *أري بكي* *arı beği* as “the bee that is the largest of the bees in the hive and is subject to others at the exit or entrance in the hive” in the item of *أري* *arı* (Ali Seydi 1908: 189), and he defines the words *بک أري* *beğ arı* and *أري بكي* *arı beği* as “the female bee that commands each beehive, and is different from the others in terms of size” under the headword of *أري* *arı* (Ali Seydi 1908: 21).



In addition to the dictionaries mentioned above, other dictionaries published in the same period contain the terms *arı beyi* or *bey arısı*. However, the words *ana arı* ‘mother of the bees’, *ana kraliçe*, and *kraliçe arı* are never included in these old dictionaries. The secondary name of this female bee, which is also called *arıbeyi* by those engaged in beekeeping, is the word *ana arı*. It begins to appear in dictionaries in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For the first time in the fourth edition of the *Turkish Dictionary* in 1966, the word *ana arı* was included in its *ana* item. Its definition was made here by referring it to the *arı beyi* item. The use of the word *ana kraliçe* for female bee begins from the seventh edition of the *Turkish Dictionary* in 1983. All this information shows that, since the oldest dictionaries, the only female bee in the hive has been called *arı beyi* in Turkish, and names such as *ana arı* and *kraliçe arı* have emerged only in the last fifty years.

## 2. What is the reason for the female bee to be called *arıbeyi* in Turkish?

This reason was given by Hasan Eren, who completed his higher education in Hungary, received his doctorate and an associate professorship in Hungary, and was educated by the famous Hungarian Turcologist Gyula Németh. One of the etymological studies that Eren devoted his life to is on the word *arıbeyi* ‘queen bee’. In the *Eren Türk Dilinin Etimolojik Sözlüğü*, the new edition of which I have prepared, the following information is included under the headword *arıbeyi*:

Lexicographers, starting with Radloff, gave the name of the *arıbeyi* (or *bey arısı*) under the headword *bey*.<sup>1</sup> However, this name, used to mean ‘mother of the bees’ or ‘female bee’ cannot be associated with the Turkish title *bey* (< *beg*). Even if the word *biy* (< *beg*) is used as the meaning of ‘queen bee’ in Nogai, Nogai dictionaries give the first meaning of this word as ‘spider’. Other than that, Nogais also use the name *karabiy* ‘spider; queen bee’. Karakalpak also call the word *karabiy* as *miy* (< *\*biy*). Turkmens use the equivalent of *möy* (< *\*biy*) instead of *karabiy*. Turkmens also use the word *möy* for *atayrı* ‘queen bee’. Ligeti wrote that the word *böğ* was defined as “a kind of poisonous spider”. When these data are considered, it is easily understood that it is unnecessary to associate the name of *bey arı* (< *bey arısı*) or *arıbeyi* ‘queen bee’ with the Turkish title *bey* ‘male ruler’ (Eren 2020: 22).

As Eren stated, the origin of the word *bey* in *arıbeyi* is based on the word *biy* in Nogai, *miy* in Karakalpak, and *möy* ~ *böy* in Turkmen. While one meaning of this word is spider, another meaning is queen bee. This word is used today in the forms of *böğü*, *bö*, *bȫ*, in the meanings of a ‘large and poisonous spider; large scorpion; mole cricket’ in the Turkish dialects (TDK 2009: 765). In the Nogai, Karakalpak, Turkmen languages, while the meaning of queen bee of this word is kept, this word was used in the past in Turkish to mean *queen bee* in the form *böy*. When the meaning of ‘queen bee’ of this word began to disappear in Turkish, the form *arı böyi* or maybe *arı böğü*

1 For example, the meaning of ‘queen bee’ in Gagauz, which is given as the 11<sup>th</sup> meaning of the article BEF in Sevortyan (1978: 99); the word *arı beyi* is given under the headword *beğ/bey* in Tietze (2016: 634).

might have been used. The fact that this word, of which no written example has been determined, takes the form of a masculine name *aribeyi* for a bee of female gender is a recent development, and is a type of word formation that we have discussed with various examples in our previous headword.

### 3. Updating as a type of a word formation

Eventually, in the Turkish of Turkey, the meaning of the second word in the phrase *\*arı böyi* was forgotten, and it was replaced by the word *bey*. It was inevitable for the word *böy*, which is an obsolete word, to be updated with a more widely known word *bey*, which was thought to be appropriate in meaning, even though the queen bee is female. Though it lays thousands of eggs every day, the only living thing in the hive which kills its rivals should a *bey*! It is understood that the form *aribeyi* appeared as a result of updating the old and forgotten word *böy* to the word *bey*. This process is of interest with regard to the update as a genre of word formation in Turkish, just like the many other glamorous examples in Turkish, such as the one in which the word *kulaktözü* has been updated with the word *toz* ‘dust’ as a result of forgetting the Old Turkic substantive *töz* ‘root, basis, origin’ in the compound word ‘mastoid process’. I believe it would be useful to discuss our views on this genre of word formation here as well.

As in every language, words from various languages have been added to the Turkish vocabulary through borrowings. In addition to these ways of word formation, many words have been added to the Turkish vocabulary through localization, analogy, conversion, duplication, coinage and neologism, intonation, generalization, ellipsis, compiling and scanning, and backformation (Akalın 2014: 833–839).

One of the ways of word formation that we have dealt with is a kind of localization, but that differs from localization in terms of its sources and methods. We prefer to call this process as updating. As it is known borrowings can be localized under the influence of the characteristics of the recipient language in terms of phonetic features (Akalın & Mahmudova 2016: 9–10), meaning and structure. Borrowings can become similar to a word of the recipient language through folk-etymology, and these are frequently encountered in language (Akalın 2014: 835). A word with an unknown meaning is replaced with phonetically, phonologically, and morphologically known words and this process is called folk-etymology (İmer & Kocaman & Özsoy 2013: 185).

Folk-etymology can be defined as the process of consciously or unconsciously changing word structures into existing units of form within a language. This process usually requires some changes in the pronunciation and spelling, or both. Thus, if a word is borrowed from another language by changing its original form and the meaning of that word is reinterpreted, it is called folk-etymology. Generally, there are two main types of folk-etymology depending on whether there is a formal relationship in word formation and word coinage, or whether it is influenced by word meaning and logical association. The transformation that words undergo to resemble other words

is usually seen in unusual things such as names of flowers, diseases, or medicines (Castillo 2007: 8).

In addition to borrowings, words originating in Turkish, but which have lost their frequency of use and have also been deleted from the mental dictionary cannot be resolved, and are replaced by transparent words that are commonly used, spoken, meaningful, structurally familiar and more widely known. However, this change is a long process. First, words that are not known and understandable, and cannot be resolved despite being of Turkish origin, are replaced with words that are similar in terms of phonetics, meaning, and structure and are more widely known. In the meantime, there are some justified reasons for the use of the transparent word which has the opaque word through folk-etymology. The speaker makes explanations, or even rumors, and repeats the rumors when they use replaced words that are similar in terms of phonetics, and whose meanings they know better instead of words which are of Turkish origin, but which are obsolete and whose meanings are unknown.

Updating is therefore different from other word formation methods. First of all, updating is a word formation process. It is not like other word formation processes in which words are derived by means of word formation methods as a result of necessity such as the derivation of a new word or a new term. It is the replacement of part or the whole word, which is already in a language and in use, and which has become opaque over time, with another word that is similar in pronunciation, meaning and structure.

It is a long process for this to happen, even several centuries. As the presence and use of the old form continues, the word that takes its place comes into use. During this word formation, usual word formation methods of a language are applied. These are mostly affixation and compound in Turkish. The new word, which is in the vocabulary of a language and is more widely known, is similar to the old word in pronunciation, meaning and structure.

Speakers who do not know the old word also form narratives for the origins of the new word. For the period in which it is produced, these narratives are as convincing as possible for the listener. In this respect, it shows similarity with the word formation from borrowings through folk-etymology. In localization, unresolved and incomprehensible words of foreign origin start to be used by folk-etymology. In updating, on the other hand, when the words within the historical vocabulary of a language have become opaque, they are replaced with the words within that language's current vocabulary that have similar form, meaning and structure. For a while it seems that the old and new form are used in the same period, but the new word quickly increases its frequency of use and time runs against the old word. As a result of this, the word loses its meaning completely, and the new word takes its place.

### **Conclusion**

Today, the reason why a masculine word is used in Turkish for the only female bee in the hive, despite the words that determine femininity, such as queen and mother, requires an etymological explanation. However, at the same time, it is a necessity to focus on the type of word formation.

After all these explanations, the word written separately in the *Turkish Dictionary* in the form as *arı beyi* ‘queen bee’ should be written without a space, according to the spelling rule in Turkish as *aribeyi* (TDK 2019: 149). It should be indicated that in some dictionaries, the word *aribeyi* is included under headword *bey*, but it should be excluded from these headwords, and an independent *aribeyi* headword should be included. Also, it should be stated that the item *bey* in this compound word does not mean *bey* (male ruler).

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# The Reconstruction of the Motives and Activities of the Last Campaign of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman\*

Kutse Altın

The last campaign of Sultan Süleyman has been broadly discussed in both the academic and public spheres, not only in terms of its political and military aspects, but also by virtue of its heroic narratives.<sup>1</sup> While the sultan had passed away just

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1 Pál Fodor (ed.), *The Battle for Central Europe: The Siege of Szigetvár and the Death of Süleyman the Magnificent and Nicholas Zrínyi (1566)*. Leiden; Boston: Brill 2019; idem, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire – The Ottomans in Central Europe - A Failed Attempt at Universal Monarchy (1390–1566)*. (Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences) Budapest 2015, 129–133; Pál Fodor, Szabolcs Varga, “Zrínyi Miklós és Szulejmán halála.” *Történelmi Szemle* 58:2(2016), 181–201; M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, “Kanuni Süleyman’ın 1566 Szigetvar Seferi Sebepleri ve Hazırlıkları.” *Tarih Dergisi*, Sayı:21(1966), 1–14; idem, “Nagy Szolimán 1566. évi Szigetvár elleni hadjáratának előzményei.” In: *Szigetvári emlékkönyv. Szigetvár 1566. évi ostromának évfordulójára*, (ed.) Ruzsás Lajos. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1966, 53–59; Joseph von Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, volume: 6, trans. Mümin Çevik-Erol Kılıç. Istanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat 1984, 146–168; Pap Norbert (ed.), *Szülejmán Szultán emlékezete Szigetváron/Kanuni Sultan Süleyman’ın Sigetvar’daki hatrása*. Mediterrán és Balkán Fórum ,VIII. évfolyam, Pécs, 2014; Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, “Mínyatürlü Yazmaların Tarihi Kaynak Olma Nitelikleri ve Nüzhetü’l-esrâr.” In: *Tarih Boyunca Türk Tarihinin Kaynakları Semineri 6-7 Haziran 1996 Bildiriler*, (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları 1997), 31–46; Fatih Başpınar, “Kanuni Sultan Süleyman’ın Son Seferine Dair Bir Mesnevi: Merâhi’nin “Fethnâme-i Sefer-i Sigetvar” Adlı Eser.” *Dede Korkut Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Dergisi*; Cilt: 2 Sayı: 4 (2013); Şebnem Parlador, “Sigetvar Seferi Tarihi ve Nakkaş Osman.” *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi Sayı/ XVI/1*, (Nisan 2007), 67–108; Hüseyin Gazi Yurdaydın, “Sigetvarnâmeler”, *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, C. II–III, (Ankara, 1952), 124–136; James Tracy, “The Road to Szigetvár: Ferdinand I’s Defense of His Hungarian Border, 1548-1566.” *Austrian History Yearbook* 44(2013), 17–36. Szabolcs Varga, *Europe’s Leonidas: Miklós Zrínyi, Defender of Szigetvár (1508–1566)*, trans. David Robert Evans. Budapest: Research Center for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2016; Nicolas Vatin, *Feridün Bey «Les plaisants secrets de la campagne de Szigetvár»*. Édition, traduction et commentaire des folios 1 à 147 du Nüzhetü’l-esrârî-l-ahbâr der sefer-i Sigetvâr (ms. H. 1339 de la Bibliothèque du Musée de Topkapı Sarayı). Wien: Lit 2010.2 Istanbul Topkapı Palace Museum Library, (TSMK), Ms.

before the campaign ended, the commander of the fortress, Miklós Zrínyi, who had fought against the besiegers to the very last, was acknowledged as a national hero both in Hungary and in his native Croatia.

*Nüzhet-i Esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar* ‘Pleasures of the Secrets of Auspicious Men from the News of the Szigetvár Campaign’<sup>2</sup> whose author, Nişancı Feridun Ahmed Bey, was a participant and one of the most prominent eyewitnesses to the campaign as well as the private secretary<sup>3</sup> to Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha is considered one of the most valuable source regarding the campaign. During the grand vizierate of Sokollu, Feridun Bey appointed as chief government secretary (*reisülküttâb*) and in 1574 as the chancellor of the imperial council (*nişancı*).<sup>4</sup> In addition to this chronicle, another source is the history of Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, who served as a *hafız* (a Muslim person who knows Koran by heart) during the campaign and had close contact with Feridun Ahmed Bey. The third chronicle is *Fetihname-i Kal'a-i Sigetvar* ‘The book of victory of the fortress of Szigetvár’<sup>5</sup> which was presented directly to Grand Vizier Sokollu by Agehi Mansur Çelebi, who belonged to the Ottoman *ulema* class.

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- H. 1339. For the transcription and facsimile editions of the manuscript, see H. Ahmet Arslantürk and Günhan Börekçi (ed.), [*Feridun Ahmed Bey.*] *Nüzhet-i Esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar. Sultan Süleyman'ın Son Seferi*. İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kitap No: 26, 2012, also translation belongs Arslantürk and Börekçi. Nicolas Vatin provides a transcription and French translation of this manuscript, «*Les plaisants secrets de la campagne de Szigetvár*». *Édition, traduction et commentaire des folios 1 à 147 du Nüzhetü-l-esrâri-l-ahbâr der sefer-i Sigetvâr*.
- 2 İstanbul Topkapı Palace Museum Library, (TSMK), Ms. H. 1339. For the transcription and facsimile editions of the manuscript, see H. Ahmet Arslantürk and Günhan Börekçi (ed.), [*Feridun Ahmed Bey.*] *Nüzhet-i Esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar. Sultan Süleyman'ın Son Seferi*. İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, Kitap No: 26, 2012, also translation belongs Arslantürk and Börekçi. Nicolas Vatin provides a transcription and French translation of this manuscript, «*Les plaisants secrets de la campagne de Szigetvár*». *Édition, traduction et commentaire des folios 1 à 147 du Nüzhetü-l-esrâri-l-ahbâr der sefer-i Sigetvâr*.
- 3 Abdülkadir Özcan, “Feridun Ahmed Bey.” In: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, volume: 12 Ankara 2009, 396–397; Sándor Papp, “Feridun Bey’in Münşeati: Mecmua-ı Münşe’âtü’s-selâtin. (Macaristan’a ve Erdel’e ait XVI-XVII. yüzyıl belgelerinin incelenmesi).” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 34 (2017), 129–137; Zeynep Tarım, “Sigetvarname: A Visual Source of Sultan Süleyman’s Last Campaign.” In: *The Battle for Central Europe*, 411–412.
- 4 Mehmet İpşirli, “Selaniki Mustafa Efendi.” In: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, volume: 36, Ankara 2009, 357–359; Franz Babinger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri*, trans: Coşkun Üçok. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları 2000, 150–151.
- 5 Kübra Naç, *Agehi'nin Fetih-nâme-i Kal'a-i Sigetvar'ı* (İnceleme-Tenkitli Metin). MA Thesis, Fatih University 2013.

Some studies<sup>6</sup> describe Sultan Süleyman as the creator of his own image and general imperial ideology by emphasizing support and patronage he provided for gifted writers, artists and architects to produce not only written records but also tangible cultural heritage of his reign. Likewise, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's heavy investments in both book production and architecture, which symbolize the authority and power of the empire for the general public, provide valuable information on his position in patronage of the arts at the Ottoman court.<sup>7</sup>

Sokollu Mehmed Pasha was born at around 1505 in an Orthodox Christian family. While Yeşilce Mehmed Bey, came to Bosnia at around 1521 to gather children for the child levy (*devşirme*), he was studying to become a monk in the Mileševa monastery. First, he was taken to Edirne and served under Defterdar İskender Çelebi. And after the death of Defterdar, he promoted to *Enderûn* (inner court), he worked here as a *rikâb-dâr*, (groom), *çûha-dâr* (butler), *çâşnigir başı* (chief taster), eventually he became the *kapucu-başı* (the head of the doorkeepers) and started to serve in *Birûn* (outer court). He appointed as the admiral in chief (*kaptan-ı derya*) after the death of famous Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha, and a few years later as the Governor- General of Rumelia thereby he witnessed and became a participant of the troublous period between the Habsburgs, Hungarians, and the Ottomans. In 1555, he became the third vizier and from that point on he was entrusted with the extremely challenging tasks. To give an example I can state the time when the hostility appeared between the sons of the Sultan, Bayezid, and Selim, in 1558. Kanuni Sultan Süleyman sent an army under the command of Sokollu to support Selim and to ensure the unity of the empire and his Sultanate. Sokollu Mehmed appointed as the second vizier in 1561, married with İsmihan Sultan, the daughter of Şehzade Selim, and finally granted the grand vizierate after Semiz Ali Pasha died in 1565.<sup>8</sup> Sokollu was a remarkable state man not only his rapid rise in the hierarchy of Ottoman bureaucracy but with his imperial

6 Christine Woodhead, "Perspectives on Suleyman," In: *Suleyman the Magnificent and His Age*, ed. Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead. London: Longman 1995, 166–171; Zeynep Nevin Yelçe, *The making of Sultan Süleyman: a study of process/es of image making and reputation management*. PhD thesis, Sabanci University 2009; Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman: Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World*. Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilisation, Cambridge University Press, 2013; Virginia H. Aksan, Daniel Goffman, *Erken Modern Osmanlılar: İmparatorluğun yeniden yazımı*. İstanbul: Timaş 2011, 131–137; Gülru Necipoğlu, *15. ve 16. Yüzyılda Topkapı Sarayı Mimari Tören ve İktidar*, translated by Ruşen Sezer. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2007, 47–58; idem, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg-Papal Rivalry." *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 71, No. 3, (1989), 424–426; Cemal Kafadar, "The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the Post-Süleymanic Era." In: Halil İnalçık and Cemal Kafadar (eds.), *Süleyman the Second and His Time*. İstanbul: Isis Press 1993, 37–48.

7 Uros Dakic, *The Sokollu Family Clan and the Politics of Vizierial Households in the Second Half of Sixteenth Century*. Budapest: Central European University 2012, 62–77.

8 Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Sokollu*. İstanbul: Orhaniye Matbaası 1924; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Mehmed Paşa, Muhammed Paşa, Sokollu, Taviil." In: *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. 7, İstanbul, 1993, 595–605; Gilles Veinstein, "Sokollu Mehmed Pasha." In: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New ed. IX. Leiden 1997, 706–711.

vision as well. He was the most preeminent patron of the architecture and he commissioned and sponsored a huge number of artifacts. Besides that, the production of the book of Kings (*şehnâme*) escalated during his grand vizierate. Moreover, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha was almost like the main political figure of the historical writings in his era. We know that Agehi and all the other chroniclers<sup>9</sup> of the campaign presented their works to the grand vizier directly, and it is also known that Gelibolulu Mustafa sent his account via Şeyh Nureddinzade and asked the pasha for the position of secretary (*kâtib*), yet he was rejected.<sup>10</sup> Even though Feridun Ahmed does not dedicate his own history to any particular person, he places Grand Vizier Sokollu and his political virtues in the focus – and not Sultan Süleyman and Selim – by eulogizing the grand vizier’s success in managing the campaign as well as his power and subtle wit that prevented any possible threats on the death of Süleyman before the campaign was completed and Selim was enthroned.<sup>11</sup>

In evaluating these narratives, I suggest that Sokollu, much like the sultan, was motivated to create his self-image by patronizing the written historical records of his own victory. Therefore, if we rely solely on those historical narratives and ignore the propagandist imperial ideologies and/or eulogizing elements within these sources, we encounter the precise story that Sokollu wanted to present. However, it is possible to construct a broader, more complete narrative with the registers of important imperial affairs (*mühimme defterleri*), documents/letters that were sent and treaties that were entered into before and after the campaign, as well as the contemporary Hungarian chronicles.

*Mühimme Defteri* No. 5, Decree 1500 places the exact date when the Ottoman army began its campaign by noting that the sultan’s tent was set up outside Edirnekapı and that the army encamped on Rüstem Çelebi farm on the 9<sup>th</sup> of Şevval 973 (26<sup>th</sup> April 1566).<sup>12</sup> While both Agehi and Feridun Ahmed supply the same date as the beginning of the campaign, Selaniki records the event as having taken place two days later, presents no background on the causes of the campaign and starts his narrative by describing the sultan on that particular day as having been as steady as a splendid minaret and stronger than all of his soldiers. Agehi and Feridun also detail the tribute that the Habsburg emperor failed to pay in time, the fortresses occupied in Transylvania (*Erdel*) by the “cursed king and his army of evil” and the bandits who

9 Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli, *Heft Meclis*, İstanbullu Seyfî, *Sigetvar Fetihnâmesi*, Merâhî, *Fetihnâme-i Sefer-i Sigetvar*. Besides from above mentioned works presented directly to Sokollu, during his reign to other works was written about the campaign, *Heft Dâstân* (writer is unknown) and Âşik Çelebi, *Sigetvarnâme*; see Yurdaydın, “Sigetvarnâmeler.”

10 Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 1986, 58–71.

11 Günhan Börekçi, “The Memory of Szigetvár and Sultan Süleyman in Ottoman/Turkish Culture.” In: *The Battle for Central Europe*, 529–530.

12 Online translation guide of *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Turkish Historical Society) has been used in calculation of the dates. <http://www.ttk.gov.tr/genel/tarih-cevirme-kilavuzu/> (accessed in Apr. 14. 2021).



tortured the Muslim communities along the roads around Buda, Gyula, Eger and Szigetvár to present the justifications for the campaign to their audience.<sup>13</sup>

The cases related to the last campaign of Süleyman had begun immediately after Ferdinand's death. From the documents in the archives of Vienna and a copy of the letter sent to the Habsburg emperor found in Feridun Ahmed's *Münşe'âtü's-selâtin*, we can observe that after the enthronement of Maximilian II, the Sublime Porte demanded the tribute that had been neglected for years during the reign of his father and in the meantime issued orders to settle the ongoing troubles between the new Habsburg emperor and János Zsigmond Szapolyai.<sup>14</sup>

Those troubles started to appear in 1562, when Balassa Menyhért, a Hungarian noble, who had changed sides and become pro-Ferdinand, confiscated the income from the wine harvest in Tokaj. In response, János Zsigmond appointed his commander István Báthory and captured Szatmár (Satu Mare in Rom.) and also Nagybánya (Baia Mare in Rom). By the year 1565, Lazarus von Schwendi, Maximilian II's commander, regained Tokaj and then captured, then Szatmár, Erdőd and Nagybánya.<sup>15</sup> Around that time when Schwendi captured Tokaj on 9<sup>th</sup> February,<sup>16</sup> the Habsburgs paid the missing tribute in İstanbul and the peace negotiations were already underway with the envoys from Maximilian II, Alberto la Wyss and Mikel

13 Arslantürk - Börekçi, *Nüzhet-i esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar*, 88–93.

14 Claudia Römer and Nicolas Vatin. "The Hungarian Frontier and Süleyman's Way to Szigetvár according to Ottoman Sources." In: *The Battle for Central Europe*, 341–358; Facsimile "Urkunde 39", "Urkunde 33a" dated 1565, In: ed. Anton C. Schaendlinger and Claudia Römer: *Die Schreiben Süleymans des Prächtigen an Vasallen, Militärbeamte, Beamte und Richter aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien*. Vienna 1986, 57–58/ 68–69; Facsimile "Urkunde 25", "Urkunde 27", dated 1562, "Urkunde 32", "Urkunde 33", "Urkunde 34", "Urkunde 35" dated 1565, In: Anton C. Schaendlinger – Claudia Römer: *Die Schreiben Süleymans des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II. aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien*. Vienna 1983, 67–70/76–77/87–100; Document Numbers: 69, 70, dated 1565, In: Gisela Procházka-Eisl & Claudia Römer, *Osmanische Beamtschreiben und Privatbriefe der Zeit Süleymans des Prächtigen aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2007; The copy of name (letter) sent by Sultan Süleyman to the King of Vienna In: *Mecmua-ı Münşe'at-ı Feridun Bey*, volume: 2, published In: Ottoman. İstanbul: Takvimhane-yi Âmirî Matbaası 1265-1274/1848-1858, 75–76. <https://acikerisim.tmm.gov.tr/xmlui/handle/11543/588> (accessed in Apr.14.2021)

15 Ferenc Forgách, *Emlékirat Magyarország állapotáról Ferdinánd, János, Miksa királysága és II. János erdélyi fejedelemsége alatt*. Trans: Borzsák István. Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó 1982, 231–241; [Bánffy György], "Második János ... török császárhoz menetele" In: Zay Ferenc, *János király árultatása. Kis Péter: Magyarázat.[Bánffy György]: Második János ... török császárhoz menetele*, ed: Bessenyei József. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó 1993, 119–121; Claudia Römer and Nicolas Vatin. "The Hungarian Frontier and Süleyman's Way to Szigetvár according to Ottoman Sources", 355; James D. Tracy, "Tokaj, 1565: A Habsburg Prize of War, and an Ottoman Casus Belli." In: *The Battle for Central Europe*, 361; Szabolcs Varga, "Miklós Zrínyi, Captain-General of Szigetvár (1561–1566) – His Organisational Activity and Death." In: *The Battle for Central Europe*, 389.

16 Bánffy György, "Második János ...", 113; James D. Tracy, "Tokaj, 1565: A Habsburg Prize of War, and an Ottoman Casus Belli", 363–370.

Černović (Cernovith).<sup>17</sup> Consequently, all those ambiguous, misleading acts on the Habsburg side were raising doubts and distrust at the Sublime Porte.<sup>18</sup>

In the meantime, following János Zsigmond's constant requests for aid in letters to the Porte, Mustafa Pasha, the beylerbeyi (governor) of Temesvár (Timișoara in Rom.) and Arslan Paşa the beylerbeyi of Buda assigned to support him.<sup>19</sup> In August of 1565, with the intervention of the governor of Temesvár, Erdőd (Ardu, Erdeed in Rom.) was recaptured first, followed by Szilágycseh (Cehu Silvaniei, Bömischdorf in Rom.), Nagybánya and Szatmár. In negotiations between the envoys, both parties agreed on a truce. The beylerbeyi of Temesvár and János Zsigmond returned to their military headquarters soon after, and the news started to spread that while the Habsburgs were pretending to retreat, some of their troops simply remained in the territory.<sup>20</sup> Despite the fact that Maximilian had appointed an envoy to declare that he was to return the fortress he had captured to Transylvania and that he accepted the conditions that were issued in the *nâme-i hümayun* (letter of Sultan),<sup>21</sup> a letter was seized in the meantime which made it clear that Schwendi had no intention of retreating.<sup>22</sup> After the Ottoman troops returned to their original headquarters, the renewal of the Habsburg siege of Nagybánya and Szilágycseh was reported to the Sublime Porte both by the beylerbeyi of Temesvár and János Zsigmond as well.<sup>23</sup>

On the other hand, Hungarian chronicles provide other details of Maximilian's acts to seek support from the Porte. The emperor informed the sultan of his correspondence with János Zsigmond, and of the latter's intention to enter into a peace agreement with the Habsburgs without the consent of the sultan. Once János Zsigmond became aware of this "evil trap", he asked permission to leave for İstanbul to defend himself and also to speed up the court's intervention against the rising Habsburg pressure.<sup>24</sup> However the Porte declined János Zsigmond's request and informed him that given the current dire circumstances in his country, he should not

17 Schaendlinger-Römer: *Die Schreiben Süleymans des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. und Maximilian*, "Urkunde 33" dated February 17, 1565.

18 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri (BAO), 5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri, 973 / 1565–1566, Decree: 259, 260, 278 Ankara 1994; Beltold Spuler, *Die europäische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel bis zum Frieden von Belgrad (1739)* 3. Teil, Bd. 11, H. ¾. 1935, 324–325; Josip Žontar, "Michael Černović, Geheimagent Ferdinands I. und Maximilians II., und seine Berichterstattung." In: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchives*, 24 (1971), 169–222.

19 Gökbilgin, "Kanuni Süleyman'ın 1566 Szigetvar Seferi Sebepleri ve Hazırlıkları", 3–4; Mühimme 5, Decrees: 54,99,108,154.

20 Bánffy György, "Második János ...", 119–120; Gisela Procházka-Eisl & Claudia Römer "Osmanische Beamenschreiben und Privatbriefe der Zeit Süleymāns des Prächtigen aus dem Haus", Nr: 99, dated 1565; Mühimme 5, Decrees: 331, 332.

21 Mühimme 5, Decrees: 259, 260.

22 Mühimme 5, Decree: 332.

23 Mühimme 5, Decrees: 436, 491, 492, 493.

24 Bánffy György, "Második János ...", 120.

leave for İstanbul at all. And immediately afterward, it was decided that the sultan would intervene against the Habsburgs personally.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to these causes, modern historians have placed an emphasis on what lay behind the sultan's personal participation in the campaign: it was to compensate for the failure of the Malta campaign and for the intense pressure from certain groups who criticized his absence on the battlefield for almost ten years and his eremitic life in court.<sup>26</sup> Even if this is not based on any archival sources, I can draw an inference that Sokollu played a vital part in constructing and orchestrating this public pressure on the court.

For the first time, in Karaçelebizade's history, *Süleymannâme*, we encounter a different opinion that gives us a hint of the pressures.<sup>27</sup> Here the chronicler recounts that Şeyh Nûreddînzâde Müslîhiddin had a dream of the Prophet condemning Süleyman for not fulfilling his mission of jihad. When Şeyh told him about this dream, the Sultan immediately decided to launch a campaign against the infidel and participate himself. According to Selaniki, Şeyh was, with his dervishes, on the front lines during the siege. Hammer also cites that Şeyh Müslîhiddin as openly criticizing Süleyman for not performing his duties of jihad.<sup>28</sup>

Şeyh Nûreddînzâde Muslihuiddin was a prominent leader of the Halveti order, and it is claimed that he had a close relationship with Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and his family.<sup>29</sup> Even though it is difficult to verify, it is quite possible that Nûreddînzâde expressed dissatisfaction in society or more precisely among the janissaries, and he was a key member of a pressure group that the grand vizier himself was responsible for leading.<sup>30</sup> In his chronicle, Feridun Ahmed criticized the late vizier Semiz Ali Pasha's personality for a lack of "vigor and courage" with the example of his relationship with the Habsburg envoys in terms of the tribute they paid.<sup>31</sup> According to Ahmed, Semiz Ali did not care about the regularity or classification of the money received from the Habsburg Empire and thus the Habsburgs often classified the money they were obliged to pay as a gift, not as tribute.<sup>32</sup> This is one of the reasons

25 Mühimme 5, Decree: 330

26 Gökbilgin, "Kanuni Süleyman'ın 1566 Szigetvar Seferi Sebepleri ve Hazırlıkları", 6; Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, 153.

27 Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi, *Kitab-ı Süleymannâme*. Ed. Said Efendi. Bulak Matbası 1248/1847, 184–186.

28 Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*. Ed. Mehmet İpşirli. İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi 1989, 31; Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, 153, 211.

29 John Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the Ottoman Empire. The Rise of the Halveti Order, 1350-1650*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2010, notes: 50, 191; Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Aesthetics of Empire: Arts, Politics and Commerce in the Construction of Sultan Süleyman's Magnificence." In: *The Battle for Central Europe*, 154–155.

30 Fodor, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, 131.

31 Claudia Römer and Nicolas Vatin. "The Hungarian Frontier and Süleyman's Way to Szigetvár according to Ottoman Sources", 351.

32 Géza Dávid, "XVI. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Hasburg Mücadelesinin Bir Kaynağı Olarak Mühimme Defterleri" *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* No 53 (2011), 329–330.

that he praises the new vizier's tough stance against the Habsburg envoys and his firm position on the issues at stake and provides a great deal of information on how Sokollu orchestrated such matters and the campaign itself.<sup>33</sup>

The troops had received the orders that the campaign would begin on the fifteenth day of *Ramażan* (5<sup>th</sup> April). However, because of the relapse of the sultan's illness, the process stopped for a certain time. Then, as Selaniki states, with a magnificent ceremony on 29<sup>th</sup> April 1566, the Ottoman army set out for Szigetvár. Every component of the army, including the ill sultan, was seen as divine on that day.<sup>34</sup> The sultan set out on horseback and, immediately afterward, continued by carriage, while Sokollu Mehmed Pasha never rested during the journey, always one stop ahead to check the roads and stops to prevent any trouble that would cause the sultan any discomfort.<sup>35</sup>

Selaniki has the army reaching Belgrade after forty-nine days, and the decree written to the bey of Kocaili confirms this by describing the army as being encamped in Belgrade on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of *Zilhicce* (19<sup>th</sup> June).<sup>36</sup> Since there was an unexpected flood on the River Sava, the most convenient place to build a bridge was in the area around the Böğürdelen (Szabács) fortress.<sup>37</sup> Further, according to Agehi, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of *Zilhicce* (27<sup>th</sup> June), the imperial tent (*otağ-ı hümayun*) was built around a fortress called Zimony (Zemun in Serb.).<sup>38</sup> Six days before that, a noble order (*nâme-i şerif*) had been sent to János Zsigmond who is often referred as “the son of the King” in the Ottoman sources, requesting him to come to Balçık first. A few days after preparations had been made, he boarded the ships that had been sent for him and joined the army in Zimony.<sup>39</sup> There is a great deal of detailed information on how János Zsigmond was received in both Ottoman and Hungarian chronicles. The Ottomans employed all the ceremonial and symbolic means at their disposal to provide an opulent reception for *qurāl oğlı* (the son of the king). He was then summoned to the warfare tent, where he was afforded the opportunity to detail his current circumstances with the Habsburgs in the presence of the viziers and the sultan himself; he was gratified by the honor of kissing the hand of Süleyman, who called him “my son”.<sup>40</sup> According to the chronicle of Forgács Ferenc, the bishop of Várad, the sultan promised to János Zsigmond that he would be his guardian against the enemy and that he was ready to die on the battlefield on his mission of conquering Vienna.<sup>41</sup>

33 Arslantürk - Börekçi, *Nüzhet-i esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar*, 89.

34 *Agehi'nin Fetih-nâme-i Kal'a-i Sigetvar'ı*, 139–140; *Tarih-i Selaniki*, 14–15.

35 *Nüzhet-i esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar*, 98; *Tarih-i Selaniki*, 18.

36 *Tarih-i Selaniki*, 19; Mühimme 5, Decree: 1954.

37 Mühimme 5, Decrees: 1747, 1757, 1784, 1790, 1871, 1923; Arslantürk - Börekçi, *Nüzhet-i esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar*, 99.

38 *Agehi'nin Fetih-nâme-i Kal'a-i Sigetvar'ı*, 148; Mühimme 5 Decrees: 1977, 1981.

39 Mühimme 5, Decree: 1987; Bánffy György, “*Második János ...*”, 124–125.

40 Bánffy György, “*Második János ...*”, 127; *Agehi'nin Fetih-nâme-i Kal'a-i Sigetvar'ı*, 149–150; *Tarih-i Selaniki*, 21–22; *Nüzhet-i esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar*, 100–103.

41 Forgách, 266.

Even though the final destination was clear, the route of the campaign was still undetermined at back time. Yet certain troubles around the fortress of Gyula, Eger and Szigetvár were long in the focus.<sup>42</sup> Agehi reports that János Zsigmond made a request to advance towards Eger. It is known that Pertev Pasha, who had been ordered to conquer Gyula (the siege of this fortress took 63 days and according to the studies it was one of the long-standing sieges in Hungary)<sup>43</sup> earlier agreed on that route as well (document II in Appendices).<sup>44</sup> Thereby, we understand that after the consultations, it was decided to move towards Eger.<sup>45</sup>

However, the plan was changed soon after. In Selaniki's account, the route was changed because Zrínyi had already amassed both ammunition and soldiers at the fortress and allied with Hungarian and Croatian nobles to become the next king of Hungary.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, when Süleyman was informed of the intensity of the current situation, he issued the command to advance on Szigetvár to extinguish this threat immediately.

The dates vary in the chronicles for the arrival of troops. While Selaniki provides no information on the matter, Feridun Ahmed dates it to the 22<sup>nd</sup> of *Muharrem* (9<sup>th</sup> August) and Agehi records it has having occurred on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *Muharrem*.<sup>47</sup> They all point out that the sultan left his carriage after a long time and entered Szigetvár on horseback. Zrínyi greeted the sultan with gunfire. For Selaniki, this act implied that they would not surrender easily and that Zrínyi's sole purpose was to regain the seal/freedom of Hungary.<sup>48</sup> Indeed the fall of the fortress lasted longer than expected. On the fourth day of the siege, Zrínyi lost hundreds of men and retreated from the old town. Immediately thereafter, the Ottomans captured the new town. The sultan's army attempted several attacks in the month of *Şafer*.<sup>49</sup> Both sides suffered heavy losses from those attempts. It was also quite challenging for the Ottoman army, which was fighting with all its might to seize the outer and inner fortress, and even Sokollu Mehmed Pasha had survived gunfire by Feridun Ahmed during these attacks.<sup>50</sup> In the

42 Gisela Procházka-Eisl & Claudia Römer, *Osmanische Beamtschreiben und Privatbriefe der Zeit Süleymāns des Prächtigen aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien*, Nr: 46, dated 1556; Nr: 59, dated 1563; Nr: 66.

43 József Dusnoki-Draskovich, "A gyulai vár 1566. évi ostromának idörendje", In: *Nyitott múlt. Tanulmányok, történetek Gyuláról, Békés vármegyéről és a fordított világról*. Gyula 2000, 126–137; József Kelenik, "The Sieges of Szigetvár and Gyula, 1566." In: *The Battle for Central Europe*, 397–410.

44 Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (T SMA) E.0443.

45 Gyula Káldy-Nagy, "Suleimans Angriff auf Europa." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 28, no. 2, (1974), 210.

46 *Tarih-i Selaniki*, 22–23.

47 *Ágehi'nin Fetih-nâme-i Kal'a-i Sigetvar'ı*, 168; *Nüzhet-i esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar*, 111.

48 *Tarih-i Selaniki*, 28–29.

49 *Ágehi'nin Fetih-nâme-i Kal'a-i Sigetvar'ı*, 172–174.

50 *Tarih-i Selaniki*, 30.

meantime, after a lengthy siege, Pertev Pasha seized the fortress of Gyula.<sup>51</sup> Four days after the third attack, after one of the heads of the janissary garrisons had placed a bomb (*humbara*) in the outer part of the fortress, the explosion caused a huge breach and the janissaries that entered there took the outer fortress first, and then the inner fortress the following day.<sup>52</sup>

It is known that Sultan Süleyman died during the preparations for the conquest of the inner fortress and did not survive to see its fall; however, the chronicles do not provide consistent information as to the exact date. Feridun Ahmed records the event as having taken place on the night of the 21<sup>st</sup> of *Şafer*, and Agehi dates it to the night of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of *Şafer* (7–8<sup>th</sup> September). Selaniki's account agrees with the latter date, but he puts the time at dawn.<sup>53</sup> Even though there is a widespread view that Süleyman died a few days before the fall of the fortress, he passed away within the same day with the fall of the inner fortress: 21<sup>st</sup> of *Şafer* (7<sup>th</sup> September).<sup>54</sup> However, the central issue here is Sokollu's success in taking all the necessary precautions to keep the Sultan's death a secret until the troops marched back to Belgrade and met the new sultan, Selim.

First of all, Sokollu settled the restless janissaries, who were already entertaining doubts about Süleyman's health, by assuring them that the sultan would attend Friday prayers. Still, after the fall of the fortress, the janissaries continued to create disturbances and demand their war bonus. Then, Sokollu gathered the divan together, informed the other members about the existing situation and appointed the head of the janissaries, Ali Ağa, to make the payments and keep the crowd under control. In the meantime, while he was taking all precautionary measures within the army, Sokollu spread news and sent letters to address the rumors of the sultan's absence for the Habsburgs and Hungarians as well.<sup>55</sup>

In his chronicle, Forgách recounts that far from being aware of the sultan's death, they thought he would spend the winter in Buda.<sup>56</sup> In fact, Sokollu had ordered his nephew, Sokollu Mustafa, who became beylerbeyi of Buda after the execution of Arslan Pasha during the campaign, to restore the roads to Buda and prepare the palace for the winter. Feridun Ahmed narrates that the day on which the siege had ended, separate letters were sent to Selim to report both on the conquest and the death of his father. Here, Sokollu advised Selim to declare that he would be joining his father at Buda to winter there and set off immediately.<sup>57</sup>

51 József Dusnoki-Draskovich, "A gyulai vár 1566. évi ostromának időrendje.", 126–137.

52 *Ágehi'nin Fetih-nâme-i Kal'a-i Sighetvar't*, 174–177; *Nüzhet-i esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sighetvar*, 129–136.

53 *Nüzhet-i esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sighetvar*, 140; *Tarih-i Selaniki*, 39.

54 Gökbilgin, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman*, 143–147; Fodor – Varga, "Zrínyi Miklós és Szulejmán halála", 194–199; Börekçi, "The Memory of Szigetvár and Sultan Süleyman in Ottoman/Turkish Culture", 523.

55 *Tarih-i Selaniki*, 35–39.

56 Forgách, 291; See also Appendices I:4 "şimden şoñra teveccüh-i hümayünüm Budün câniblerinedür. From now on, I will imperialy turn towards Buda part."

57 *Nüzhet-i esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sighetvar*, 150–158.

Moreover, one of the letters (document I in Appendices) that he sent after the siege was to János Zsigmond written in the last day of *Şafer* (15<sup>th</sup> September).<sup>58</sup> Therefore I evaluate this letter (*nâme*) as proof of the precautions that Sokollu took during the siege and as a source in respect of the conquest of Jenő (Borosjenő, Ineu in Rom.) as well. In this document, the grand vizier first shares the good news to János Zsigmond that the campaigns of Szigetvár and Gyula have been successful and, that Zrínyi has been killed. He then reports that Pertev Pasha has been commanded to conquer Jenő.<sup>59</sup>

While Peçevi mentions that the fortress of Jenő was captured two or three days before the conquest of Szigetvár<sup>60</sup> Mihai Maxim reports the date as 25<sup>th</sup> July.<sup>61</sup> However, this document provides sufficient clarification that Jenő was taken by Ottoman troops immediately after Gyula and Szigetvár. Additionally, Forgách notes that after the conquest of Gyula, Pertev Pasha destroyed the nearby fortress and Jenő fell after 23 days of resistance.<sup>62</sup> Shortly, the troops under the command of the second vizier, Pertev Pasha, did not return to headquarters after Gyula and instead were occupied with the seizure of nearby fortresses; moreover, the beylerbeyi of Budin (Mustafa Pasha) and the beylerbeyi of Rumelia were assigned to seize the fortress of Boboşca (Babócsa) by taking their own troops with them in addition to three thousand janissaries from the headquarters in Szigetvár.<sup>63</sup> While the remaining troops were occupied with the restoration of the fortress and its surroundings, a third letter was sent to Selim by viziers who were aware of the intensity of the situation and had reached the conclusion that it was becoming more difficult with each passing day to keep the janissaries at bay. In that letter, they declared that the army had been in the same territory for sixty days and that they were still keeping a secret of the death of the sultan for thirty-five days so as not to embolden the enemy and not to weaken the morale of the soldiers. However, news of the enthronement (*cülus*) had begun to spread, so Selim needed to arrive as soon as possible and take command of the army.<sup>64</sup>

58 Mihail Guboglu, *Paleografia și Diplomatica Turco-Osmana. Studiu și Album*. Bukarest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne 1958, Faksimile 19. This document in Guboglu's book is a copy of the original one. Original copy can be founded in the city archives of Regensburg. The copy of the document was given to an institute called Academiei României de Constantin I. Karadja. The document was previously published by Theodor Menzel with a transcription and translation and also by Heinrich Zimmerer, "Ein Sultansbrief in Regensburg" In: *Historischer Verein für Oberpfalz und Regensburg: Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg* 64, with a German and Italian translation. Regensburg 1913, 237–246.

59 *Paleografia și Diplomatica Turco-Osmana. Studiu și Album.*, Faksimile 19.

60 Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, *Peçevi Tarihi*. Volume: 1. Ed. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, Kültür Bakanlığı/467 Ankara, 295.

61 Mihai Maxim "Yanova" In: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, volume: 43, Ankara, 2013, 316–317.

62 Forgách, 289.

63 *Tarih-i Selaniki*, 38; *Agehî'nin Fetih-nâme-i Kal'a-i Sigetvar'ı*, 175–176; *Nüzhet-i esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar*, 154.

64 *Mecmua-ı Münşeat-ı Feridun Bey*, 95–96; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi - İstanbul'un Fethinden Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Ölümüne Kadar*, II. TTK, Ankara 2016, 416–417, note:1.

Finally, the army was gathered with the news that Selim was on the way on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of *Rebi'ül-ahir* (18<sup>th</sup> October). According to Selaniki and Feridun Ahmed, the new sultan met his army and late father in Belgrade.<sup>65</sup> Feridun Ahmed recounts that following the official announcement of the death of Süleyman and the second enthronement of Selim in Belgrade, negotiations with Habsburg Emperor Maximilian II began immediately. The emperor blamed János Zsigmond for provoking and manipulating the sultan with lies and false reports and insisted that it was he who had endeavored to soothe the intensity of the situation. At the end, with the Treaty of Edirne, it was decided that the two empires would maintain the peace and that the Habsburgs would continue to pay tribute to the Ottomans.<sup>66</sup>

The campaign of Szigetvár is interpreted by some of the 21<sup>st</sup> century historians as relatively insignificant and almost without any target. Nevertheless, after evaluating the chronicles and archival documents, we can see that the ultimate goal of this last campaign was to overcome the growing power and dominance of the Habsburg Empire. Hungarian historians emphasize that the Ottomans found it necessary to establish an inordinately large number of soldiers to preserve their position in the territory in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, compared to the first half. During this period, the number of soldiers was only doubled in two provinces in Hungary, while more or less the same number of soldiers had defended all the fortresses in the Balkans in the first half of the century. Considering all of these sources and studies, we can state that the Ottomans decided to campaign against the King of Vienna to stabilize the growing pressure from Austria. Arguably, this campaign failed to fulfill its goals or expectations as it was constructed. However, it is also not impossible to interpret the campaign as a futile initiative. According to the studies, at the beginning of Ottoman rule, the province of Buda was running a deficit, but immediately after the campaign, due to the significant increase in territory and the stabilization of the Ottoman taxation system in the 1570s, the province became self-sufficient for a short time and even covered ninety percent of the soldiers' payments. This short-term sufficiency is considered as an achievement.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, it seems fair to say that with the campaign of Szigetvár, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman had left (1) a far stronger province on the conquest route extending from Belgrade via Buda towards Vienna and (2) a long-term goal for his successors to achieve: the defeat of the Habsburg Empire.<sup>68</sup>

65 *Tarih-i Selaniki*, 44; *Nüzhet-i esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar*, 200.

66 *Nüzhet-i esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar*, 276–277.

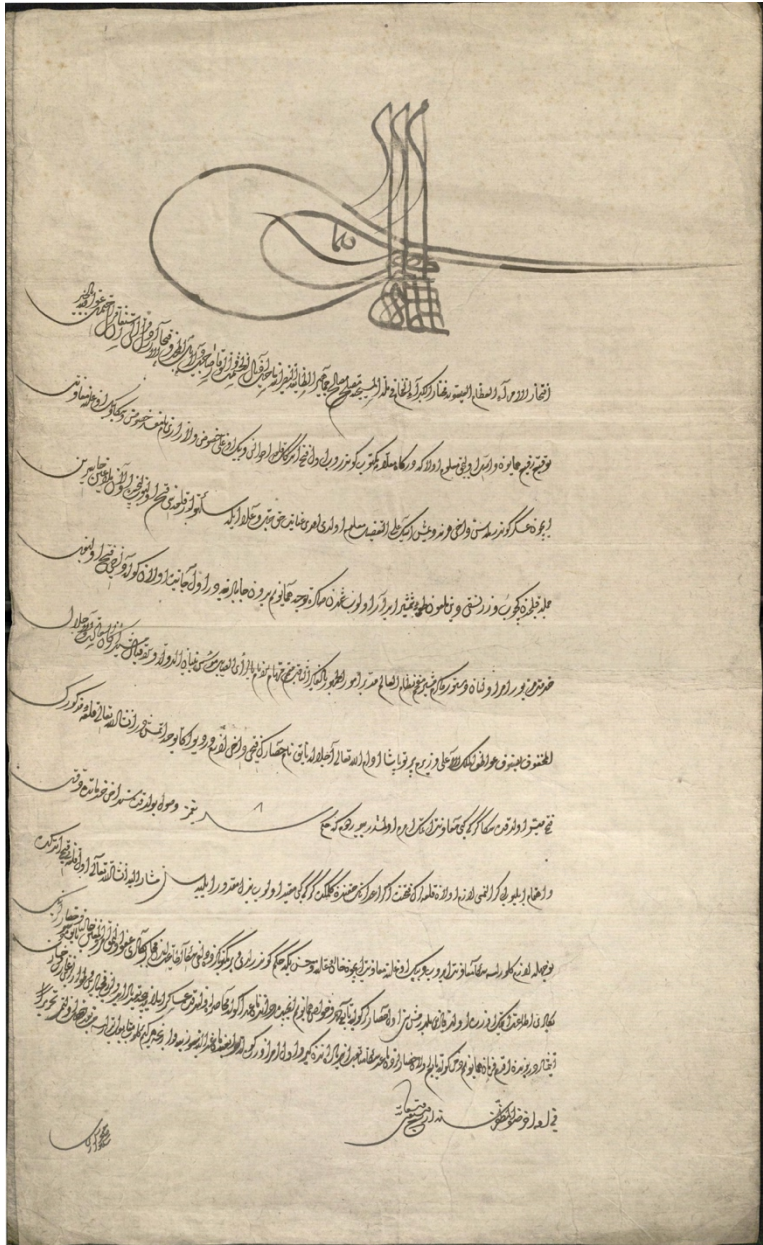
67 Gábor Ágoston, “Macaristan’da Osmanlı-Habsburg Serhaddi (1541-1699): Bir Mukayese” In: *Osmanlı’da Savaş ve Serhad*. Ed. & trans: Kamuran Şakul. İstanbul: Timaş 2013, 215–224; Klára Hegyi, “Ottoman Defence System in Hungary.” In: *The Battle for Central Europe*, 315–319.

68 Fodor, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire*, 132.



Appendices

Document I



**Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's letter (nâme) to János Zsigmond Szapolyai 1566<sup>69</sup>**

1. İftihârü l-ümerâ'i l-i'zâmi l-î'sevîye muhtârü l-küberâi' l-fihami fî milleti l-mesîhîye muşlihu masâlihi cemâhîrû t-ţâyifeti n-naşrânîye sâhibü ezyâli l-ħaşmet ve-l-vaqâr şâhibü delâyil el-mecd ve-l-iftihâr Erdel qırâli İstefân qırâl, ħutimet 'avâqîbühü bi-l-ħayr
2. tevqî'-i refî'-i hümâyün vâşil olıcaq ma'lûm ola ki dergâh-ı mu'allâma mektûb gönderüb ol feth êtdügiñ qal'e aĥvâlin ve Bebek oĝlı ħuşuşın ve Lâzârî nâm müfsid ħuşuşın ve saña ve Bebek oĝlına mu'âvenet
3. için 'asker gönderilmesin daĥi her ne demiş iseñ 'ale t-tafşil ma'lûm oldı imdi 'inâyet-i ħaqq-ı celle ve 'alâ ile Sigetvâr qal'esi feth olunub içinde olan melâ'în-i ħâsirîn
4. cümle qılıcdan geçüp ve Zrinsqî-i dîn-i mel'un ta'me-i şimşîr-i ibrâr olub şimden soñra teveccüh-i hümâyünüm Budün câniblerinedür ol cânibde olan Güle daĥi feth olunub
5. ħidmet-i mezbûr emr olunan destûru mükerrerem müşîrü müfahhem nizâmu l-'âlem müdebbîrü umûri l-cumĥûr bi-l-fikri-s-şâkib mütemmimü mehâmi l-enâm bi-r-reyi-s-şâyib mü'essisü bünyâni d-devlet ve-l iqbâl müşeyyedü erkâni s-se'âdet ve-l-iclâl
6. el-maĥfûfu bi-şunûfi 'avâţıfu l-meliki l-â'lâ vezîrüm Pertev paşa edâm Allâhu te'âlâ iclâlehu Yanov[a] nâm ħişâruñ fethi daĥi lâzımdur deyü aña teveccüh etmişdür inşâ'a llâhu te'âlâ qal'e-i mezkûruñ
7. fethi müyesser olduqda saña geregi gibi mu'âvenet etmek emrüm olmuşdur buyurdum ki ħükmi-i şerîfimüz vuşul bulduqda sen-daĥi ħidâmâta diqqat
8. ve ihtimâm eyleyüb eger alınması lâzım olan qal'elerüñ fethinde eger â'dânuñ ħaqqından gelmekde geregi gibi muqayyed olub bezl-i maqdûr eyleyesiz müşârün ileyh inşâ'a llâhu te'âlâ ol qal'eyi feth êtdükde
9. ne-vechle lâzım gelirse saña mu'âvenet êdüb ve Bebek oĝlına mu'âvenet için Ĥân oĝlına ve Ĥasan bege ħükmi gönderildi ve bir mektûbuñuzda daĥi saña ita'at eden Macâr begleri afv olunmaq emr olmaĥın ĥâliyâ Yanöva ve Desnov<sup>70</sup> ħişârlarınun
10. begleri itâ'at etmek üzere oldukları bildürmişsiz ol ħişârlar Güleye tâb'idür ve ħavâşş-i hümâyünüm içindedür andan mâ-'adâ Güle muĥâşara olunduqda 'asâkir-i islâmîye nice te'addîler êdüb azıqcıların ve davarların gâret u hasâret

69 Mihail Guboglu, *Paleografia și Diplomatica Turco-Osmana. Studiu și Album*. Bukarest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne 1958, Faksimile 19. This document in Guboglu's book is a copy of the original one. Original copy can be founded in the city archives of Regensburg. For this article, I used both of the documents.

70 Desnó, used in medieval Hungary in the form of Desznye, then as Dészne. According to Istvánfi Miklós, Pertev Pasha captured the castle of Jenő, Világos and Desnó. Miklós Istvánffy, *Magyarok dolgaíról irt históriája. Tályai Pál XVII. századi fordításban. I/2*. Ed. Benits Péter. Budapest: Történelmi Források, Balassa Kiadó, 380.

11.  tmiŐlerd r bundan aqdem ferm n-i h m y num daĐi G leye t bi' olan  
hıŐarlardan saĐa mut ba'at  denlere andan ger  ol emr  zere G le tev bi'nden  
m -'ad[ ] eline s zine varınca her kim gel b mut ba'at ederlerse min ba'd dahl  
olunmaz
12. taĐriren fi ev h r-i Őefer  l-muŐaffer sene erba' ve-seb'in ve-tis'ami'e
13. be-yurt-i ŐaĐr -i Sigetv r

### Translation

The pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, King Stephen of Transylvania, may he find the true path. Upon the arrival of the lofty decree, may it be known that the letter you sent to my Sublime Porte, in which you talked about the conditions of the fortress you conquered and the issue of Bebek's son, and the rebel named Lazar and also about sending soldiers to support you and the son of the Bebek and everything you mentioned became known in details. Now the fortress of Szigetv r was conquered by the glory and sublimity of the God Almighty, all the cursed enemies inside the castle were put to the sword and Zr nyi, (the man of) the cursed religious became the food of the righteous sword. From now on, I will imperially turn towards the Buda side; Gyula, which is on that side, was also conquered. And the aforementioned services were entrusted to the venerable, the respectable marshal, the basis of the order of the world, the cautious and glorious commander of people, the astute one, the supplementary and the most significant of all creatures, the indefectible, the builder of the state, the one who is exalting the foundation of honor and prosperity, who is encompassed by the variety of gifts of the highest King, the possessor of grace, my supreme vizier Pertev Pasha, may God glorify his dignity, moved towards the fortress named Jen  by stating that it needed to be conquered. Once the aforementioned fortress will be conquered with the help of the almighty God, I have commanded you to provide the right assistance. I have ordered that when my imperial order arrives, you should also be careful and assiduous in service, be it the conquering the castles that need to be captured or in order to vanquish the enemy, you shall rightly carry out the best effort possible. An order was sent to the son of the Bebek, the son of the Han, and to Hasan Bey to support you in every aspect in case of need after we conquer the aforementioned fortress with the help of the almighty God. You also report that the Hungarian Beys who follow you were granted pardon and therefore, now the beys of Jen  and Desn  fortresses are about to surrender as well. Those fortresses are subject to Gyula and within the imperial domain. Apart from that, while Gyula was besieged, the army of Islam intruded several times, plundered, and harmed the foragers and the cattle. Prior to this, my imperial order is, those who submitted to you from the fortresses subject to Gyula, apart from the subjects of Gyula whoever comes to obey and becomes the servant, from now on with this order, you should not intervene them.

Written on the last day of the victorious Őafer/ (September) from the year 974/1566.

In the settlement of the Szigetv r plain.



**The letter from Pertev Pasha to Sultan Süleyman<sup>71</sup>**

1. ‘arz-ı bende-i bî-vücüd budur ki bundan evvel âsitâne-i se‘âdete gönderilen çavuş qulları fermân-ı şerîflerin irâd edüb mefhûm-i münîfide
2. lütf-i ‘inâyetlerinden ve merhâmet-i ‘âlîşânlarından ‘asker-i islâma hayr du‘âların rehber edüb ‘inâyet-i haqqa sipâriş olunduğı ve Drava tuğyân üzere
3. olub Sigedvâr üzerine varmaqdan ferâgat edüb inşâ’a llâh Vâradinden geçilüb doğru qal‘e-i Egrî üzerine var-
4. ılacağı ve ol cānibe varılcaq Temeşvâr cānibinde olan ‘askere fāyide olduğı fermân-ı şerîf olunmuş ma’lûm-i şerîfleri ola ki tâ iibtidādān
5. se‘âdetle sefere niyet olunduqda gāh Sigedvâr cānibine ve gāh Egrî cānibine gidilmesi tedārük olunduqda Sigedvâr tarafında olan ümerā
6. qulları ve ol cānibüñ mûte‘alliqleri ekşer ol cānibe meyl edürmeden h[h]ālî degiller îdi leykin ne Sigedvâr tarafına ve ne Egrî tarafına meyl ü
7. te‘alluqı olmayub mahzâ pâdişâh-i islâma hayırlusın fikr edenler devlet u se‘âdet ile Egrî cāniblerine vârilmaq oladur deyü söylerlerdi
8. inşâ’a llâh qudûm-i şerîfleriyle qal‘e-i Egrî ve aña tâb‘i olanlar fetḥ olunub ve ol cānibüñ küffârı mesdûd olub Erdel vilâyetinden
9. ötürî dah[h]ji bunca yıllardan berü çekilen ıztırâbdan inşâ’a llâh hālâş olunduğundan gayri se‘âdetlü pâdişâh hâzretlerine ve ‘asker-i islâma daḥi
10. evlâdur deyü söylenür ve Sigedvâr memleketimiz kenârıdır beglerine nazâr olunub kuvvet vârilince eyyâm-i se‘âdetlerinde her zemānda qapusun açdırmayub inşâ’a llâh ol daḥi fetḥ olur deyü ekşer sözleri bu îdi şöyle kim evvel Sigedvâra düşülüb bu yıl-i mübâreq qadem-i şerîfleriyle
11. Egrî cāniblerine varılmaya vilâyet-i Erdel gavğasından hālâş olunmayub yıllarca dükēnmez ‘azîm seferler ve işler lâzım olur deyü söylerlerdi
12. ve-l-hâşıl devletlü se‘âdetlü islâm pâdişâhımızuñ re‘y-i şerîfleri cümleye gâlibdür emr [u] fermân se‘âdetlü pâdişâhındur h[h]üdâ te‘âla cemi‘i murâdâtların
13. hayriyle müyesser eyleyüb eksüklüğün göstermeye ve nihân buyurılmaya ki bundan evvel Tuna yalısında geçit olan Hârâm iskelesine gelindükde
14. geçid gemileri el vâriğine göre ihmâl olunmayub geçmek üzere olunduğı ve Tuna geçildükden soñra tevaqquf olunmayub fermân olunan mahalle
15. varılır deyü ‘arz olunmuş iidi eyle olsa iskele-i merqûmiye gelindükde toḇ ‘arabacıları ketḥüdâsı elli qıta‘a boş ‘arabalarıyle hâzır<sup>72</sup> bulunub
16. ve zârbûzanlar hâzır bulunmamağıyla zikr olunan zârbûzanlar Belğrâd ve Semenderede hâzırdur<sup>73</sup> deyü alınmasıyçün mezbûr Belğrâd ve Semendere qâdılarına
17. ve dizdârlarına emr-i şerîf gelüb emr-i şerîf mücibince mezkûr qal‘elerde mevcûd bulunan yarakdan yigirmi sekiz qıta‘a zârbûzanlar

71 Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (TSMA) E.0443

72 Im orijinal: hâzır

73 Im orijinal: hâzırdur

18. getüdilüb ve mirî tobcı başı dađı Belğrâdda hâzır<sup>74</sup> bulunmađıyla mâ'adâsıyçün deñizden 'Alî begle gelen gemilerdedür deyü ketğüdâsına
19. mektüb gönderüb ve bâqî qalan zârbüzanlar için dah[h]i mezbür 'Alî beg bendelerine âdemler gönderilüb ve nehr-i Tuna dađı gâyet tuğyân üzre
20. olmađıyla geçid yeri ziyâde vâs'i olub gemiler el vërdüğine göre geçilmekte ya'alem Allâh hiç bir vechiyle ihmâl olunmayub ol ecilden zârüri
21. öte yaqada berü yaqada bir qaç gün oturmağ lâzım gelüb ve gemilerde olan zârbüzanlar için dah[h]i tevaqquf olunmayub göçilüb 'aqabmazca
22. zârbüzanları getürmek için ve Vidin sancağibegi bendeleri olanca sipâhîleriyle ve ba'zi yeniçeriler ve bir miqdar tobcular 'arabacılar ile gidüb Harâm
23. iskelesinde eliqonilub eyyâm-ı se'âdetlerinde inşâ'a llâh anlar dađı 'aqabmazca gelmek üzeredür ve bu bendeleri dah[h]i fermân-i şerîf mücibince
24. mağalle-i me'mure teveccüh olunub Temeşvâr ve Lipovaya uğrayub ve andan inşâ'a llâh dâru l-harb olan mağalle erişmek üzeredür ve Temeşvâr
25. beglerbegisi emr-i şerîfle qal'e dövmege alub gitdüğü eđer bacalüşqalardur ve eđer kolombüralardur ve bârüt-i siyâh ve sâyir yât u yarak
26. ve serâhördür kifâyet eder deyü âsitâne-i se'âdete mühürlü defter gönderüb 'arz eylediği üzre inşâ'a llâh eyyâm-i se'âdet-i pâdişâhîde
27. ola ki kifâyet eyleye ve mağall-i me'mure varilub mülâqât olındugda inşâ'a llâh her huşuş mümküniyle görilüb gâyet-i zârüri olan huşuş
28. lâzım gelürse vâq'î üzre âsitâne-i se'âdete 'arz olunmadan ğayri tedârüke mümkin olmaduđı m'alüm-i şerîfdür ve Temeşvâr beglerbegisi
29. Temeşvâra tâb'î olan 'askerden ve Rum elinden dađı ta'yîn buyurulan ümerâdan qal'e-i muğşarasına kifâyet edemez deyü bundan evvel âsitâne-i
30. se'âdete 'arz edüp leykin eđer 'askere ve sâyir huşuşa inşâ'a llâh se'âdetlü pâdişâh-i dîn-penâh hazretleri himmet-i 'âliyeleri ve
31. mübârek hayr du'âları 'askeri islâm üzerine dirîğ degildür ve memleket ağvâlinde ve zâd u zevâde huşuşundan istifsâr
32. buyurulursa ekşer bu câniblerde bir iki yıldur-ki bazı 'asker geçmekden hâli olmamađıyla arpa huşuşı temâm müzâyaqa üzre olub
33. ve re'âyâ tayıfesi memleket zabtılarınıñ zülmünden ekşer qariyeleri qârar eyleyüb qalancaları dađı şikâyetinden hâli olmadukları sebebden
34. dah[h]i qasaba-i Parâkan nâm menzilden Temeşvâr beglerbegisine bir iki defa hükm-i şerîf yazilub gönderilmiş idi-ki eđer itâ'at üzre olan
35. re'âyâlardur ve eđer harbî olan re'âyâlardur yerlü yeründe oturub devâm devlet-i pâdişâhîye meşğül olmaları bâbında oñât istimâletler
36. vëriye deyü i'lâm olunub ve gönderilen aħkâm-i şerîfenüñ şüreti dah[h]i yazilub hâliyâ küstâhâne se'âdetlü pâdişâh hazretlerine gönderildi
37. ve her menzile varmazdan evvel ilerü yeniçeri qullarınızdand ve bölük halqından yasaqçılar gönderildiği muqarrerdür şol huşuş ki mümkindür eyyâm-i

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74 Im original: hâzır

38. se'âdetleründe inşâ'a llâh taqşîrât olunmaduđı mulâhaza-i şerîf buyurıla ve inşâ'a llâh maħalle-i me'mûre varlıub muħâşara-i 'ümürine mübâşeret
39. olunduqda vâqi' ħâl tafşîl ile gene 'arz olunur ħayırlar müyesser ola inşâ'a llâhu te'âlâ bâqî fermân dergâh mu'allânuñdur
40. bende-i bî-vücüd Pertev

### Translation

The petition of this insignificant servant is that the sergeants who were formerly sent to the threshold of felicity brought your noble order in its glorious content; the following was ordered through his grace and lofty mercy; he guided the army of Islam by his prayers and commissioned (them) to the mercy of God, and he renounced to advance towards Szigetvár due to the heavy flooding in the river of Drava, and if God permits, (he) hopes to cross Varadin,<sup>75</sup> and to arrive at Eger and that will be for the benefit of the soldiers of Temesvár.<sup>76</sup> It is for your noble knowledge that, since from the beginning, when the intentions were formed to campaign with prosperity, and when the preparations were made to advance towards either to Szigetvár or Eger, the commander servants in Szigetvár and the appurtenant of that side mostly favored to go that part, yet it was not tended and tied neither to Szigetvár nor to Eger, only the Sultan of Islam thought of the best and said that (the army) must arrive at Eger with excellence and prosperity. If God permits, the fortress of Eger and its subjects will be conquered with his noble arrival, and the infidels of that part will be blocked off; after the salvation from the misery that caused by the province of Erdel for years, now it is said that prosperous highness and the army of Islam will be more preferable. And Szigetvár is in the border of our fatherland when it is commanded to its beys, and when the pressure is applied, under his prosperous rule, the doors of it will be open and with the help of God, it will be conquered as well. (They) said whoever goes to Szigetvár before and not to set his blessed foot in Eger within this year, (then) it will not be possible to avoid from the wrangling of Erdel, and it will be required to carry out grand campaigns and works which will last for long years. In short, the noble judgment of our illustrious and prosperous Sultan of Islam overcomes all the world; the noble order belongs to the prosperous Sultan; may almighty God destinies him all of his intentions with excellence and not to show his absence. May this be not hidden from your knowledge that it was submitted before, when we arrive at the port of Haram which became a passage for Danube shore, to cross it without omission since the crossing ships were convenient, and after (we) cross the Danube, we will not wait and arrive at the place that was ordered. If so, the colonel of cannon carriages is ready with the fifty troops of empty carriages, and the cannons which are not present, yet the aforesaid cannons now are ready in Belgrade and Semendere.<sup>77</sup> And a noble command was received by the judges and castellans of the aforementioned Belgrade

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75 Pertovaradin

76 Timișoare

77 Smederevo

and Semendere; in conformity with this noble command, twenty-eight troops of cannons will be taken from the armors that exist in the before mentioned fortresses. And a letter was sent to his colonel that the commander of the artillery is standing ready in Belgrade as well, and the others (cannons) are in the ships, coming along with Ali Bey, from the sea, and the men sent to (his) subject Ali Bey for the rest of the cannons. The river of Danube is in a heavy flood, yet the point of crossing is highly wide, with no doubt, and since the ships are already suitable, there should not be any omission by any means to cross over. For this reason, it is necessary to lodge in this and that shore, yet should not stop even for the cannons in the ships, and pass over to transport this big number of cannons and his servant the Sancakbey of Vidin went with all of his cavalymen and some janissaries and some artillerymen and carriage seized in the port of Haram and with the help of God, they will too about to arrive in big numbers under his/sultan's prosperous rule. And I, your servant, am also turning towards the authorized place and after stopping by in Temesvár and Lipova, about to arrive in the place of the battleground. The Bey of Temesvár sent a sealed list to the Sublime Porte stating that the *bacaloşcas* and *kolomboras*,<sup>78</sup> the black powder and so on, and the armor and the *serahors*<sup>79</sup> that he went to hit the fortress with, are sufficient. As (the Beylerbeyi) submitted, if God permits, if the Sultan of all people too will find them sufficient, (I) will arrive at the place of order and every matter that discussed will be settling up as much as possible and if any matter would be highly mandatory, it is known that is not possible to provide a remedy without submitting to the Sublime Port. The beylerbeyi of Temesvár submitted to the Sublime Porte before, that the soldiers subject to Temesvár, and also from the umera appointed from Rumelia will not be enough to besiege the fortress, however with the help of God the prosperous, the illustrious Sultan – the protector of faith – will not keep denying his supreme beneficence about the matter of soldiers and similar issues, and his sacred blessing on the army of Islam; and if a detailed explanation of the provisions and the situation in the province will be asked, mostly, since one or two years some of the soldiers could not be taken over in this territory the matter of barley is in distress; and the population of the subjects is mostly had enough of the tyranny of the captors, and even the remainders are continuing to complain. That is why, for one or two times, we wrote and sent a noble command to the Bey of Temesvár from the station called Parakan, concerning that if the obedient subjects and the other ones who are not under the truce stay orderly, it was informed that it should be given *istimalets*<sup>80</sup> to pursuit the continuity of the most glorious Sultanate and the copy of the noble command was written and sent to the audacious, prosperous Sultan as well. It is definite that before arriving at each stop advanced janissary servants and security guards from your subjects of the troop were sent. This matter is possible that a noble thought should be

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78 Types of the Ottoman cannons.

79 The unit of the army fixes the roads and the bridges during the campaign.

80 The protection of the non-muslims of the territory with an approach showing kindness to create an attraction for the imperial authority.



commended with the help of God, there will not be any absence from his prosperous rule and if God permits after (I) arrived the place of order and get down to the work, the conditions will be submitted with their details. With the help of a glorious God, the best of all will be destined (to us). The everlasting order belongs to the Sublime Porte. I, Pertev, (your) insignificant servant.



## The Tale of the Epic Cycle of “Kitab-i Dedem Korkut” in Turkish Folklore of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

Tatiana A. Anikeeva

Until very recent times, some tales related to the medieval epic cycle of “The Book of Dede Korkut” continued to exist on the territory of modern Turkey and the South Caucasus. These include, first of all, the tale of Bamsi Beyrek, which preceded its further existence within the framework of a completely different, much later genre of Turkish traditional literature – the *hikâye*.

Turkish folk narrative form called *hikâye* which is a special genre of Turkish folk literature. It has been existing for a long time mainly in the South of Turkey and in the Eastern Turkey since the Middle Ages. *Hikâye* is a prose text that includes folk songs and verses, that can be transmitted orally by story-tellers-*aşiks* or *meddahs* in coffee houses. The main peculiarity of this genre is its existence both in oral and written traditions at the same time; this genre occupies a borderline between oral and literary traditions. These are prosaic texts of novelistic or fantastic content that once were performed exclusively in oral form; sometimes they are often folklorized versions of literary plots widely known in the Middle East, or, as in the case of the tale of Bamsi Beyrek, are the part of a large epic cycle (“The Book of Dede Korkut”). These folk narratives include the stories of the prosaic version of the epic legend about Köroğlu, which has become widespread in Asia Minor and well-known in the Caucasus, the Middle East and Central Asia, as well as a number of other plots, such as “İlbeylioğlu”, a story about Shakh-Ismail (“Şah-Ismail”), “Celali Bey ile Mehmet Bey”, “Kırmanşah”, etc. Most of these stories are genetically related to the oral epic tradition as well as to the fairy-tale. Also, as the Turkish folklore in general, these folk stories consist of many interacting components connected with different cultures: pre-islamic Turkic tradition of the Oghuz tribes, Persian and Arabian connected with Islam (mainly in its Shiite branch) and its very interesting and significant for a scientific research. There are two types of *hikâye*:<sup>1</sup> “heroic” type (for example, “Köroğlu hikâyesi”, the narrative about Beyrek and many others) and “romantic” type (like “Gül ile Mir Ali Şir hikâyesi”, “Leyla ile Mecnun” and so on; as a rule, its plot is constructed on the basis of a love-story).

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1 That classification was made by P.N. Boratav (Boratav 1946).

The documented evidence of the oral performance of the *hikâyes* dates back approximately to the period from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, although researchers tend to trace the origins of the *hikâye* as a genre of Turkish folklore to an earlier time.

### The folk narrative of Bamsi Beyrek in Modern Turkey

For the present, studies devoted to the *hikâye* of Bamsi Beyrek in the form of a folk narrative are practically absent. Various versions of the tale about Beyrek, which existed in one form or another in Turkey were collected in the edition of the Turkish Linguistic Association (*Türk dili kurumu*) in 1939 by the famous folklorist Pertev Naili Boratav (1907–1998) and have not been republished since then: now even this edition (Boratav 1939) is a bibliographic rarity.<sup>2</sup>

This edition includes the so-called “Beyşehir” (“Beyşehir rivayeti”) and “Meydan” (“Meydan rivayeti”) tales, which are different versions of the folk narrative about Beyrek recorded in town of Beyşehir and in the village of Meydan respectively, from informants, also two handwritten texts of the tale about Beyrek that have been kept in the library of Istanbul University under one inventory number (No. 239), as well as several small texts discovered by Boratav in *cönks* – the anthologies of Turkish folk song poetry. The latter relating to the geographic area are originated from Konya. Boratav notes that he found these collections there (Boratav 1939). One of them contains the dates 1252 and 1282 A.H. (respectively, 1836 and 1865 A.D.).

The Beyşehir version of the folk narrative about Beyrek was recorded by Boratav in 1934 from a resident of Beyşehir in the South West Turkey. According to the informant of Boratav, a merchant named Karabet-aga, he heard this *hikâye* from his friend Arakel-aga, who had already died at that time. Where, in turn, Arakel-aga recognized this tale, the informant did not know, but he was sure that Arakel had “read it” somewhere. According to Karabet-aga, Arakel also played *saz* and “composed some poetry”; poetic fragments of this text, according to Karabet-aga, Arakel also accompanied by playing *saz* (Boratav 1939: 5). Thus, even the history of the origin of this particular text given by Boratav – from an unknown possible book source (it could

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2 According to V.M. Zhirmunsky (Zhirmunsky 1962: 209), it is also known about a certain Armenian version of the story originated “from Caesarea”, which was published in Macler 1928: 150–158. In addition, “there is a legendary Bey-Beyrek tomb in Bayburt. The name Böyrek was widespread among the inhabitants of the villages surrounding Bayburt. Among the Armenians who lived before the First World War in the village of Almyshka located in this region, some families considered themselves the descendants of Beyrek and the Armenian princess, the ruler of Bayburt” (Zhirmunsky 1962: 209).

be either a manuscript of this text, or a lithographic edition of the folk tale<sup>3</sup>) – to a certain “storyteller” and then, orally, to his “student” – clearly illustrates the peculiarity of the genre of the Turkish *hikâye*, specifically the existence between the written and oral traditions.

The version of the Meydan story about Beyrek was written down (indirectly, by Boratav’s student Ahmed Harmanji) from Şerif Kadın, a half-literate 55-year-old peasant woman from Meydan, a village near Konya. Boratav especially notes that she barely knew how to read and has never in her life left the vicinity of Konya (Boratav 1939: 54), and she learned various *hikâye* and, in particular, *türkü* (folk songs) of aşık Karacaoğlan from her father.

### Genre features of the folk narrative of Bamsi Beyrek

At first glance, the folk narrative about Beyrek is entirely within the framework of Turkish *hikâye* genre with all its features: traditional formulas for the beginning and ending of the story, stylistic clichés, poetic fragments,<sup>4</sup> characters, geography and plot twists.

The plot of the folk narrative about Beyrek are the adventures of the son of “padishah of the Oghuz *il*” named Bey Beyrek (turk. *Bey Bira*, *Bey Beyri*, *Bey Böyre*, *Bey Böyrek*): accompanied by his horse, he overcomes many obstacles, fights insidious enemies and gets himself a bride named Al Kavak Kızı (turk. *El Kavak Kızı*, dialect. *Dalgavaq Gızı*). In other words, the plot of the story is quite traditional and typical of the Turkish folk narrative, which plot basis is the presentation of the heroic deeds and wanderings of the protagonist.

At the same time, the folk narrative about Beyrek retains a number of plot features that allow it to be ascended to the epic prototype of the tale of Bamsi Beyrek in “The Book of Dede Korkut”. First of all, the main character of the story, Beyrek, is born simultaneously with the foal, which will become his magic horse. Here it is possible to see the implementation of the most ancient motif of the Turkic epic: the companion of the hero Alpamysh is his winged horse *Tulpar Baichibar*, and Bamsi Beyrek of

3 Speaking about the written forms of Turkish folk narratives-*hikâyes*, we can mean, first of all, handwritten various versions of the plots of the *hikâyes* (see, for example, a large number of such copies in the collection of the IOM RAS: “Arzu ile Kanbar” 1779, “İsmail-Şah” of the end of the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries, “Tahir ile Zuhra” dated 1266 AH, “Farhad ile Şirin” from 1757-1758 (Dmitrieva 2002: 454-479), then *hikâyes* existed for a long time in the form of lithographs, printed for a wide range of readers, primarily in cities. Such lithographed editions of those narratives enjoyed considerable popularity and were very widespread in Turkey in the 19<sup>th</sup> and first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (for more details see: Anikeeva 2011: 112-114).

4 The *hikâye* is also closely associated with Turkish folk poetry — an *aşık* often becomes the main hero of a *hikâye*. Main sources of the *hikâye* are first of all Turkish folklore and folk poetry which is based on the syllabic metre. In its versified portions, the *hikâye* shows a definite affinity with various forms of folk poetry, and it is poetic fragments that are the stablest and at the same time the most flexible and liable to variations throughout the existence of those narratives as a genre.

“The Book of Dede Korkut” rides a “gray [sea] stallion” (*bir deniz kulunu boz aygır*), which was acquired to him at birth. *Tulpar* in the mythology of various Turkic peoples (among the Bashkirs, Kazakhs, Tatars, Kirghiz) is a magic winged horse that appears in the epic and fairy tales; in the epic of Alpamysh *tulpar* is “capable of transformations and endowed with superhuman intelligence” (Zhirmunsky 1962). As for the “gray [sea] stallion” (*Boz Aygır*) of “The Book of Dede Korkut”, this image is not completely clear (in particular, the nature of its connection with water/sea is not quite clear; for more details see: Anikeeva 2018: 189–192). It is likely that this image of a “water horse” (dragon?) in general has non-Turkic origin, and in the tales of “Kitab-i dedem Korkut” it is contaminated with the ancient image of a magical heroic horse endowed with wonderful abilities, traditional for Turkic epic. In the Beyşehir version of the folk narrative about Beyrek, as well as in handwritten versions and in the version of the same tale from Meydan, Beyrek’s horse is also called Benli Boz, or Bengi Boz, which, according to some researchers, directly goes back to Boz Aygır of Bamsi-Beyrek in the “The Book of Dede Korkut”.<sup>5</sup> It is noteworthy that the horse receives its name at the same time when the name is given to its owner, the son of the padishah.

Moreover, both the rite of giving a name to the hero and the motive of the ruler’s childlessness and the miraculous birth of the hero himself<sup>6</sup> are the most archaic and dating back to the most ancient examples of Turkic epic folklore. Both motives are somehow implemented in “The Book of Dede Korkut”: the childless Bayundur Khan (the leader of the Oghuz tribe) prays to the Almighty God about the birth of a child, and Bamsi Beyrek gets his name immediately after performing his first feat – protecting merchants with their goods from attack of infidels (Kniga moego deda Korkuta 1962: 32–35).

As it was already mentioned, the *hikâye* from Beyşehir as well as the version recorded in the village Meydan, and also handwritten versions, contain a large number of stylistic clichés which are peculiar to the genre of Turkish folk narrative and associated with its existence both in oral tradition and in the written form. Turkish *hikâye* has a rather distinct formulaic structure based on the following compositional principle: the initial formulas, the formulas that mark the change of episodes and those which enter verse passages are clearly distinguished; as for the endings, they usually consist of several elements that have stylistic parallels in other genres of Turkic folklore. Being quite stable, over time, this structure can undergo significant changes or even sometime break down, as it happens with new editions of Turkish folk narratives (for example, the initial formulas or endings change or disappear); however, it is practically the same for both oral and written/printed forms of *hikâye*.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example: Gökyay 2000: 331.

<sup>6</sup> The motive of the ruler’s childlessness is also often found in the world fairy-tale folklore, see, for example: Propp 2001: 110.

Versions of the narratives about Beyrek start with the traditional beginning of the Turkish *hikâye*:<sup>7</sup>

*Evveli vaktını birinde...* “In earlier times ...” (the Beyşehir version)

*Râviyân-i ahbâr ve nâkilân-i asâr ve muhaddisat-ı ruzigâr şöyle rivayet ederler ki...* “Those who transmit [tell] news and old legends tell that...” (the Istanbul manuscript).

Poetic fragments (as a rule, those are the appeals of the main characters of the *hikâye* to each other, their speeches) are also introduced with special stylistic cliches:

*Aldı Bey Böyre* “Bey Beyrek said...”

*Aldı koç; bakalım Bey Böyreye ne diyecek* “[and] the sheep said, let’s see what he says to Bey Beyrek”

*Aldı kız* “The girl said..”

The purpose of such cliches is to mark poetic fragments (*beyt*) in the prosaic text of the Turkish *hikâye*. The presence of such a cliché in the text of the narrative clearly refers to the oral tradition, to the oral aspect of its existence, when the narrator, or performer (*meddah* or *aşık*) is required to designate the verses (*beits*) pronounced by the heroes of the story. These fragments, as a rule, are distinguished by a special font and ornamentation in lithographed editions of a folk narrative and are often introduced by a special title (for example, *Beyt-i Tahir*) in handwritten copies.

Zhirmunsky notes that “the Anatolian tale” (as he calls the story about Beyrek) “has preserved such verses of a dialogical nature, partially overlapping with each other in its various versions and in the epic: the dialogue between Beyrek and the head of the merchant caravan, which brings to the prisoner some news from his homeland, his dialogue with the daughter of *kâfir* (“the infidel”), with his sister, who recognizes the missing brother in a disguised wanderer, with his wife while singing wedding ditties, etc.” (Zhirmunsky 1962: 209), but this statement does not have any grounds (as well as references to the sources): if in different versions of the *hikâye* about Beyrek the verse fragments do quite naturally coincide, certainly there is no question of any coincidence of this *hikâye* with the epic text of “The Book of Dede Korkut” besides some motives.

The question of the relationship between Turkish fairy tale and *hikâye* is one of the most important in the study of Turkish folklore and literature: it is still not entirely clear to what extent one can talk about the relationship of these genres and whether one can talk about the existence of continuity between them (Spiess 1929, Boratav 1946). In addition, some Turkish folk narratives include various episodes that reveal

7 Unlike the traditional beginning of Turkish fairy tales (*bir varmış bir yokmuş*: “whether it was, or it was not”), this formula gives an indication of the truth of the events referred to in the folk narrative (even if these events occurred “in immemorial times”).

a clear plot relationship with a fairy tale (such narratives are allocated to a special category of the so-called “framed” stories).<sup>8</sup>

Among the features absolutely peculiar for a fairy-tale that can be found in Turkish folk narrative, researchers have also decided to distinguish a number of characters that appear both in Turkish fairy tale and in the plot of *hikâye*. These are: the Saint *Hızır/Hizr*, *dev/div*, an old witch, a dragon, *Arab/Arab* (“*Arab Pahlavan*”), dervish, *Keloğlan* - the baldheaded man. As a rule, these characters in the Turkish folk narrative perform the same functions as in the fairy tale, that is, the function of magical assistants of the main hero. Thus, *Hızır*<sup>9</sup> (or *Dervish*, *Derviş-baba*), appearing in the guise of a white-bearded old man, both in Turkish folk narratives and in a fairy tales, performs the role of *deus ex machina*, miraculously contributing to the overcoming of obstacles by the hero of the story. In the tale of *Beyrek*, it is *Derviş Baba* (in other versions – *Hızır*) who helps the miraculous birth of a son to a childless ruler by giving the padishah an apple with the order to give half of the apple to his wife,<sup>10</sup> eat half of it himself and give the stalk to the mare.

The geographic names mentioned in Turkish folk narrative can be more indicative of its relationship with a fairy tale. The peculiarity of the *hikâye* is that its text contains such traditional countries for Turkish folklore as Hind, Çin, Yemen, Kandahar, Hindustan, Çin-Maçin, the city of Badakhshan, Karadağ.<sup>11</sup> As a rule, in *hikâye*, these geographical names are used in the same way as in Turkish fairy tale – these can be the places of residence of the main characters, heroes or those of them through which the hero of a fairy-tale wanders. However, unlike Turkish fairy tale, these fabulous place names in the text of the folk narrative are used along with real-life geographical

8 Quite often we can find the inclusion of fairy-tale episodes in the text of *hikâye*. The famous Turkish folk narrative “*Şahmeran*”, for example, contains a story about the cave of the prophet Suleiman, a story about the land of monkeys and the land of ants – i.e. plots widespread in the fairy-tale folklore of the Middle East.

9 The image of *Hızır* in Turkic mythology appeared under the influence of Islam (Ögel 2002; Basilov 1980: 536–541). *Hıdır*, *Hizr*, or *Hızır* is a character of Muslim mythology who has absorbed the features of various mythological characters of the pre-Islamic Middle East and is widespread in both Muslim literary tradition and folklore; he is considered the patron saint of travelers by the sea, a protector from fires, floods and thefts, etc. In Turkish folklore (fairy-tale, folk narrative), the image of *Hızır* often merges with the image of *Dervish* (*derviş*, *derviş baba*), who is endowed with magical, supernatural powers and/or magical objects (Stebleva 2002: 17–19).

10 This motive is very widespread in Turkish fairy tales, probably as a kind of motive the type 183 III in “Types of Turkish fairy-tales” (the index) by Eberhard and Boratav – “*Hızır* as a donator of a magical thing” (Eberhard, Boratav 1953).

11 As it is possible to see, almost all the names given are geographical names of real-life areas (Kandahar, Yemen, Badakhshan), however, in the folklore of the Middle East, they usually play the role of fabulous toponyms.



names of the Central and Eastern Anatolia and neighboring Iran<sup>12</sup> – for example, the Engerus fortress<sup>13</sup> in the manuscript version of the story of Beyrek, as well as in the text recorded from a resident of the village Meydan.

In the Beysehir version of the folk narrative about Beyrek, along with Çin (China), we find mentions of Japan, Paris and London (“*Benim evlat Çin’de mi, Çapunda mı, Paris’te mi, Londura’da mı arayıp bulacaksınız*”), but at the same this folk narrative has also preserved the memory about the epic “padishah of the *Oğuz eli*”/“Land of the Oghuz” (or “*Oğuz padişah*” in the Meydan version): “*Oğuz eli padişahi*”. In “The Book of Dede Korkut” Bayundur Khan is the supreme khan of all Oghuz tribe, and the “country of the Oghuz” (*Oğuz eli*) designates not only and not so much the specific habitat of the Oghuz tribes in Asia Minor, but also the place opposite to the hostile land of the infidels. It is quite obvious that “the land of the Oghuz”, as well as Japan, London and Paris (to which the mythological geography of Turkish *hikâye* is expanded) are fabulous conventional names, testifying, on the one hand, to the deep antiquity of this plot, and on the other, to its relatively late forming into the genre of Turkish folk narrative *hikâye*.

Thus, “Kitab-i Dedem Korkut” being a medieval written epic in relation of the plot and some motives is closely related with the other genres of Turkish folklore and literature, which received much later development and existed until very recently.

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<sup>12</sup> For example, in the folk narrative about Sümmani and Gülperi, aşık Sümmani overcomes on the way to his beloved, who lives “in the country of Çin-Maçin, in the city of Badakhshan in the palace of Abbas Khan”, such countries as Iraq, Iran and Mazandaran, India and Afghanistan, but at the same time on his way there are such real cities of the North-East Anatolia, such as Kars, Erzurum, Nariman and the villages of Samikale (the native village of the real aşık Sümmani), Pıtkar, Poshof, Çıldır and many others.

<sup>13</sup> The Engerus fortress also appears in late Turkish historical legends: “During the war, Sultan Bayazid Yıldırım could not take the Engerus fortress; then he vowed to build twenty mosques, and in a dream the gates of the fortress were opened for him” (Gordlevsky 1960: 481).

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# Zur Typologie von „Small Clauses“ in modernen Türkssprachen

İbrahim Ahmet Aydemir

## 0. Einleitung

Dieser Artikel befasst sich mit der Typologie von sogenannten „Small Clauses“ in modernen Türkssprachen.

Der Begriff „Small Clause“ wird in der linguistischen Literatur oft als Gegensatz zum „Full Clause“ verwendet und symbolisiert hier eine eingebettete Nebensatzkonstruktion, die morphologisch gesehen weniger komplex sind als die sog. „Full Clauses“, d.h. sie bestehen aus einem Subjekt im Akkusativ und einem nominalen oder verbalen Prädikat, z.B. ttü. *Ben [seni nişanlı] sandım* ‘Ich dachte, Du bist/seist/wärsst verlobt’, ttü. *Ben [seni gitti] sandım* ‘Ich dachte, du bist/seist/wärsst weggegangen.’

Die. sog. ‘Small Clauses’ kommen heute in vielen modernen Türkssprachen vor, die verschiedene grammatikalische Funktionen aufweisen.

Ziel dieser Studie ist es, eine typologische Klassifikation von „Small Clauses“ in modernen Türkssprachen vorzulegen. Ferner werden auch die grammatikalischen Funktionen von Small Clauses kurz diskutiert.

Im Rahmen dieser Studie werden einige moderne Türkssprachen wie *Türkei-Türkisch*, *Kasachisch*, *Kirgisisch*, *Tatarisch*, *Tuwinisch* und *Tschuwaschisch* behandelt.

## 1. Theoretische Grundlage

Der Begriff „Small Clause“ (SC) ist in der sprachwissenschaftlichen Literatur zwar nicht umstritten (Schröder 2012, Özsoy 2001, Haig 2016) und wird jedoch oft als Gegensatz zum „Full Clause“ verwendet. Auch hier wird dieser Begriff, ohne auf die konzeptionelle Diskussionen über „Small Clauses“ einzugehen, für eine bestimmte Art von subordinativen Einbettungen verwendet. Unter „Small Clauses“ sind gewisse Nebensatzkonstruktionen zu verstehen, deren Prädikat kein konjugiertes Verb enthält (Cardinaletti & Teresa Guasti 1995: 2, Fabricius-Hansen & Haug 2012: 10, 15).

Kornfilt bezeichnet solche Konstruktionen als „non-finite verbale Einbettungen“ (nonfinite verbal embeddings) (2007: 312). Dazu schreibt Kornfilt Folgendes: „Das akkusativmarkierte Subjekt verhält sich so, als ob es ein Teil des Matrixsatzes, nicht ein Teil des eingebetteten Satzes ist“ (2007: 312). Auch Rind-Pawłowski stellt fest, dass das Subjekt des Nebensatzes (SC) zum Objekt des Hauptsatzes wird, wobei davon auszugehen ist, dass das Subjekt des „Small Clause“ eine höhere Position in der Hierarchie der Argumente des Hauptsatzes einnimmt und dadurch nicht mehr ein Teil des SC, sondern ein Teil des Hauptsatzes ist (Rind-Pawłowski 2012: 126).

Ausgehend aus den oben erwähnten Beschreibungen bzw. Ansätzen lassen sich die distinktiven Merkmale von „Small Clauses“ in modernen Türkssprachen wie folgt formulieren:

- i. SC sind Konstruktionen, die einem übergeordneten Satz, d.h. einem Matrixsatz subordinativ eingebettet sind.
- ii. Das Prädikat von SC kann ein Adjektiv, ein Nomen oder ein Verb enthalten.
- iii. Das Subjekt von SC wird mit Akkusativ markiert.
- iv. Das akkusativmarkierte Subjekt von SC fungiert im Hauptsatz auch als Objekt. Dies bedeutet, dass das Akkusativ markiertes Element syntaktisch von beiden Sätzen (SC und Hauptsatz) geteilt wird.

Hierzu werden einige SC aus den modernen Türsprachen angeführt:

- (1) Türkei-türkisch  
*Ben [seni evli] sandım.*  
 Ich du: ACC verheiratet glauben: PAST.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, Du bist/seist/wärsst verheiratet.’
- (2) Tschuwaschisch  
*Epe [esě mäsärälä] tese šutlană.*  
 Ich du-ACC verheiratet SUBJ glauben: PAST: 1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, Du bist/seist/wärsst verheiratet.’
- (3) Kirgisisch  
*Men [seni üy-bülölüü] dep oylopmun.*  
 Ich Du: ACC verheiratet: ADJ SUBJ glauben: PAST.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, Du bist/seist/wärsst verheiratet.’

Wie in den obigen Beispielen ersichtlich ist, enthält das Prädikat der Matrixsätze, in die „Small Clauses“ eingebettet sind, oft *Verben des Denkens* (Erdem 2016: 187), z.B. ttü. *san-* ‘glauben/denken’, kirg. *oylo-* ‘denken’, kaz. *oyla-* ‘denken/glauben’, čuv. *šutla-* ‘glauben/denken’, tuw. *boda-* ‘denken’.

Daneben können auch *Verben des Sagens* (z.B. šor. *ayt-* ‘sagen’) oder Verben der Wahrnehmung (z.B. ttü. *gör-* ‘sehen’) am Prädikat von Matrixsätzen vorkommen.

Eine andere Besonderheit von „Small Clauses“ ist, dass deren Subjekt, das gleichzeitig als Objekt im Matrixsatz fungiert, mit dem Akkusativ gekennzeichnet ist. Auch im Alt-türkischen (Alt-ugurisch) gibt es ähnliche Konstruktionen, die mit Hilfe des Subjunktors *tep* dem Matrixsatz untergeordnet werden, z.B. *Ol tünligig ...*

*yanmaksız ävrilmaksız ärür tep bilgülig ol* (jene Kreatur: ACC ... irreversibel sein: PRES.3SG SUBJ wissen: NEC.3SG COP) ‘Es ist notwendig zu wissen, dass jene Kreatur ... irreversibel ist) (Erdal 2004: 505). Solche Konstruktionen im Alttürkischen entsprechen, wie Erdal sagt, den Konstruktionen „Akkusative + Infinitiv“ (d.h. A.c.I., *accusativus cum infinitivo*) im Lateinischen (2004: 505).

## 2. Struktur von „Small Clauses“ in modernen Türkssprachen

Wie oben bereits erwähnt, kommen „Small Clauses“ syntaktisch in einem Matrixsatz eingebettet vor. Zur Verbindung von „Small Clauses“ mit dem Matrixsatz bestehen in modernen Türkssprachen folgende syntaktische Möglichkeiten:

a) „Small Clauses“, die mit Hilfe eines Subjunktors (z.B. tuw. *dep*, tat. *dip*, čuv. *tese*) mit dem Matrixsatz verbunden werden (Aydemir 2020: 117). Dazu sind folgende Belege anzuführen:

- (4) Tuwinisch: Aydemir 2020: 118  
*Men [seni ög-bülelig] dep bodadim.*  
 Ich sen-ACC verheiratet SUBJ denken: PAST.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, Du bist/seist/wärest verheiratet.’

- (5) Tatarisch: Aydemir 2020: 118  
*Min [anı qara] dip bėlem.*  
 Ich es: ACC schwarz SUBJ wissen: PRES.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, es ist/sei/wäre/ schwarz.’

b) „Small Clauses“, die mit dem Matrixsatz ohne einen Subjunktor verbunden werden, z.B. in folgenden Belegen:

- (6) Türkeiitürkisch  
*Ben [seni evli] sandım.*  
 Ich du: ACC verheiratet glauben: PAST.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, Du bist/seist/wärest verheiratet.’

- (7) Türkeiitürkisch  
*Ben [Ali’yi en iyi arkadaşım] bildim.*  
 Ich Ali: ACC best Freund: POSS.1SG wissen: PAST.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, Ali ist/sei/wäre mein bester Freund.’

Wie aus den obigen Beispielen ersichtlich, gibt es einen großen Unterschied zwischen dem Türkeiitürkischen und den anderen modernen Türkssprachen. Das Türkeiitürkische verwendet nämlich in solchen Verbindungen keinen Subjunktor, während dieser in den anderen Türkssprachen erforderlich ist.

### 3. Typen von Small Clauses in modernen Türkssprachen

„Small Clauses“ lassen sich typologisch unterschiedlich klassifizieren. In Bezug auf die Kategorie ihrer Prädikate findet man verschiedene Typen von Small Clauses:

- *adjektivische „Small Clauses“* (ein Adjektiv am Prädikat),
- *nominale „Small Clauses“* (ein Nomen am Prädikat),
- *präpositionale „Small Clauses“* (eine Präposition am Prädikat) und
- *verbale „Small Clauses“* (ein Verb/Partizip am Prädikat)

(Cardinaletti & Teresa Guasti 1995: 5–6).

Basierend auf diesem Ansatz können wir „Small Clauses“ in modernen Türkssprachen wie folgt klassifizieren:

- a) „Small Clauses“, deren Prädikat ein Adjektiv enthält, werden als *adjektivische „Small Clauses“* bezeichnet. Dieser Typ von „Small Clauses“ kommt in den modernen Türkssprachen am häufigsten vor. Dazu sind folgende Belege anzuführen:
- (8) Türkei-türkisch:  
*Ben [onu akıllı] sandım.*  
 Ich er/sie: ACC klug glauben: PAST.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, du bist/seist/wärest klug.’
- (9) Tuwinisch: Aydemir 2020: 118  
*Men [seni ög-bülelig] dep bodadım.*  
 Ich du: ACC verheiratet SUBJ glauben: PAST.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, du bist/seist/wärest verheiratet.’
- (10) Tatarisch: Aydemir 2020: 118  
*Min [anıñ qara] dip bəlem.*  
 Ich es: ACC schwarz SUBJ wissen: PREs.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, es ist/sei/wäre schwarz.’
- b) „Small Clauses“, deren Prädikat ein Nomen enthält, werden hier *nominale „Small Clauses“* genannt. Hierzu einige Belege aus den modernen Türkssprachen:
- (11) Türkei-türkisch:  
*Ben [onu en iyi arkadaşım] bildim.*  
 Ich ihn/sie best Freund: POSS.1SG wissen: PAST.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, er/sie ist/sei/wäre mein bester Freund.’
- (12) Tschuwaschisch: Uluyüz 2019: 180  
*Saltaksem [mana šofer] tесе šutla-rě pul-malla.*  
 Soldat: PL ich: ACC Fahrer SUBJ denken: PAST.3SG sein: NEC  
 ‘Die Soldaten dachten wahrscheinlich, ich bin/sei/wäre der Fahrer.’

- (13) Kasachisch: Aydemir 2020: 118  
*Ol kisi [Asandı jaq joldas] dep maqta-dı.*  
 jene Person Hasan-ACC gut Freund SUBJ loben: PAST.3SG  
 ‘Jene Person lobte Hasan als einen guten Freund.’
- c) „Small Clauses”, deren Prädikat eine Verbalform (inklusive Partizipen) enthält, werden hier als verbale „Small Clauses” bezeichnet. Dazu sind folgende Belege anzuführen:
- (14) Türkentürkisch:  
*[Seni gitti] sandım.*  
 Sen: ACC gehen: PAST.3SG glauben: PAST.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, du bist/seist/wärest weggegangen.’
- (15) Türkentürkisch:  
*[Mübarek Şeyhi ağlar] gördü.*  
 Heilig Scheich: ACC weinen: AOR.3TK sehen: PAST.3SG  
 ‘Er sah, dass der heilige Scheich am Weinen war.’ (= Er sah den heiligen Scheich weinend’).
- (16) Schorisch: Rind-Pawlowski 2012: 123  
*[Ani kelgen] tep aytqam.*  
 er/sie: ACC kommen: PAST.3SG SUBJ sagen: PAST.1SG  
 ‘Ich sagte, dass er gekommen ist/sei/wäre.’

#### 4. Grammatikalische Funktionen von Small Clauses

In syntaktischer Hinsicht werden „Small Clauses” als eine Subkategorie von Komplementsätzen bezeichnet, die einem Matrixsatz eingebettet sind (Aydemir 2020: 117). In diesem Sinne stellen „Small Clauses” eine syntaktische Alternative zur Kodierung von Subordination in modernen Türksprachen dar.

Nach Cardinaletti & Teresa Guasti haben „Small Clauses” drei grammatikalische Funktionen: *Komplement*, *Subjekt* und *Adjunkt* (1995: 5).

Auch in modernen Türksprachen können „Small Clauses” gewisse grammatikalische Funktionen aufweisen. Die adjektivischen Small Clauses z.B. kommen oft, wie Cardinaletti & Teresa Guasti (1995: 7) betonten, als Argumente des Matrixsatzes vor. Hierzu einige Belege:

- (17) Türkentürkisch:  
*Ben [seni evli] sandım.*  
 Ich du: ACC verheiratet: ADJ glauben: PAST.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, Du bist/seist/wärest verheiratet.’

- (18) Kirgisisch: Aydemir 2020: 118  
*Men [seni üy-bülöliü] dep oylopmun.*  
 Ich Du-ACC verheiratet SUBJ glauben: PAST: 1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, Du bist/seist/wäirst verheiratet.’
- (19) Tatarisch: Aydemir 2020: 118  
*Min [anı̇ qara] dip bēlem.*  
 Ich es: ACC schwarz SUBJ bil-PRES.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, es ist/sei/wäre schwarz.’

Verbale „Small Clauses“, die im Vergleich zu adjektivischen „Small Clauses“ relativ selten vorkommen, können als Argumente des Matrixsatzes verwendet werden, z.B. in den folgenden Beispielen:

- (20) Türkei-türkisch: Aydemir 2020: 118.  
*Ben [onu en iyi arkadaşım] bildim.*  
 Ich er/sie: ACC best Freund: POSS.1SG wissen: PAST.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, er/sie ist/sei/wäre mein bester Freund.’
- (21) Tschuwaschisch: Uluyüz 2019: 180  
*Saltaksem [mana šofer] tese šutlarě pulmalla.*  
 Asker: PL ich-ACC Fahrer SUBJ denken: PAST.3SG sein: NEC  
 ‘Die Soldaten dachten wahrscheinlich, ich bin/sei/wäre der Fahrer.’

## 5. Aspektotemporale Interpretation von Small Clauses in modernen Türkssprachen

Die „Small Clauses“ in modernen Türkssprachen sind in Bezug auf den Aspektotempus in der Regel vom Matrixsatz abhängig, da sie syntaktisch einem Matrixsatz eingebettet sind. Diejenige „Small Clauses“, deren Prädikate keine verbale Form bzw. keine Partizipien enthalten, können keine aspektotemporale Relationen ausdrücken, d.h. sie sind diesbezüglich vom Matrixsatz abhängig. Dazu zählen z.B. adjektivische und nominale „Small Clauses“ in modernen Türkssprachen. Beispiele:

- (22) Tatarisch: Aydemir 2020: 118  
*Min [anı̇ qara] dip bēlem.*  
 Ich es: ACC schwarz SUBJ bil-PRES.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, es ist/sei/wäre schwarz.’
- (23) Kasachisch: Aydemir 2020: 118  
*Ol kisi [Asandı̇ jaq joldas] dep maqta-dī.*  
 jene Person Hasan-AKK gut Freund SUBJ loben: PAST.3SG  
 ‘Jene Person lobte Hasan als einen guten Freund.’



Es gibt jedoch einige andere „Small Clauses“ in modernen Türkssprachen, die gewisse aspektotemporale Ideen signalisieren. Die sog. verbale „Small Clauses“ z.B., deren Prädikat bestimmte Verbformen (konjugierte Verben oder Partizipen) enthält, sind in der Lage, unabhängig von ihren Matrixsätzen gewisse aspektotemporale Relationen auszudrücken. In folgenden Belegen signalisiert die Form *-Xr* ein intraterminales Präsens, während *-DI* für eine terminale Vergangenheit, *-mİş* und *-GAn* für eine postterminale Vergangenheit verwendet werden (siehe für diese aspektotemporale Relationen Johanson 1994, Aydemir 2010).

- (24) Türkei-türkisch:  
 [Mübarek Şeyhi ağlar] gördü.  
 Heilig Scheich: ACC weinen: AOR.3TK sehen: PAST.3SG  
 ‘Er sah, dass der heilige Scheich am Weinen war.’ (= *Er sah den heiligen Scheich weinend*)
- (25) Türkei-türkisch:  
 [Seni gitti] sandım.  
 Sen: ACC gehen: PAST.3SG glauben: PAST.1SG  
 ‘Ich dachte, du bist/seist/wärest weggegangen.’
- (26) Türkei-türkisch: Haig 2016: 120  
 Beni deli, çıldırmiş sandılar.  
 Ich:ACC verrückt verrückt.werden:PAST.3SG glauben:PAST.3PL  
 ‘Sie dachten, ich wäre verrückt, wäre verrückt geworden.’
- (27) Schorisch: Rind-Pawłowski 2012: 123  
 [Ani kelgen] tep aytqam.  
 er/sie: ACC kommen: PAST.3SG SUBJ sagen: PAST.1SG  
 ‘Ich sagte, dass er gekommen ist/sei/wäre.’

## 6. Fazit

In diesem Artikel wurden die typologischen Merkmale von „Small Clauses“ in modernen Türkssprachen synchronisch beschrieben. Unter „Small Clauses“ sind hier eingebettete Nebensätze zu verstehen, die im Gegensatz zu den „Full Clauses“ morphologisch viel weniger komplex sind, d.h. sie bestehen aus einem Subjekt im Akkusativ und einem verbalen und nominalen Prädikat. Anhand dieser Studie wird zum ersten Mal gezeigt, wie sich „Small Clauses“ in modernen Türkssprachen typologisch und syntaktisch verhalten. Ferner konnten in Bezug auf die Typologie von „Small Clauses“ die Unterschiede sowie die Gemeinsamkeiten der modernen Türkssprachen dargestellt werden.

In Bezug auf die Struktur von „Small Clauses“ bestehen gewisse Unterschiede zwischen dem Türkei-türkischen und den anderen modernen Türkssprachen. Im Türkei-türkischen wird ein „Small Clause“ ohne ein Subjunktor (*dep, diye*) dem

Matrixsatz untergeordnet (ttü. *Ben (seni evli) sandım* ‘Ich dachte, Du bist/seist/wäirst verheiratet’), verwenden andere Türk Sprachen dagegen spezielle Subjunkoren, die „Small Clauses“ mit Matrixsätzen subordinativ verbinden (kirg. *Men [seni üy-bülölüü] dep oylopmun* ‘Ich dachte, du bist/seist/wäirst verheiratet’).

In dieser Studie haben wir eine typologische Klassifikation von Small Clauses in Bezug auf die Kategorie ihrer Prädikate hervorgehoben und behandelt. In diesem Sinne wurden „Small Clauses“ in modernen Türk Sprachen in drei Gruppen unterteilt:

- a) *adjektivische „Small Clauses“* (ein Adjektiv am Prädikat),
- b) *nominale „Small Clauses“* (ein Nomen am Prädikat) und
- c) *verbale „Small Clauses“* (ein Verb oder ein Partizip am Prädikat).

## Abkürzungsverzeichnis

ACC	Akkusativ
AOR	Aorist
COP	Kopula
čuv.	Tschuwaschisch
kaz.	Kasachisch
kirg.	Kirgisisch
NEC	Nezessitativ
PAST	Vergangenheit
PRES	Präsens
POSS	Possessiv
SG	Singular
SUBJ	Subjunktor
šor.	Schorisch
PL	Plural
tat.	Tatarisch
tuw.	Tuwinisch
ttü.	Türkeitürkisch

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## Notes on the Ethnic and Political Conditions of the Carpathian Basin in the Early 9<sup>th</sup> Century

László Balogh

At the turn of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, King of the Franks Charles the Great, gradually expanded his reign to the lands in the western part of the Carpathian Basin, formerly under the domain of the Avar Khaganate. Consequently, different ethnic groups and their leaders living earlier under Avar rule started to turn up in written sources in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, when the changed political situation made possible to form their own ethnic identity and political unit.<sup>1</sup>

Saint Emmeram of Regensburg wanted to baptize the Avars in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The author of the antiphon of St. Emmeram (9<sup>th</sup> century) already claimed that the saint even reached the Carpathian Basin.<sup>2</sup> The Hagiography of Saint Emmeram noted that the saint planned the conversion of the Avar's country (*Avarorum regna*), where Avars (*ad robustam gentem Avarorum, ad gentem Avarorum, cum Avaros, cum Avaris*) and Huns lived (*inter Hunorum, gentes Hunorum*).<sup>3</sup> However, there appears a new name to denote the pagans in the text of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The source stated that Saint Emmeram travelled to the towns of the *Wandals* (*Wandalorum oppida*), he went to the country of *Wandals* (*Waldalorum regno*), where he met with the *Huns* (*gentes Hunorum*). During the conversion, large groups of *Wandals* (*Wandalorum caterva*) hurried to him. St. Emmeram told the Avars (*Avaris*) that he was their bishop and wanted to build a monastery on their land.<sup>4</sup>

Diesenberger believed that the author, through the example of St. Emmeram, wanted to persuade his contemporaries to take part in the conversion of formerly Avar subjects, who now came under Frankish rule in the Carpathian Basin.<sup>5</sup> However, while the names *Avar* and *Hun* of the pagan people are taken from the text recorded

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1 Cf. Mitterauer 1963, 4; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 285, 288–289, 302–304, 306–307; Pohl 2018, 361–367.

2 *Antiphonae et responsoria de Haimhrammo* 526–526; Pohl 2018, 388–389.

3 *Vita vel passio Haimhrammi episcopi et martyris Ratisbonensis* 474 (3), 476 (4), 476 (5), 477 (5); Bischoff 1953, 8–14; cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986, 99–100; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 264; Pohl 2018, 261.

4 *Antiphonae et responsoria de Haimhrammo* 525–526; Diesenberger 2013, 224–227.

5 Diesenberger 2013, 226–227; Pohl 2018, 388–389.

in the 8<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>6</sup> the ethnic name *Wandal* certainly reflected ethnic conditions of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> The only question is what ethnic and political identity can be reconstructed under the name *Wandal*.

For a long time, scholars believed that the name *Wandal* was ultimately a contaminated form of the Slavic ethonym, *Vend* and that of the antique Vandals. Therefore, the land of the *Wandals* (*Waldalorum regno*) was interpreted as a country or state formation in the western part of the Carpathian Basin in which, although the Avars were still present, the Slavs represented the majority of population. It was believed that the Vandals who appeared in the Carpathian Basin or its neighborhood were in fact Slavs, whom the contemporary authors thus tried to include – with a name formally similar to the ethonym *Vend* – among the peoples of the ancient world.<sup>8</sup>

The *Wandals* of the Carpathian Basin were mentioned several occasions in sources of the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries. It seems hard to decide whether they were Slavic group or nomadic people.

The *Annales Alemannici continuatio Murbacensis* (Codex Turicensis, Codex Modoetiensis) used the *Wandal* name – in addition to the *Hun* – instead of the Avar enumerating the enemies of the Franks in the Carpathian Basin at the turn of the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>9</sup> No doubt, this name denoted an ethnic group of steppe-origin in the Avar Khaganate and not a Slavic people.<sup>10</sup> The same ethnic name was mentioned in other sources.

The author of the *Wessobruni glosses*<sup>11</sup> wrote that Pannonia is located south of the Danube and is inhabited by *Uuandals* (*Pannonia, sic nominatur illa terra meridie Danobia. Et Uuandoli habent hoc.*) in the first decades of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>12</sup> Later the author clarified that the *uuandal/uuandol* were actually Huns and Schythians (*Uuandali huni. et citta. auh uuandoli*). There is another list in the source: *Sclauus et auarus. humi et uuinida*.<sup>13</sup> The author simply swapped the names in this case. The

6 *Vita vel passio Haimhrammi episcopi et martyris Ratisbonensis* 474 (3), 476 (4), 476 (5), 477 (5); Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 264.

7 Cf. Bóna 1981, 109; Bóna 1984, 342.

8 Steinacher 2004, 331–334; Diesenberger 2013, 225.

9 *Annales Alamannici* 47, 48; Lendi 1971, 168, 170, 172. The source was written in Murbach Abbey. Here they could have direct information about the ethnic conditions of the Carpathian Basin. Bishop Sindpert of Regensburg was appointed head of the abbey in 789 (Hammer 2008, 256). He took part in Charles the Great's campaign against the Avars in 791, where he died (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 279–281). Perhaps one should look around for the person who also wrote the entries in the yearbook between 786–789 (Lendi 1971, 118, 125–126) who described the entries about Wandals in the source.

10 Lendi 1971, 125; Bóna 1981, 109–112; Vékony 1981, 71, 73; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 296; Steinacher 2004, 333; Olajos 2013, 528–529.

11 Bischoff 1974. I. 20–21; Veszprémy 1996, 158; Steinacher 2004, 331–333; Veszprémy 2014, 274.

12 <https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0003/bsb00031771/images/index.html?id=00031771&groesser=&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=133>

13 <https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0003/bsb00031771/images/index.html?id=00031771&groesser=150%&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=125>

*sclauus* is identical with the *uuinida*, while the *auarus* is with the *huni*.<sup>14</sup> There is no doubt that the names *uuandal/uuandol* referred to an ethnic group of steppe-origin and not a Slavic group. This population certainly can be identified with one community of the Avar Kaganate, still living in large numbers in the western part of the Carpathian Basin at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

The East Frankish ruler Louis the German donated estates to the monastery of Matsee on May 8, 860. This diploma includes the name *Uuamgariorum marcha* as the name of a mountain in the description of the boundary of the estates.<sup>15</sup> *Uuangariorum marcha* was a smaller geographical point, such as the *Sauariae vadum* (Gyöngyös brook), *Sprazam* (Zöbernbach brook) and *Uuitinesberc* (Vütöm, Günser Gebirge) mentioned together with it.<sup>16</sup> The first element of the name *Uuamgariorum marcha* can be related to the previously mentioned name *Wandal* (*Waldalorum regno, Uuandali, Uuandoli, caterva Wandalorum, etc.*).<sup>17</sup>

The first element, *Uuangar-* in the description of the boundary of the charter of 860 is a vernacular form, while *Wandal* reflects the influence of the antique ethnic name Vandal in the antiphon of the St. Emmeram, in the *Annales Alemannici continuatio Murbacensis* and in the *Wessobruni glosses*.<sup>18</sup> If the *Uuangar* was identical with *Wandal*, their habitat and ethnic identity must be determined.

According to the *Wessobrun glosses*, the *Wandals* lived east of Bavaria, south of the Danube. The same is stated in the *Annales Alamannici continuatio Murbacensis*: Charles the Great destroyed the territory of the *Vuandals* (*in regionem vuandalorum*) in 791.<sup>19</sup> This Frankish campaign touched upon the part of the Avar Khaganate south of the Danube and west of the River Rába.<sup>20</sup> In other cases, the source repeatedly referred as *Vuandal* to the people (or at least part of it) under the rule of the Tudun, who held power in the western half of the Avar Khaganate. It was also recorded that the Franks had conquered the *Vuandal* before the Avar Khagan surrendered. Then the prince of Pannonia, the Tudun, visited the emperor in Aachen.<sup>21</sup> The *Annales Alamannici continuatio Murbacensis* also mentioned that Erik the dux of Friaul waged war – no doubt on the western edge of the Carpathian Basin – against the *Vandals* and subjugated them during the year 797.<sup>22</sup> Under the year 798, the source reported a

14 Steinberger 1920, 119; Veszprémy 1996, 158; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 266; Steinacher 2004, 333.

15 Plank 1946, 34–37; Wagner 1955, 6 (N. 9.); Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum. I. 145–146. (N. 101); Steinhübel, 2021, 167. Kollautz 1966, 263–264.

16 Steinhübel, 2021, 167.

17 Plank 1946, 36; Olajos 1969, 88–90; Vékony 1981, 76–77; Bóna 1981, 109; Olajos 2013, 524–527.

18 Vékony 1981, 71.

19 *Annales Alamannici* 47, 48; Lendi 1971, 164.

20 Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 279–282; Pohl 2018, 380–382.

21 Lendi 1971, 168.

22 Lendi 1971, 170, 172; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 296–297.

revolt of the *Vandals*, which certainly meant an uprising of the Tudun.<sup>23</sup> In 796, Pippin, son of Charles the Great, went to the territory of the *Vuandals* (*in regionem Vuandalorum*), whose inhabitants they surrendered to him. This area was also largely south of the Danube, in the western part of the Carpathian Basin.<sup>24</sup> It is evident from the biography of St. Emmeram that he intended to go along the Danube. It can be rightly assumed based on this that the author of his antiphon also knew the residence of the *Wandals* to be along the Danube, east of Bavaria.

There can be little doubt that the *regionem Wandalorum* against which Charles the Great waged war in 791 was the same as the *Wandalorum regno* to which the Frankish missionaries following the example of St. Emmeram had to go in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. In the same way, the *Wandals* conquered by the Franks at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century were the same people referred to as the *Wandal* by the antiphon of St. Emmeram.

*Wandals* are mentioned in the sources as inhabitants of the area east of the Frankish Empire south of the Danube. The *Wandals* were certainly not Slavic people, but some nomadic groups also named as *Hun* and *Citta* (Scythian) of the Avar Khaganate. After several decades of the fall of the Avar Khaganate, the term Vandal already meant Slavs (Vends)<sup>25</sup> on several occasions which is completely irrelevant in terms of interpretation of the sources from the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries.

We cannot exclude the possibility that the *Wandals* became the leading ethnicity of the Avar Khaganate by the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>26</sup> but much more obvious is the assumption that the *Wandals* were one of the subjugated ethnic groups of the Khaganate, whom the Avar Khagan entrusted with the protection of the western frontier. There are many examples of a steppe empires deploying subjugated ethnic groups to protect their borders. The most obvious such an example is the case of the Danube Bulgarians, who deployed Slavic tribes to protect their borders against the Byzantine Empire and the Avars after they had occupied the Balkans.<sup>27</sup> Certainly, the Avars did the same.<sup>28</sup> When the Khaganate began to decline the leaders of these people placed themselves under the rule of the Frankish Empire since there were no Avars living along the borders of the Khaganate. It could have been a similar case with the Slavic Timocans and Abodrites living on the southern edge of the Carpathian Basin, even if just for a short time in the years 810–820, broke away from the Bulgarian Principality and recognized the authority of the Frankish Empire.<sup>29</sup>

23 Lendi 1971,172; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 297–298.

24 Lendi 1971,170; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 280.

25 Steinacher 2004, 331–332, 335–348.

26 Vékony 1981, 75–76. cf. Madaras 2008, 190–191.

27 Dujčev 1938; Beševliev 1981, 179–181; Mango 1990, 90–91. (36); Mango–Scott 1997, 499.

28 Cf. Lemerle 1979, 222–223, 227–229.

29 *Annales regni Francorum* 149, 159, 165–166; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1983, 191–194.



The *Wandals*, who lived in the Carpathian Basin in the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries were associated with the Onogurs or Onogundurs from the empire of Kuvrat.<sup>30</sup> Some of their groups came under the rule of the Avar Khagan at different times over the centuries.<sup>31</sup>

The *Annales regni Francorum* also left a trace that people living on the western borders of the Avar Khaganate were not primarily Avars. Theodorus Kapgan (*capcanus, princeps Hunorum; capcanus christianus nomine Theodorus*), one of the princes of the *Huns* turned to Charles the Great with a request in 805. He could not stay in his old residence with his people because of the hostile action of the Slavs, so he asked the ruler to allow him to relocate between Savaria and Carnuntum.<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, this territory was ruled by the Frankish Empire at that time and was not under the rule of the Avar Khagan. The emperor complied with the request, but the Kapgan soon died. In the second half of the year 805, the Avar Khagan offered the entire Avar Khaganate (*totius regni*) to Charles the Great. By this he meant that he would receive “the old dignity which the khagan used to have among the Huns”.<sup>33</sup> When the emperor agreed to this, the Khagan was baptized and received the name Abraham.<sup>34</sup> In reconstructing the events, some historians have been misled by the data in Regino’s work, and in the works of authors who followed his textual tradition, Theodorus’ title was not in the form Kapgan (*capcanus*) but in the form Khagan (*caganus*) and he was not the prince of the *Huns* (*capcanus, princeps Hunorum*), but that of the Avars (*Caganus princeps Avarorum*).<sup>35</sup> Those who considered Theodorus as an Avar Khagan assumed that after his death, another Avar leader, Abraham received the title Khagan and the people living between Savaria and Carnuntum from Charles the Great. Thus, Theodorus and Abraham would have been the heads of an Avar vassal state under Frankish rule in the western part of Transdanubia.<sup>36</sup> Since the title (name?) *qapgan* is known among the peoples of the Eurasian steppe,<sup>37</sup> it is logical presumption that the title *capcanus* was written in the erroneous form *caganus* by later authors. Theodorus was a *qapgan*, who did not create an Avar Khaganate under Frankish rule in the area between Savaria and Carnuntum. In turn, Abraham Khagan obviously did not want to change his title *qagan* to a *qapgan* of lesser rank with the permission of Charles the Great.

What does it mean that the Avar Khagan claimed for himself authority over the entire Khaganate in 805? How is it to be interpreted that the Khagan wants to gain the dignity that the Khagans have long enjoyed over the *Huns*? Abraham Khagan could

30 Moravesik 1958, 218–219; Zimonyi 2014, 259, 263–264; Zimonyi 2016, 239–244.

31 Olajos 1969, 90; Bóna 1981, 109–111; Vékony 1981, 73; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1987, 111; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 218–220; Olajos 2013.

32 *Annales regni Francorum* 119–120; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998, 306–307; Szőke 2019, 126–127.

33 *Annales regni Francorum* 120; Scholtz 1972, 84.

34 *Annales Iuvavenses maiores* 734.

35 Regino 65.

36 Pohl 2018, 387; Szőke 2018, 133.

37 Sinor 1954; Clauson 1956.

have gained power over the whole Avar Khaganate (*totius regni*) if Charles the Great had also placed the *Huns* under his rule (*petens sibi honorem antiquum, quem caganus apud Hunos habere solebat*). But who were these *Huns*? The *Annales regni Francorum*, unlike many other Latin sources, does not seem to use the Avar and Hun ethnic names as synonyms. The ruling ethnic group of the Avar Khaganate and the people under the rule of the Khagan were called Avar (782, 788, 791, 795, 796, 797, 799, 811, 822).<sup>38</sup> The people of the Kapgan was called *Hun* only in that source and they were threatened by the Slavs (805).<sup>39</sup> This nomadic group of the Avar Khaganate lived in the western part of Transdanubia in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century. A *Hun* group of steppe origin also lived in the same area, who were in serious conflict with the Slavs (811).<sup>40</sup> The author of the same source noted that the people of the Kapgan (*capcanus, princeps Hunorum*) moved to the Frankish territory in 805 with the permission of Charles the Great, so the Khagan could no longer assert his supremacy over them. The Tudun and one of his descendants also surrendered to the Franks (795–796, 803). Thus, in 805, the populations of the western edge of the Khaganate were certainly already outside the jurisdiction of the Khagan.

When Theodorus died, the Khagan wanted to regain his old supremacy over Theodorus's *Huns* and perhaps over the Tudun's people. It is not the case that the Avars had not had a Khagan from 795, and Abraham wanted to restore this title,<sup>41</sup> but the Avar Khagan no longer exercised supremacy over the Tudun's people living in Transdanubia and the Kapgan's people called *Hun* living between Savaria and Carnuntum. The Khagan wanted to regain his supremacy over these peoples in 805, and thus he wanted to restore his rule over the entire Avar Khaganate (*totius regni*) with the permission of Charles the Great.<sup>42</sup> These *Huns*, in turn, lived in whole or in part in an area whose inhabitants are called *Wandal/Uuanger* in other Latin sources.

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<sup>38</sup> *Annales regni Francorum* 60, 80, 88, 96, 98, 102, 108, 135, 159.

<sup>39</sup> *Annales regni Francorum* 119–120.

<sup>40</sup> *Annales regni Francorum* 135.

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# Turkish Heritage of Hungarian Dietary Culture

Júlia Bartha

## Introduction

Hungarian rural dietary culture carries a rich oriental heritage. Our culture received three waves of oriental impact. During the time of the Conquest, we brought along elements of knowledge which had entered our culture through living amidst Turkic peoples. The names of cereals (*búza* and *árpa* meaning wheat and barley), the names of fruits (*alma* and *szőlő* meaning apple and grape), other plant names and the entire vocabulary of sheep-keeping are of Turkic origin (Kakuk 1996), except for those words which became incorporated when the Vlachian stratum of shepherds appeared – most of which are related to the techniques of processing yew's milk. The Cuman (*kun*) and Jassic (*jász*) population, which settled in Hungary in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, enriched our culture by a new Oriental layer which was further reinforced later by the Turkish occupation of the country. Viewed in the light of these facts it becomes understandable that the influence of the Turkish occupation found its way easily into rural culture, particularly into horticulture and, via commerce, into dietary culture, because it served as a good example and improved the existing range of foods. Reception was made easier by the fact that the people living on the Great Plain practically continued their former culture of the Steppes. This meant the kind of foundation which profoundly connected Hungarian culture with Central Asian and Anatolian Turkish culture, although they were far removed from each other in both time and space, the method of land cultivation and lifestyle which developed under analogous ecological circumstances continued to thrive. Thanks to the works of Turkologists and historians of economics published in the last third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century we now have a more nuanced picture about conditions in Hungary under Turkish occupation. Research has yielded a number of new conclusions about the way in which the occupants managed and organised life in Hungary. Analysing the data of tax records and knowing the system of public administration it is probable that before the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century neither the population, nor the economy itself suffered the degree of destruction that had been assumed (Dávid 1991, Hegyi 1995, Ágoston 1992). Real destruction set in not as a consequence of the fights but due to the subsequent onslaught of 'morbus hungaricus', the disease which made Hungary's name ill-omened and widely known throughout Europe. A combination of typhoid fever, dysentery and malaria, the epidemic first appeared in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup>

century and was carried by affected mercenary soldiers to several countries throughout Europe. The disease was caused mostly by extreme weather conditions, the presence of extensive marshlands and the lack of sufficient hygiene (Ágoston 1992: 123).

In the occupied territories instead of economic decline, we often see, the signs of growing prosperity: an increasing boom in cattle-breeding, highly developed viticulture, horticulture, bustling market towns which evolved into regional trade centres in this very period and laid the foundations of their later affluence. The occupants, often decried as barbarians, turned out in retrospect to have settled in this country with the mentality of the careful landowner and although they drew considerable revenues from taxes, bearing these in mind they catered to provide circumstances for successful farming. The presence of the Turks did not topple the system of previous institutions. Although they divided the occupied areas into *vilayets* and *sanjaks*, these Turkish offices failed to take root and to exercise any effective influence over the everyday life of the Hungarian people beyond tax-collecting. The Turks never actually occupied the whole of Hungary as their rule extended only over the central third of the country.<sup>1</sup> Since this region represented the frontier status within their empire most of the occupants were soldiers and lived relatively secluded lives. There were no Anatolian peasants settling in Hungarian villages and even in the towns and cities they did not appear in great numbers. There were some settlers, but not many – only the number required to secure the alimention of the local army, collecting the taxes and securing religious practice. Along with the soldiers came the officials of the local administration and the artisans and merchants tending to the needs of those living so far removed from their home. The total number did not exceed 50,000 (Ágoston 1992: 126).

They occupied Hungarian houses in the villages and towns, sharing their lot with the local population and slowly shaped the towns to their own liking. The typical quarters of Turkish towns, *mahalle* appeared. Next to the *djami* they also built *medrese* (schools), kitchens for the poor and public baths; in the larger cities also a hospital and a library. Indispensable elements of the Turkish lifestyle were small workshops of artisans which formed separate units arranged into streets according to the various crafts. There were streets for bootmakers, potters, coppersmiths, tinsmiths, furriers, belt-makers, locksmiths, pen-cutters, barbers, bakers and butchers. Their memory is still preserved in some places in the form of street names. Right beside them, of course, there were also Hungarian butchers and publicans, too – the only difference being that Hungarian butchers sold pork and the publicans served wine, while the Turkish drink-vendors sold *serbet* and *boza*. In between them there were also small grocery shops where they sold herbs, spices and oriental fabrics imported from distant lands. There were also masters who cooked the Turkish foods unknown to the Hungarians and sewed pieces of clothing. After the Turkish fashion, the artisans sat and worked in the open street... Anyone who is acquainted with contemporary

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1 This is what historians call a condominium i.e. joint Turkish-Hungarian ownership.



Turkey can very easily imagine this, as this is normal everyday sight in cities even today in the Eastern part of the country. Wholesale trade was made possible by large, covered warehouse stores called *bedesten* which were built in the major cities (Bartha 1997: 59–71). In Buda, the *bedesten* was in the square just outside today's Matthias Church (Ágoston 1992: 132). Whenever necessary, they also stored products in the *djamis*, particularly military supplies. The various peace treaties between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Empire created highly favourable conditions for merchants who handled a considerable turnover in goods. Itinerant trade gradually became re-directed from Venice toward the West, its new centre was first Vienna and the Pest. Itinerant traders also appeared in major market towns and later as shop owners (Papp 2004: 74). It was through them and by the mediation of the local bourgeois population that a great many kitchen requisites, herbs, spices and dishes found their way to Hungary from Turkey and the Balkans. Turkish dietary culture was shaped by the plurality and ethnic complexity of the Ottoman Empire and its resulting multi-cultural character. The culinary culture of the Turkic population which preserved the Central Asian traditions was most powerfully affected by the cultures of Greece and the Middle East. This is also what then went on to affect Hungarian culture and left lasting traces on the areas of dietary culture mentioned above.

### Horticulture, viniculture, fruit production

In Hungary various types of fruits from the Balkans were introduced and regular fruit production took root in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and the first real boom in fruit production came in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Of the fruits grown in this country, apples, water chestnuts, rowan berries, strawberries and hazelnuts are the fruits mentioned in documents as early as the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Some fruits, including cornels, apples, walnuts, pears and sloe get their names (*som, alma, dió, körte, kökény*) from Old Turkic, and belong to the layer of Hungarian dating back to the Conquest, which means that the Hungarian had known these fruits long before the Turkish period. Clearly this was part of the reason why the cultural stratum of the Turkish occupation could easily become incorporated in overall Hungarian culture. That great traveller of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Evliya Chelebi wrote about fruit production in Pécs in tones of admiration. He records that there were 170 types of fruit produced there at the time – he himself tasted 47 kinds of pears in one day in the house of Alay Beg (Surányi 1985: 78). Turkish rule brought no changes for the worse as regards horticulture and viniculture. The range was enriched by a number of new types in the occupied areas which only came under Turkish rule in subsequent waves. (The Szerémség area as early as 1523, while the centre of the country after the lost battle of Mohács.) Under Turkish influence considerable centres of gardening developed in a number of locations. Although wine grapes had to go due to the religious ban on alcohol in Islam, but this is the period when products distilled from wine began their rise to popularity, since the prohibitions of the Quran were interpreted as not to apply to 'cooked wines'

(Surányi 1985: 175). Due to tax holidays a great many vineyards were planted on the Great Plain, as well as elsewhere. For instance, the town of Jászberény did not pay tax to the porta for 16 year because they planted vines over an extensive area (Bathó 2014: 9–11), but the vine-growing areas of Szekszárd, Tolna and Pécs also survived Turkish rule undamaged. We know from Evliya Chelebi's records (Evliya 1985) that viniture was significant around Buda. According to information from the castellan of Buda there were altogether 7000 vineyards in Buda ranging from the Középhegy hills, Szabadság hill and Gellért hill to the hill of Kelen and including Óbuda. Visiting Kassa, Evliya Chelebi describes vineyards where there were 22 types being grafted. This was the period when the black *common grapevine* (*Vitis vinifera*), black muscat, blue and red 'kecskecsöcsű', red crimson and white 'pumpkin grapes' as well as 'pumpkin currants' (csausz) started to appear in the vineyards, as well as Kadarka which began spreading fast. (Kadarka had existed even before 1526), (Surányi 1985: 175–176). Commerce was also affecting garden cultivation considerably – cities such as Kecskemét (with its unique gardening culture) and Debrecen grew particularly strong. Going to pubs to drink now became a common practice not only at centres of commerce but even at places of production. So much so that in 1661 the three cities passed a decree to stop people visiting the pubs (Novák 2016).

### Rice dishes

Cereals grown commonly in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, such as wheat, rye, barley, millet and oats, covered the needs of alimentation of the general public but were not sufficient for also supplying the army. During the time of Turkish rule new culinary habits started to appear. In order to supply their army, the Turks began to produce rice in their territories on the Balkans. This is how this plant also came to be known in Hungary. Huge rice plantations were established in the South of the country, but these were eradicated after the Turkish army withdrew and rice production was not re-launched until the 20<sup>th</sup> century when breeds adapted to the climate of our country were developed. It had, however, become a fixture in our culinary culture and so it can fairly be declared that we owe our rice-based dishes to the Turks as they became widespread during the time of the occupation (Ketter 1985: 259). The best example is *rizses hús* (*pilaf*) – a dish most popular in the cuisine of both nations. Turkish people mostly make it from mutton, while in Hungary mutton and rice is a dish mostly cooked in the Nagykunság area under the name *juhúsos kása*. Another common rice-based dish in both Hungarian and Turkish cuisine is stuffed paprika (Hungarian *töltött paprika*, Turkish *biber*). The only major difference is that Turkish people use mutton for the stuffing, while in Hungarian cooking it is substituted by pork.

Various dishes where a rice-and-meat filling is stuffed inside cabbage or grape leaves are still thought of as the best-known foods of Turkish cuisine. The nomadic Turkic peoples did not grow cabbage or rice – they adopted these cultivated plants after the occupation of Constantinople (1435) from the population engaged in

irrigating farming of the Byzantine fashion and passed this skill on to the rest of Europe. The Hungarian dish referred to as stuffed cabbage (*töltöttkáposzta*), seen as a national classic, has been known since the time of the Turkish occupation. Its popularity is understandable since meat and cabbage had always been a popular combination in Hungarian cuisine. A MS *Booklet of the Art of Cooking* originating from the court of the Zrínyis from before 1662 refers to cabbage and meat as the token food of Hungary. Péter Apor offers the following laudation of cabbage meat, “No food more beloved by Hungarians could be found in past times than cabbage.”

The extent to which the emigrant population exiled from the country after Rákóczi’s War of Independence managed to retain their Hungarian culinary habits is indicated by one of the very few data we have – one of the letters of Kelemen Mikes. “Therefore, I say that a finely composed letter pleases the mind no less than the palate is pleased by cabbage finely covered in dill, and sour cabbage which appear from a distance like a little mountain of silver. (...) All I can worry myself about now is when I can eat cabbage again.” This allows us to conclude that the dish known as *dolma* or *sarma* was not known at Rodosto at the time, even though it was considered a national dish along the Black Sea coast and so around Trabzon, too, and is much liked to this day. Its first Hungarian description appeared in 1695 in Tótfalusi’s cookbook and it only became widespread in Hungary in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, under Turkish influence. Even today it is called by the name *sarma*, or stuffed cabbage, in Transylvania and the Southern parts of the country. The 200-year-old recipe tells us to make it from beef, as follows. “Ask for some cow’s meat of the kind you would use for sausages or stuffed cabbage, peel off the veins and the blueish skin and cut it very fine. Take some good bacon and chop it very small, then take a handful of rice, wash it and mix it with the chopped meat and the bacon. Add salt and pepper as is due. Break two eggs over it all and mix it thoroughly. Take the leaves of a sour cabbage and cut the thick stalks out, put as much of the stuffing as you find fit into each leaf and then fold them up neatly. Once that is done, take one or two whole heads of cabbage and chop them into small slices, put a handful in the bottom of the saucepan, then four or five of the folded pieces, then again, the fine chopped cabbage. Sprinkle 15 whole grains of mild pepper on top of it all. Lay a few slices of bacon over the top and so fill the saucepan right to the top, with the pepper and the bacon, but make sure it is not tight so that you can shake it well while cooking. Fill the pot up with good beef bouillon, once it is all done, add a good roux, sprinkle saffron on top and serve it warm” (Simai 2011: 276).

One popular rice dish characteristic of both Turkish and Hungarian cuisines, particularly in the Eastern part of the Great Plain in the Nagykunság (Great Cumania) region, is *töltike* – minced meat with rice stuffed inside vine leaves. The Turkish variant, (*yaprak sarması*) is usually made without meat, and is flavoured with currants, parsley, mint, allspice and cinnamon; they slice lemons on top and so cook it. It is usually served cold, decorated with parsley. Turkish cuisine uses a very wide array of vegetables, the most common being beans, peas, black cumin (*çörek otu*), bulgur (crushed wheat), coriander, aubergines, vine leaves, tomatoes, paprika and a

great many Oriental herbs and spices, amongst which thyme and rosemary mostly define the flavouring of their dishes.

## Shepherds' dishes

### Meat dishes

The areas that have traditionally been most intensely involved in stock breeding within the Great Plain of Hungary are the left bank of the Tisza river and the region above the estuary of the rivers Körös. In the era before the regulation of the Tisza this part of the country was dominated mostly by wetlands and meadows and the most fruitful activity on the meadowlands was stockbreeding. The people of the Kiskunság, Nagykunság (Cumania) and Jászság (Iazigia) regions created their livelihood at the cost of very hard labour struggling on the salty flatlands. The region was kept alive by the periodic flooding of the rivers Tisza, Berettyó and the three branches of the Körös. Most of the area was used as pasture for large stock, while land cultivation was only allowed to take up as much of the area as was necessary to cover local needs. The characteristics of the landscape provided the foundations of a lifestyle which kept alive both the shepherding population of the plain and, at the same time, the system of market towns which existed in parallel. The extensive fields were mostly used for pasture where livestock was bred. Due to a drop in population numbers, the Turkish occupation actually favoured the keeping of large livestock on the plain. The newly settled Muslim and South Slavic population clearly preferred sheep breeding to keeping pigs and cattle.

### Mutton dishes

The most important example in this context is the Cuman population who lived at Szentkirály in the 15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> centuries and had a considerable culture of sheep-breeding. Archaeological research has identified the remains of pens and sties dug halfway into the ground and covered with one-way slanting roofs. Such simple structures were used in keeping sheep and pigs. Although the lifestyle of the Cumans who had settled at Szentkirály changed by the 15<sup>th</sup> century, certain elements of the traditional way of stockkeeping have survived to this day (Pálóczi Horváth 2014: 182). The Hungarian word *karám* 'pen', the name of that characteristic structure built by shepherds, belongs to the Pecheneg-Cuman (Besenyő-Kun) layer of Turkish loan-words in Hungarian. It is known from 16<sup>th</sup> century Turkish *defter*s that Szentkirály was the scene of considerable sheep and cattle breeding (Pálóczi Horváth 2014: 182). In 1546 the more affluent of farmers would keep 150–200 sheep, and the census of 1562 shows that farmers owning 250–300 were not rare. At the time of the census there were altogether 1582 sheep counted at this village, which was a considerable number for the period. The word-stock related to animal-breeding in the Hungarian language shows clearly (our words related to keeping sheep are of Turkic origin and

belong to the layer of the language dating back to the time of the Conquest) that the influence of the culture of the age of Turkish occupation continues to live on in the middle cultural layer, the Cuman stratum, and it is this cultural element that may be traced in today's rural culture of the Nagykunság region. The extensive animal farming which existed in the 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries is in organic historical connection with the extensive technique of animal keeping used at the time of the Conquest and the age of the House of Árpád (Szabadfalvi 1997). The predominance of stockbreeding prevailed right until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the time of the great river regulations. A characteristic of this part of the world is the scattered farmsteads of the Great Plain which is distinctive in that these units never transformed into classic farms but preserved their dependence on the town. Although the system of stockkeeping was eventually transformed, mostly due to the ecological changes brought about by the river regulations, but it still remained significant in Great Cumania (Nagykunság) and neighbouring Hortobágy (Bellon 1996: 41–42). The extensive, year-round pasture method of the latter region preserved for a long time the shepherding culture which then transmitted various archaic elements of rural gastronomy to us. Since Hungarian grey cattle were capital stock, people would more commonly kill and cook mutton and pork. Despite changes in culinary habits in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries, mutton was an absolute staple and was listed by contemporary cookbooks as one of the basic raw materials of the nobility's kitchen. The court cookbook of the Prince of Transylvania from the 16<sup>th</sup> century lists the following mutton dishes: “mutton with red cabbage; mutton in vinegar; leg of lamb with *bigoz* (a sauce with nutmeg, ginger, pepper and vinegar); mutton with rice; new style mutton with a head of cabbage; mutton with sour cabbage, mutton with sweet cabbage, leg of mutton interlarded with garlic; cold mutton for travelling either the front or the back end; mutton with garlic sauce; stomach of mutton stuffed; mutton with savoury milk; lamb deep-fried in breadcrumbs; head of lamb deep-fried in breadcrumbs; lamb with sorrel; leg of lamb with sour cream *sufa*” (Bornemisza, Anna szakácskönyvét 1680-ból közzétette, Lackó 1983).

Some of the dishes listed are known even today.

In Great Cumania (Nagykunság) and the periphery of the Hortobágy mutton has preserved its role to this day as a part of the festive menu, particularly the string of dishes served at weddings. *A Manual for Farmers of the Field* (Mezei Gazda Kézi Könyve) published at Kassa in 1831 offers the following instructions, “Nothing will better further the prosperity of a man farming the fields than breeding mutton combined with breeding cattle. Cattle is required to provide him with manure so that he may farm his fields and to get from them some drips, if not a broad influx, of revenue. The only source of solid income can be sheep. That is, if he can command the mastery of breeding them” (Staut 1831).

As regards the technologies of Hungarian rural cuisine, stewing meats goes back a long time. Meat stews (*pörkölt*) are mentioned by sources among customary peasant dishes as one of the typical foods of shepherds. However, the colour and flavour of this dish was changed radically after paprika became known in this country in the 16<sup>th</sup>

century. As it grew widespread from the 1700's onwards, paprika transformed *pörkölt* to become the national classic known today – no cookbook fails to mention it and no traveller goes by without referring to this hot and spicy Hungarian dish. Mátyás Bél writes as follows, ‘Hungarian pepper is so hot that if you touch your eye with it you may actually lose your eyesight. Therefore, many oppose it, nevertheless its use is widespread in many parts’ (Bél 1730). A German traveler came to the same conclusion. “This Turkish pepper, which is referred to as paprika around these parts, I first tasted on the next occasion, when it was used to season the stuffing of cabbage. It is terribly hot, but does not linger for a long time and makes the stomach warm. I believe that hot things of this kind are very useful in such lazy parts of the world as this, because they resist shivering. (...) My most pleasant experience here was an excellent Hungarian national dish, meat with paprika, which I enjoyed tremendously. (...) Once it is ripe, they string them together, hang them out to dry and then crush them” (Surányi 1985). *Pörkölt* as a meat dish in its own right was first made from mutton in the Nagykunság area in the middle of the Great Plain – and still is. Mutton has retained its considerable role in rural cuisine in this region – they cook 26 different dishes from mutton. The local manner of cooking this meat, where the head, hoofs and tail are scorched, the meat is stewed and the food, particularly the head, is distributed ritually, is considered an element of cultural heritage which is a remnant of the archaic Cuman culture in the heart of the Great Plain (Füvessy 1974: 221, Bartha 2002: 128). Scorching over an open fire gives a unique flavour to the food. In Karcag, Kunhegyes, Túrkeve, Kunmadaras and neighbouring Tiszaörs and Nagyivány (shepherds’ village next to the Hortobágy) it is still common practice to scorch the hoofs and the head. In the Jászság area this way of cooking the meat has been recorded at one place, Jászkisér, but this village became repopulated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century as a result of an outflow of Cuman population in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The tradition related to eating the ‘sheep body’ at festive occasions, particularly weddings, is a gesture of respect to the person most highly honoured by the community. It is seen as the sign of the greatest honour in the Nagykunság (particularly Karcag) if a guest is given the sheep’s head that was cooked along with the mutton stew – which he or she then has to distribute among those around. A particular delicacy is the brain, seasoned generously with black pepper and paprika (Bartha 2002: 128–129, Bereczki 1986: 91–92). This method of cooking mutton is particularly characteristic in the Nagykunság, but mutton dishes are equally common among shepherds of the Kiskunság. Otto Herman noted during one of his collecting tours in the Kiskunság, this is a place where the offal is also cooked in with the *paprikás* (Herman 1914: 245). In the rural cuisine of Anatolian Turks and the Balkan countries a frequent feature of rural cuisine is *kokereç*, sheeps’ intestines seasoned with Oriental herbs and spices and twisted around a large cylinder. This roasting appliance, used in the streets, is available everywhere. Roasted until tender, *kokereç* is then placed inside pita-bread. We find no parallel in Hungarian cooking – the only shared feature is that shepherds of Nagyivány used to include the small intestines in their *paprikás* after cleaning the intestines and slicing them into finger-wide stripes. The first written record of

*Goulash*, a dish thought of as particularly Hungarian, occurred in the form ‘*Gujás-hús*’ in 1787 in a work by István Mátyus titled *Dietetica*. A point of interest is that Mátyus, who had come from Transylvania, had no direct experience of the traditional dish of the shepherds of the Great Plain, but the writing reveals that *gulyás* was already a widely used food name by that time and the way of preparation was widely known. It keeps cropping up in the writings of various authors over the subsequent years as a food name that requires no further explanation. A notary working for József Gvadányi at Peleske travelled to the Hortobágy in 1790 where *gulyáshús* was made for him by a cowherd. The point of interest is that Gvadányi does not mention the name of the dish and that among the ingredients he does not mention paprika, even though at other points in his poetry he refers to it under the name *törökbors* (Turkish pepper). One reason for omitting the name of the food may have been that the shepherds and cowherds themselves merely refer to it as ‘*hús*’, meaning meat, - they ‘cook meat’. Generally the phrase *gulyás* (Goulash) was only used in the literary vernacular, in the language of the people these dishes are usually referred to as *pörkölt* or *paprikás*. Linguists derive the name of the dish from the word *gulya* ‘a herd of cows’ (Zaicz 2006: 247).

Naturally, the dish *gulyás* also came to the notice of the Turks, as testified by an endearing explanation from folk etymology. “When Suleiman the Great ruled in Hungary and his cook could not find mutton or lamb anywhere, first he cooked *taş kebab* or something similar from veal. This is how he wanted to please the *padishah*. The sultan tasted a mouthful or two of the food and then turned to the cook and asked, ‘Who did you make this dish for?’ The cook thought the food was failing to please, so he rapidly answered, ‘For the slaves, your majesty!’ The sultan actually loved the new dish, so he gave it the name *kul aşı* ‘slaves’ food’. This is how *kulashi* gradually turned into goulash... according to popular etymology viewed from the Turkish angle.”

## Drinks

### **Boza**

We have every reason to assume that millet is one of our oldest types of cereals. Even the Chinese emperors of yore sowed the first millet seeds amidst a ceremony of great pomp. Researchers consider the genetic centre or fountainhead of this species to have been around the border area of China and Mongolia (Bellon 1981: 233). In Asia and Eastern Europe millet cultivation was significant until the 19<sup>th</sup> century; it was considered the most important cereal and the No. 1 staple in the diet of the common people. Due to its high starch content (60%) it was excellently suited for brewing beer. Its great advantage and cultural historical significance were that being a plant with a short gestation cycle it could easily be bred even by nomadic peoples. The sharp beer-like fluid gained from it through fermentation is called *boza* and is known in

Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Serbia, Albania, Macedonia, Monte Negro, Bosnia, Romania and the Ukraine. Writing about the Kirgiz, György Almásy says, “I have already mentioned the alcoholic beverage of the nomads, the millet-beer called *magzyn*, as well as the similar fermented drink referred to as *buza* or *szra*. Although consumption of these is forbidden, they are relatively widely used” (Almásy 1903: 694).

It is highly probable that *boza*, the drink produced by fermentation from millet, was first made by the Turkic peoples of Central Asia in the 10<sup>th</sup> century – it is from here that it spread through the Caucasus to the Balkans and Hungary. In the Ottoman empire it was brewed in practically every village or town, it was the most widely drunk liquid, probably due to contaminated drinking water. (Among the nomads *kumis* played a similar role.) It retained its popularity until the 16<sup>th</sup> century when sultan Selim II finally banned what was called *Tartar boza*, a brewed beverage containing opium. He is associated with the first description of alcohol-free sweet *boza*, a favoured drink of the Albanians. This drink remained popular for a much longer time, so much so that 17<sup>th</sup> century traveller Evliya Chelebi described that in Istanbul there are some 300 points selling *boza*, and the activity has developed into an industry employing a thousand people. *Boza* was particularly popular among janissaries, but the common people also drank it. The army itself also included a great many *boza*-brewers. Since it contains little alcohol, in moderate quantities it does not cause inebriation, it was considered a roborative drink. The Ottomans also referred to it as *janissaries' joy*.

Linguists attribute the Hungarian word *boza* to the Cumans, although it was known among the Hungarians even before the arrival of the Cumans. The earliest known occurrence is in the inscriptions on the gold treasure of Nagyszentmiklós. Although millet was known to the Hungarians very early, the first time it appears as a place name (*Kölesér*) was recorded in 1138 in Bihar County (Bellon 1981: 234).

There are plenty of sources that mention *boza*. Primate Miklós Oláh commemorates the drink in his descriptions of Hungary as follows. “On the plains of the Cuman people, besides wines which are brought there from a distance, there is one more drink commonly consumed, made after its own style from millet and water, which they call *bóza*” (Szarvas, Simonyi 1890: 302). This Hungarian drink is also mentioned in the *Érdy Codex* (1526–1527).<sup>2</sup> Millet was used in a crushed form, ground in a dry-mill or in wooden ‘millet mortar’ before use. This procedure was described by medical student Pál Márton who accompanied English governor L. Hudson as a translator along his travels in the 1820’s through Constantinople all the way to Smyrna. Accordingly, millet was first roasted on hot stones, then ground by hand-mills. In a roasted state millet keeps for a long time, this is the explanation why the Cumans used to transport it and brew *boza* from it when the weather was suitable. Millet is a yellow colour, once roasted, it gets a brownish tint and this alone could give *boza* its colour. Rough-ground millet flour was cooked in water over a low fire

2 Nyelveléktár. Régi magyar codexek és nyomtatványok [Linguistic Relics. Old Hungarian Codices and Printed Documents]. Vol. 4. Budapest 1876



to a thick, porridge-type consistency. Due to its high starch content during cooking it turned gluey and released a lot of sugar which allowed it to start fermenting easily. Subsequently it was cooled down and left to stand for a few days. Pál Márton's writing reveals that in the Turkish and Tartar method the fermentation lasted eight hours. The liquid began to produce a foam, and after the fermentation the sediment settled and the liquid on top became purified. This is what they called sweet *boza*. It is highly likely that to accelerate fermentation they added lactobacilli through sourdough which caused it to have a slightly sharp, stinging flavour, due to the carbon-dioxide it now contained. A chemical analysis of *boza* from Pancsova in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century revealed that 100 cm<sup>3</sup> contained 1.62-1.75g of alcohol (Szathmáry 1932: 39–40).

In Hungarian healing practice *boza* was considered a medical remedy. The famous doctor Gáspár Kőrösi considered it a medicine. When Palatine Tamás Nádasdi's wife grew ill, he prescribed her to drink *boza* and she did indeed recover – probably due to the lactic acid's ability to kill bacteria. In 1554 he wrote, jokingly, “My Lady, wife of the chief Justice of the Cumans, is in such health, perhaps from drinking *boza*, that she seems healthier than Methuselah himself” (Paládi 1966: 79; Bellon 1981: 252).

Another doctor has also commemorated the healing quality of *boza* – the army doctor of Temesvár, a much-liked student of Linné's, János Krammer when he toured Hungary. He considered *boza* a diuretic substance and often recommended it to his patients for such purposes (Szathmáry 1932: 39). At first people used millet to brew *boza* and every nation which grew this plant was also acquainted with *boza*. Millet was then gradually squeezed out by other cereals – one could imagine that *boza* also sank into oblivion. But this is not what happened. Cuman Captain János Laczka mentions in 1862 that the poorer Cumans use sweetcorn to brew *boza*. They grind sweetcorn to flour in a hand mill, knead it into a scone and dry it or even scorch it inside an oven, then crush it in a container and pour lukewarm water over it. The liquid then ferments and turns into a yellow drink with a slight bite. Cuman Captain János Laczka also mentions that instead of *boza* this is called *ciberer*. But the flavour and the colour of the two drinks must have been fairly similar (Szathmáry 1932: 39–40).

Rajmund Rapaics was of the opinion that the production and consumption of *boza* was squeezed out by more modern methods of drink production which started out from the monasteries (Rapaics 1934: 69). It was not forgotten – indeed, in the Nagyunság region *boza* was brewed as late as the 1960's at Karcag, sometimes from wheat and at other times from sweet corn and referred to *kunsavó*. The word *boza* was known all over the Nagyunság, but used only in its derivative forms at Kunmadaras, where drunk people were referred to as *bozás*, *bebozított*, *bozálkodik* – someone who had taken *boza*.

*Boza* is a fairly multi-coloured phenomenon in cultural history, a drink prevalent from Central Asia through Asia Minor all the way through the Balkans and Europe, brewed at first from millet, later also from other types of cereals, and still brewed today, when different variants of the drink are still known. Most widely known are Bulgarian, Albanian and Turkish *boza*. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Ottoman Turks favoured alcohol-free Albanian *boza*, while the Armenians liked the alcoholic versions. In

Istanbul and many towns of contemporary Turkey this drink is still widespread and popular, served most recently with cinnamon or chickpeas. The various types are sold by noted and prestigious old *bozadji* (boza vendors) such as Vefa Bozacisi in Istanbul, Akman Boza in Ankara, Ömür Bozacisi in Bursa or Karakedi Bozacisi in Eskişehir. In Bulgaria the traditional Bulgarian breakfast is consumed with *boza*. In Kirgizia it is sold in the streets in the summer months, but this is the variant brewed from wheat. The Romanian variant is referred to as *braga* and is somewhat sweeter than the Turkish or Bulgarian variant, similar to the *boza* of the Macedonians.

### Coffee

We owe the custom of drinking coffee to the Turks. Tradition has it that coffee had come from Arabia, from the city of Mokha in Yemen through Persia. In the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries it was used not only for pleasure but also as medication. In Istanbul coffee shops opened as early as the 1550's. Suleiman the Great restricted coffee consumption in 1552 and later coffee drinking was banned on multiple occasions in the empire. These prohibitions did not last long, however, as coffee irresistibly set out to conquer the world. Coffee became the national drink of the Turks. It spread from various parts of Turkey to Europe through Armenian merchants and reached Hungary, too. In Pest and Buda from 1579 onwards there were Turkish coffee makers (*kahvendji*) making the black drink with its enticing scent in coffee shops (*Káhvè Háne*), (Ketter 1985: 165). Coffee drinking became a part of our dietary habits. It grew so popular that by the early 18<sup>th</sup> century coffee shops turned into veritable cafés and gradually became the centres of the social life of the community. The phrase *kávéház* (coffee house or café) first appears in the epistles of Kelemen Mikes in 1738. Today coffee is so popular in both Turkish and Hungarian gastronomy that our life is unimaginable without it. Coffee-drinking has become a ritual. If you smell the scent of coffee lingering about a house when you enter you can be sure you are a welcome visitor.

### Sweets

Honeycomb toffee is originally an Armenian sweet, but it reached Hungary through Turkish mediation. The same is true of gingerbread, Hungarian *mézeskalács*. Beekeeping was a considerable source of revenue for farmers. In the Jászság area people paid a one-tenth tax on beekeeping to the Turks. In 1671 the Jász villages record that they paid a tax of butter, lambs and pigs collected from house to house and also paid a tenth of bees and wine (Bathó 2007: 23). As far as we know today, the first Hungarian gingerbread guild was founded in Pozsony in 1619, but Kassa was also seen as a centre of gingerbread-making as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The regulations of the gingerbread-makers' guild of Debrecen are known from 1713. This city is one of the most significant centres of this activity to this day, where excellent quality gingerbread has been made for centuries.

The beneficial health effect of quince jelly was already mentioned in the famous Herbárium of 1778. Quinces were produced in substantial quantities in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The first cookbook which survived in the Hungarian language, printed in

Miklós Misztótfalusi Kis' printing house at Kolozsvár, describes no fewer than 7 recipes for quinces. Scones (*pogácsa*) are much liked among Hungarian savoury cakes and since the word itself is of Old Turkic origin (*bagandja*), we have reason to believe that it was already known to the conquering Hungarians and the effect was only further enhanced during the Ottoman Turkish era.

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# An Epic about Attila in Chuvash Literature: Attilpa Krimkilte

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## Introduction

The topic of the epic is a field of research on Chuvash folk literature which attracts the most attention. This topic enters into the field of interest of researchers in many aspects. First of all, the question whether there is an oral epic in the oral tradition of Chuvash folk literature. Among the texts collected from the oral tradition, it has attracted the attention of researchers that there are no lengthy epic works in poetic form. For this reason, researchers have long followed the traces of poems with epic characters in Chuvash folk literature. However, it is not possible to speak of the existence of this kind of work without an element of doubt. This does not mean that there are no epics with these characteristics among the Chuvash, because the collected materials contain stories and the heroes of stories in short prose narratives such as the heroic tales or long wedding poetry such as *Salamalik*. The efforts to uncover these traces constitute the first phase for a view by researchers of Chuvash epics. The second phase of the works consists of bringing together all the products of folk literature with epic characters in a compilation. In this way, many poems and prose have been brought into anthologies by associating them by epic genre. Among these texts, different examples of folk literature come together, such as legends, myths, fables or folk poetry. Certain poems which attract attention among these texts open another phase to the eyes of researchers of Chuvash epics. This is because among the epic texts are not only anonymous poems, but there are also compilations written down by poets in the modern period of Chuvash literature. These poems attempt to create long epic in Chuvash literature in the manner of the *Kalevala* or the *Shahnameh*. In this way, many poets have written down epics, drawing on oral and written sources. This is a remarkable process. The subject of the present study, *The Story of Attilpa Krimkilte* (Attila and Kriemhild) is a work of this type. In our study, a general evaluation will be made of the process of epic creation in Chuvash literature, the literary epics which emerge in this process, and the creativity of Yuhma Mishshi, after which the sources of the epics, which are claimed to have been collected from oral sources, and their relation to oral culture will be discussed.

## Literary Epics in Chuvash Literature

The topic of epic in Chuvash literature, as mentioned briefly above, has become a field of study in which folklore and modern literature have become entwined. This is because a significant part of Chuvash epic poems, especially those which are in poetic format, are works of the modern literature period. This kind of work has been especially encouraged by the Chuvash intelligentsia, and many works have been written down in the course of forming a Chuvash national epic. Among the Chuvash, it was I. N. Yurkin who spoke about the need to write long works, making use of materials with epic characters, to awaken national sensitivities (Yumart & Trofimova 2004: 6–7), and it was M. K. Sheshpil's work *Virman Achisem* 'Forest Children' which may be accepted as the first example of this. The hero type in this work is in many ways reminiscent of the hero of an epic (Odyukov 1973: 94). Not content with producing works of literature, poets have been encouraged by penning theoretical articles on the necessity of creating an epic. In this way, articles by Stepan Lashman written in 1924 in the magazine *Suntal*, entitled *Yuri-Sivisene, Halapsene Puhsa Yirkeleme Poema Shirma Pul-sh i?* and *Simah Vaklas Yirkepe*, may each be taken as a turning point. Lashman used works in folk literature on Chuvash *alps* 'heroes' to invite those interested to write a Chuvash "Ulipiad" (Lashman 1924: 94).

In a way, this invitation was the beginning of a process of epic creation which continues to this day. Within this process, many literary stories have been written. The most notable of these are the following poetic works: N.I. Shelepi; *Konstantinapol Huline Tuni* 'The Founding of the City of Constantinople', *Pyulerti Valem Huša* 'Valem Hoca of Biler', *Essepe* 'Essepe' and *Uhsah Timir Pyulere İlni* 'Aksak Timur's Taking of Biler'. Shelepi is one of the names which stands out in works writing the Chuvash story with the works that he wrote (Shelepi 1915, 1925; Bayram 2012: 13). The works *Ulip İstoriyi* 'Alp History' (Yumart & Trofimova 2004: 261–266); Shuyin Hivetiri's *Ulip* 'Ulip' (Hivetiri 1996, 2009, 2013), and Yuhma Mishshi's *İltinpic* 'İltinpic' (Mishsh; 1993) and *Attilpa Krimkilte* 'Attila and Krimkilte' (Mishshi 1997) which are to be found in I. Z. Petrov's 1918 *Tutarsem Pyulere İlni* 'The Tatars' Taking of Biler'; G. I. Komissarov's *Tilpay* 'Tilpay' (Yumart & Trofimova 2004: 244–246); S. Elker's *Ulip* 'Ulip' published in 1927 (Odyukov 1973: 85); Ivan Ivnik's *Hura Shirha* 'Black Yorga'; V. Ektel's *Samana Tyupinchen* 'From the Depths of Time' are counted among the important texts of the history of Chuvash epic writing.

Even if these epic texts are compilations, it is important that the topics are based on Chuvash folklore, and that many of them were published after being collected from oral sources. The concern to prove that the Chuvash have long epic verse poems is generally remarkable. For this reason, literary epic poems about Chuvash heroes were published in the *Halih Eposi* 'Folk Epic' volume of the series *Chuvash Folk Creativity*, which began publication in the post-Soviet period (Yumart & Trofimov 2004). Because the last three of the epics listed above (Ulip, İltinpic and Attilpa Krimkilte) were long, they were published separately and not in the Folk Epics



volume. Hivetiri's *Epic of Ulip* can be seen as the peak of the process of Chuvash epic creation.

### Yuhma Mishshi (Yuhma Mikhail Nikolayevich) and the Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte

The epic which is the topic of our article is one of two works published by Yuhma Mishshi. Mishshi is a researcher who works to illuminate the corners of Chuvash history and the Chuvash heroes which have remained in the dark, and to fill in the periods not illuminated with historical documents with works of literature. Mishshi was born on 10 April 1936 in the village of Sikit (Russian Sugut) in the district of Patiryel in the Chuvash Republic. He graduated from the I. Ya. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogy University and completed his postgraduate studies in the field of literature at the Maxim Gorki Institute of Literature. He is the writer of more than two hundred books on ancient and medieval Chuvash history and such diverse types of writing as poetry, prose, experimentation and newspaper writing. His writings are about the ancient Chuvash, ancient Chuvash cities, ancient Chuvash gods and heroes, ancient Chuvash government and especially the Idil (Volga) Bulgar State. He accepted the Idil Bulgars as the ancestors of the present-day Chuvash and produced works on this topic. In his works on poetry and prose, his concern is to build up a Chuvash-Bulgar connection. His passionate writing on this subject and his transfer of this point of view have caused a number of problems. Problems of the relationship of history and literature which occur in almost the whole world are seen here. It is not possible to separate his work on history from his work on literature. Thus, if the effect on his readers and the Chuvash in general is to be discussed, he seems to be fighting in his works against the theories associating the Bulgars with the Kazan Muslim Tatars. In this way, we see him working to prove the Chuvash-Bulgar connection and to convince his readers of it (Afanasyeva 2020; Bayram 2018: 3).

Mishshi enters the area of interest of our article with his poetic works. Among his works, two stand out for their connection with epics. Mishshi's *İttinpiik* (Mishshi 1993) and *Attilpa Krimkilte* (Mishshi 1997), which frequently make use of Chuvash history. These two works are important in the creation of the Chuvash epic in modern literature.

*The Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte*, the subject of our article, was published in 1997 by *Vuchah* publications in Cheboksary. The words *Drevnechuvaskiy Epos* on the cover gave the message that this was an ancient epic. Immediately beneath it was the explanation *Avalhi chivashsem shinchen haylanı payıtsem šavri ye chivashsen avalhi eposı (kışsıyı)* 'Peyits about the ancient Chuvash or an ancient epic of the Chuvash'. As well as the emphasis in these statements on the age of the epic, the newly-coined word *kışsıy* as an equivalent to the term 'epos' is noticeable. Such new words are to be seen also in the text of the epic.

On the inside cover of the Chuvash language publication is a summary of the epic, and detailed information on the role of Yuhma Mishshi in its publication. In later sections, it is stated that the text of the epic has been preserved for hundreds of years by oral tradition, and that it has been set down from oral tradition. Here, Mishshi's role is described in Chuvash as *Śīrsa ilse, puhsa-pīīmletse pichete hatīrkelenī, asīrhattarusempem īlantarusene tata hiśśīmahne śīrakanī* "the compiler, the person bringing it together and completing it, and the writer of the reminders and explanations".

The text of the epic was published in German in Berlin in 1993 under the title of *Attil und Krimkilte: Das tschuwaschische Epos zum Sagenkreis der Nibelungen*. (Mischki 2011). The epic is assessed in the context of the Nibelung in the German edition and Yuhma Mishshi is recorded as compiling and bringing together the epic. This translation includes writers assessing the Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte in the context of the Nibelung tales, and articles including those setting the time of Attila in history. The edition contains the original Chuvash text along with the German translation. It is interesting that the text is assessed as a new epic in the Nibelung cycle. Much could be written on the original text and the German translation.

### The Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte according to Yuhma Mishshi

In the section titled *Avallīh Chani* "Bell-Sound of the Past" of the complete text edition of the epic, Mishshi gives information on how he performed the compilation, the variants and the people who were the sources. According to the information he gives, three variants of the epic have been preserved. The first variant was collected from the village of Yuhma-Upi by F. I. Ivanov, who was born in 1913 and was brought up and worked as a teacher in the village of Sikī in the district of Patīryel in Chuvash Republic. There is a close relation between this text and the history of the village. According to Mishshi, the village was founded by a person called Aransaypik. Aransaypik was from the lineage of Upi Pattīr and migrated in the 14<sup>th</sup> century from the city of Biler, which was the capital of the Idil Bulgar state to the banks of the Shaval and Unkī rivers. Upi Pattīr was a close friend of Īlttīnpik, the last Chuvash-Bulgar king. What forced Upi to migrate to the afore-mentioned places was Mongol pressure after the death of Īlttīnpik. Mishshi describes in detail, giving exact dates, the history of the village and of other villages which those of Upi's lineage had founded (Mishshi 1997: 67). According to this information which he gives, but without giving any sources, the people who preserved the Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte until today are people from this lineage. The information on the three variants mentioned are as follows.

The first variant was collected from Yuhma Upi's son Vashankka Yarukov-Lisittsin in 1913 by F. I. Ivanov. Mishshi maintains that those who told or recorded the epic were removed or punished in Stalin's time. There is a statement in the work of Ivanov: "We are the remains of the ancient Huns. Later on they gave us the name

of Bulgars, and now we're Chuvash." The text which he collected from Vashankka has come down in its entirety to the present day. Mishshi found these collections in the ruins of Ivanov's house (Mishshi 1997: 68–69).

In this section, Mishshi talks about the narrator, Pitrov Lisitsin. He says that Lisitsin was an extraordinary storyteller with a rich repertoire and that many texts collected by him are preserved in the archives of the Humanitarian Institute. Mishshi notes that he had heard many tales and stories from him, but he didn't collect them because he was only 11 years old, and he only realized their value much later. When his grandmother was collecting the epics of *İltinpek* and *Shichi Pike-Eltti* from Ishta Nashuk, she remembered what *Pitrav* had recounted about Attila. He asked his grandmother to recount that one too, but he notes that his grandmother did not know it well. This is because those coming from the Upi clan know better what is said about Attila. At this, Mishshi went to Pitrav, who is his aunt, and collected the Epic of Attila (Mishshi 1997: 70–71).

Mishshi collected another variant of the Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte in 1962. Unlike the others, this variant from Filip Il'darovich Stepanov was not in verse but in prose. Il'darovich heard this variant from a storyteller by the name of Mattuhha in the village of Hurapha. According to Mishshi, this variant is distinct from the text which he collected from Pitrav (Mishshi 1997: 71).

Mishshi relates that these collections and even information about the epic did not appear for a long time due to the events of the Stalin era. He mentions this in notes on the period when he worked with P. P. Yurkin in 1959 and 1960. Here, he says that anyone who wanted to publish this epic was declared an enemy of the people, and files were kept on them in the KGB archives (Mishshi 1997: 72). Mishshi gives no sources here for his ideas. Therefore, it is not possible to say that, apart from a few texts which have been ascertained in the archives of the Humanitarian Institute, any evidence has been found in official documents that these texts have been destroyed. Much work has been done on operations carried out in Stalin's time, and many things have been brought to light, but it must be said that nothing serious has yet been done regarding the events mentioned by Mishshi.

In one of the sections of a long piece of writing mentioned above, Mishshi advances several claims, such as that he collected the Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte from oral variants, that it was widespread among the Chuvash, that it dealt with the Hun ruler Attila, and that the Chuvash-Bulgar-Hun connection was proved by historians. He presents the work Attilpa Krimkilte as an epic of oral tradition showing the historical relations of the Chuvash.

In both the Chuvash and German language texts of the epic, the most noticeable characteristic of the expressions describing the epic are the claims that it depends on oral sources. Thus, it is necessary to accept that the Chuvash people have kept alive in their oral tradition an event which happened hundreds of years ago. However, a short summary of the parts of the epic given below casts serious doubts on whether such detail is preserved. The sections of the epic and short summaries of them are as follows.

*The first song:* Attil is a famous commander and ruler of the Chuvash. The Chuvash who he leads attack their enemies, the Chuha. The Chuha are led by their king and commander Chupayrek. A fierce battle is fought on a great plain. In the end, Attil's army destroys the enemy and takes a great number of captives. Among these is a girl called Krimkilte.

*The second song:* When Attil sees Krimkilte, he forgets his victory and becomes totally captivated by the girl. He forgets that he has a wife and children. Unexpected love takes complete control of him. But Krimkilte does not love him, and this troubles Attil. He believes that Krimkilte will certainly love him one day, and so he spends all his time with Krimkilte. He completely forgets his duties as ruler and military commander.

*The third song:* Attil's abandonment of all the business of governing and only spending his time with Krimkilte greatly troubles the Chuvash. One of Attil's closest friends is Marka Alp. He cannot hold back and comes to Attil and begins to speak to him. Attil becomes angry sends him away not only from himself but from the Chuvash.

*The fourth song:* Marka Alp's exile from the Chuvash greatly pleases enemies of the Chuvash living in different places. The enemies of the Chuvash are the Yaman, the Suyin, the Kaytash, the Vakiver and the Chuha. They all come together and start to attack the Chuvash. Krimkilte's father Chupayrek is also among the enemies.

*The fifth song:* When he hears that his enemies have united and attacked the Chuvash, Attil seems to come to himself. He tries to bring his scattered army together. First, he calls one of his most trusted friends, Aytaman. But Aytaman does not come and tells Attil that he is ill. Attil understands that it was wrong to exile Marka Alp, but there's nothing to be done. Attil gathers his scattered archers and sets off against the enemy.

*The sixth song:* Another fierce battle takes place on the great plain. The enemies are numerous, and Attil is alone against them. Aytaman and Marka Alp are no longer with him as before. Nevertheless, the Chuvash fight heroically against the enemy, but still the absence of Aytaman and Marka Alp is felt. They can no longer surround the enemy as Attil realizes it earlier. Chupayrek invites Attil to single combat. After speaking together and trying to convince each other, Attil and Chupayrek fight a duel. After a long fight, they see that neither will be able to defeat the other.

*The seventh song:* After reaching an agreement with his enemies, Attil returns, and once more forgets everything and spends all his time with Krimkilte. He tries to persuade Krimkilte, and finally she agrees to marry him. Attil prepares for the feast. He orders that the kings of the neighbouring hostile peoples should be invited. Only Hirkke understands that Attil's idea is mistaken and tries to change his mind. But Attil does not listen to him, and preparations for the feast continue. Krimkilte's father Chupayrek also comes to his daughter's wedding feast.

*The eighth song:* Aytaman also comes to the great feast, having recovered from an illness. Attil accepts him and meets him. All the people sing festive songs, dance, and make merry.

*The ninth song:* The feast comes to an end. Preparations are made to put the couple in the nuptial chamber. Everyone is making merry and singing happy songs. Eventually, the people begin to disperse, leaving Attil and Krimkilte together. Aytaman makes new friends. These are from the Chuha, Putan, Vakiver and Kaytash. Krimkilte suddenly comes running to the people and tells them that Attil has unexpectedly died. Everybody is confounded, and the guests leave quickly.

*The tenth song:* All of the Chuvash people are anxious, and they start to wonder how they can live without Attil. At that moment, news comes that enemies are preparing an attack from a different direction. The Chuvash quickly begin to assemble warriors, and name Aytaman as their commander. But Aytaman is nowhere to be found. Some people say that he has gone with Krimkilte to the Chuha. The Chuvash realize that they are facing a great disaster.

*The eleventh song:* When Marka Alp learns that Attil is dead and that Aytaman has betrayed his own people, he returns with his warriors, and the Chuvash select him as their ruler and commander. The Chuha and the other people do not know that Marka Alp has returned to his own people, and so they gather their warriors and advance on the Chuvash. Marka Alp also gathers his forces and is victorious over them, taking Krimkilte and Aytaman prisoners and routing his enemies.

*The twelfth song:* The Chuvash demand that the prisoners Krimkilte and Aytaman must be judged and executed by being torn to pieces, and the pieces fed to the dogs, but Marka Alp does not accept. He says that shaming them is better than killing them. They cut off Krimkilte's hair and Aytaman's beard, and leave them in the wilderness. He thinks that they can no longer live there after Attil's death even though the enemy vanquished. They search for a new home, and as a result, Marka Alp leads them to where the Chuvash live today.

It is seen that the text consists of twelve sections telling the whole story, with poems of praise and advice at the beginning and end. An examination of the form, episodes and wording of the epic are outside the scope of this article. The topic which we wish to dwell upon is the sources of the text and its relation to Chuvash oral culture.

## The Sources of the Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte

The text depends on oral sources according to Yuhma Mishshi, who is recorded in the book as collecting and arranging the text and also publishing it, and those whose opinions he quotes in his publication. Three variants have survived. In fact, disregarding the lack of a Chuvash epic in oral tradition, some researchers have tried to present certain collected works as the product of oral tradition (Mishshi 1997; Bayram 2018: 3).

It is seen that Mishshi makes an effort to attach the *Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte* to oral sources by means of various arguments. The most important argument leading him to this conclusion is the silence of sources from before the 16<sup>th</sup> century on the history of the Chuvash. Unlike today, the Chuvash are not mentioned in sources before

the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This does not mean that the Chuvash did not exist before the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but it does create a problem as to which state or which people they are to be associated with. This Turkic people is first named with the present-day ethnonym *Chuvash* in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The names such as Suvar, Subar, Sabir or Sibir are associated with the Chuvash, but they are highly disputed.

However, the existence of materials on this in Chuvash tradition is in fact unarguably clear. It does not seem very possible for material from the Hunnic period to have survived in the form of such an epic. This is shown by work on epics in general and by surveys of Chuvash oral tradition. This will be discussed more fully in later parts of the article.

There are data on the existence of the oral tradition but they were not published for various reasons. First of all, the lawyer G. M. Lomonosov's letter to Mishshi is worth mentioning. According to Lomonosov, scientists reached important conclusions on ancient Chuvash history in the 1930s. He himself remembers the discussions about the epic of Attila. These epics were preserved from ancient German folklore, others thought that the epic was part of a Chuvash folk memory. A third group emphasized that the epics have nothing to do with ancient German folklore. After 1936 it was forbidden to talk about the relationship of the Chuvash with the Huns and Bulgars, and many people died in camps or prisons because of this. The epic of Attila also shared in this fate. So, they were not recorded or published. Lomonosov warns Mishshi that the time may not have come to publish the epic and warns him not to bring the material out into the open because he may face problems (Lomonosov 1997: 79). To tell the truth, even though the information given by Lomonosov is extremely remarkable, we have come across no documents relating to these discussions. Finding such documents would completely change the writing of the history of Chuvash epic research.

After Lomonosov's letter a note by the writer Raisa Shevlepi is found entitled *Attil patsha śmchen vattisem kalatchĭ* 'the old people used to talk about Emperor Attila' in 1972. According to this, she herself remembers old people talking about Attila. Shevlepi spent her childhood in the village of Shatra in the district of Shirpyu, and she heard tales about Attila from her grandmother, who lived in the village of Shiner, and whom she often used to visit with her mother. As she was a child, she did not record these stories, but the story told in *Attilpa Krimkilte* published by Mishshi was the same as one of the stories told by her grandmother. The record of this reached the reader forty years later (Shevlepi 1997: 80).

The professor of history Gennadiy Tafayev contributed to the transmission of the epic with his writing entitled *Epir hunsen tĭhĭmĭ*. "We are the grandchildren of the Huns." According to him, it was common knowledge that the Chuvash were descended from the Huns. The fact that the Epic of *Attilpa Krimkilte* had been preserved in folk memory until today was an indicator of this. It was difficult to say when the epic was composed, but it must have been dated after the death of Attila. According to Tafayev, the sages of old Chuvash had used this epic to advise rulers and to tell them how to behave (Tafayev 1997: 81). All Tafayev's academic and

popular writing presents interesting information on the folklore-fakelore-history relationship. These are rich enough to be the topic of separate comprehensive studies.

The final person to give his thoughts on the text of the epic is an academician in the field of education, P. P. Matveyev. Writing in 1993, he gives certain information which can be found in historical sources. According to him, the Chuvash have never forgotten Attila. While he was working as a newspaper editor in Shupashkar district, he often went to the villages, and on one of these trips he recorded a story called *Attilpa Marka Ulip* 'Attil and Marka Alp' from an old person in the village of Kivshurt-Marka. According to this story, Attil was a famous Chuvash ruler. He had a wife and children, and a companion by the name of Marka Alp. Because of a lot of gossip, Attil separates from his companion Marka Alp, and after that, he surrounds himself with people of ill intent. One of these gives a slavegirl to Attila. This girl takes Attil's sense away. His wife is very clever, but she cannot succeed in bringing Attil to his sense. Knowing that Attil is in that condition, the enemies of the Chuvash gather and attack him. Attil is no longer able to fight as earlier, but he destroys the enemy. The enemy disperse to different places and he returns home. Attil marries the captive girl, and suddenly dies. The girl escapes with someone who hates Attil. When the enemy hear that Attil has died, they start to attack. Marka Alp returns and brings the Chuvash together and protects them. For this reason, the Chuvash have kept the names of Attil and Marka Alp in their memory for centuries (Matveyev 1997: 79–80).

The people from different professions who have stated their views on the text of the epic maintain that the text exists in oral sources. Written culture began to spread among the Chuvash with the creation of the Chuvash alphabet by I. Ya. Yakovlev in 1873 and the first writers, poets and journalists from the Chuvash School which was opened in the town of Simbir (Güzel 2014). For this reason, Chuvash literature for many years continued to exist in oral form. In Russia, considerable material has been collected on Chuvash oral culture in Tsarist Russia and in the Soviet period. From this point of view, it is not very difficult to find an answer to the question of whether there is a source to create this epic from the material currently at hand. Among collected oral materials there are large anthologies which are published arranging tales containing historical topics.

The second section of the sixth volume of the series *Chivash Halih Simahlih*, which is one of the first comprehensive studies of Chuvash historical stories, is divided into myths and different kinds of stories known by the name of *halap*. *Halaps* are divided into *Ulip Halapšem* and *İstori Halapšem*. Tales relating to historical periods are classified chronologically as 1) 13<sup>th</sup> century – ancient period and Bulgar period, 2) 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries – Golden Horde and Kazan Khanate period, 3) 16<sup>th</sup> to beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries – the period after union with Russia' (Odyukov & Sidorova & Yumart 1987). The beginning of this classification include 22 texts from the Bulgar period.

The publication of Chuvash folk literature texts began in the period after the Soviet Union from collections of oral sources and unpublished archive material. The most notable of these texts were published in the series *Halih Pultarulih* 'Folk Creativity'.

In 2007, a volume containing historical tales was published under the name of *Īstori Halapĭsem*. Here, there is a more detailed classification than in the previously mentioned book. Historical stories are classified according to their historical periods, and the stories of each historical period are further classified among themselves according to topic. The main headings of classification are as follows:

1) Ancient period, 2) 10<sup>th</sup> century to first half of 13<sup>th</sup> century – Bulgar State period, 3) Second half of 13<sup>th</sup> century to first half of 16<sup>th</sup> century – Golden Horde and Kazan Khanate period', 4) First half of 16<sup>th</sup> century to 20<sup>th</sup> century – the period after the union with Russia (Terent'yeva et al. 2007). The first heading takes in the 1<sup>st</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries, which includes the Hun period. This main heading is classified into a) *Yĭhnesĭl* 'Lineage and parentage' and b) *Patshasempe pattĭrsem* 'Kings and heroes'. If there are materials which would constitute a source for the Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte, they would naturally be placed in this section. However, the 26 texts in this section does not contain works which can be the oral source of the Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte. There are stories concerning the time of the Huns, Khazars, Bulgars and Danube Bulgars, but these were not collected from Chuvash oral tradition, but rather directly from historical sources and writings such as N. Ya. Bichurin's *Radi vechnoy pamyati: Poeziya, Ocherki, zametki. Pisma*, S. A. Pletneva's *Hazary*, N. V. Nikolskiy's *Kratkiy kurs etnografii Chuvash*, M. I. Artamonov's *Istoriya hazar*, and N. I. Ashmarin's *Bolgary i Chuvashi*. These works used the information of Byzantine records. It is evident that a significant part of the 26 texts in this section quoted historical works, and has nothing to do with oral epics.

Among these texts, only one, which is noted as having been collected from oral sources, can be associated with the epic. A text, published in 1975 under the title *Atil Patsha* was collected by N. I. Yegorov from A. A. Ovchinikova, who lived in the village of Shyulti Kincherti in the district of Vĭrmar in the Chuvash Republic. There is a note to the text in handwritten archive records saying that Attila was a leader of the Western Turks (Terent'yeva et al. 2007: 396).

V. D. Dmitriyev, who has produced serious work on the relation between Chuvash historical stories and Chuvash history, has dealt with Chuvash history in the Bulgar State and before under the title *O drevney zhizni Chuvashy i Bolgarskom vremeni* in his work entitled *Istoricheskiye predaniye Chuvash*. As a historian, Dmitriyev puts together texts collected from oral sources with written sources to illuminate the obscure periods of Chuvash history. The part of his work relating to ancient Chuvash history is the same as the period including the Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte. However, the only one text can be related to the topics of Mishshi's epic, is the story collected by N. I. Yegorov which was quoted above (Dmitriyev 1993: 33–34).

There are also texts from the oral sources collected concerning Marka Alp, one of the heroes mentioned in the Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte. This topic was mentioned by P. P. Matveyev in his work in which Mishshi's epic text was published. There are two variants of Chuvash heroic stories in which Marka Alp is mentioned. The first of these was collected by Yuhma Mishshi, who was the author of the Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte. He collected the story from his own grandmother in 1951 in the village of Sĭkĭt in the



district of Batıryel in Chuvashistan. The stories about Marka Alp are widespread among the Chuvash. According to Yuhma Mishshi, Marka Alp was a historical hero, and is a personality who is often met in Chuvash folk literature and Marka is also widely used as a toponym (Mishshi 1997: 84).

Aside from the stories mentioned above, no other texts have been found which could constitute a source for the Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte. It is not possible to talk about the existence of any rich oral material such as that maintained by those contributing with articles and letters to the production of the book in the construction of the text. Although certain names from Chuvash folk culture are mentioned from time to time in the text of the epic, these are not of a kind to form the backbone of the text of an epic.

Mishshi's efforts are related to the nature of the epic genre to prove that the Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte was a poem collected from oral sources. The relation of the epic to national identity has been the topic of much research. The findings of Lauri Honko stand out as being in accordance with this topic. According to him, the epic stands out for its context and functions more than for its literary value. This function is closely connected with the role the epic plays in the construction of a national identity. Honko divides epics into three groups: literary epics, epics based on tradition, and oral epics. He associates the writing of literary epics more with political concerns than with literary concerns (Honko 2009: 111). The insistence by Mishshi and others who have stated their thoughts on the work on presenting Attilpa Krimkilte as an epic from oral tradition without showing any concrete proof must be evaluated as related to its functions.

There are other signs which support the idea that rather than having been collected from oral sources or constructed on oral sources, this epic was literary making without using oral sources. There are some references to historical events and heroes. For example, even though there are few information about the Asian Hun ruler Modu in historical sources, it is noticeable that the name Modu is mentioned directly in the text. In explaining the line *Chi maltanhi patshi vřsen Mette*, this information is given: "A famous ruler and commander who brought the old Hun and Chuvash clans together in the most ancient times and formed a government. These events happened in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Modu is referred to as Mote in Chinese sources." (Mishshi 1997: 83) It is a reference to an event which happened 1700–1800 years ago. It is difficult to claim that the name of a hero could be preserved orally and not in writing for such a long period of time. Even though an epic in oral tradition may preserve traces of the time when it was formed, it usually continues to exist by renewing itself in a dynamic way, exchanging old heroes for new heroes and old historical events and geographical locations for new ones in each historical period. If historical events are not written down, names of people and places are mostly forgotten, and new names replace them. Thus, these names, which could not be found in materials collected from oral sources, may be assessed as being not from tradition but signs of an attempt to reconstruct history.

Beside the name *Modu*, there are also other points which can be seen as the results of reconstruction, such as that *Īltīn kineke* in the line *Chi chaplı purlıhi ‘Īltīn kineke’ visen* is explained as the holy book of the Zoroastrian Chuvash in ancient times (Mishshi 1997: 83), or that *Īltīn tu* in the line *Īltīn tu tavrashinche...* is claimed to be the name given by the ancient Hun-Chuvash to the Altay Mountains (Mishshi 1997: 83). With regard to words, for example *elteper*, can be explained as the name of Chuvash kings in ancient times, and *lamtay* is said to be used to name the ancestors of the ancient Chuvash.

## Conclusion

The Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte is a text which needs examination from many aspects, such as its language and use of words, folklore and literature, the folklore-literature identity relationship, and the literature-history relationship. An attempt is made to evaluate this work as a work which has been collected from oral tradition on the one hand by Yuhma Mishshi, who is the author, and on the other by people who have contributed to the book in which the epic was published with letters and articles, or as a work built on oral sources. However, when we examine the works of Chuvash oral folk literature, especially that of a historical nature, we cannot talk about the existence of material which would amount to an epic. There is no oral source which Attil appears as the Hun-Chuvash leader. The texts given in the article, including those collected from oral sources relating to King Attil and Marka Alp, do not have the content to support an epic of Attilpa Krimkilte. In the context of Yuhma Mishshi's general creativity, the Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte is not the only work of this kind with a question mark hanging over it. Mishshi has been the author of many works, sometimes from the world of fantasy, sometimes supported from doubtful historical sources on topics directly connected with the Chuvash. He is a writer who has put his signature to many works in an attempt to rewrite Chuvash history himself. In this way, although the Epic of Attilpa Krimkilte is an important work in the process of creation of a Chuvash epic, it is far from being an oral epic. Finally, it is not an oral work or one built mainly on oral tradition. It must be seen as a newly-created work, making very little use of oral tradition.

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## More on Early Middle Turkic Lexical Elements

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Our colleague Éva Kincses-Nagy, who is honoured with the present Festschrift on occasion of her jubilee, has made a great contribution to the lexicography of Middle Turkic with her monograph on Mongolian elements in Chaghatay. On this occasion I will discuss some more lexemes and suffixes in early Middle Turkic, some of them Mongolian loans, on the analysis of which she can certainly improve.

#*bos* ‘stupid’ (MAv 205/2). A ghost word in Yüce (1988: 106), repeated by Erdal (1991, I: 165). I propose the word should be read *bus* ‘fog’, used metaphorically in the expression *Busqa qoşdı kändü özin* ‘He associated himself with fog’, i.e. ‘He pretended to be inattentive/negligent’ as a translation for ar. تغافل; an alternative translation given is *tagāfulsindī*. In KA we find the phrase تغافل عنه ‘He paid no attention to him’ translated with *gāfil boldi andin*.

*boyuq-* ‘to suffer from a spasm, convulsion or cramp’ (TZ 10v6 for ar. تشنج), from \**boğ-* ‘to choke’ – and not #*boyuq-* ‘to be painted’, supposedly from \**bođu-* ‘to dye, paint’, as proposed by Salan (2010: 179).

*bügü* 1. ‘prophet’ (CCb, *bügülär* ‘the prophets’)<sup>1</sup>; 2. ‘witchcraft, magic’ (as *bügi*, QT5, IM, TZ), and hence *bügüçi* ‘magician’ (QT5) / \**jādū* 1. ‘magician’ (e.g., QT5 *jādū*); 2. ‘magic’ (e.g., *jādū* in QA) and hence *jādüçi* ‘magician’ (QT2, QA). This parallel change of meaning from actor to action of the Turkic word and the Persian loan is quite remarkable. Conceivably the process started with the addition of /-çI/.

*imrān*= ‘to relish, like, be at ease’ (TZ 90v13 for طيب , طمان , التذ).<sup>2</sup> Cf. tkm. *imrin*= ‘to like’; tt. *imren*= ‘to covet’; kzk. *emren*= ‘to fondle’. CL (163b) links all this to *amran*= ‘to be loving, to desire’. In the meaning *imrān*= has in TZ, we find a verb *imrā*= in the recently discovered Dede Korkut ms., a copy from the 18<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Shahgoli & al. 2019), e.g. in the passage *Ağayillar mäläsürsä gönül imrär, dölün tökär, körpä quzi yetürür, kāmil eylär* ‘When the sheep are bleating, the heart rejoices, the sheep lamb and raise the little lambs to perfection’ (f. 3r11). In the margin this

1 Variant of the general meaning ‘sage, wizard’ (cf. CL 324b sub *bögü*).

2 Atalay (1945: 131) reads *iprān*=, Fazylov & Zijajev (294) *ibrān*=.

explanation is offered: “*Imrār* is a condition that arises in the heart through friendliness (*rīqqat*).” A verb *imrān*=, on the other hand, occurs in the meaning ‘to strive’, or the like, e.g. where Kāsan is boasting: *Igirmi min yaġī ġāldi deyāndā yerümdāy imrānmādüm* ‘When the arrival of twenty thousand enemies was announced, I didn’t stir from my seat’ (f. 24v14).

*küp* ‘carpet’ (ar. كِب in IMA 137v3, IMb 67/16 – vocalized); *kepçi* كَيْجِي ‘carpet-producer’ (ar. صَانِعُ الْبِسَاطِ, IMA 128v9). This secondary meaning of the well-known Iranian loanword *\*kēp* that appeared in Turkic with the meaning ‘model, mould, last’ (cf. Tezcan 1997 and WOT I, 527 sub *kēp* ‘shape, picture’) has so far escaped attention and I cannot trace it in any other source or modern language. The semantic background is provided by the fact that an ornamental pattern is the essence of a rug. Another secondary meaning ‘decoy bird’ of *küp* is given in the Yozgat ms. of the *Muqaddimat al-adab* (MAN 32v2, ar. مَلَوَاحُ / pers. خَرَوَه). For this at least we find the parallel *kep* ‘stuffed bird’ in Karakalpak.

*qigir* ‘askew’ (RH 86v1), in the phrase *A<sup>c</sup>zal dedükläri oldur kim quyrugü qigir bolġay vä dahī ägri bolġay* ‘*A<sup>c</sup>zal* is the term for (a horse) the tail of which is askew and also crooked’. This looks like a hypercorrect form for *qiyir*; cf. tel. *küyir* and khak. *çiyir*. Other derivation of the verb *qiy-* that imply crookedness are *qiyiq* ‘crooked’ (MQ) and *qiyuq* ‘big, crooked needle’ (IM). See Boeschoten (2020a: 122).

*satu* ‘triviality’. The word occurs thrice in QT3 in the hendiadys *oyun satu*, e.g. *Ärmäs yaqınraq tiriglik mägär oyun satu* ‘The present life is but play and amusement’ (لَعِبٌ وَ لَهْوٌ, Q. 6/32). This is the base of the verb *satula-* ‘to say things of no value’, that Clauson did not uncover (CL, 801b; cf. Kök 2004:111, fn. 161)

*süngüş* سُنْغُش ‘small span’ (i.e., the measure obtained between the stretched thumb and index finger) (ar. فَنَرٌ, in MAN 16r1) / *süyüm idem* (TZ). In IN (66r5) we find the excentric form *?sügrünš* (fully vocalized),<sup>3</sup> but, as noted in the edition, the Paris ms. reads *sügüş* (IN-ms. Paris). The forms are derivations of the fronted variants *sü-* and *sün-* of the verbs *\*su-* and its middle voice *\*su:n-*; the latter verb functions mostly as a (transitive) synonym of the root meaning ‘to extend, stretch (out)’ (cf. also SEV VII: 344–5). Both forms occur prototypically (but not exclusively) in the collocations *boyun su-/sun-* (*sü(n)-*) ‘to stretch out the neck’, i.e. ‘to submit’ and *älig sun-* ‘to stretch out one’s hand’. The fronted variants occur frequently in early Middle Turkic. The forms *sügüş* and *süngüş* must have originated as parallel derivations of *sü(n)-* ‘to stretch’ with the suffix /-GUč/ that normally yields instruments, i.e. *\*sü-güč* ~ *\*sün-güč*. Reflexes of both can be found in Turkish dialects (DS 3705 and 3715): *sügüş*, *süngüş*, *sümgüç*, *sümüç*, *sümüş*, *süġlüç*, *süngülüç*, all meaning ‘small span’. In

3 Other (suspect) forms that occur are سُنْسُنْ (AH 55. in the chapter on *š-*) / *?šanuš* (so vocalized in AH, ms.D) and *?sünüs* (BM).

this context the form *süyüm* in TZ (for ar. *فتر* ‘small span’) almost looks like a derivation from *süy-* (< \**sü*:-< \**su*:-; cf. *süy-* ‘to extend’ in tt.dial. and tkm.). It is more widespread in modern Turkic languages, e.g. tt.dial. *süyem/süyüm*, kzk. *süyem*, tat. *söyäm*, krg. *sööm* and tkm. *süyem barmak* ‘index finger’, but the low vowel everywhere in the derivation would look strange. Indeed, the word appears to be a copy of Mongolian *sögäm* (cf. Schönig 2000: 170). Nevertheless, some contamination cannot be excluded (for instance causing a high vowel in the first syllable)<sup>4</sup>

The common word for ‘full span’ is *qariš* (occurring, e.g., in QT4, IM, MAn, AH, KT), but there is no unity in its exact meaning in the modern languages: krg. and tat. *kariš* ‘measure between thumb and middle finger’; uzb. *qariš* ~ *qarič* ‘measure between thumb and little finger’.

The infrequent verb \**täpi-* ‘to dry a little’ (cf. az. *täpi-* ‘to dry a little’; tt.dial. *depi-* ‘for laundry to start drying’) occurs as *däp-* (with an appropriate circumscription of its meaning) in the *Kitāb al-idrāk* (AH 47 *däpdi* دَپْدِي). At the same time, in the grammar section of the work a verb *däpi-* is quoted, without a meaning being given (p.103/15; Ermers 1999: 309). An apocopated form also occurs in Chuvash: *tip-* ‘to dry’. Another verb (not occurring in my corpus) that apparently has exactly the same meaning is *käpi-* ‘to dry partially’ (clothing) (MQ, cf. CL 687b); cf. tkm. *kepe-* ‘to dry a little’ and the apocopated form in kzk. *kep-* ‘to dry (up)’. Räsänen (1969: 253) implies that \**täpi-* etymologically belongs to \**käpi-*. Without knowing a specific reason for such a change to happen, this opinion looks somewhat extravagant from a phonetic point of view, but considering the non-simple identical semantics of both forms it has to be correct. Well, there are some isolated examples for a change *k-* > *t-* in Turkic languages, e.g. bšk. *tirpi* and čuv. *čerëp* ‘hedgehog’, where all the other languages have *kirpi*, and pers. *کَر* > *kärä*, represented by *kärä yav* ‘fresh butter’ (TZ; tt.dial. *kere yağ*) as against *tärä yağ* (IMb; tt. *tere yağ*).

Another difficult question I would like to raise is whether the noun *täpiz* ‘salty ground’ (occurring in QA and BM) ~ *täpüz* (QT4) ~ *tepiž* (AH) (besides *täpüzluž* ‘spot of salty ground’ (NF) might be a derivation of \**täpi-*.

*torpi* ‘a young calf that still follows its mother’ (QA, Baku ms.), whereas other mss. have the diminutive *torpaq*. These data confirms the analysis by CL (533a). In the Berlin *Oghuzname* we find the phrase *šana tolpi* ‘old and young calves’ (f. 2v12, with *tolpi* < *torpi*, misread by Sertkaya 2020: 91); my reading is confirmed by a parallel

4 One item in TZ that seems problematic: For *süyüm* (or *söyüm*, in the margin: *sügüm*) Atalay (1945: 69) gives as a meaning ‘thread for one stich’, (as he does – and this is clearly a mistake – for *süyäm*), presumably because this meaning occurs in modern languages (tkm. *süyüm* ‘thread’, tt.dial. *süyüm/sügüm* and osm. *süyüm* ‘thread for one stich’, čuv. *sëvem* ‘stretched thread’ (SEV VII, 344–5). In fact, it seems feasible that this is the same word as \**sögäm* ‘small span’. However, in the case of TZ the Arabic model can hardly be anything but *نية*, and therefore Fazylov & Zijajev (1978: 367) translate with ‘intention’.

passage in the Dede Korkut ms. from Gonbad, where we find the phrase *dana buzav* (cf. Sertkaya 220: 97).

*tosġu* ‘food served to a guest’ (MAv) ~ *tozġu* (QT3-6 for ar. نُزْلُ, MAv, XŠ) ~ *dozġu* (MAv) (also: *tozġuluq* ‘hospitality’ in QT4). As remarked by Tezcan (1997: 159) this noun must be a derivation from the mong. verb *tos-* ‘to receive, to encounter, go to meet someone who is coming’. The expression *tozġu tegiř* ‘presents for a guest’ in XŠ is more or less a quasi hendiadys with *tegiř* ‘gift at the reception of a guest’ (also in XŠ). This noun is homophonous with the verb *tegiř-* ‘to come to meet with presents’, e.g. *Tälim mäl vä aġ birlä tegiřti* ‘He came to meet with much cattle and horses for a present’ (XŠ f.34r20); *Keldik ol ħaŋga tef[y]iřmägä* ‘We came to present gifts to that king’ (CCb). Tezcan (*op.cit.*) discusses still other types of presents in Old Turkic; of these the Sogdian loan (so Tezcan) *artut* ‘gift’ does not occur in my corpus; on *siġüt* ‘gift which is not matched by a return gift’ (occurring in MQ, cf. CL, 836b and see Boeschoten 2020b: 185). Other terms are the rather non-specific words *armaġan* ‘gift’ (KA, XŠ, MN, AH, TZ, KD) and *bäläg* ‘gift, present’ (QT3, QT5, KA, QAt) ~ *beläg* (QT5, IM) ~ *böläg* (QA, GUL, YL); the Mongolian loan *savġat*, represented by *savġat* ‘present’ (MAv) – a more specific meaning ‘gift which one brings back from a trip or a military expedition’ is suggested by *savġat* ‘the lord’s share in the booty’ (CCb *des heres tevl*); cf. TMEN no. 222; finally, we find *bernä* ‘gift’ (MAv, GUL+) – kar. has *berne*; tat. and bšk. with *birnä* ‘present given to bride or bridegroom by their future in-laws’ exhibit a special meaning; see also Jankowski (2015) who argues that the word is a loanword of unknown provenance. For more on terms for gifts and presents, see Kincses-Nagy (2020).

The animal names ending in *-lAn* occurring in the sources consist of three groups. Firstly, generally occurring names for predatory animals: *arslan* ‘lion’, *qaplan* ‘leopard, tiger’ and *řirtlan*<sup>5</sup> ‘hyaena’. A second group contains some hoofed animals: *baqlan* ‘lamb that has stopped suckling’ (QA, XŠ), *bulan* ‘deer, roe’ (TZ)<sup>6</sup>/*bul(a)naq* ‘deer, roe’ (AH) – the diminutive suffix *-aq* is a bit surprising here – and *qulan* ‘wild ass’ (general). A third group is made up of small animals and one (non-flying) insect: *\*yاملan* (CL 936b) > *yalman* 1. ‘jerboa’ (AH, KT, TZ, BM, DM); 2. ‘field-mouse’ (IM); *yılan* ‘snake’ (general); *käslän* كسلان ‘lizard’ (in the addition made by Bärkä Faġih in his copy of XŠ, f.116v11) – cf. Rad II, 1168:bar. *käslänčük*); *doġuzlan qurġi* ‘dung beetle’ (FZ pers. خنفس) ~ *doġuzlan qurġi* (QK) ~ *toġuzdan qurġi* (TZ) ~ *toġuzan qurġi* (MAN ar. جعل) – cf. *domuzlan* ‘bombardier beetle’ (tt.).

It is not clear to me why Erdal (1999 I, §2.45) treats a suffix *-lAK* for bird names, but not a suffix *-lAn*. The morphology of these bird names is hardly less opaque than the forms ending in *-lAn*. In early Middle Turkic we find: *baġirġaq* ‘sand grouse’ (KD) ~ *baġirġtaq* (MAN, MG; also SAN 123r14; cf Erdal *loc.cit.*); *čarġaq* ‘vulture’ (TZ for

5 Written *řirtlan* or *řirġlan* in some sources.

6 Cf. WOT (I, 172) sub *bölény*.



ar. نسر; but in modern languages: tkm. *čarlaq*; tat. *akčarlak* and krg. *čardak*, all mean ‘gull’); *čomjalaq* ‘grebe’ (AH; CL 423a *čomjuq*; uyg. *čumjjaq* ‘little grebe’; XŠ has *čomğaq*) and *yapaqulaq* ‘female owl’ (FZ) > *yabalaq* ‘owl’ (CCa, KT, DM), ‘screech owl’ (TZ ar. مصاصة). The item *läkläk* ‘stork’ (AH) might not belong here, depending on whether it is a copy of ar. لقلق after all. But for the following discussion the variant *käläk* (TZ for ar. بلارج) is of interest.

Remarkably, in the Middle Turkic period some terms for flying insects on *-LAK* appeared. We find: *bögäläk* ‘gadfly’ (MAN for ar. نعة; cf. kzk. *bögelek*; tt.dial. *bögelek/büyelek*; az. *böyäläk*; cf. WOT I, 167 sub *bögöly*) and *kübäläk* ‘moth, butterfly’ (QT2) ~ *köbäläk* (QAc, CCb) ~ *käläbäk* (QT3-5, IM, MA, QA), an extension of *\*kápäli* (CL 689b) – besides *äpäläk* ‘butterfly’ (KA), also in tt.dial.: *epelek*.

In connection with a discussion of taboo namings Brands (1973: 93–94) notices a remarkable high incidence of different Turkic varieties of irregular phonetic variants of terms for small animals and insects, notably for ant, lizard, locust, butterfly and spider. Clauson (1972) on the other hand generally takes phonetic instability to be a sign for loanword status, e.g. in the cases of *\*käsliñčü* ‘lizard’ (CL 750b) and *\*kápäli* ‘butterfly’ (CL 689b). Apart from the phonetic variability, for the same category an unusual number of basis lexemes is noticed by Brands (1973: 24, fn.8) for, e.g. ‘ant’. In my corpus only *\*qumursğa* and *\*qarinčğa* are represented, with a fair amount of phonetic variants.

In individual cases one might come up with plausible derivations (*qap-lan* ‘tiger’ from *qap-* ‘to seize’; *sirt-lan* ‘hyaena’ from *sirit-* ‘to grin’; *yil-lan* > *yılan* ‘snake’<sup>7</sup> from *yil-* ‘to move away, to creep’ – the verb occurs in TZ; *yapaqu-laq* ‘owl’ from *yapaqu* ‘soft hair, wool’). But the overall picture, both for *-LAN* and for *LAK* is, that they cannot be considered regular suffixes, because in the majority of cases there are no obvious roots for constructing the derivation. On the other hand, analogy has made a number of forms in a phonetically unstable situation drift towards the endings signalling non-flying and flying animals respectively.

The deverbal suffix *-mAč* is used in a number of foodstuffs connected with cereals. It is a compound suffix consisting of the common suffix *-mA* augmented with the diminutive suffix *-č*. This can be illustrated by the case of the Old Turkic word *bulğama* ‘gruel’ (from *bulğa-* ‘to stir’) in MQ (cf. CL 338a), that was in Middle Turkic and later generally replaced,<sup>8</sup> either by *bulğamač* (IMa, AH) > *bulamač* (IMb, TZ, BM, DM), or by *bulğamaq* (MAN, QA, NF). In this last form *-q*, again, is a diminutive suffix. Cf. also SAN (114r19) *bulamač/bulamaq*.

7 Thus proposed by Demirci (2014: 681). An alternative often discussed, *\*yil-ğan*, to me seems impossible anyway both from a historical-phonetic, and from a semantic perspective.

8 But notice tkm. *bulama* (~ *bulamak*).

Two items are already found in MQ: firstly *tutmač*, defined by MQ as ‘a dish well-known among the Turks’, the original meaning of which must have been ‘noodles’, e.g. *tuṭmač* ‘handfuls of dough added to meat soup’ (AH) and *tutmač* ‘vermicelli’ (MAn, ar. لاخشه ‘vermicelli’ according to the *Lisān al-ʿArab*). The definition in AH makes it conceivable that the item is derived from *tut-* ‘to grasp’. In other sources, similar to MQ, the word is just defined as ‘a dish’ (e.g. az.dial. in ADL II, 583 *tutmac*, and TMEN no. 876 *tutmač* ‘ein Nudelgericht’). Dishes called *tutmaç* are still popular in Anatolia and contain at least noodles and yogurt, besides lentils, chick-peas, etc.

Also already in MQ occurs *kömüč* (< \**köm-mäč* from *köm-* ‘to bury’) ‘bread baked in the ashes’ (KA, QA, KD), to which should belong *kemüč* ‘unleavened bread’ (CCb for *azymus*); cf. TMEN no. 1643. Another kind of bread is *bazlamač* ‘round and flat bread’ (BM) (*idem*: tt. *bazlamaç*), from *bazla-* ‘to roll out dough’ (tt.dial.), from *bāzū* ‘thin rolling pin’ (occurring in AH), a secondary meaning of the Persian loan *bāzū* ‘(upper) arm’ (occurring in GUL and IN). The item *ovmač* ‘porridge’ (from *uv-/ov-* ‘to rub, to crumble’) only occurs in KD, but is also found in tkm., osm. *ovmač* and tt.dial. *ovmaç* ‘a kind of bread soup’, besides tat. *umač* ‘a kind of noodles’ (Rad. I, 1791); the variant *ūma* ‘a kind of noodles’ (Rad. I, 1788) seems to support the analysis of *-mAč* as a compound suffix.

The suffix *-mAč* is not confined to foodstuffs. We find, for instance, *örmüč* ‘plait’ (TZmrg). The simplex derivation *örmä* from the verb *ör-* ‘to plait’ can be anything plaited, e.g. *örmä* ‘tent covering’ (IMa); osm. *örmä*, tt.dial. *örme* ‘rope’; Rad. I, 1242:tel./alt. *örmö* ‘basket’, and notice *örmä sač* ‘plait of hair’ (MQ). Also, *örmüčäk* ‘a soft white cheese’ (AH, ar. قريشه) should belong here (with yet another diminutive suffix!). Another instance is *qïymač* ~ *quymač* ‘squinting look, flirtatious look’ (different mss. of QA; cf. Boeschoten 2020a: 122). Finally, there exists a parallel derivation to *kömüč* ‘bread baked in the ashes’ (not in my corpus): *kömüč* ‘a piece of wood for putting the tent pole in’ (TMEN no. 1687).

A similar infrequent (post-nominal) compound suffix *-Gač* (*-GA+* -č), used to denote plants and animal, is discussed by Erdal 1999: I, §2.43), but without explicitly claiming its compound nature, although he stresses the emotive nature of the diminutive element.

## Sources

In order not to burden the article with an enormous apparatus, I will list the sources with short titles. I refer to Boeschoten (2020a) for fuller information on the works and the editions.

AH = Abū Ḥayyān, *Kitāb al-idrāk*; BM = *Kitāb bulğa al-muštāq*; CCA/CCb = *Codex Cumanicus* (“Italian”/“German” section); DM = *ad-Durra al-muḏīʿa*; FZ = *Fārhang-i Zafān-gūyā*; GUL = Sayf-ı Sarāyī, *Kitāb Gulistān bi-t-Turkī* (GUL+ = poems added by the copyist); IMa/IMb = Ibn al-Muhannā, *Kitāb Hilyat al-insān wa-Ḥalbat al-lisān* (Istanbul ms./Miliorskiĭ’s edition); IN = *Kitāb fī ʿilm an-nuṣṣāb*; KA = *Kitāb al-*

*Af̣āl*; KD = The King’s Dictionary; KT = *Kitāb tarğumān Turkī wa-ʿArabī wa-Muğālī*; MAV/MAN = *Muqaddimat al-Adab* (verb-/nominal section); MG = the “Margin Grammar”; MN = Ḥʿārazmī, *Muḥabbatnāma*; MQ = *Divān al-Luğat at-Turk*; NF = *Nahğ al-Farādīs*; Q. = Qur’an; QA = Rabghūzī, *Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*; QT2-6 = different interlinear translations of the Qur’an; RH = *Kitāb fī riyāzat al-ḥayl*; SAN = *Sanglah*; TZ = *at-Tuḥfat az-zakiyya*; XŠ = Quṭb, *Ḥusrav u Šīrīn*.

## Abbreviations

ar. = Arabic; az. = Azerbaijani; bar. = Baraba Tatar; bšk. = Bashkir; čuv. = Chuvash; dial. = dialect; kar. = Karaim; kzk. = Kazakh; khak. = Khakas; krg. = Kirghiz; tkm. mrg = margin; osm. = Ottoman Turkish; pers. = Persian; tat. = Volga Tatar; tel. = Teleut; tt. = Republican Turkish; uzb. = Uzbek

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## Does Mother Earth Have a Beard? The Word *beard* in Bashkir Incantations

Edina Dallos\*

In many of the incantations of the Bashkirs living in the Volga region, the mother of earth and the mother of water appear in connection with the word *beard*, for example: “mother of earth, red beard, mother of water, cold beard”. Bashkir Turkologist Firdaus G. Hisamitdinova interprets these collocations to mean that the mother of earth has a red beard and the mother of water has a cold beard (2011–2012 II: 19–20). This interpretation, supplemented by her regarding the earth as something of fundamentally feminine nature (after all, the collocation ‘the mother of earth’ is much more common than ‘the father of earth’) prompts the conclusion that there must be some very ancient, bipolar (masculine and feminine at the same time) concept in the background. As I find this supposition dubious from several aspects, in my paper I try to examine exactly what function the word *beard* may have in these incantations.

First of all, however, I must briefly describe the Bashkir concepts ‘mother of earth’ and ‘mother of water’. In Bashkir folk faith, there were several local spirits, such as the spirit of the stable, the house spirit, the spirit of the mill or the forest. These were not usually harmful creatures but still had to be appeased with a sacrifice. The mother (in fewer cases, father or master) of earth and water had a different place among beliefs, as these do not occur in mythical stories; therefore, their existence, at least in this form can only be deduced on the basis of incantations. According to old beliefs of the Bashkirs, one could catch diseases when coming into contact with earth or water, but such accounts are never about the mother of the earth and water but about the earth or water “having grabbed” or “holding” the person. Such diseases could be caught for example from falling down onto the ground or bathing in water.

Most of the incantations cited in this paper were used to heal diseases caught from the earth or water, but the mother of earth and water also appear in the case of some other diseases such as bone-ache. Different versions of the collocations cited above “mother of earth, red beard, mother of water, cold beard” also appear in a prayer-incantation pleading for rain and in a blessing-incantation (also a mixed-genre text) chanted at the time of sowing.

I have gathered all the incantations including the word *beard* from three anthology volumes (BXI 1995; BDH 2009; Hisamitdinova 2011–2012) and two other

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publications of texts (Torma–Hisamitdinova 1992; Torma 1997). First of all, I present their original Bashkir version along with an English translation.

1. BDH 2009, 339-340<sup>1</sup>

<i>Ер инәһе</i>	Mother of earth,
<i>Ерән һакал</i>	red beard;
<i>Һыу инәһе</i>	Mother of water,
<i>Һыуған һакал</i>	cold beard;
<i>Мине тотма</i>	Do not grab me,
<i>шуны тот!</i>	grab that one!
<i>Ер кендеге</i>	Navel of earth,
<i>бары бер</i>	only one.

2. BXI 1995, 91<sup>2</sup>

<i>Ер эйәһе</i>	Master of earth,
<i>ерән һакал,</i>	red beard;
<i>Һыу инәһе</i>	Mother of water,
<i>Һыуған һакал</i>	cold beard;
<i>Уны (ауырыған кешене) тотма!</i>	Do not grab (N. N)!
<i>Ен кендеге</i>	Navel of earth,
<i>бары бер</i>	only one.

3. BDH 2009, 320<sup>3</sup>

<i>Ер анаһы</i>	Mother of earth,
<i>ерән һакал</i>	red beard;
<i>Һыу анаһы</i>	Mother of water,
<i>көрән һакал</i>	brown beard;
<i>Мине тотма</i>	Do not grab me,
<i>быны тот!</i>	grab this one!

4. Hisamitdinova 2012, II, 42<sup>4</sup>

<i>Ер анаһы</i>	Mother of earth,
<i>ерән һакал</i>	red beard;
<i>Һыу анаһы</i>	Master of water,

1 Incantation to alleviate a disease caught from earth; here, the disease was sent onto an *osoq* doll. The text is also cited by Hisamitdinova 2012 II, 19, 21.

2 Incantation to heal the throbbing pain of the hands and feet, which was accompanied by the so-called ritual of “placing into the earth”, when the nails and hair of the sick person, as well as eggs and ashes, were placed into the earth. The text is also cited by: Torma 1997, 116.

3 Incantation against a disease caught from the earth (*yer zäxmät*).

4 Incantation against the disease *Sarpü*.

<i>һүлтән һакал</i>	limp beard;
<i>(ауырыған кешене) тотма!</i>	Do not grab (N. N)!
<i>Енде тот!</i>	Grab the <i>yen</i> (demon)!
<i>Ер кендеге</i>	Navel of earth,
<i>бары бер</i>	only one.
<i>/Йәки:/</i>	/variation on the last two lines:/
<i>Ергә йәшел яузык</i>	A green kerchief for the earth,
<i>миңә иҫәндек-һаузык!</i>	health for me!

5. ВХІ 1995, 89<sup>5</sup>

<i>Елдән килһәң</i>	If you came from wind,
<i>елгә кит</i>	go to wind;
<i>Ерзән килһәң</i>	If you came from earth,
<i>ергә кит!</i>	go to earth;
<i>Һыу инәһе</i>	Mother of water,
<i>һыуған һакал</i>	cold beard;
<i>Ер инәһе</i>	Mother of earth,
<i>ерән һакал</i>	red beard;
<i>Кайзан килһәң</i>	Whence you came,
<i>шунда кит!</i>	thither you go;
<i>Кабат килеп йөрәмә!</i>	Never return hither!

6. ВХІ 1995, 92<sup>6</sup>

<i>Ер анаһы</i>	Mother of earth,
<i>ерән һакал</i>	red beard;
<i>Һыу анаһы</i>	Mother of water,
<i>көрән һакал</i>	greyish-brown beard;
<i>Мине тотма</i>	Do not grab me,
<i>быны тот!</i>	grab this one!

7. ВХІ 1995, 91–92<sup>7</sup>

<i>Ер инәһе</i>	Mother of earth,
<i>Ерән һакал</i>	red beard;
<i>һыу инәһе</i>	mother of water,
<i>һыуған һакал</i>	cold beard;
<i>Ерзән тейһәң</i>	If you came from earth,

5 Incantation against so-called *näḡtä* ('something' the name of a disease). The text is also cited by Hisamitdinova 2012 III, 12.

6 Incantation against the disease called *yer zäxmät*, caught from the earth.

7 Incantation against the disease called *yer zäxmät*, caught from the earth. During healing, nails, hair, ashes and coals were put into the earth. The text is also cited by BDH 2009, 321.

<i>ергә кит!</i>	go to earth!
<i>Елдән килһәң</i>	If you came from water,
<i>елгә кил!</i> <sup>8</sup>	go to water!
<i>Бына һиңә яулык,</i>	Here is a kerchief for you,
<i>Сәлимгәгә бир һаулык!</i>	grant (N. N.) health!

8. BXI 1995, 92–93<sup>9</sup>

<i>Ер инәһе</i>	Mother of earth,
<i>ерән һакал,</i>	red beard;
<i>Һыу инәһе</i>	Mother of water,
<i>һары һакал</i>	blond (yellow) beard;
<i>Мине тотма</i>	Do not grab me,
<i>уны тот,</i>	Grab the one over there!
<i>Аҡһакаллы картты тот!</i>	Grab the old one with the grey beard!
[...]	[...]
<i>Ерзән килһәң</i>	If you came from earth,
<i>ергә кит</i>	go to earth;
<i>һыузан килһәң</i>	If you came from water,
<i>һыуға кит</i>	go to water!
<i>һиңә (ауырыған кешене) һаулык,</i>	Health for (N. N.),
<i>Калған кешегә яулык...</i>	kerchief for the rest of the people.

## 9. Torma–Hisamitdinova 1992, 197

<i>Ер эйәһе</i>	Master of earth,
<i>ерән һакал,</i>	red beard;
<i>Һыу эйәһе</i>	Mother of water,
<i>һыуған һакал</i>	cold <sup>10</sup> beard;
<i>(ауырыған кешене) тотма!</i>	Do not grab (N. N)!
<i>Ене тот!</i>	Grab the <i>yen</i> ! <sup>11</sup>
<i>Ене кендеге</i>	Navel of <i>yen</i> ,
<i>бары бер</i>	only one.

8 Probably an *-л* for *-т* typographical error in the original.

9 This incantation was used when the water had “grabbed” a person (that is, in case of diseases caused by water).

10 Torma mistakenly translates it as ‘tousled’.

11 According to the authors, the informant may have been wrong here and originally, the word *yer* ‘earth’ appeared instead of the word *yen* ‘devil’.



## 10. Torma–Hisamitdinova 1992, 196

<i>Ер инәһе</i>	Mother of earth,
<i>ерән һакал</i>	red beard;
<i>Һыу инәһе</i>	Mother of water,
<i>һыуған һакал</i>	cold beard;
<i>Күк инәһе</i>	Mother of sky,
<i>күк һакал</i>	blue beard;
<i>Ене кендеге</i>	Navel of earth
<i>бер юл.</i>	[is] a road.

11. BDH 2009, 339<sup>12</sup>

<i>Һыузан сыккан һары һакал</i>	Blond beard that came out of water,
<i>Ерзән сыккан Ез һакал</i>	Copper beard that came out of earth,
<i>Мине тотма</i>	Do not grab me,
<i>шуны тот!</i>	grab this one!
<i>Ай кайтты</i>	The Moon has gone away,
<i>көн кайтты</i>	the Sun has gone away,
<i>Әйзә инде, хин дә кайт!</i>	Lo, off you go, too!
<i>Иртә тийһәң</i>	If you say it in the morning,
<i>кис етмәк</i>	it's already evening;
<i>Һыузан килһәң</i>	if you came from water,
<i>һыуға кайт!</i>	go into water;
<i>Ерзән килһәң</i>	if you came from earth,
<i>ергә кайт!</i>	go into earth;
<i>Кайзан килдең</i>	whence you came,
<i>шунда кайт!</i>	thither you go!

12. BXI 1995, 271<sup>13</sup>

<i>Күк инәһе</i>	Mother of sky,
<i>күк яулык,</i>	blue kerchief;
<i>Ер атаһы</i>	Father of earth,
<i>ерән һакал</i>	red beard;
<i>Түбә туклыктары бир!</i>	Give plenty to the roof/peak!
<i>Илгә-миргә именлек бир!</i>	Give completeness to country and world!
<i>Йәнгә-тәнгә аманлык бир!</i>	give wholeness and health to soul!

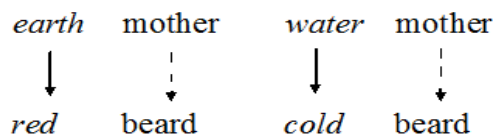
12 Incantation used against diseases caused by earth.

13 Blessing-incantation text recited at the time of sowing.

13. ВХІ 1995, 120<sup>14</sup>

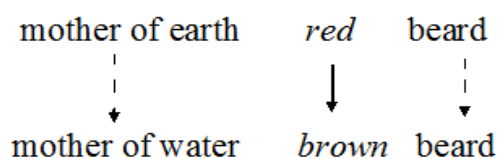
<i>Ямғыр, яу, яу!</i>	Rain, fall, fall!
<i>Әй, илаһым, яу, яу!</i>	Oh, lord, fall, fall!
<i>Күк инәһе</i>	Mother of sky,
<i>күк яулык</i>	blue kerchief;
<i>Ер атаһы</i>	Father of earth,
<i>ерән һакал,</i>	red beard;
<i>Тужлыктар бирһен Хозай!</i>	Plenty for us, Lord God!
<i>Мал-тыуарзар имен булһын!</i>	Farmyard may be plentiful!
<i>Ямғыр, яу, яу!</i>	Rain, fall, fall!
<i>Без йәшәрбез һау, һау!</i>	Let us live, hey-ho!

About half of the 13 incantations cited here include the permanent collocation consisting of two parallel structures: “mother of earth, red beard / mother of water, cold beard” (№ 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 10). The first fact worth mentioning in relation to this is that in both cases, the attribute of the noun *beard* reflects on the first part of the collocation: in Bashkir, the pair ‘earth’ and ‘red’ are *yer – yerän*, whereas the pair ‘water’ and ‘cold’ are *hiu – hiügan*. Thus, the attribute of the beard is not meant to determine its quality. We can conclude that they can be paralleled with the words ‘earth’ and ‘water’, and thus the two second parts (mother and beard) must be related in some way.



Actually, Hisamitdinova also reaches the same conclusion, although in a different way. The other possibility is that, on the basis of the sameness of the first syllables, here we can see a rhetorical device whose primary function is lyricism, and their attributive function is secondary. This means that they are not necessarily related to the noun as an actual quality. To decide this question, let’s see the other seven incantations. In two of them, “mother of earth, red beard” is paralleled by “mother of water, (greyish-)brown beard” (№ 3, 6). Here, instead of the word *hiügan*, we have *körän*. In this case, the two adjectives *yerän* and *körän* rhyme with each other, thus breaking the previous order of the two different structures:

14 Prayer-incantation pleading for rain.



In one incantation, the mother of water is followed by *hari* ‘blond (yellow)’ beard (№ 8), which does not rhyme with the word *yerän* ‘red’ but alliterates with *hiu* ‘water’ (and with *haqal* ‘beard’ as well). The adjective ‘blond’ (‘yellow’) is featured again in a structure somewhat different from the ones before, where, a yellow beard appears from the water and a copper one from the earth (№ 11). In these cases, the relationship is again between earth and water as well as between the adjective attached to the beard in the second part; but here, unlike previously, they have the same number of syllables and also alliterate with them. The structure including the word *hülpän* ‘limp’ in the fourth incantation is very similar.

There are two incantations in which the mother of sky (instead of the mother of water) occurs, in both cases as the first part of parallel structures and both followed by the collocation ‘father of earth’ (instead of earth) (№ 12, 13). In these cases, the mother of sky is not accompanied by the word *beard* but *kerchief*, whose attributive adjective is *kük* ‘blue’, reflecting the sky. (‘Sky’ and ‘blue’ are the same word in Bashkir.) I must add two more comments to these two incantations. When Hisamitdinova claimed that the beard is related to the given mothers of earth and water – when, in other words, she interpreted these creatures as having a beard – she did not specify how to interpret this at the grammatical level of the text. In Bashkir, the attribute precedes the noun. There are several incantations where the invoked harmful spirit is preceded by an attributive adjective, usually a colour or an adjective including a numeral.<sup>15</sup> In our texts, however, there is not a colour + adjective form (such as “brown bearded”) but a colour + noun form (“brown beard”). What is more, these do not precede the mothers of earth and water. Another solution could be if both parts were invocations related to each other, that is, having the same referent; in other words, one of the features of the mother of earth would have become an honorary invocation. In the Bashkir material, I have only found one example of a double invocation, but that is not exactly the same, either, having a name in the second part:

<sup>15</sup> Such, for example, is the beginning of the incantation against *büðer* (‘hernia’): “White *büðer*/black *büðer*/yellow *büðer*” (Hisamitdinova 2010: 15), or the beginning of the incantation against ‘tooth-worm’: “60-headed spotted worm/70-headed red worm” (BXI 1995: 99).

Hisamitdinova 2012, III: 38

<i>Һыу атаһы Сөләймән!</i>	Father of water, Söläymän!
<i>Һыу инәһе Һыубикә!</i>	Mother of water, Һiübikä!
<i>Һеззән һаулык</i>	From you, health,
<i>минән яулык</i>	from me, kerchief

My other comment relevant here has to do with the interpretation of the lines “mother of sky/blue kerchief”. As we have seen, this incantation has the same structure as the previous “mother of water/cold beard”. Nevertheless, neither Hisamitdinova nor anyone else has ever tried to explain it as if the mother of sky had a kerchief. A kerchief has a clear role in incantations: it is what is offered “in exchange” for health. In the incantation cited above, we can see the recurrent element “health from you, kerchief from me”. In the Bashkir language, these two words sound very similar, only differing in their initial consonant: *haulik* – *yaulik*.

During incantation, a ritual act is usually performed, sometimes featuring objects. In healing rituals, some of the objects are those that the disease is sent upon (for Bashkirs, a typical example of this is the *osoq* doll), and some others are what is offered as a sacrifice (such as coins) or “in exchange”. On the text level, it is usually a kerchief and on the object level it can be hair, nails or threads. Here, because of the form ‘from me this – from you that’, I consider the kerchief to be the representation of a gift object even if it is not actually the object usually given. The text of the incantation must be concise and comply with a lot of language criteria (rhyme, alliteration, consonance) and it often only lists metaphorical and symbolic factors, which are suggestive rather than specific. We have a specific incantation text about giving the kerchief as a “gift”:

BDH 2009, 327.<sup>16</sup>

<i>Ер анаһы ер булыр</i>	Mother of earth will be earth,
<i>һыу анаһы һыу булыр</i>	mother of water will be water!
<i>Мине ашама,</i>	Do not eat me,
<i>мине эсмә!</i>	do not drink me!
<i>Минән бүләк – яулык</i>	A gift-kerchief from me
<i>һинән һаулык!</i>	health from you!
<i>Шуны аша, шуны эс!</i>	Eat that, drink that!

Besides possibly referring to the exchange-gift, the kerchief as an object is also an excellent choice language-wise, as it is consonant with *health*, a much-desired goal in healing incantations. But what about the beard, which only rhymes with itself in the

16 To alleviate diseases caused by earth, on Wednesday, after sunset, water is poured on the street in front of the gate while this incantation is recited.

texts cited above? It only alliterates with *water*, which is not enough reason for its appearance in the texts.

Human hair appears among the sacrificial or “exchange” objects in several places and several forms. A typical example of this is the giving of a hair (or a thread pulled from clothing) to water or the master or mother of water at the time of the first carrying of water or the first wash. Hair also appears in the case of staving off diseases caused by earth, when hair, nails, ashes and coins are placed in a small package and buried. This is not merely a way to alleviate a disease by sending it onto an object and then burying it, which is shown by the coins or pieces of lead placed in the package as well as by the fact that this package is called ‘food’ (BDH 2009, 321).

To illustrate the connection between hair and beard, I must first cite two incantations, where hair appears in the same position and function as beard in the examples above.

BXI 1995, 93<sup>17</sup>

<i>Һыу инәһе</i>	Mother of water,
<i>һарысәс</i>	blond (yellow) hair;
<i>Ер инәһе</i>	Mother of earth,
<i>ерәнсәс</i>	red hair;
<i>Минең кулым түгел</i>	Not my hand,
<i>Ғәйшә, Фатима кулы</i>	Ġäyşä-Fatima’s <sup>18</sup> hand;
<i>Мине тотма,</i>	Do not grab me,
<i>Ошоно тот!</i>	grab the one over there!

BXI 1995, 13

<i>Һыу инәһе</i>	Mother of water,
<i>һарысәс</i>	blond hair;
<i>Һыу инәһе</i>	Mother of water,
<i>һарысәс</i>	blond hair;
<i>Шәфкәтеңде</i>	Take me into
<i>һал миңә,</i>	your mercy,
<i>Зәхмәтең де</i>	put a stranger
<i>ситкә сәс!</i>	into your torment!

In order to clarify the relationship of hair and beard, let us take a side look at two other genres of Bashkir folklore: tales and sayings. A typical figure of Bashkir folk tales is “one-span with a thousand-span beard” (BNT 76, 101, 164). This character is a powerful, male, supernatural opponent living in the other world. When the hero first

<sup>17</sup> Incantation used for foot-ache.

<sup>18</sup> A name often appearing in incantations of Turkic peoples in the Volga region, coined from the names of the Prophet Muhammad’s wife and daughter.

defeats (but not kills) him, he always ties him to some wood (a live tree or the beam holding up the roof of the house). There is another typical character, a female, half-worldly witch-type, who sucks out the blood or bone marrow of young girls (BNT 11, 38, 42). The hero also defeats this witch by tying her to some wood (the edge of the bed) by her hair and beating her hard. Here, hair and beard clearly appear in the same function (tying the enemy) and also indicate gender. (Of the functions of beard, human and animal hair and feathers, I have written elsewhere in more detail: Dallos 2008.) The gender-indicating function of hair and beard can also be found in Bashkir sayings such as “man is adorned by beard and woman is adorned by hair” (BXI 2006, 315; 327).

As we have seen, hair also appears in incantations – not only beards. According to a Tatar record, women placed a hair and men placed a strand of beard upon the water. The Tatar and Bashkir folklore and languages are very close to each other. Although I only have examples of the above rituals recorded in Tatar data, it must surely have been the case with Bashkirs as well. What is more, I think the difference is only a matter of the time of data collection. The Tatar records date from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> or the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, at which time Bashkir incantations and rituals related to them were not at all collected. The methodical and scientifically-founded collection of Tatar data started as early as the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century against only in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the case of Bashkirs. By this time, however, the rituals and texts of folk medicine, along with other texts and ritual acts (for example, the ones used when carrying water from a stream) were already few and far between. Torma’s collection during the 1960s proves this, as he saw that Bashkirs were only pretending to pull a thread from their clothes to place on the water. To give an actual example of the similarity of Tatar and Bashkir incantations, let me cite a part of a Tatar incantation, which was used against a disease caused by the master of earth:

Muh.187.

<i>Жир иясе</i>	Master of earth,
<i>жирән сакал</i>	red beard;
<i>Су иясе</i>	master of water,
<i>суган сакал</i>	onion beard;
<i>Күк иясе</i>	master of sky,
<i>күгән сакал</i>	sloe beard.

In the three nominal sentences of parallel structures, the attributes of the word *beard* (red, onion, sloe), in the same way as in Bashkir incantations, are used on the basis of their sound, reflecting the first part of the structure, and not their meaning: *džir – džirän, su – sugan, kük – kügän*.

Thus, unlike Hisamitdinova, I claim that the beard is not a characteristic of the mother of earth and water, but rather has been included in the text of the incantations as the object offered as a sacrifice or “in exchange” for the people themselves.

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## Are Two Volga-Turkī Texts Compiled by Speakers of Different Turkic Varieties?

Balázs Danka<sup>1</sup>

The Chagatay (*Turkī*) literary language is an acrolect, a multilayered literary idiom with local variants (Bodrogligeti 2001: 1). “There are dialectal differences in details, mostly in morphology, and traces of historical developments through centuries, mostly in the sound system. These are, however, not significant enough for us to speak of separate languages on their account” (Bodrogligeti 2001: 8). The above citation is a well-known stereotype. Although these dialectal differences may not be significant enough concerning Chagatay-Turkic in its entirety, they are crucial for research on the development of the contemporary local varieties.<sup>2</sup>

In the pre-modern period of Turkic languages (the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards), Kipchak Turkic vanished as a major literary language in the territory of the former Golden Horde and was replaced by a local variety of Chagatay (Johanson 1998b: 86), which is designated as Volga-Turkī. Most of the sources written in this variety have no critical edition so far (Ivanics 2017: 37), not to mention a linguistic evaluation.

As a first step on this long road, I aim to demonstrate in the present paper that copied Arabic and Persian lexical items show phonotactic differences in two important Volga-Turkī sources, and I will attempt to evaluate the phenomenon.<sup>3</sup>

I used two texts as corpus, both from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. (1) The *Ĵāmi‘ at-Tawārīḥ* ‘Compendium of Chronicles’ written by Qādir ‘Ali Beg (QAB), head of the clan Ĵālāyir. He finished his work in 1602, in the territory of the Kasim Khanate (1452–1681), a vassal state of Russia. The source has two more or less whole manuscripts and a fragmentary one in Kazan, Russia. Two new manuscripts have recently been

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1 The author of the present paper is currently a Humboldt-scholar at Johannes Gutenberg University, Institute for Turcology, Slavistics and circum-Baltic Studies. The project title is *Exploring “Kipchak-Turkī”: An historical grammar of the internal narrative sources of the former Golden Horde between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries*.

2 During the last 15 years, we have discussed the problem countless times with my former teacher in Chagatay and my friend forever, Dr. Éva Kincses-Nagy. I would hereby like to express my gratitude to her for sharing her insight and for playing the role she has in me becoming the person I am today. I wish her a cheerful and productive retirement.

3 I would also like to seize the opportunity to wish happy 90<sup>th</sup> birthday and good health to my doctor father Professor András Róna-Tas, who taught me how important loanwords are in evaluating the linguistic and cultural history of a linguistic community.

discovered in the British Museum (Ivanics 2017: 43). The high-resolution colored photographs of the most complete manuscript are accessible in the Research Repository of the Saint Petersburg State University (Web1). I will refer to this manuscript as QS. The text has two editions, the older one was published by I. N. Berezin (1851) with typography in Arabic script. The other edition was published by R. Syzdykova and M. Kojgeldiev in 1991, with a Cyrillic transcription and a partial Kazakh translation. It includes a description of the historical context and some of the phonological, morphological, and lexical features of the text. Another Kazakh translation of the whole text is edited by M. Kazbekov (1997). R. Alimov (2015) published one of the London manuscripts (QL) with transcription and facsimiles, but without translation. This manuscript contains a copy of QS 8v8-21v11 (=QL 1b3–26a2) My present examination will be limited to this overlapping part of the two manuscripts.

(2) The *Dāftār-i Čingiz-nāmā* (DCN). Its latest edition by Ivanics–Usmanov (2002) contains a transcription, a German vocabulary, and the facsimiles of the four highest quality manuscripts. Its Hungarian translation and cultural-historical analysis has been published by Mária Ivanics (2017). The text is anonymous, its compilation is dated to the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, otherwise its exact date and place of recording is unknown. Ivanics arrives at the conclusion that the scribe(s) or the compiler-editor(s) of the DCN might have been person(s) with a relatively low degree of education. (Ivanics–Usmanov 2002: 12–15; Ivanics 2017: 201).

Before moving forward, we must first make the following theoretical considerations:<sup>4</sup>

(1) The opposition of frontness vs. backness (f/b) is a basic phonological feature in Turkic, present in all known historical periods, even in the most deviating dialects, including Chagatay and Volga-Turkī. This feature is essentially syllabic; namely frontness and backness is assigned to syllables, shared by all segments within them. Distinctiveness does not belong to individual segments. This phenomenon is called *intrasyllabic harmony*. Certain segments may clearly signal the f/b character of the syllable. These are called *signal segments*. Intrasyllabic harmony is the basis of the agreement between syllables within a phonological word, in their f/b specification. The latter is called *intersyllabic harmony*. Intersyllabic harmony may hold (a) within primary stems and (b) between primary stems and harmonic suffixes. The criterion for the f/b classification of syllables is their types of variants in harmonic suffixes: a syllable which takes back suffixes is back, and vice versa.

Intrasyllabic disharmony is often found in not fully integrated foreign (in our case, Arabic and Persian) lexemes. In such cases, the aberrant segment is marked by an asterisk \*, for instance, Tat. зольмәт (*zölmät*) “tyranny” has a syllabic structure of [\*f-f] (Johanson 1991; 1994).

(2) Copying of Arabic and Persian lexical elements into Turkic.

<sup>4</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Claudia Römer for calling my attention to some important works concerning the theoretical background of my paper.

Arabic and Persian lexical items in Turkic are mostly *global copies* (Johanson 2002, 2006). They started to stream into Turkic (in our case, *dominated basic code*) from Persian (*dominant model code*), as early as the 11<sup>th</sup> century. These items were copied together with their material, semantic, combinational, and frequential properties as a result of *adaption*, and became widely used in the developing Karakhanid (11<sup>th</sup> century), Khwarezmian (13<sup>th</sup> century), and Chagatay (15<sup>th</sup> century) literary languages.

After Chagatay became the dominant literary language in the territory of the former Golden Horde, local varieties appeared, namely the local spoken varieties (*dominated model code*) started to influence the usage of the literary language (*dominant basic code*) as a result of *imposition*. The process (only with the relevant steps) might be summarized as follows (the dominant codes being on the left, the dominated ones being on the right):

Arabic > (adaption)	Persian >	(adaption)	Karakhanid
	Khwarezmian		
	Chagatay >	(adaption)	local Turkic varieties
	Volga-Turkī <	(imposition)	local Turkic varieties

Copied elements in the basic code are never identical to those of the model code, they are adapted to the grammatical system of the basic code. In our case, this means that copied lexical items undergo a certain level of intrasyllabic and intersyllabic harmonization.

Modern Turkic languages show a great diversity in assigning frontness or backness to foreign elements. Certain languages, especially their higher sociolects (e. g., “Mollasprache”) tend toward the *reproduction* (“Reproduktion”) of foreign structures with a weaker tendency of intrasyllabic harmonization. Other languages, dialects, or substandard varieties show *resistance* (“Widerstand”) in this respect and tend to *assimilate* (“Anpassung”) the foreign elements into their own phonotactic systems.

In this respect, modern Turkic languages can be classified in the following way: Turkish, Uzbek, Modern Uyghur, and Azerbaijani (group A), which took these foreign lexical items from their respective literary languages. Tatar (group B) also developed under the strong influence of these literary languages. Group A and B mostly apply reproduction. Turkmen and Kazakh (group C) tends to apply assimilation.

The short *a* is copied as an [f] segment into languages belonging to group A/B while dialectal forms of these languages and those belonging to group C mostly adapt [b] forms (Johanson 1986).

As a working hypothesis, I assume that the underlying spoken dialects of Volga-Turkī can be classified basically in the same way, and that the orthographical tendencies of a written text mirrors the (native) linguistic competence of the scribe or author (Danka 2019: 163–184, 277–278).

The corpus I used is written in Arabic script. The orthography clearly distinguishes syllabic [f/b] oppositions in harmonic suffixes containing *k* (<k>, <q>) or *g* (<k>, <ġ>) which are considered as signal segments. Consequently, these suffixes verify the [f/b] classification of the preceding syllable. In the corpus, the following ones can be attested, also in combinations with other suffixes: the dative case suffix +*GA* <ġh>, <qh> vs. <k'>; the terminative case suffix +*GAĉA* <ġ'ĉh> vs. <k'ĉh>; the derivational suffixes +*LIK* <lq>, <lyq>, <lyġy> vs. <lyk>; +*LIG* <lyġ>; +*KI* <ġy>; and +*DAKI* <d'ġy>, <dh ġy> vs. <d'ky>. Note that rendering the open vowels with <h> or <'> *do not* signal [f/b] opposition on their own, since (1) the back allomorph of the dative case suffix is consistently written with <h> and the front one with <'>; (2) the terminative case suffix is written with both; while (3) both variants of +*DAKI* is written with <'>. Therefore, the only reliable signals are the graphic representation of *k* and *g*.

I collected the lexical items from the corpus which are attested with the abovementioned suffixes. With a few exceptions, the materials complement each other in QAB and DCN.

The complete stock of data consists of 45 lexical items – QAB: 14 Arabic and 3 Persian items; DCN: 12 Arabic, and 11 Persian items; and 3 Arabic and 2 Persian items are attested in both texts.

The attested lexical material is compared to that of Tatar, Kazakh, Turkmen, and Uzbek, based on the following figure of Boeschoten–Vandamme 1998: 168. To these data, I added Modern Turkish/Ottoman Turkic data for comparison.

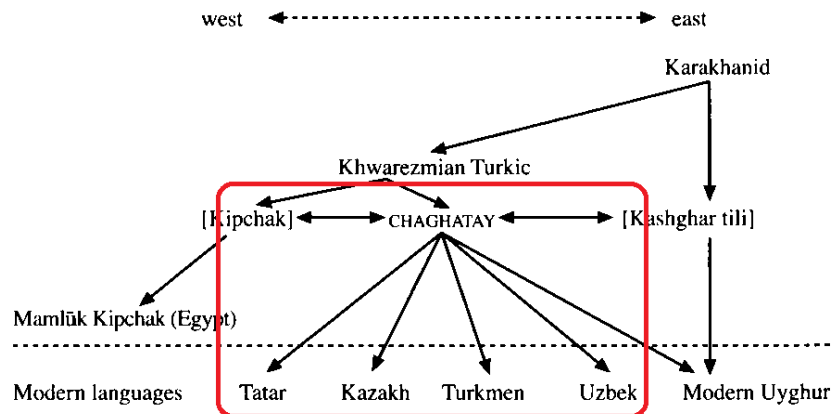


Figure 9.1 Relations of Chaghatay with other written varieties

Unfortunately, nearly half of the attested data had to be filtered out because they did not contribute to our examination for one or more of the following reasons:

(1) Their adaptation to the examined Turkic languages did not show variation in the modern languages that were compared. Arabic: QS: *ʿaql* ‘Einsicht, Verstand, Ver-nunft’, *ḥaq* ‘Wahrheit, Richtigkeit’, *muwāfaqat(liq)* ‘Übereinstimmung, Einwilligung’, *temāšā* ‘walking abroad for recreation, entertainment’; DCN: *dīn* ‘Religion’, *faydā(liġ)*

‘nützlich’, *ḥalāyiq* ‘Geschöpfe, Volk’, *ḥalq* ‘Volk, die Menschen’ *kāfir/kawur* ‘die Ungläubige’, *tabaq* ‘Teller, Platte’, *ṭaraf* ‘Seite’, QS/DCN *müslimān(liq)* ‘der Moslime’, *zamān* ‘Zeit’; Persian: QS, *ḥudāy*, ‘(self-existent) God’, *niyāz(liq)* ‘indigence, necessity, prayer’; DCN: *ḥatūn*<sup>5</sup> ‘vornehme Frau’, *ḵān(liq)* ‘Lebewesen’, *kišānā* ‘Grabstätte, Mausoleum’, *māl* ‘Habe, Vieh, Ware, Schatz’ *sarāy* ‘Serail, Schloss’, *tān* ‘Körper’, *ustād(liq)* ‘Meister, Handwerker’ QS/DCN: *ḥān(liq)* ‘Chan’, *pādšāh(liq)* ‘Padischach’

(2) They are absent from most of the examined languages: DCN: Ar. *izār(liq)* ‘Windel’, *ḡammāz(liq)* ‘Spionage’, Persian: QS *zaḥm* ‘scar, wound blow’; DCN: *ḥūnkār* ‘Obenherr, der Osmanische Sultan’, *rāwān* ‘laufend sogleich’.

The data below is presented in the following way: I present first the lexical stock attested in QS (Arabic and Persian, respectively), then that in the DCN. The data are in Arabic alphabetic order. The entries consist of (1) the attested spelling in Arabic script; (2) transcriptions given by the publishers (QAB: Alimov 2015, although it is sometimes misleading, DCN: Ivanics-Usmanov 2002); (3) transliteration based on the respective facsimiles; (4) meaning (in the case of QAB, I give the meaning from the respective Arabic or Persian dictionary, in the DCN, the meaning is given in the glossary); (5) locus in the texts (QS= QAB St. Petersburg manuscript, QL= QAB London manuscript); (6) the corresponding Arabic word (if there is any); (7) the corresponding Persian word, and (8) Modern Turkic reflexes. These are presented in the order of Group A (Uzbek, Ottoman/Modern Turkish), Group B (Tatar), and Group C (Turkmen, Kazakh). All presented data refers to the respective dictionary with page numbers (see abbreviations). The Arabic and Persian data are transcribed as they are shown in the respective dictionaries. The Turkic data are transcribed according to the Latin orthography (Ottoman/Turkish) or the phonological descriptions of the individual languages (Uzbek: Boeschoten 1998, Tatar: Berta 1998, Turkmen: Schönig 1998, Kazakh: Kirchner 1998). (9) Next to the Turkic data, the syllabic analysis of the stem is shown. Whenever it was attestable from the respective dictionary, I also gave a harmonic derivational or inflectional suffix in parenthesis to verify the quality of the last syllable, except Uzbek, where the development of harmonic suffixes is blocked by Iranian influence (Johanson 1998a: 32).

The examined stock of data in QAB (Arabic):

اولغى , اولغى *evvel(ḡi)* <’wlgý> ‘früher, älter, vorherig’ QS 12v11= <’w<sup>w</sup>lḡy> QL 8b9

Ar. *awwal* (p. 55)

Pe. *auwal* (p.121)

Uzb. *ävval* (p. 18)

[f-f]

Osm/Trk. *evvel(ki)* (p. 355)

[f-f]

Tat. *ewel(ḡě)* (p. 734)

[f-f]

Tkm. *oval(qī)* (p. 481)

[b-b]

Kzk *æwel(gi)* (p. 107)

[f-f]

5 The titles *ḥatūn* and *ḥān* are registered as Persian in the DCN. I do not go into the details of the discussion of their history now.

- تعالی *ta'ālā* <t'ly> 'Gott der Erhabene' +*ga* <gh> QS 19v3 = QL 20b7, QL 18a8, 18b10; also علا *'alā* <l'> 'Höhe, hoher Rang, Adel' +*ga* <gh> QS 17v5 = QL 17a7  
 Ar. الله تعالی (p. 872); علاء *'alā*' (p. 874)  
 Pe. *ta'ālā* (p. 307); *'alā*' (p. 861)  
 Uzb. *tāālā* (p. 420) [f-b-b]  
 Osm/Trk. *taalā* cf. *taali* (p. 1071) [b-b-\*f]  
 Tat. *teyale* (p. 566) [f-b-f]  
 Tkm. –  
 Kzk. *tayala* (p. 761) [b-b-b]
- جماعت *cemā* 'at <jm' 'Schar, Gesellschaft, Gruppe' +*lārgā* <l'rk'> QS1311 = QL 9b6  
 Ar. جماعة *ġamā'a* (p. 198)  
 Pe. *jamā'at* (p. 370)  
 Uzb. *ĵāmāāt* (p. 147) [f-b-f]  
 Osm/Trk. *cemaat<sup>ti</sup>* (p. 220) [f-b-f]  
 Tat. *ĵemeyat'(lě)* (p. 776) [f-f-\*f]  
 Tkm. *ĵemāyat* (p. 323) [f-b-b]  
 Kzk. *ĵamayāt* (p. 277) [b-b-b]
- دنیا *dünyā* <dny'> 'Welt, Erde' +*dagī* <d' gy> QS 9r2 = QL 1b8,  
 Ar. دنیا *dunyā* (p. 408)  
 Pe. *dunyā* (p. 589)  
 Uzb. *dunyā* (p. 127) [b-b]  
 Osm/Trk. *dünya(lik)* (p. 318) [f-b]  
 Tat. *dōñ'ya(dayī)* (p. 143) [f-b]  
 Tkm. *dünyā(si)* (p. 292) [f-f]  
 Kzk. *düniye(lik)* (p. 221) [f-f-f]
- دولتلیغ , دولتیغ *devlet(lıg)* <dwltlyg> 'Staat, Herrschaft, Reich' QS 10r9 = <dwlt lyg> QL 4a9  
 Ar. دولة *daula* (p. 418)  
 Pe. *daulat* (p. 546)  
 Uzb. *dāvlāt* (p. 110) [f-f]  
 Tat. *dewlet(lě)* (p. 141) [f-f]  
 Osm/Trk. *devlet(li)* (p. 291) [f-f]  
 Tkm. *dövlet* (p. 280) [f-f]  
 Kzk. *dæwlet(tilik)* (p. 207) [f-f]
- شمال *šimāl* <šm'l> 'Norden' +*ga* <gh> QS 16r2 = QL 14a3  
 Ar. شمال *šamāl, šimāl* (p. 676)  
 Pe. *shamāl, shimāl* 'north (wind or quarter)' (p. 758)  
 Uzb. *šimāl* (p. 563) [f-b]  
 Osm/Trk. *šimal<sup>li</sup>* (p. 1063) [f-f]  
 Tat. *šimal* (p. 660) [f-b]  
 Tkm. *šemāl(li)* (p. 756) [f-b]  
 Kzk. *samal(dī)* (p. 696) [b-b]

عبرت ليغ *ṣūrat(liġ)* ‘Form, Gestalt, Abbild’ <ṣwrt lyġ> QS17v7 = QL 17a10

Ar. صورة *ṣūra* (p. 733)

Pe. *ṣūrat, ṣūra* (p. 795)

Uzb. *surát* (p. 401)

[b-f]

Osm/Trk. *suret<sup>ti</sup>* (p. 1036)

[b-f]

Tat. *suret(lě)* (p. 491)

[b-f]

Tkm. *ṭūrat(li)* (p. 594)

[b-b]

Kzk. *sūret(ti)* (p. 422)

[f-f]

عجب *‘aceb* <‘jb> ‘Verwunderung, Erstaunen’ +*qa* <qh> QS 18r1 = QL 17b9

Ar. عجب *‘aġab* (p. 813)

Pe. *‘ajab* (pp. 836–837)

Uzb. *‘ajáb, ‘ajib* (p. 21)

[f-f]

Osm/Trk. *aceb* (p. 6)

[b-f]

Tat. *yaġep(len-)* (p. 112)

[b-f]

Tkm. *ajap(liq)* (p. 29)

[b-b]

Kzk. *yažap(tan-)* (p. 195)

[b-b]

قوت ليغ , قوت ليغ *quvvat(liq), quvvat(liġ)* <qwt> ‘Stärke, Kraft, Macht’ +*IK* <lyq> QS 10r8–9 = QL 4a8, +*IIG* <lyġ> QS17r3 = QL 16a4

Ar. قوة *quwwa* (p. 1072)

Pe. *qūwat, quwwat* (p. 998)

Uzb. *quvvát* (p. 658)

[b-f]

Osm/Trk. *kuvvet(li)* (p. 692)

[b-f]

Tat. *quwet(lělək)* (p. 303)

[b-f]

Tkm. *quvvat(li)* (p. 418)

[b-b]

Kzk. *quwat(tü)* (p. 536)

[b-b]

كمال *kemāl* <km<sup>l</sup>> ‘Vollkommenheit, Vollständigkeit’ +*ga* <ġh> QS 17v8 = QL 17b3

Ar. كمال *kamāl* (p. 1120),

Pe. *kamāl* (p. 1047)

Uzb. *kāmāl* (p. 198)

[f-b]

Osm/Trk. *kemāl<sup>li</sup>* (p. 635)

[f-<sup>\*</sup>f]

Tat. *kemal* (p. 320)

[f-b]

Tkm. *kemāl(li)* (p. 390)

[f-b]

Kzk. *kämelet(tik)* (p. 356)

[f-f]

مثال ليك *miṭāl(lik)* <mṣ<sup>l</sup> lyk> ‘Gleiches, Gleichnis, Beispiel’ QS 10v11=QL 5b4

Ar. مثال *miṭāl* (p. 1186)

Pe. *miṣāl* (p. 1172)

Uzb. *misāl* (p. 268)

[f-b]

Osm/Trk. *misal<sup>li</sup>* (p. 780)

[f-<sup>\*</sup>f]

Tat. *misal(li)* (p. 373)

[f-b]

Tkm. *miṭal(li)* (p. 465)

[b-b]

Kzk. *mīsal(da-)* (p. 616)

[b-b]

The examined stock of data in QAB (Persian):

فرمان *fermān* <frm'n> 'a mandate, command, order' +*ijgä* <nk k'> QS 19v3 = QL 20a10

Pe. فرمان <i>farmān</i> (p. 921)	
Uzb. <i>fārmān</i> (p. 503)	[f-b]
Osm/Trk. <i>ferman</i> <sup>m</sup> (p. 367)	[f-b]
Tat. <i>ferman</i> ( <i>ya</i> ) (p. 608)	[f-b]
Tkm. <i>permān</i> ( <i>i</i> ) (p. 524)	[f-b]
Kzk. <i>pærmen</i> ( <i>di</i> ) (p. 670)	[f-f]

The examined stock of data in DCN (Arabic):

تقدير *taqdīr* <tdyr> 'der göttliche Ratschluss, Vorausbestimmung' +*igä* <yk'> DCN 37r18

Ar. تقدير <i>taqdīr</i> (p. 1005)	
Pe. <i>taqdīr</i> (p. 315)	
Uzb. <i>tāqdīr</i> (p. 431)	[*b-f]
Osm/Trk. <i>takdir</i> ( <i>e bağlı</i> ) (p. 1087)	[b-f]
Tat. <i>teq`dir</i> ( <i>lā-</i> ) (p. 567)	[*b-f]
Tkm. <i>taqdīr</i> ( <i>a yađılanını gör-</i> ) (p. 614)	[b-b]
Kzk. <i>taqdīr</i> (p. 762)	[b-b]

دنيا *dūnyā* <dny'> 'Welt' +*gä* <k'> DCN 11v2, +*gä* <ğh> 22v12, 41r7; see the entry of QAB

ظلم *zul(u)m* 'Unrecht, Gewalt' +*liq* <lq> DCN 9r3

Ar. ظلم <i>zulm</i> 'Ungerechtigkeit' (p. 802)	
Pe. <i>zūlm, zālm</i> (p. 826)	
Uzb. <i>zulm, zolim</i> ( <i>lik</i> ) (p. 165)	[b], [b-f]
Osm/Trk. <i>zulm, zulüm</i> <sup>lmii</sup> (p. 1290)	[b], [b-f]
Tat. <i>zölöm, zöl`mät</i> (p.155)	[b-b], [*f-f]
Tkm. <i>δulum</i> ( <i>li</i> ) (p. 340)	[b-b]
Kzk. <i>zulim</i> ( <i>dīq</i> ) (p. 342)	[b-b]

عجائب *ajāib* 'Merkwürdigkeit, Bewunderung, Erstauen' +*gä* <k'> DCN 47v8,

Ar. عجائب <i>ajā`ib</i> (pl. of عجيبة <i>agība</i> ) (p. 813)	
Pe. عجائب <i>ajā`ib</i> (p. 836)	
Uzb. <i>ajāyib</i> (pp. 21–22)	[f-b-f]
Osm/Trk. <i>acayip</i> <sup>bi</sup> 'strange, queer, curious' (p. 6)	[b-b-f]
Tat. <i>yaĵeĵp</i> (p. 112)	[b-f-f]
Tkm. <i>ajāyip</i> ( <i>liq</i> ) (p. 29)	[b-b-b]
Kzk. <i>yažayip</i> (p. 195)	[b-b-b]



- قالا, قلغه, قلغه, قلغه, قلغه, قلغه *qala/qalga* ‘Festung, Stadt’ <q’l’> DCN 10r1 <ql’> 39v3, 39v4, 46v15, <qlgh> 46v4 +*sina*/*+siġa* <syn’/syġh> 39v3  
 Ar. قلعة *qal’a* ‘Festung, Fort, Zitadelle’ (p. 1053)  
 Pe. *qal’at, qal’a* (p. 934)  
 Uzb. *qālā* (p. 630) [b-f]  
 Osm/Trk. *kal’a, kale<sup>si</sup>* (p. 586) [b-b], [b-f]  
 Tat. *qala* (p. 214) [b-b]  
 Tkm. *ġalā* (p. 145) [b-b]  
 Kzk. *qala* (p. 455) [b-b]
- قيامت *qiyāmāt* <qy’mt> ‘Tag des jüngsten Gerichts’ +*-gāčā* <k’čh> DCN 41r4  
 Ar. قيامة *qiyāma* ‘Auferstehung’ (p. 1070)  
 Pe. *qiyāmat* (p. 997)  
 Uzb. *qiyāmāt* (p. 640) [\*b-b-f]  
 Osm/Trk. *kıyamet(leri)* (p. 660) [b-b-f]  
 Tat. *qiyamet* (p. 317) [b-b-f]  
 Tkm. *qiyāmat(liq)* (p. 424) [b-b-b]  
 Kzk. *qiyamet* (p. 513) [b-b-f]
- كعبة *kā’bā* <k’bh> ‘Kaaba, der heilige Stein in Mekka’ +*gā* <k’> DCN 40v12  
 Ar. كعبة, الكعبة *ka’ba* (p.1108)  
 Pe. *ka’bat, ka’ba* (p. 1036)  
 Uzb. *kā’bā* (p. 204) [f-f]  
 Osm/Trk. *Kābe* (p. 573) [f-f]  
 Tat. *kāy’bā* (p. 318) [b\*-f]  
 Tkm. *kābe* (p. 424) [f-f]  
 Kzk. *qayba* (p. 433) [b-b]
- نصيبليكا *našīb(liq)* <nšyblyk’> ‘für jemanden bestimmtes’ DCN 4v6  
 Ar. نصيب *našīb* (p. 1278)  
 Pe. *našīb* (p. 1407)  
 Uzb. *nāsib* (p. 286) [f-f]  
 Osm/Trk. *našib, našip<sup>bi</sup>* (p. 868) [b-f]  
 Tat. *našīyp; našīybe* (p. 394) [b-b], [b-b-f]  
 Tkm. *neθīp, neθībe(li)* (pp. 472–473) [f-f], [f-f-f]  
 Kzk. *nəsip* (p. 624), *nesip* (p. 627) [f-f]
- هيبت ليك *häybāt(lik)* <hybt lyk> ‘Ehrfurcht’ DCN 25v13  
 Ar. هيبة *haiba* (p. 1367)  
 Pe. *haibat* (p. 1520)  
 Uzb. *häybāt* (p. 682) [f-f]  
 Osm/Trk. *heybet(li)* (p. 478) [f-f]  
 Tat. *eybet(lëk)* (p. 726), *heybet(lëk)* (p. 781) [f-f]  
 Tkm. *xaybat(li)* (p. 681) [b-b]  
 Kzk. *aybat(tiliq)* (pp. 25–26), [b-b]

The examined stock of data in DCN (Persian):

درمان سزلق *dārmān(sizliq)* <drm'n sz lq> 'Arznei, Mittel' DCN 9r15,

Pe. درمان <i>darmān</i> (p. 514)	
Uzb. <i>dārmān</i> (p. 114)	[f-b]
Osm/Trk. <i>derman(sizlik)</i> (p. 286)	[f-b]
Tat. <i>derman(sizliq)</i> (p. 140)	[f-b]
Tkm. <i>dermān(liq)</i> (p. 262)	[f-b]
Kzk. <i>dærmen(sizdik)</i> (p. 206)	[f-f]

دوشمان , دشمن *dūšmān* 'Feind' <dwšm'n> DCN 14r8, <dwšmn> 14r9, -*ga* <gh> 14r8, 14r9

Pe. دشمن , دشمان <i>dushmān, dushman</i> (p. 526)	
Uzb. <i>dušmān</i> (p. 129)	[b-f]
Osm/Trk. <i>düşman(lik), düşmen</i> (p. 320)	[f-b/f]
Tat. <i>dōšman</i> (p. 135)	[b-b]
Tkm. <i>dušmān(liq)</i> (p. 288)	[b-b]
Kzk. <i>dušpan</i> (p. 220)	[b-b]

روشن *rawšān(liq)* <rwšn> 'hell, leuchtend' + *liḡi* <lḡy> DCN 3v4

Pe. روشن , روشن <i>raushan, roshān</i> (p. 595)	
Uzb. <i>rāvšān</i> (p. 351)	[f-b]
Osm/Trk. <i>ruşen</i> (p. 963)	[b-f]
Tat. <i>rawšan(liq)</i> (p. 447)	[b-b]
Tkm. <i>rövşen(lik)</i> (p. 552)	[f-f]
Kzk. <i>rawšan</i> (p. 680)	[b-b]

شهر *šāh(ä)r* <šhr> 'Stadt, Land' DCN +*gä* <k'> 34r13, 35v19, 36r14, 37v2, +*igä* <yk'> 30v1, 32r18, 34r10, 34v16, 35v21, 36r2, 36r4, 36r14, 36v9, 39v18, 40v21, <ykh> 40v20, +*lärgä* <l'rk'> 36v19, +*imizgä* <mzk'> 37r11 +*lärdäki* <l'rd'ky> 27v14

Pe. شهر <i>shahr</i> (p. 769)	
Uzb. <i>šāhār</i> (p. 560)	[f-f]
Osm <i>şehir<sup>hri</sup></i> (p. 1053), <i>şehir</i> (p. 1053)	[f-f]
Tat. <i>šeher</i> (p. 669)	[f-f]
Tkm. <i>šæxer</i> (p. 766)	[f-f]
Kzk <i>šær</i> (p. 946), <i>šahar</i> (p. 945)	[f]/[b-b]

The tables below summarize the analyses so far and are supplemented with a syllabic analysis of our data in the corpus. The last syllables of the examined lexical elements are given based on suffixal harmony, while the quality of the non-last syllables is reconstructed (whenever possible) based on the compared modern Turkic lexical material. If modern languages show considerable variation in a position, the given syllable is marked as “?”.

T.1. The syllabic analysis of the data in QAB based on the comparison with modern Turkic data

QAB	Group A		Group B	Group C		
	Uzb.	Osm./Trk.	Tat.	Tkm.	Kzk.	
Lexical elements of Arabic origin						
<i>evvel(ġi)</i>	b-b	f-f	f-f	f-f	b-b	f-f
<i>ta'alā</i>	?-b-b	f-b-b	b-b-*f	f-b-f	–	b-b-b
<i>cemā'at</i>	?-?-f	f-b-f	f-b-*f	f-f-*f	f-b-b	b-b-b
<i>dūnyā</i>	?-b	b-b	f-b	f-b	f-f	f-f-f
<i>devlet(lġ)</i>	b-b	f-f	f-f	f-f	f-f	f-f
<i>šimāl</i>	?-b	f-b	f-*f	f-b	f-b	b-b
<i>sūrat(lġ)</i>	b-b	b-f	b-f	b-f	b-b	f-f
<i>'aceb</i>	b-b	f-f	b-f	b-f	b-b	b-b
<i>quvvat(lġ)</i>	b-b	b-f	b-f	b-f	b-b	b-b
<i>kemāl</i>	f-b	f-b	f-*f	f-b	f-b	f-f-f
<i>miṭāl(lik)</i>	f-f	f-b	f-*f	f-b	b-b	b-b
Lexical elements of Persian origin						
<i>fermān</i>	f-f	f-b	f-b	f-b	f-b	f-f

T.2. The syllabic analysis of the data in DCN based on the comparison with modern Turkic data

DCN	Group A		Group B	Group C		
	Uzb.	Osm./Trk.	Tat.	Tkm.	Kzk.	
Lexical elements of Arabic origin						
<i>taqdir</i>	b-f	*b-f	b-f	*b-f	b-b	b-b
<i>dūnyā</i>	?-b/f	b-b	f-b	f-b	f-f	f-f-f
<i>zul(u)m</i>	b-b	b; b-f	b; b-*f	b-b; *f-f	b-b	b-b
<i>'ajāib</i>	?-b-f	f-b-f	b-b-f	b-f-f	b-b-b	b-b-b
<i>qala, qalga</i>	b-b	*b-f	b-b; b-f	b-b	b-b	b-b
<i>qiyāmāt</i>	b-b-f	b-b-f	b-b-f	b-b-f	b-b-b	b-b-f
<i>kā'bā</i>	?-f	f*-f	f*-f	b*-f	f-f	b-b
<i>našīb</i>	?-f	f-f	b-f	b-b; b-b-f	f-f, f-f-f	f-f
<i>häybät(lik)</i>	f-f	f-f	f-f	f-f	b-b	b-b
Lexical elements of Persian origin						
<i>därmän(sizliq)</i>	f-b	f-b	f-b	f-b	f-b	f-f
<i>düşmān</i>	?-b	b-f	f-b/f	b-b	b-b	b-b
<i>rawšān(liq)</i>	?-b	f-b	b-f	b-b	f-f	b-b
<i>šäh(ä)r</i>	f-(f)	f-(f)	f-(f)	f-(f)	f-(f)	f; b-(b)

If we look through T.1, we see that the lexical material of QAB shows resistance to structures containing syllables of a different class, and a very strong tendency towards intersyllabic harmonization and velarization of the stem, as opposed to the corresponding items of Group A and B. The only clear exception is *kemāl*. This supposes that the variety spoken (and underlying the written text) by Qādir 'Ali Beg

belonged to Group C, or a lower sociolect of Group B. This phenomenon might be another trace of the “strong Siberian Tatar strain” reported by Ivanics (2017: 43).

On the other hand, the variety underlying the DCN shows more clear cases of reproduction and acceptance of word stems with syllables consisting of different classes when at least one of the languages of group C shows assimilation. This points to the direction that this variety *does not* belong to group C. The higher number of question marks in T.2. appears because no assimilatory or velarizing tendency can be observed in the corresponding elements of Group A/B, while there is considerable variation between the individual languages. If the author(s)/editor(s) of the DCN were speakers of a lower sociolect, it cannot be verified based on their phonotactic usage of Arabic and Persian vocabulary.

The examined lexical material of the present survey is of course not representative, but is rather a tiny token of a huge corpus. The extension of the methodology presented is encouraged to be extended to more modern languages of the Northwestern (Kipchak) group of Turkic languages as well as more texts.

### Abbreviations

Ar.	Literary Arabic, see Wehr 1985
DCN	<i>Dāftār-i Čingiz-nāmā</i> , see. Ivanics – Usmanov 2002
Kzk.	Kazakh, see Syzdykova Husain 2001
Pe.	Persian, see Steingass 2006
QS	<i>Qadīr ‘Ali Beg’s</i> St. Petersburg manuscript, see Web1
QL	<i>Qadīr ‘Ali Beg’s</i> London Manuscript, see Alimov 2015
Tat.	modern Tatar, see Golovkina 1966
Tkm.	Turkmen, see Baskakov – Garriev – Hamzaev 1968
Osm./Trk.	Ottoman Turkic and Modern Turkish, see Redhouse 1999
Uzb.	Literary Uzbek, see Akobirova – Mihailova 1988

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# An Asymmetric Negation Marker in Turkmen: *-Anok*

Sema Aslan Demir

## Introduction

Turkmen belongs to the Oghuz branch of Turkic languages and is mostly spoken in Turkmenistan. It has also speakers in neighboring countries such as Iran, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan. Turkmen also has diaspora speakers, who have immigrated from Mangyshlak to the Caucasian area in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Caucasian Turkmen live in Stavropol Krai and Astrakhan. Because of being in the easternmost region of the Oghuz zone, the Turkmen language has interesting linguistic features from the view of intra-family language typology, by comprising both Oghuz and non-Oghuz materials in its linguistic inventory. It has some common areal features with the Northwestern and the Southeastern branches of the Turkic languages. In this paper, I will deal with the negative predicator *-Anok* /*Ano:q*/, which is one of the asymmetric negation markers of the Turkmen negation system. *-Anok* hasn't got any affirmative counterpart that grammatically originated in the same cognate or semantically corresponds with *-Anok*. This situation brings out a kind of asymmetry in negation.

Before focusing on the *-Anok*, I will give brief information on symmetric and asymmetric negation as the different realizations of standard negation. Secondly, I will introduce the verbal negation system of Turkmen, by focusing on the *-Anok* which is a morphological negative predicator. I will also focus on the grammaticalization process of *-Anok*, with regard to Croft's Cycle. In the article, the examples will be given both in the standard orthography and in transcription, because of the fact that some of the typical phonological features of Turkmen are not represented in the standard orthography. The orthographic forms will be given in italics and the spoken forms in slashes. Vowel length is indicated with a colon.

## *-Anok* in the Turkmen verbal paradigm

One of the main concepts in negation studies is standard negation. Standard negation is sentential or clausal negation which can be defined as the basic way that a language has for negating declarative verbal main clauses (Miestamo 2013: 2005). Standard negation can also be defined as the negation in simple indicative sentences with a

verbal predicate (Dahl 1979). Negative constructions that fall outside standard negation include the negation of existential, copular, or non-verbal clauses, the negation of subordinate clauses, and the negation of non-declarative clauses (Miestamo 2013). Because of occurring in verbal main clauses, *-Anok* is a part of the standard negation system in Turkmen.

In terms of the status of negative markers, three major types of negation are identified: (i) morphological or affixal negation (ii) negative particles (iii) negative verbs (Dahl 1979, 2010). The common affixal negation marker of the Turkmen is *-mA*. It shares the functional domain of verbal negation with *däl* /dä:l/ ‘not’. *Däl* is an unbounded negation particle, which can be used to negate both copular sentences with noun predicates and, conjugated verbs. In Turkmen, *däl* is the only way to negate the future tense with *-jAk* (*ol geljek* /ol geljek/ ‘he will come’: *ol geljek däl* /ol geljekgä:l/ ‘he won’t come’), the necessity/obligation mood *-mAlI* (*men barmaly däl* ‘/men barmalı däl/ ‘I don’t need to go’), the intention mood *-mAçI* (*ol taşlamakçy däl* /ol taşlamakçi dä:l/ ‘he doesn’t intend to throw’), and the past perfect tense with *-An* (*ol ýazan* /ol yaðan/ ‘he has written’: *ol ýazan däl* /ol yaðan dä:l/ ‘he hasn’t written’). Both *-mA* and *däl* are symmetric negation markers, because of the fact that there isn’t any structural difference between affirmative and negative sentence structure except the addition of negators.

- (1.a) *Maral geldi*  
 /maral geldi/  
 Maral come: PST.3SG  
 ‘Maral came’
- (1.b) *Maral gelmedi*  
 /maral gelmedi/  
 Maral come:NEG-PST.3SG  
 ‘Maral didn’t come’

In 1.b, the structure of the negative sentence is identical to the structure of the affirmative, except for the presence of the negator *-mA*. In asymmetric negation, the structure of the negative differs from the structure of the affirmative in other ways (Miestamo 2013, 2005). The status of *-Anok* is asymmetric. Nevertheless, the reason of asymmetry is not structural. Asymmetry arises from the fact that there isn’t any specific affirmative counterpart that morphologically or semantically corresponds with *-Anok*. *-Anok* appears only in negative verbal conjugation, without having a specific affirmative opposition in the Turkmen verbal paradigm.

*-Anok* diachronically originated in existential negation marker *ýok* /yo:q/ ‘not existing’. In the grammaticalization process of *-Anok*, the unbounded existential negator *ýok* contracted with the preceding suffixes by fusion: past participle *An* + possessive suffix + *ýok*. *alanym ýok* /alanım yo:q/ (take:PSTP-POSS.1SG not-existing) > *alamok* /alamo:q/ (take:NEG.PRED.1SG) ‘I’m not taking/I haven’t been



taking'. At the end of the grammaticalization process, a new member of Turkmen verbal negation system emerges, with full paradigm. Meanwhile, intermediate stages of grammaticalization process can be observed in various Turkmen dialects from full form such as *alanym ýok* /alanim yo:q/ (take:PSTP-POSS.1SG not-existing) to more reduced form, *alam ýok* /alam yo:q/ and, a further grammaticalized form which can be also assimilated for palatal harmony, *alamak* /alama:q/ (< alamo:q) 'I'm not taking/I haven't been taking' (take:NEG.PRED.1SG) (Amansariyev 1970: 360; Berdiyev et al 1970: 322). In standard Turkmen, which is based on the Teke dialect, the conjugation paradigm of the *-Anok* is as the following:

*gel-emok* /gelemo:q/ (come:NEG.PRED.1SG) 'I'm not coming (nowadays)/I haven't been coming/I didn't come yet.  
*gel-eňok* /geleŋo:q/ (come:NEG.PRED.2SG)  
*gel-enok* /geleno:q/ (come:NEG.PRED.3SG)  
*gel-emizok* /gelemðo:q/ (come:NEG.PRED.1PL)  
*gel-eňizok* /geleŋðo:q/ (come:NEG.PRED.2PL)  
*gel-enoklar* /geleno:qlor/ (come:NEG.PRED.3PL)

### Diachronic development of *-Anok* due to the Croft's Cycle

"Recently, linguists have discovered (or, more accurately, rediscovered) the role that historical linguistics can legitimately play in providing explanations for the facts of synchronic language types" (Croft 1991). In Croft's work *The Evolution of Negation*, three attested synchronic typology of verbal negators and negative existential forms are identified: In type A, the negation of the existential predicate is performed by the verbal negator. Verbal negator is used for both tasks. In type B, there is a special negative existential predicate, distinct from the verbal negator. In type C, there is a special negative existential predicate which is identical to verbal negator. In addition, he finds three attested synchronic variation types: A~B, B~C, C~A. These synchronic variations also imply the grammaticalization pathway of standard negation by hinting a diachronic development in a cyclic way such as A>B, B>C and C>A (Croft 1991: 6). Croft has shown that there is a cyclical development (Croft's Cycle) whereby existential negators extend their functions as the verbal negator, and the original verbal negator has been lost. In negative existential cycle, in stage A, a verbal negator, in addition to negate verbal predicates, can perform like an existential negator. In stage A>B special negative existential form arises, B>C negative existential form replaces the verbal negator and extent its function into verbal negator, in stage C>A the negator has lost its existential function and negates like any other verbal predicate (Miestamo 2005: 221). If we investigate Turkmen *-Anok* from the point of Croft's Cycle, we can situate *-Anok* in type B~C. In type B~C, the negative existential is used for the negation of some verbal predications (Veselinova 2016: 143). Croft's Cycle shows that negative existential constructions are a common source for standard negation

constructions (Miestamo 2005: 221). *-Anok* diachronically developed from existential negation to verbal negation. However, it didn't become prevalent in all domains of standard negation. It became an alternative verbal negator, which is semantically more marked than *-mA*. In this sense, one of the important questions is that can *-Anok* generalize all domain of standard negation and replace other verbal negators as a further development? As Veselinova states, the full completion of the negation cycle appears to occur very rarely within a period for reasonable reconstruction. Although *yok* interact with verbal negation a great degree, it is far from ousting the verbal negator in any modern Turkic languages. On the other hand, stages where the negative existential is used for specific sub-domain in the negation of the verb are very frequent and tend to last for very long periods of time (Veselinova 2016: 141, 163). In actual language, *-Anok* is used for specific sub-domain of Turkmen verbal negation. But its increasingly use pointed out also in some early monographs on the Turkmen language (Çaryýarow 1969: 56)

### What kind of asymmetry?

As stated above, *-Anok* appears only in negative verbal conjugation, without having a specific affirmative counterpart in Turkmen verbal paradigm. The critical issue is that whether the lacking of an affirmative counterpart in any grammatical means or any affirmative paradigm make it possible to count *-Anok* in the frame of asymmetric negation? Negative constructions can be symmetric or asymmetric due to the structural differences between negative and affirmative. Miestamo states that when no structural differences are found between the affirmative and the negative in addition to the negative marker, the structures are symmetric. When there are structural differences between the affirmative and the negative in addition to the negative marker, the structures are asymmetric (Miestamo 2005: 49). Asymmetry can be found either between the affirmative and negative constructions or between the paradigms that the affirmative and negative constructions form (Miestamo 2013). The situation is different for *-Anok*. The asymmetry of *-Anok* arises from the absence of corresponding affirmative paradigm. As it is developed from existential negator *yok*, a proper affirmative counterpart doesn't exist in Turkmen verbal paradigm. But in the Salar, spoken in western China which seems go back to an early Turkmen variety (Johanson 2009), an affirmative counterpart developed from affirmative existential particle *bar* 'exist' can be identified. In Salar, affirmative existential particle *bar* 'exist' developed as a marker of present tense like *-ba/-pa* (< *bar*) and its negative form is being marked with *yok* 'not existent': *ma vaba* (I go:PRS) 'I'm going', *šiba* (eat:PRS.3SG) 's/he is eating', *yaγmur yaγba* (rain rain:PRS.3SG) 'it is raining', *yü yoxtir* (wash:NEG.PRED.3SG) 's/he is not washing' *varoxtir* (go:NEG.PRED.3SG) 's/he is not going' (Mehmet 2014). Mehmet compares two different assumptions about the origin of *-ba/-pa*. The first assumption is that they were originated in the affirmative existential particle *bar* 'exist', and the second is that they had developed

from the auxiliary verb *bar-* (to go). Because of the existence of a corresponding negative form which developed from negative existential particle *yok*, Mehmet finds the former assumption more reasonable (Mehmet 2014:115).

### Semantic scope of *-Anok*: what kind of negation?

Although *-Anok* appears only in negative verbal conjugation without having an affirmative counterpart, there are some attempts to find it a proper affirmative counterpart in the Turkmen verbal paradigm. For example, it is asserted that *-Anok* is the negative counterpart of concrete present continuous tense forms *-(I)p du:r*, *-(I)p otī:r* *-(I)p yō:r* and *-(I)p yatī:r* (Azymow 2011; Gurdov 1983; from Clark 1998). Clark didn't approve this claim, and by referring to Baskakov (1970), he states that *-(I)p du:r*, *-(I)p otī:r* *-(I)p yō:r* and *-(I)p yatī:r* haven't got any corresponding negative form in Turkmen language (Clark 1998: 231). These arguments make it necessary to think about the semantic scope of *-Anok*. In other words, what is rejected or disagreed by *-Anok*? If we consider this question with regard to the time interval, we can identify three main slots which the negated event/state covers. In examples 2a-c, *-Anok*'s semantic scope includes negative events/states which started in the past and still continue in speech time. In examples 3 a-b, it covers a relatively wide time interval surrounding the speech time (and negated event seems to be valid at least for a while). In example 4.a-b, negation scope is narrower and very near of the speech time by also covering it. Soyegow pointed out that *-Anok* can also be used in accordance with past tense: *Sen bize bardıñmy?* /θen biðe bardıñmī/ 'Did you go to us?' *Ýok, baramok* /yo:q, baramo:q/ 'No, I didn't' (Soyegow 2000).

- (2.a) *Dört-bäş gündür şähere baramok* (Y, 103)  
/dö:rt-vä:ş günnür şähere baramo:q/  
four-five day:COP city:DAT go:NEG.PRED.1SG  
'I haven't been going home for four or five days'
- (2.b) *Ol heniz gelenok*  
/ol heni:ð geleno:q/  
he yet come:NEG.PRED.3SG  
'He hasn't come yet'
- (2.c) *Henize çenli senden yaman zat eşidemok* (Y, 309)  
/heni:ðe çenli sennen yaman ða:t eşdemo:q/  
yet:DAT you:ABL bad thing hear:NEG.PRED.1SG  
'I haven't heard a bad word from you until now'
- (3.a) *Her dört-bäş aydan gelyärler. Çalt-çalt gelenoklar.*  
/her dö:rt-vä:ş aydan gelyä:rlar. Çalt çalt geleno:qlor/  
very four-five month:ABL come:PRS.3PL. quick quick  
come:NEG.PRED.3PL  
'They come every four to five months. They don't come frequently'

- (3.b) *Köpümüz türkmen dilini gowy bilemizok*  
 /köpümüð türkmön dilni göwu bilemðo:q/  
 many:POSS.3PL Turkmen language:POSS.3SG-ACC well  
 know:NEG.PRED.1PL  
 ‘Most of us do not know Turkmen language well’
- (4.a) *Hiç yerim agyranok* (Y, 233)  
 /hi:ç yerim a:γirano:q/  
 none part:POSS.1SG pain:NEG.PRED.3SG  
 ‘No parts of me hurts/I’m not in pain’
- (4.b) *Men senden günortany, miraby soramok* (Y, 27).  
 /men sennen günorta:nĩ, mi:ra:bi θoromo:q/  
 I you:ABL noon:ACC waterman:ACC ask:NEG.PRED.1SG  
 ‘I’m not asking you anything about the noon, about the waterman’

A negative sentence involves the supposition of its affirmative counterpart. The corresponding affirmative is present in the context as backgrounded information (Clark 1974; Miestamo 2005). If we look at the examples, we can see that *-Anok* changes the truth value of the proposition both the originated in the past and valid/continue in the present (and can be continuing for a while). *-Anok*'s semantic nature is stative and situational because of developing from the structure including existential negator *yok* (< An-POSS *yok* ‘not existent’). Existential constructions are stative and because of general stativity, they can naturally be extended to the function of standard negation (Miestamo 2005: 222). The past participle *-An* seems to enable the *-Anok* a potential to adjust the negated time interval related to past and present due to the necessities of the context.

## Conclusion

*-Anok* is not only a verbal negator, but also a negative predicator which consist of tense/aspect, person and number values together in its semantic core. Its temporal value and the nature of its components that it sourced from, gives it the ability to code various negative events/states that (i) started in the past and continue in speech time (ii) cover a relatively wide time interval surrounding the speech time (and negated event seems to be valid at least for a while) (iii) surround very near of the speech time by covering it. Lacking an affirmative counterpart in any grammatical means or any paradigm, make it more typical in marking of negation.

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## Byzantium in Asia – *Pur(u)m* and *Fulin*

Mihály Dobrovits

On the heydays of the wars against the Arab-Muslim conquerors Byzantium had a special role. It was not only a power what (in spite of heavy losses) could successfully resist the new lords of Eurasia, but rebuffing them in 718 it became also a symbol of this resistance. In our short article we are going to investigate how all these events led to this historical and even mythological role.

On the Orkhon Inscriptions one can read the famous phrase:

(I. E 4 = II. E 5) *yoyčī siyitči öñrā kūn toγsiqda bökli čöl(l)üg el tabγaç tüpüt apar purum qırqız üč qurıqan otuz tatar qıtañ tatabi bunča bodun kälipän siytamiš yoylamiš*

The translation of this famous passage is also well-known:

“As mourners and lamenters there came from the east, from where the Sun rises, the representatives of the people of the Bükli plain, the Chinese, the Tibetan, the Avar, the Byzantium, the Kirghiz, the Üč Qurıqan, the Otuz Tatar, the Qıtañ and the Tatabi .... This many people came and mourned and lamented.”<sup>1</sup>

Hirth argued that both the names Ta-ch'in (大秦) and Fu-lin (拂菻) must stand only for Syria and the Nestorians while the expression of Ta Fu-lin (大拂菻 'Greater Fu-lin') designated the Roman Empire,<sup>2</sup> Hirth's ideas were disputed by Chavannes,<sup>3</sup> and later, based on Sung sources, Enoki Kazuo.<sup>4</sup> However Bielenstein still argues, following Hirth's ideas, that the Fu-lin of the Chinese must stand not for the Byzantine Empire but only for Syria and its king who sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor

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1 Tekin, T.: *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*. The Hague 1968, 232, 264.

2 Hirth, F.: *China and the Roman Orient. Researches into their Ancient and Mediaeval Relations as Represented in Old Chinese Records*. Leipzig-München-Shanghai-Hongkong 1885, 206-217; Hirth, F.: The Ta-ts'in Question. *The Chinese Recorder*, (November 1885), 1-8; Hirth, F.: The Mystery of Fu-lin. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* XXX (1909), 1-31, XXXIII (1913), 193-208;

3 Chavannes, Éd: Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue Turcs) occidentaux, *T'oung Pao* (NS) V (1904), 37 (note 3).

4 Enoki, K.: Some Remarks on the Country of Ta-ch'in as Known to the Chinese under the Sung. *Asia Major*, NS, IV (1954), 1-19.

in 643 must be the Nestorian (!) Patriarch of Antioch.<sup>5</sup> That can be hardly the case. At first, there were no Nestorian Patriarchs in Antioch. The followers of this lore emigrated from Edessa to Persia in 497 and became the officially recognized Christian denomination of that empire, launching from there missions into Central Asia, China, and India.<sup>6</sup> Had there been any Nestorian Patriarchs in Antioch, they definitely could not manage such a diplomatic affair during the turbulent years of the Arabic conquest of the Middle East. Such would be the case with the Monophysite Patriarchate,<sup>7</sup> but it had no connections with China and Inner Asia and also with the Orthodox/Melchite one. One can rather suppose that the Chinese source referred to by Bielenstein (*T'ang-hui-yao* 99, 12a-12b) erroneously narrates not only the date (661–663) but also in the extent of the Arabic conquest, constating that the whole country of Fu-lin was taken by the Arabs. Describing the *T'ieh-lê* tribes, the *Sui-shu* mentions some tribes of them living to the north to *Fu-lin* (but to the east to the Caspian Sea),<sup>8</sup> which also would be impossible if this term stood for Syria. The description of *Fu-lin* in the *Hsin T'ang-shu*, according to which *Fu-lin* is to the south of the *Ko-sa* tribe of the *T'u-chüeh* (!) and to the north-west of Persia (*Po-sse*) makes also impossible the identification of Fu-lin (and also Ta-ch'in as its forerunner) with Syria.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, it seems to be impossible that any Nestorian (or other) Patriarch could be mentioned on the Orkhon Inscriptions (I, E 1), where *purum* were one of the rulers who send envoys to the funerals of the first (?) rulers of the Turks. The title 'king' *wang* (王) applied in our Chinese sources to the ruler of *Fu-lin* may well correspond to Greek βασιλεύς the official title of the Byzantine emperors since 629.<sup>10</sup>

Our second question is why the presence of the Romans (Byzantines) was so important for the Turks. The first half of the answer simply lays on our hand: (Eastern) Rome was an old ally of the Turks, and the memory of this alliance could well remain alive for centuries. On the other hand, Rome was not only a real, but even a symbolic power.

From a Chinese Buddhist text preserving the knowledge of the Kushan Empire we can learn that the inhabited world had 72 kingdoms and four empires: China, Rome,

5 Bielenstein, H.: *Diplomacy and Trade in the Chinese World, 589–1276*. (Handbuch der Orientalistik/Handbook of Oriental Studies IV/18, Leiden–Boston 2005), 366.

6 On this topic see: Vine, A.: *The Nestorian Churches. A Concise History of Nestorian Christianity in Asia From the Persian Schism to the Modern Assyrians*. London 1937, 37–52.

7 Honigmann: *Évêques et évêchés...*, 19–31,

8 *Sui-shu* 84, *lieh-chuan* 49, Shanghai, Commercial Press ed. 18a–18b; LMT 127–128.

9 Ögel, B.: Göktürk yazıtlarının «Apuṛım»ları ve «Fu-lin» problemi. *Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten* IX (1945), 72

10 Chrysos, E. K.: The Official Title βασιλεύς in Early Byzantine International Relations. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* XXXII (1978), 29–75. For the Chinese data on the title wang (王) cf.: Hucker, Ch. O.: *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Taiwan Edition, Taipei 1988, 562; on the traditional Chinese vision on the Emperor as an universal ruler and harmony-maker of the inhabited world, cf.: Алимов, И.А.—Ермаков, М.Е.—Мартынов, А.С.: *Срединное государство. Введение традиционную культуру Китая*. Москва 1988, 53–58.



India and that of the Kushans (*yüeh-chih*).<sup>11</sup> Later, in our early Muslim Iranian sources, in the *Farsnāma* we can see a similar situation: “It was one of the rites of the court of Anūšīrvān that he let set up a golden chair on the right side of this throne, and on the left side and on the back of it he let set up similar golden chairs. And one of these places was for the ruler of China (*malik-i Šīn*), and the other place was for the ruler of Rome (*malik-i Rūm*), the third place was for the ruler of the Khazars (*malik-i Ḥazar*). Should they happen to come to his court, they would sit onto these chairs. He set up these three chairs in every year and never removed them. And no one dared to seat onto them except of these three persons.”<sup>12</sup>

So, what we can see here is the ritualized world order of the Silk Road before the Islam. We also know it very well, that this old order had fought fiercely against the Arabic intruders until 751. We also have information that these powers had mutual contacts between each other. When Yazdagird III, the last Sassanian Emperor finally was killed at Marv, not only the dynasty fled to China, but the T’ang also organized a province “Persia” (*Po-szu*) in Sistan (659). Our Chinese sources mention Byzantine envoys in China in 643, 667, 701, and 719.<sup>13</sup> These embassies must cross the territories inhabited by the Western Turks, then vassals of China.

The heyday of these fights against the Arabs was 718 when the Byzantine navy, using the famous Greek fire, finally pushed back the Muslims from Constantinople. Although the Byzantines became use the new title *basileus*, the old title of the Eastern Roman Emperors, *Qaysar Rum* remained in use in the Orient. Stein therefore supposed that the name of Gesar reflects not Julius Caesar, as it was earlier usually held, but Leon III (the Isaurian, 717–741).

Professor Sagaster wrote in a short and sharp paper, that for the Muslim Tibetan inhabitants of Baltistan *Kasar* is a form of *Dajjal* (the Muslim Antichrist).<sup>14</sup> The Balti region was the frontline in the fight of the Muslim intruders.

So, we may assume, that the inhabitants of this region once Buddhist later Muslims just preserved the memory of these fights renarrating the events according to their new religion.

Here we can answer the second half of our question. As the Orkhon Inscriptions narrate the history of the A-shih-na dynasty as the restorers of the traditional Inner Asian world order, they also should refer to their earlier connections with the heroes who (even temporarily) restored the Old World – the Romans.

11 Pelliot, P.: La théorie des quatre Fils du Ciel. *T’oung Pao*, 2nd series, XXII (1923), 98.

12 Ibn Al-Balḥī: *Fārsnāma*. Eds. Le Strange, G.- Nicholson, R. A., London 1921, 97.

13 Lévi, S.– Chavannes, Éd: L’Itineraire d’Ou-K’ong (751–790), traduit et annoté, *Journal Asiatique* sept–oct 1895, 343–344.; Hirth, F.: The Mystery of Fu-lin. *Journal of American Oriental Society*, 7.

14 Sagaster, K.: Kesar, der islamische Antichrist. In: Sagaster, K.–Weiers, M. (Hrsg): *Documenta Barbarorum. Festschrift für Walter Heissig zum 70. Geburtstag*. Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica Bd. 18. Wiesbaden 1983, 341–349.



# Comparative Constructions in Turkish and Uzbek: History of the Suffix *-roq*

Mevlüt Erdem

## 1. Introduction

Comparative constructions that express similarities or differences between two or more objects / things have not been sufficiently studied in Turkic diachronically and synchronically. In this study, the comparative constructions in Modern Turkish and Uzbek will be analyzed based on both historical and contemporary data. The most striking feature of comparison constructions in Modern Turkish is that the standard of comparison is marked with the ablative suffix. In Modern Turkish constructions, there is no marker on comparee and predicate. But Uzbek differs partially from Turkish comparison structures having a comparative suffix on the predicate. In this study, especially these differences will be focused on in Modern Turkish and Uzbek and some issues such as how productive the comparative suffix is, in which situations and what kind of word classes the comparative suffix is, will be investigated. Moreover, the inflectional and derivational features of comparative constructions (the comparison of inequality) in Uzbek will be discussed.

This study will first start with the typological features of comparative constructions, then briefly continue with the development of comparative structures in Turkish. After this section, the similarities and differences of comparison constructions in Modern Turkish and Uzbek will be scrutinized with examples.

## 2. General Properties of Comparative Constructions

Much work has been done on comparative structures in linguistics. In semantic terms, comparison is complex phenomenon and defined as a mental act by which two objects are assigned a position on a predicative scale (Stassen 2001: 993). As seen in the definition there are three basic notions in comparative construction. These are a predicative scale which is encoded as a gradable predicate, and two objects. One of the objects is called 'comparee' which is the NP about which a comparative construction is being predicated. The other object is termed 'standard of comparison' or 'standard' which is the unit to which the comparee is compared (Crookston 1999:

78). In linguistic literature, the above terms are named differently (Treis (2018: ii). Dixon (2012: 344) adds the fourth component, index of comparison. The suffix *-er* is an index of comparison. In the following English example (comparison of inequality), *John* is comparee; *George* is standard/standard of comparison and the predicative adjective is marked with the *-er* suffix.

1.	John	is	tall-er
	COMPAREE		PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVE-INDEX
	than	George.	
	MARK	STANDARD OF COMPARISON	

The comparative constructions can be evaluated with two parameters. The first parameter is the case assignment of the standard NP, the second one is whether the predicate is marked or not.

Encoding of the standard NP can be done in two ways: a) In fixed-case comparatives, the standard of NP is always in the same case, there is no effect of comparee NP on the standard NP. Comparatives in this group can be subcategorized further as exceed comparatives and locational comparatives (from-comparatives, to-comparatives, at-comparatives). Comparative structures (the comparisons of inequality) in Modern Turkish are placed in a fixed-case comparatives and the standard NP is marked in an ablative case with adverbial function.

b) In the second case called ‘derived-case comparatives’, the standard NP derives its case assignment from the case of the comparee NP (Stassen 1985: 28; Stassen 2013).

The other parameter about the comparative structures is to be presence or absence of comparative marking on the predicate. In many languages, there is no overt marking and predicative adjectives in comparatives are unmarked/positive form as in Modern Turkish. On the other hand, some languages mark a predicative adjective in a comparative construction by means of a special affix (e.g., *-er* in English) (Stassen 2013).

### 3. Historical background

In Orkhon Turkic, the *-rAk* suffix is not seen on the predicate in comparison structures, and the standard of comparison is made with the locative-ablative (*-DA*) suffix. The following example is a comparative construction seen in Orkhon Turkish:

2.	<i>Ötükän yıřda</i>	<i>yig</i>	<i>idi</i>	<i>yok</i>	<i>ärmiş.</i>
	Ötükän mountain:LOC.ABL	better	never	not exist	be:R.PAST
	‘A land better than the Ötügen Mountains does not exist at all.’ (Tekin 1968: 134)				

We find similar structures in Karakhanid Turkic in Mahmūd al-Kaşgarī's *Diwān luyati't-Turk* (Compendium of the Turkic Dialects).

3. *Bu at anda yeg.*  
 this horse that:LOC.ABL better  
 'This horse is better than that' (Dankoff 1986: 324)

However, although it is not seen in Orkhon Turkic, the suffix *-rAk* forms elatives and comparatives in Old Turkic. Erdal (2004: 150) says that this suffix is not a formative suffix but a particle. There are good evidences behind Erdal's claim. One of these reasons is that the relevant particle cannot create new lexical content. In Old Turkic, while the suffix *-rAk* can be added to adjectives and adverbs it is not added to color terms, *-rAk* forms govern the case form in *-dA* (Erdal 2004: 150).

In the early works emerging in Anatolia, which are called 'Mixed Language Works', the suffix *-rAk* is frequently encountered. *Savugırak* 'colder', *yegrek* 'preferable', *yumşagırak* 'softer', *tatlurak* 'sweeter' (Erdem 1992: 78), *azrak* 'less', *yaşlurak* 'older' (Mansuroğlu 1960), *agrak* 'whiter', *dathurak* 'sweeter', *sovugırak* 'colder', *acabrak* 'more weird', *hoşrak* 'more pleasant', *sevgülürek* 'dearer' (Buluç 2007) etc. forms were seen in this period.

In Old Anatolian Turkish, which is the ancestor of Modern Turkish, the comparative (sometimes meaning superlative degree) suffix *-rAk* (*-IrAk*) is still used extensively by adding to adjectives and adverbs: *şakkardan tatlurak* 'sweeter than sugar', *sevdiüm yahşırak* 'I loved (it/him/her) very much' (Mansuroğlu 1998: 257). The most important question to be answered here is whether or not the *-rak* particle was widely used in this period. Many adjectives and adverbs made with *-rAk* (*alçağrak* 'low, lower', *añarurak* 'further', *añlarurak* 'more understanding', *artugırak* 'more', *aşağarak* 'lower', *azırak / azrak* 'less', *hoşırak* 'better', *koyurak* 'darkish', *ortarak* 'more middle', *soñrarak* 'later', *sovugırak* 'coldly', *uvakrak/uvagırak* 'smaller', *yukarurak* 'higher', *yumşagırak* 'softer', *eyürek* 'better', *gejezrek* 'easier', *gögrek* 'bluish', *göklürek* 'more beautiful', *kiçirek* 'smaller', *yeynirek* 'lighter') were taken into *Yeni Tarama Sözlüğü* (*New Dictionary of Surveying Turkish Texts*), considering that they have become lexical item.

In Ottoman Turkish, examples made with the suffix *-rAk* in previous period somehow disappeared and very few lexicalized words with this suffix appeared in texts (dictionaries) of Ottoman Turkish. A few words that are mentioned in the works are as follows: *ulurak* 'greater', *yegrek* 'preferable', *yahşırak* 'more beautiful, better'. It should be noted that the frequency of these words is also very low. The information that the suffix *-rAk* is archaic is mentioned in *Kamus-ı Türki* written by lexicographer Şemseddin Sami. Şemseddin Sami gave this information in his dictionary (entry on *en*) that the use of *-rAk* suffix belongs to an old dialect while explaining the comparative structure (Şemseddin Sami 2010: 303).

Let us turn to Chagatay Turkic (15<sup>th</sup> century to 19<sup>th</sup> century) to follow Uzbek comparative structures. In Chagatay period the standard of comparison is marked in ablative case and the predicate is marked in comparative suffix *-rAq*. Sometimes the comparative suffix may be omitted. Both examples with and without *-rAq* are:

4. *Süçügräkdur sözüñ şahd u şäkärdin.*  
Sweet:COMP-COP word:2POSS honey and sugar:ABL  
Your words are sweeter than honey and sugar.
5. *hamrdin yaşsi yoq cahānda na'im*  
Wine:ABL good non-existent world:LOG delight  
There is no greater delight in the world than wine. (Eckmann 1966: 98)

In this period, the comparative suffix is added to both adjectives and adverbs to change (increase or decrease) a little the quality it indicates. The examples are: *asaḥḥraq* 'the most correct', *aşağraq* 'a little below', *azraq* 'a little', *azīrāk* 'more precious', *ādizrāk* 'higher', *başqaraq* 'aside, apart', *qavīraq* 'more important', *qisqaraq* 'a short summary', *yaşşīraq* 'better', *yāgrāk* 'best' (Bodrogligeti 2001: 66)

## 4. Comparative Constructions in Turkish and Uzbek

### 4.1 Turkic Languages

When the comparison structures in Turkic languages are examined by considering the terms given above, it is seen that many Turkic languages resemble one another. That is, the standard of comparison is marked with the ablative suffix, the predicate is usually marked with the comparative suffix *-rAk* (Uzbek *-roq*, Chuvash *-raχ* (*-tArAχ*), *-(I)raK*, Gagauz *-(a)rAk*). Some Turkic languages such as Karaim show great variation in comparative constructions and although it has preserved Turkic type of comparison it partly introduced new types as a result of contact with non-Turkic languages (Csató & Abish 2015).

### 4.2 Modern Turkish

Comparative constructions in Modern Turkish are structured by adding the ablative suffix to the standard of comparison as in the following example:

6. *Ali Veli'den (daha) akıllıdır.*  
Ali Veli:ABL more smart:COP.3  
Ali is smarter than Veli.

As seen from the example above, there is no comparative suffix on the predicate.

In some cases, for emphasis the word *daha* 'more' is inserted. This insertion is not essential except in the absence of a second member (Lewis 2000). The well-known fact about the comparatives is that *daha* can be modified by the degree adverbs like *çok* 'much', *biraz* 'a little' (for examples and details Göksel & Kerslake 2005).

### 4.3 Uzbek

Although comparative structures in Uzbek resemble Modern Turkish comparatives, there are some significant differences between these two Turkic languages. As in Modern Turkish, in comparative constructions in Uzbek, the standard of comparison is generally marked with the ablative case (*-dan*) and the predicate is coded with/without the comparative suffix *-roq*. According to Bodrogligeti (2002: 181) if the difference between the qualities of the two objects compared is not significant, the adjective can be in the comparative suffix. The following example is like Modern Turkish comparative constructions, the predicate does not take a comparative suffix *-roq*.

7. *Atirguldan lola yaxshi.*  
 Rose:ABL tulip better  
 ‘A tulip is better than a rose.’ (Bodrogligeti 2002: 181)

However, in the following constructions the adjective predicate is bearing the comparative suffix.

8. a) *Rayhon Ziyodadan balandroq.*  
 Rayhon Ziyada:ABL tall:COMP  
 ‘Rayhon is taller than Ziyoda.’  
 b) *Rayhon Ziyodadan yashroq.*  
 Rayhon Ziyoda:ABL young:COMP  
 ‘Rayhon is younger than Ziyoda.’

The word *qaraganda* can be used when comparing things.

9. *Nodirga qaraganda Azim yoshroq.*  
 Nadir:DAT compared to Azim young:COMP  
 ‘Compared to Nodir, Azim is younger.’ (Azimova 2010: 158)

However, in some cases the suffix *-roq* is not used: *Boldan şirin* ‘sweeter than honey’ (Boeschoten 1998: 361).

Sometimes in utterances lacking two nouns or pronouns that might be compared, an adjective with final */-roq ~ -rox/* indicates ‘rather’: *u ton kattaroq* ‘this (Uzbek) coat is rather large’ (Sjoberg 1963: 72).

Apart from adding the *-roq* suffix to adjectives and adverbs, the comparative suffix is also added to converbs and affects the meaning of the converbs as in the following examples:

10. *Külibroq gäpirdi.*  
 laugh:CONV-COMP speak:PAST.3SG  
 ‘S/he spoke, laughing a little’ (Wurm 1959: 512)

This function expands to the structures of the negation of *-(i)p*, namely *-mäs-tän* and *-mäy* forms as in *tüşün-mäs-tän-roq* ‘not entirely understanding’ (Wurm 1959: 512). However, such gerundive structures are rarely used in today’s Uzbek.

It must be noted that in Uzbek dialect of Qizil Qujaş, the comparative constructions are formed like Modern Turkish. That is, the ablative suffix is added to the standard of comparison, e.g. *âtem bu âdemden jaxşı* 'my father is better than this man'. Very seldom *-rek* (*-râq*) is added to the adjective to indicate the comparative (Wurm 1947: 93).

In Uzbek, the suffix *-roq* can combine with different lexical classes and this property shows that this suffix is very productive process in Uzbek morphology unlike Modern Turkish. Let's first look at what words the suffix can come to, then emphasize why it can come to so many different words.

The similarity of adjectives and adverbs results in the use of many words as both adjectives and adverbs, sometimes without taking any suffixes. In some cases, different derivational suffixes are used for adjectives and adverbs. However, the *-roq* suffix, which is used in Uzbek comparative structures, is also used for adverbs. It comes to almost all adverbial words, little affecting their meanings as in the following examples:

Directional adverbials: *yuqoriroq* 'higher', *ichkariroq* 'more inside, inner', *ilgariroq* 'further', etc.

Quantity or degree adverbials: *azroq* 'lesser', *kamroq* 'lesser', *tezroq* 'faster, quicker', *ko'proq* 'more, quite a lot', etc.

Time adverbials: *keyinroq* 'a little later, afterwards', *avvalroq* 'earlier', *beriroq* 'nearer', *ertaroq* 'earlier', etc.

The suffix *-roq* can be added to loanwords in Uzbek. Examples are: *foydaliroq* 'more useful', *muhimroq*, 'more important', *muloyimroq*, 'milder', *parishonroq* 'more miserable', *samimiyroq* 'more sincere', *baxtliroq* 'happier', etc.

The suffix in question sometimes comes to the derivational suffixes such as *azobliroq* 'more tormented', *kuchliroq* 'stronger', *qiziqarliroq* 'more interesting', *chiroyliroq* 'more beautiful', *muvaqqafiyatliroq* 'more successful', etc.

Now we can look at what kind of adjectives the *-roq* suffix is attached to. As it is known, adjectives are divided into several groups according to their semantic types: 1. Dimension ('big', 'small', etc.), 2. Age ('new', 'young', 'old', etc.), 3. Value ('good', 'bad', etc.), 4. Colour ('black', 'white', etc.), 5. Physical property ('hard', 'soft', 'heavy', etc.), 6. Human propensity ('happy', 'clever', 'jealous', etc.), 7. Speed ('fast', 'slow', etc.) (Dixon 2004: 4).

It is quite easy to find comparative examples of the semantic classification of adjectives mentioned above with *-roq* in Uzbek. It should be noted here that many of the examples given below are used as adverbs. Moreover, it should be kept in mind that there are dozens of words derived with the suffix *-roq* that can be added to the list below. Some examples are:

1. Dimension: *kattaroq* 'bigger' (*katta* 'big'), *kichikroq* 'less' (*kichik* 'small, little'), *balandroq* 'taller' (*baland* 'tall, high'), *pastroq* 'shorter' (*past* 'short'), *kengroq* 'wider' (*keng* 'wide, widely').

2. Age: *yoshroq* 'younger' (*yosh* 'young'), *yangiroq* 'newer' (*yangi* 'new'), *keksaroq* 'older' (*keksa* 'old').



3. Value: *yaxshiroq* ‘better’ (*yaxshi* ‘good’), *yomonroq* ‘worse’ (*yomon* ‘bad’), *mukammalroq* ‘more perfect’ (*mukammal* ‘perfect, complete’), *g’alatiroq* ‘stranger’ (*g’alati* ‘strange’), *muhimroq* ‘more important’ (*muhim* ‘important’).

4. Colour: *qoraroq* ‘darker’ (*qora* ‘black’), *oqroq* ‘whiter’ (*oq* ‘white’).

5. Physical property: *qiyinroq* ‘more difficult, harder’ (*qiyin* ‘hard, difficult’), *yaxshiroq* ‘better’ (*yaxshi* ‘well’), *tozaroq* ‘cleaner’ (*toza* ‘clean’), *issiqroq* ‘warmer, hotter’ (*issiq* ‘hot’), *nordonroq* ‘sourer’ (*nordon* ‘sour’), *charchaganroq* ‘more tired’ (*charchagan* ‘tired’), *baquvvatroq* ‘stronger’ (*baquvvat* ‘strong’).

6. Human propensity: *chiroyliroq* ‘more beautiful’ (*chiroyli* ‘beautiful, pretty’), *ahmoqroq* ‘more stupid’ (*ahmoq* ‘fool’), *go’zalroq* ‘more beautiful’ (*go’zal* ‘beautiful’), *baxtliroq* ‘happier’ (*baxtli* ‘happy’), *saxiyroq* ‘more generous’ (*saxiy* ‘generous’), *aqlliroq* ‘smarter’ (*aqlli* ‘smart’), *g’ururliroq* ‘more proud’ (*g’ururli* ‘proud’), *yumushoqroq* ‘softer’ (*yumushoq* ‘soft’).

7. Speed: *tezroq* ‘faster’ (*tez* ‘fast, quickly’), *sekinroq* ‘more slowly’ (*sekin* ‘slow’).

In some languages dual inflection of adjectives is characteristic not only German, but also of other Germanic languages (Scandinavian languages and Dutch) (Sahel 2009: 390). But the above examples raise the question of whether suffixes such as *-roq* should be considered within the inflectional morphology or within the derivational morphology. Traditional grammars written both synchronically and diachronically include the comparative suffix within the derivational morphology without giving any reasonable evidence. In reality, it is not easy task to include the above structures in one of the two groups.

As seen in many examples, morphological degree is morphologically regular and expressed by a specific suffix. Therefore, many lexicographers have not included *-roq* forms in their dictionaries. Because these forms are quite regular. It can expand to all the adjective class and many adverbs of the language. So, it can be easily predicted and produced in mental lexicon. In modern Turkish, there are some suffixes like *-roq* (for details see Erdem 2011).

In perspective of inflectional processes, the grammatical category of the word does not change, and semantic contribution tends to be compositional. It is obvious that an adjective in the comparative or superlative form still has the features of an adjective in its syntax and semantics. For example, the adjective *yoshroq* ‘younger’ can arise in the same phrase as *yosh* ‘young’ and indicates the same set of properties as *yosh*, only that in comparison with other entities (Fábregas 2014: 287). That is, the comparison suffix does not make a new meaningful word, it only slightly affects the meaning of the word to which it is added. However, derivational suffixes add completely new meanings to the lexicon.

Moreover, morphological degree might seem to alter the items/arguments with which the base combines. Comparative predicate like *yoshroq* chooses a standard of comparison in ablative case. Thus, comparative suffix has a syntactic effect requiring a noun phrase with ablative case.

## 5. Conclusion

Comparative constructions that have semantic, syntactic and morphological features express similarities or differences between two or more objects/things. There are three important concepts in these constructions: comparee, gradable predicate and standard of comparison. Typologically, the marking of these concepts/terms differs in world languages. In Turkic languages, comparee is not marked with any suffix, standard of comparison is marked with an ablative case. However, there are basic differences among Turkic languages whether the predicate is marked or not. This study focused on especially predicate marking in comparative constructions (especially the comparison of inequality constructions) in Modern Turkish and Uzbek.

Marking the predicate in comparative constructions differs in Turkic languages. Although the standard of comparison and comparee NP marking between the two Turkic languages do not differ, the marking of the predicate in both Turkic is different. In Modern Turkish the predicate is not coded with any comparative suffix, whereas in Uzbek the predicate is usually marked with the comparative suffix *-roq*. The basis of this difference between the two Turkic languages is related to their historical background.

In the historical periods of Turkic (Old Turkic, Old Anatolian Turkish, Chagatay Turkic) the predicate is usually marked with comparative suffix, just like in Uzbek. However, in the transition period from Old Anatolian Turkish to Ottoman Turkish, the suffix *-rAk* is somehow disappeared. It is found in a few lexicalized words in Modern Turkish. On the other hand, comparative structures with *-roq* in Chagatay Turkic increased and continued constantly in Uzbek (as in some other Turkic languages). In Uzbek, the comparative suffix can attach to all adjective and many adverbial classes. Moreover, this suffix can even be added to copied words, some derivational suffixes, and some converbs. Using this suffix regularly with such a large group of words, not changing the meaning of the words, and requiring an argument with an ablative case syntactically makes the comparison suffix closer to inflectional category. The use of this suffix in other Turkic languages will further clarify its place in the Turkic morphology.

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# Shadow on the Silk Road

Szabolcs Felföldi\*

Written sources have preserved a number of astronomical records from past millennia for us. Mostly, of course, the ones that were perceptible to anyone with the naked eye: such as shooting star swarms (i.e. meteors, meteorites),<sup>1</sup> the appearance of comets,<sup>2</sup> supernova explosions,<sup>3</sup> and a whole host of solar eclipses.<sup>4</sup>

Eclipses were probably the most significant in terms of the immediate psychological effect on humans, because the disappearance of the Sun in the daytime sky (which is the basis of life which provides warmth and light) has provoked/may have caused quite strong emotions (although the landings of meteorites or the appearances of comets were clearly ominous signs too).

We can speak of a solar eclipse when the Moon partially or completely obscures the Sun for the observer. Although the diameter of the Moon is approximately it is

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- 1 Meteorites falling to Earth are well known from antique and medieval sources. It is well known that the Kaaba, or the Black Stone of Mecca is also presumably a piece of an iron meteorite, but we can mention the yearbook of a Hittite ruler, namely Mursili II, which contains a story about a meteorite as well. According to the story, the Storm God “dropped his lightning” and destroyed the city of Apasa, i.e. Ephesus (Weinfeld 1983: 139, note 93; Lawson Younger 1990: 150, 208, 312, note 27; Rutherford 2020: 224). This description is identified by most of the researchers as the impact of a meteorite. Later, the stone was divinely revered in the city, where it also merged with the cult of Magna Mater. The oldest meteorite, whose exact impact time is known, is the Ensisheim meteorite [*Fig. 1*]. It landed on November 7, 1492, near the small town of Ensisheim, which now belongs to France (Rowland 1990: 19–22; Marvin 1992: 28–72; McBeath 2011: 110–120).
- 2 Perhaps the best known of all is the Comet Halley, which has returned several times during Antiquity and the Middle Ages as well [*Fig. 2*]. This Comet can be observed every 75 to 76 years from the surface of our planet (Yeomans & Rahe & Freitag 1986: 62–86; Hughes 1987: 349–367, Miholcsa 2017).
- 3 The earliest known supernova was recorded by Chinese astronomers in AD. 185 (Stothers 1977: 443–447; Zhao & Strom & Zhiang 2006: 635–640). However, the brightest explosion (in the light of which it was possible to work and read at night) took place in 1006. This could be seen from many parts of the world for months for months. Chinese sources preserved the memory of the 1054 supernova explosion as well (Breen & McCarthy 1995: 363–379; Stephenson & Green 2003: 46–52) [*Fig. 3*]. The last two supernovae, that were visible to the naked eye from Earth, appeared in 1572 and 1604 (Stephenson & Green 2002: 60–71; Ruiz-Lapuente 2004: 357–363, etc.). The last was described in detail by the renowned astronomer Johannes Kepler.
- 4 We have exciting data on many solar eclipses from our early written sources (Ponori Thewrewk 1999: 350–354), they may even have archaeological/numismatic evidence (Maróti 2011: 51–52).

four hundred times smaller than the diameter of the Sun, but at the same time it is approximately four hundred times closer to Earth, therefore, for the observer, the apparent diameters of the Sun and the Moon appear to be nearly identical. Thus, when the Moon is placed in a specific position between the Sun and the Earth, it is able to partially or completely obscure the Sun.<sup>5</sup> Due to the complex elliptical orbit of these celestial bodies, this occurs only at specified intervals at different points on Earth.

Fortunately, our knowledge of modern astronomy already makes it possible to determine former (total or partial) solar eclipses for thousands of years. Thus, not only in time but also in a geographical sense, we can describe as accurately as possible the exact extent of the areas affected by solar eclipses. All the solar eclipses of recent millennia were compiled and made available on the NASA website (Nasa Eclipse Web Site) by a famous American astronomer Fred Espenak.<sup>6</sup> Thus, it is not too difficult to compare this long list with the different notes and written sources about solar eclipses of historical ages. Most of the latter have been fairly thoroughly processed and analyzed. Especially those that even had historical significance because they reversed a battle or war, etc. (The vast majority of these, of course, were total, annular or hybrid eclipses.)<sup>7</sup>

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However more than a hundred years ago there was an eclipse that has received little attention to this day. Although this eclipse did not have a historical or even destiny-reversing role, it provides very interesting additions to the history of learning about the former Silk Road.

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5 Cf. Bruce 1999; Littmann & Espenak & Willcox 2008: 7–28; Bakich 2016: 7–23 – In addition to the better known partial and total solar eclipses, there are also so-called annular or hybrid solar eclipses, however, these are somewhat rarer. We can talk about an annular eclipse when the Sun is in line with the Moon and Earth in the elliptical orbit of celestial bodies, but the Sun is a little further away from Earth. In this case, although the Moon obscures most of the Sun's disk, it does not cover the whole, thus the rim of the Sun appears in a ring shape around the silhouette of the Moon. Hybrid eclipses are even rarer than annular ones (about 1% of all solar eclipses are hybrid). Essentially, these are transitions between annular and total solar eclipses. Most of them begin as an annular solar eclipse and end as a total solar eclipse. They are created because the full shadow cast by the Moon does not yet reach the Earth at the beginning of the eclipse due to the spherical shape of the Earth. After that for a time a piece of the Earth's surface will be in complete shadow, but by the end of the eclipse the Earth will move and it will be behind the full shadow of the Moon again. By the way as the Moon continues to move away from the Earth, the apparent diameter of the Moon continues to decrease. It is estimated that in 600 million years the Moon will be so far away from the Earth that it will no longer be able to completely cover the solar disk. From then on, it will not be possible to observe a total solar eclipse from the Earth's surface.

6 *Five millenium catalog of solar eclipses* (<https://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEcat5/catalog.html> – last viewed on 15<sup>th</sup> of March 2021).

7 Such could have been the Trojan War as well (cf. Henriksson 2012: 63–76, for full range of additional data see: Petriello 2016: 24–33).

There are two protagonists in our story, whose personalities, careers, and starting points could not be even more different, yet the said eclipse connected them in some way.

One of them is Aurel Stein [*Fig. 4*], of Hungarian descent but serving the British Empire, who led three major successful archaeological expeditions to the former Inner-Asian Silk Road region, the Tarim Basin and its surroundings. With this achievement, he became one of the pioneers and the most influential figures of archaeological research of the Silk Road.<sup>8</sup>

Stein's first expedition with the support of the British government of India took place in 1900–1901, when he reached the Tarim Basin (through the Pamirs), where he mostly discovered a whole range of archaeological sites (settlements, Buddhist shrines, etc.) around the city of Khotan.<sup>9</sup> This brought him world fame and the opportunity to organize another expedition, even more serious than before, covering an even larger area, and even longer in time.

Stein set out from Northwestern India in 1906 on this second journey. After 6 years he visited his previously discovered archaeological sites again and unearthed a number of new finds, then he extended his research into the valley of the Charchan river (Qarqan he – Qiemo), east of Khotan in 1907.<sup>10</sup> On January 13, 1907, he and his men collected artefacts at an archaeological site in the river valley (Shāh-tokhtaning-köli)<sup>11</sup> in their usual rhythm, but the next morning it also brought a rather surprising turn for Stein.

But perhaps it is worth quoting him as to what exactly happened:

“Before mid-day I was back in camp, and with the sun shining brightly through the leaflet trees settled down to busy work on a long-delayed mail. It was by no means yet finished when the bitter cold, in spite of fur sitting-bag and the rest, drove me to bed about midnight. The rest in this riverine camp was badly needed for my men and beasts alike, and the peace which reigned for once around me was so ideal that I decided to make a halt on the next day and finish the most urgent writing tasks before starting for fresh work at Miran. I had no reason to regret the delay; for it allowed me to enjoy at full ease the finest revel of colours which the heavens could ever prepare by surprise. I had scarcely despatched faithful Ibrahim Beg with my Dak bag to Charklik, when, after 11 AM, a sensation of growing darkness forced me to rise from my little table and look outside the tent. The sky appeared strangely yellow and brown, and my

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8 It is worth mentioning that Stein also had a fourth expedition to the area in 1930–1931. However, this failed due to the hostile attitude of Chinese officials. Although Stein reached some of the previously discovered sites, he was no longer able to carry out excavations at that time. He eventually had to leave the territory of China, to which he could never return (Blair Brysac 1997: 53–59; Meyer & Blair Brysac 2001: 382–392; cf. Felföldi 2011: 427–439).

9 Stein 1903; Stein 1907; Stein 1933, etc.

10 Stein 1921: 451–456.

11 Stein 1921: 455.

first thought was of a sand storm coming from the east to sweep down upon us. But the air was calm and not a sound to be heard.

Then I looked at the sun and saw his ball half-hidden behind a thick veil. I realized we were in for an eclipse, and by good luck it proved total in this far-off corner of innermost Asia. I shall not attempt to describe the wonderful illumination effects to which we were treated. But for a few fleecy clouds above the mountains southward the sky was clear and allowed me to watch them to perfection. Never shall I forget the deep lustrous tints of yellow and blue in the sky to the west, with the belt of intense green lining the horizon. No words of mine could paint them, nor the silvery glory of the corona, while the eclipse was complete. The waves of yellow light flitting over the wide silent landscape were weird. Tinted by them the broad glittering ice-sheet of the river, the brown belts of riverine jungle, and the lines of dunes beyond looked all alike unreal. Then, as the sunlight gradually returned, fresh life seemed to rise in the lonely strip of forest, and the birds were heard again. My men and the Loplaks had, with the prosaic nonchalance of their race, remained quietly seated round their camp fires, and not one of them troubled to ask me any questions. An icy wind sprang up in the afternoon, this time from the west, and soon forced me to lace up my little tent and seek warmth for writing by the light of candles.”<sup>12</sup>

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So Stein and his men, as the archaeologist himself rightly perceived, experienced a total solar eclipse in the heart of Asia, on the former Silk Road.<sup>13</sup> After all, only then, in this case of a total solar eclipse, the crown of the Sun can be observed (that is the outside atmosphere of the Sun heated to millions of degrees), and the eruptions, which taking place its rim (the latter are called protuberances.) Stein’s remarks on the color of the sky and the behavior of animals also support this.

Today, based on Espenak’s calculations, we know exactly that the maximum of this solar eclipse was observed just on the southern edge of the Takla-makan desert on January 14, 1907, in a band of about 180 km, with a maximum duration of 2 minutes 25 seconds [Fig. 5]. However, it appears that Stein may have been on the northern edge of the band providing the total solar eclipse, as he could only see the solar crown for a few seconds. And this is much shorter than the maximum duration of this eclipse, which was 2 minutes 25 seconds. And indeed, based on the description of his route, Stein could have just been in what is now Ruoqiang County, Bayingolin Mongol Autonomous Prefecture, and this region could indeed have been on the edge of the band that provided the total solar eclipse. With these astronomical data, we can therefore determine the route of Stein’s second expedition even more precisely [Fig. 6].

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<sup>12</sup> Stein 1912: 433.

<sup>13</sup> Central eclipse at local apparent noon: GMT 18h 12m (*The American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac for the year 1907*: 436).



At the same time, a particularly interesting detail of Stein's description is that neither members of his immediate entourage (such as his Turkic speaking servants<sup>14</sup> or his workers from the villages of the Tarim Basin) spoke about the events or asked him anything. Although it seems that Stein have explained this by the temperament of his men but that it is also possible that this natural phenomenon was not entirely unknown to them. And indeed, from Espenak's data we know that there was a total solar eclipse on May 17, 1882, and an annular eclipse on March 29, 1903, exactly in the region where a total solar eclipse could be observed again on January 14, 1907 [Fig. 7–8]. Therefore, it cannot be completely ruled out that Stein's workers may have seen a total or an annular eclipse of up to three or twenty-five years earlier.

The notions and perceptions of eclipse that appear in different cultures also show that as early as Antiquity and the Middle Ages, some peoples and cultures sought and found different explanations for this rare phenomenon. In some areas of the Far East, a dragon devours the Sun. While the Romans say that solar eclipses caused by the malice of various evil beings and spirits causes, Christians say that the phenomenon was caused by Satan himself.<sup>15</sup>

In many parts of the world, they tried to drive them away with noise and loud music. In medieval Europe people rang the church bells and covered the wells for the fear of celestial poisoning. Surely the Turkic-speaking inhabitants of the Silk Road area (including Stein's companions), may have had some idea of all this as well.

In the mythology of Turkic-speaking peoples (e.g. Chuvash, Oghuz, Kipchak), there was a cosmic demon, an evil spirit, or a witch to whom the solar and lunar eclipses were tied. According to this image, the demon absorbs the Moon and the Sun. The Chuvash, for example, envisioned the *vupār* as such a creature. To drive away the *vupār*, the Chuvash threw burning logs of wood or ash into the sky, shouted, and tried to scare it.<sup>16</sup> Apparently, unfortunately, we can no longer reconstruct whether Stein's companions believed in the appearance of the *vupār* in connection with the solar eclipse.

At the same time, it is very strange that Stein, who usually took many hundreds of photographs during his expeditions, did not take a photograph on this particular celestial phenomenon. This could be because Stein might have been completely

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14 Aurel Stein always took Sikh surveyors (Rai Rām Singh, Rai Bahādur Lāl Singh, etc.) from the *Survey of India* on his expeditions to Inner Asia. They helped Stein with his cartographic tasks a lot, but they also had a role as an excavation technician. He also employed a Chinese secretary (named Jiang Xiaowang) for his second expedition. But his accompanying staff (cooks, service staff, etc.) was recruited from Pashtuns, Kashmiris, and mostly Turks. He usually recruited his excavation workers from the settlements closest to the archaeological sites. In the Tarim Basin they came from the local Turkic-speaking population (Stein 1912: XIV, 10–12, etc.; Stein 1921: IX–X, etc. cf. Walker 1995).

15 In some regions, according to the Hungarian folk belief, roosters were responsible for all this: according to the widespread idea in Transdanubia, roosters eat the Sun (Jankó 1902: 406; Ujvári 1980: 222), in other regions, a mythical creature called *markoláb* is responsible for this (Diószegi 1968: 217–251; Bálint 1980: 442).

16 Dallos 2019: 419; Dallos 2020: 127–128; cf. Karakurt 2011: 215.

unexpected by the eclipse, and by the time he could have set up his camera, the phenomenon was over.<sup>17</sup>

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The other protagonist of our story was not unexpectedly affected by the rare astronomical phenomenon, in fact, this is why he traveled to the Silk Road region of Central Asia. In contrast to the Hungarian-British Aurel Stein, he was Russian. His name was Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorsky [Fig. 10].<sup>18</sup>

This talented scientist and inventor belonged to one of the oldest Russian noble families. At the St. Petersburg University he was a pupil of the world-famous Russian scientist Dmitri Mendeleev. Perhaps it was Mendeleev who awakened in the young Prokudin-Gorsky an interest in chemistry. In the last years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Prokudin-Gorsky came up with a new passion which would bring him worldwide fame: color photography.<sup>19</sup>

In 1898 he became a member of the Photographic Section of Imperial Russian Technical Society and spoke *On Photographing Falling Stars* (Meteor Showers) at one of the meetings of the Society. Photography more and more captured Prokudin-Gorsky's interest, not only in a scientific, but also in a practical way. In 1901 Prokudin-Gorsky opened his photo studio in Saint Petersburg.

In 1902 Prokudin-Gorsky worked with Adolf Miethe, the main specialist on the so-called color separation method in Germany. Using his superior knowledge in chemistry, Prokudin-Gorsky created his own recipe for sensitizing the emulsion needed for this special camera, which led to the most advanced, life-like transmission of natural colors at that time.

<sup>17</sup> Among Stein's photographs there is one depicting the explorer's camp, which was taken on January 13, 1907 (he probably saw the natural phenomenon here, in front of his tent), but we do not know any photo of this eclipse taken by Stein: „Tent with Ibrahim [Beg] at Jigdail-öghil, 13 January 1907” (Falconer 2006a: 237 – International Dunhuang Project [Fig. 9]). In his monumental scientific work, which deals with the material of the expedition (*Serindia*), Stein does not even mention the solar eclipse (cf. Stein 1921, 455). It is not mentioned in his other work summarizing the events of his three great expeditions either (cf. Stein 1933). And although *The Times* also reports in detail about Stein's journey, this detail is not mentioned in the articles published there (cf. Wang 2002).

<sup>18</sup> For the life of Prokudin-Gorsky and for his photo collection, see: Brumfield 1990, 243–255; Adamson & Zinkham 2002, 107–143; Garanina 2003, 7–28; Minachin 2003, 31–47; Leich 2017, 223–230; Brumfield 2020.

<sup>19</sup> „In 1861 the English physicist James Clerk Maxwell accomplished an amazing experiment: he photographed the multi-colored band three times through the Green, Red, and Blue filters. Lighting the negatives received through the same filters, he was able to obtain color images – the world's first color photos. This technique was called Color Separation (or Three-Color Photography), but it took another 40 years of hard work by the best European scientists, including Prokudin-Gorsky, to make it possible to correctly transmit all natural colors, catching all their subtle shades. The glass plates needed to be covered by a special emulsion of complex composition, making them equally sensitive to the entire color spectrum.” (<https://scrapushka-nsk.ru/en/sergei-prokudin-gorskii-cvetnye-fotografii-sergeya-prokudina-gorskogo/> — last viewed on 15th of March 2021).

From 1905 he started with this camera his famous project to capture in color the territory of Russian Empire and publish these photographs as the first color photo postcards in history of Russia.

It was in 1900 when he became a member of the Russian Geographical Society as well. Therefore it was not surprising that he joined a scientific expedition to the region of the Silk Road at the request of the Society in 1906. The purpose of this Russian expedition was to observe and to photograph a solar eclipse that made news all over the world.<sup>20</sup>

For example in September of 1906, *The New York Times* wrote the following, “The next total eclipse of the Sun takes place on Jan. 13, 1907, and will be visible in Central Asia. The best region for observing the eclipse is available by means of railways recently constructed in Russian territory. On this railway and about two-thirds of the way from Tashkent to Samarkand lies Jizah, only a few miles from the exact line of central eclipse.”<sup>21</sup>

That is why members of the expedition, including Prokudin-Gorsky arrived in the territory of what was then Russian-Turkestan, that is, today’s Uzbekistan at the end of December 1906 on the new railway line mentioned in the newspaper article.

According to Prokudin-Gorsky’s surviving photo album and other records [Fig. 11], the solar eclipse occurred on January 1, 1907, at New Year’s Eve. So the data of Stein and the Russian photographer do not match. Maybe Stein would have overlooked the date? Would the astronomical event really have taken place two weeks earlier? Or was Prokudin-Gorsky the one who was so wrong?

The answer lies in the calendars used by the two stakeholders. While Stein calculated according to the Gregorian calendar, Prokudin-Gorsky continued to use the Julian calendar, as Russia had not yet switched to the Gregorian calendar at that time. By the beginning of 1907, the Julian calendar had already shown a two-week shift from the Gregorian calendar.

The expedition thus arrived prepared and in time for the point in the Russian Empire from which this eclipse could be viewed as best as possible. At the time of the

20 Of course, total solar eclipses had been photographed before. The first occasion on which photography was used at an eclipse of the Sun was on July 8, 1842, when Professor Majocchi, at Milan, attempted to obtain Daguerreotype pictures of the corona. The failure at Milan in Italy did not deter A. H. Busch and J. Berkowski from a similar attempt at Königsberg on July 28, 1851. After the latter successful attempt, solar eclipses were photographed in various parts of the Earth almost every few years (Common & Taylor 1890: 203–205; Barnard 1898: 214; Schielicke & Wittmann 2005: 128–147). The novelty compared to previous pictures would presumably have been provided by Gorsky’s color photography technique.

21 Stein had already embarked on his second expedition in the spring of 1906, and in the autumn that year he already had been in the heart of Inner Asia, by the time the above mentioned article of *The New York Times* published. At the same time, it is truly a coincidence that Georges Méliès, one of the most prominent figures in early cinema, shot one of his best-known short films, *L’Éclipse du soleil en pleine lune-t* (*The Eclipse, the Courtship of the Sun and Moon*). This nine-minute film is about an eclipse and the observation of this natural phenomenon in a humorous form (Malthête 1981: 280; Cornea 2007: 14; Solomon 2011: 150; the movie can be viewed here: <https://archive.org/details/EclipseDeSoleilEnPleineLune> – last viewed on 15<sup>th</sup> of March 2021).

eclipse they were at Cherniaevo Station in the Tian-Shan Mountains above the Saliuktin Mines on Golodnaia Steppe. That is in the east of what is today Uzbekistan, near its eastern border with Tajikistan.

Unfortunately, however, the Russian expedition had no luck, despite the fact that they were made with the most advanced technology of the age, due to the thick and closed clouds it was not possible to take photos of the solar eclipse itself.

Therefore, the expected sensational picture, the first color photo of a total solar eclipse, could not be taken in the end. Although the eclipse could not be recorded, members of the expedition were photographed. It depicts nine members of the group of scientists as they view the sky with binoculars in the foreground of a yurt set up on top of a snowy hill [Fig. 12].

Undoubtedly, the color photo could have been taken with Prokudin-Gorsky's new camera but the device in this case was not handled by him, since he is also visible in the picture. He is the second from the left who is just adjusting one of the binoculars.

Although this expedition was unsuccessful from an astronomical point of view, it became of unique significance for the study of the Silk Road. This is mainly due to Prokudin-Gorsky. Probably it was there that Prokudin-Gorsky began to realize that the most important purpose of color photography is not just postcard views, but documenting the natural, architectural and ethnographic variety of the Russian Empire and the world of the ancient Silk Roads. Therefore, the Russian photographer set about capturing as many things as possible from everyday life of Western-Turkestan at that time.

The Russian photographer with these dozens of color photos captured the unique atmosphere of the ancient Silk Road, which has finally disappeared at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century [Fig. 13–14].

Although he was not the first to strive for this,<sup>22</sup> but he was the only one whose color pictures almost bring to life this special world that we known earlier only from black-and-white photographs. These pictures bring this lost world much closer to the man of today. Thus it all happened almost at the last minute, because in October 1907

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22 Perhaps the most important of these is the famous *Turkestan Album* (*Turkestanskii Al'bom*) from 1871–1872. That is an extremely valuable series of photographs of old buildings, everyday life and former inhabitants of Russian-Turkestan. It was commissioned by the first governor general of the region, Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman, and several prominent orientologists of the era, including Alexander Ludwigovich Kun of Hungarian descent, also worked on it (Kaufman 1872; cf. Morrison 2009).

a strong earthquake happened in Turkestan,<sup>23</sup> causing serious damages in many old monuments.

Prokudin-Gorsky finally returned once more to West Turkestan in 1911 to continue his series of photographs of the landscapes, buildings and inhabitants of Central Asia, but the rapidly modernizing world of the former Silk Road had already begun to disappear by then. This process was finally accelerated and concluded a few years later by the Bolshevik Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Union.<sup>24</sup>

But Prokudin-Gorsky could no longer see this, as he emigrated to Norway in 1918, then to France in 1920, where he eventually died in 1944. His unique collection of photographs was finally offered by his son in 1948 to the American Library of Congress, making it a universal public treasure of mankind.

So these few minutes of this eclipse, that is, the shadow of the Moon on the Silk Road, connects symbolically the two main characters of our story. It was a natural phenomenon that connects the Hungarian-British researcher Aurel Stein, a pioneer of the archaeology of the former Chinese-Turkestan, with Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorsky, a photographer of the colorful world of the former Russian-Turkestan.<sup>25</sup> Exactly at the time of the so-called “Great Game”, when the British Empire (which supported Stein) and the opposing Imperial Russia (which was behind Prokudin-Gorsky) waged an extensive early Cold War with each other to increase their influence over Central and Inner Asia.<sup>26</sup> Thus, with a little exaggeration, Stein and Gorsky can also be considered rivals at that time according to official opinion. One of them represented Russian imperial interests, and the other provided a wealth of information from the Silk Road area for a possible future British expansion. But I believe that today only the scientific values of the two gentlemen’s activities matter. They have done a great deal individually to give us a better understanding of the complex phenomenon that is disappearing at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, namely the ancient Silk Road.

23 This was the Qaratog (Karatag) earthquake. It occurred on 21 October near Qaratog (Karatag) in the border area between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan (former Russian Empire). The shock had an estimated surface wave magnitude of 7.4–7.5. Estimates of the death toll range were between 12.000 and 15.000 (Kondorskaya & Shebalin 1982: 216–217; Umurzakov 2012: 240, 245–246; cf. Kulikova 2016: 77–79). It was the deadliest earthquake all over the world in that year. According to the reports „A grandiose misfortune encompassed... the whole world on the southern slope of the Gissar Range... The misfortune resulted from a series of average earthquakes. In terms of the size of the affected area, the extent of damage, and in the number of victims. The region of greatest destruction primarily encompassed the southern slope of the Gissar Range. ... The earthquake hit the mountains, destroying all the mountain kishlaks (villages in Central Asia)” (Kondorskaya & Shebalin 1982: 526).

24 After his travels in Central Asia, Prokudin-Gorsky worked on several other expeditions in Russia, and he eventually took thousands of pictures over the next few years all over Russia. Eventually, Tsar Nicholas II appointed him royal photographer.

25 Aurel Stein and Prokudin-Gorsky were born one year apart (Stein in 1862, Prokudin-Gorsky in 1863) and died exactly one year apart (Stein in 1943 and Prokudin-Gorsky in 1944).

26 Cf. Morgan 1981; Hopkirk 1990; Meyer & Blair Brysac 2001; Sergeev 2013.

Figures



Figure 1. The Ensisheim meteorite from Sebastian Brant's first Basel broadsheet



Figure 2. A panel from the Bayeux tapestry showing people looking at Halley's comet



Figure 3. Henrik III (1046–1056) and a new „star” (probably a representation of supernova 1054)



Figure 4. Marc Aurel Stein (1862–1943),  
Hungarian-British scholar/explorer

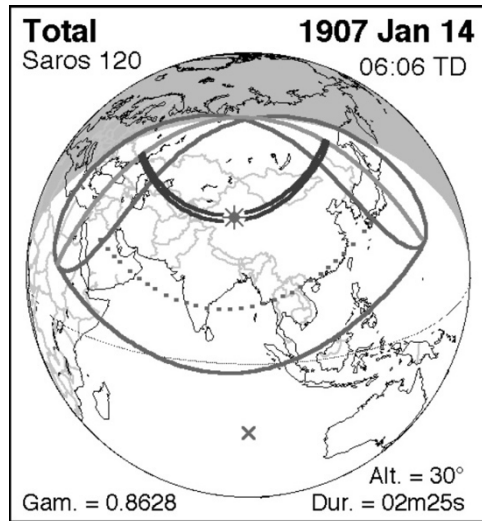


Figure 5. The geographical extent of the total  
solar eclipse that occurred on January 14, 1907

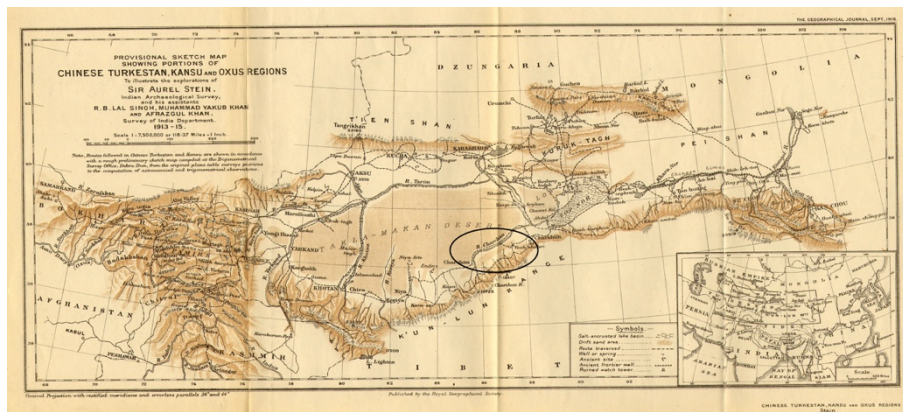


Figure 6. Map of Chinese-Turkestan during the third expedition of Aurel Stein (1913–1915)

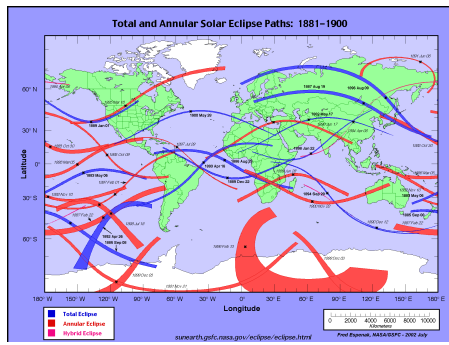


Figure 7. Total and annual eclipses paths: 1881–1900

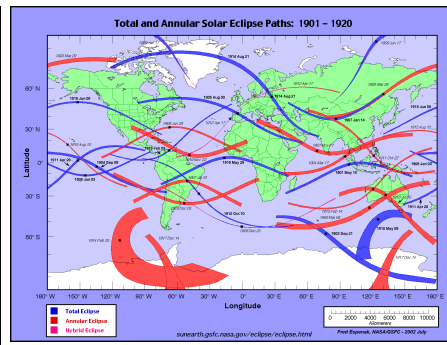


Figure 8. Total and annual eclipses paths: 1901–1920



Figure 9. Aurel Stein's photograph: „Tent with Ibrahim [Beg] at Jigdagil-öghil, 13 January 1907”





Figure 10. Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorsky (1863–1944) Russian photographer



Figure 11. A page from Prokudin-Gorsky's photo album



*Figure 12. Color photo of the expedition of the Russian Geographical Society during the January 1907 eclipse*



*Figure 13. Prokudin-Gorsky: The prison of Bukhara (1907)*



*Figure 14. Prokudin-Gorsky: Camel caravan near Samarkand (1907)*

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# The Images of Hürrem Sultan the Beloved: From the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries

Funda Guven

## Introduction

Using women's bodies as an image is sharply criticized by feminist theory, which argues that women's bodies are more than just an image for consumption society. The discourse of feminist theory has changed its direction beyond the body from equality to controlling the body and sex differences as well as identity construction. However, all those discourses revolved around the body in which an "ego/self" takes place. The body, in this sense, is an anchor of the "self" to survive. On the other hand, the image of the body grants power to the ones who consume the image. Any depiction of the body, either in a painting or in writing, has an influence over not only the imagination of the audience but also their lives. This transition of power from the body to image and image to body in visual and performance art is the main topic of this article. I will explore how the image of Hürrem Sultan (d. 1558), wife of Suleiman the Magnificent, sultan of the Ottoman Empire, survived from pre-modern times to the post-modern age and how a historical figure has become a historical object of the popular culture through the centuries. I will offer an overview of how the image of Hürrem Sultan spread over time and space and how one can understand the meaning of Hürrem's image in art, poetry, music, performance art, and popular culture over time.

When my colleague at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, Professor Uli Schamiloglu, called me in February in 2014 and told me that he had seen Hürrem Sultan's portrait hanging in a museum in Sarasota, Florida, I had not been aware that the image of Hürrem had reached the other side of the ocean seventy-five years before a popular Turkish show about Suleiman the Magnificent, *Muhteşem Yüzyıl*, appeared on Turkish satellite channels in the USA. Students studying Turkish language, history, and culture at the UW-Madison showed great interest in the show along with the Turkish diaspora and Turkish-speaking former Ottoman subjects living in the USA when we viewed the serial during the summer language immersion program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 2011. The more I traveled across continents, the more I realized that many people in Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, Kazakhstan, and Russia enjoyed watching the show. I was struck when I saw Russian aerial ballet

performers presenting the *Love of Hürrem and Suleiman* to a packed audience at a luxurious restaurant and entertainment center in Moscow around midnight in 2016.

### Naming Hürrem Sultan

Name changing is a significant stage in an individual's life since an individual is identified by one's name while society has a connection with it. The function of a name is to confirm the identity of persons whom they represent as identifiers. Emelheinz examines identity elasticity and narrative elasticity, both of which transform a person's life and social relations after the name change (Emelheinz 2012, 171). She also argues that changing name of a slave means reconfiguring a new identity and a new life. "Such a forceful renaming not only asserts the master's ownership to the wider world but also gives the slaves a new self-definition concerning their master" (Emelheinz 2012, 171). In this article, I will also discuss how changing Hürrem's name has affected different narratives.

Hürrem's original name remains a riddle since her given name is unknown (Peirce 2019, 4). The reason behind the name confusion is that she was a slave sold in the slave market in Istanbul. This slave girl became Sultan Suleiman's wife and one of the most influential women in Ottoman political and cultural life in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. She was born in Rohatyn in Ruthenia, in today's Ukraine. The daughter of a Ruthenian priest, she was captured during a Tatar incursion into Poland before being sold to the Ottoman Sultan's harem in Istanbul when she was around 14 years old. She was presented to the Sultan, who was twenty-six years old, when she was about seventeen years old (Peirce 2019, 6). She was given the name "Hürrem" or "Hürremşah" in the Palace (Baltacı 1998, 498).

Being renamed is not only about the "self" but also a matter of the "others" who live in the same society since names give a public status to the individual. While the latter accepts the transformation of a new identity, the former resists losing a member. They continue considering the individual who undergoes name change as their society's a priori member as if any change had not happened.<sup>1</sup> This drastic change also gives one an esteem and self-acceptance in the new society in which the individual now lives. Yet, the "self" somehow manages the transformation and adopts the new life after being accepted by the new society's members (Dion, 1983, 251). Thus, narrative elasticity expands from self-narration to public narration, which will be seen in scholar's articles, stories, and biographies of Hürrem.

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1 A statue, "Roxolana is Coming Home" by Roman Romanovich was erected in her native town in 1999. The image reminds one the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor. The woman figure in the statue holds the same animal as in Titian's famous portrait. There are Tatar figures on the foundation. The statue is accompanied by birds resembling freedom and home coming. URL:<https://kavrakoglu.com/hurem-ingesi/>.



It is not possible to find a consensus on her name. “European observers and historians referred to her as ‘Roxolana,’ ‘Rosselane,’ ‘Roxa’ or ‘Rossa’ as she was believed to be of Russian descent” (Yermelenko 2005, 234). Galina Yermelenko states that her given name at birth was Anastasia Lisowska (Yermelenko 2005, 234). However, her name was mentioned as Alexandra Lisowska in the *Islam Encyclopedia* (Baltacı 1998, 498). Hürrem Sultan is also known as Haseki Sultan, who became a legal wife of the sultan later. As a concubine of the Sultan, she was able to become “Haseki,” which refers to the spouse of the Sultan, a prestigious title for concubines who gave birth to a sultan’s child in the harem.<sup>2</sup>

Hürrem was the mother of four children, including the next sultan of the Ottoman throne. Her name appeared in love letters she exchanged with the Sultan. Alongside the love relationship with the Sultan, she was also involved in intrigues against the grand viziers and high-level Ottoman officials to strengthen her children’s position in the reign. Later in her life, she dedicated herself to charity work and sought to be visible in spaces outside of the Palace, such as a complex which includes a madrasa, mosque, school, public soup-kitchen, and hospital. Moreover, after she passed away, Sultan Suleiman established a foundation, a mosque, and a caravanserai in honor of his deceased wife’s memory (Baltacı 1998, 499). The Haseki Education and Research hospital continues to function in Istanbul in her memory. Aside from her birth name, her given name according to Islamic law or *sharia*, the name she gained because of her high status, and the names the narrators used, she also has other names: the names given to images of her in portraits by famous painters.

### The Image of Hürrem in Paintings: Florida

We do not know whether John Ringling, a businessman and art collector, knew who Hürrem Sultan was when he included a painting of Hürrem Sultan in his collection, located in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, which was earlier his home in Sarasota, Florida. John Ringling, the youngest of the Ringling Brothers, ran the biggest circus company, which led the entertainment sector in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in the USA. They spent summers in Baraboo in Wisconsin while their wheel took them to Sarasota, the city which was the winter home for the Ringling Bros. Circus. The youngest brother John expanded their business from having a circus company to function in other sectors such as oil, railroads, and ranches. He and his wife moved to Florida after the great depression and invested in real estate developments, where John Ringling became one of the richest men in the USA and an art collector. His wife “spent many months in Europe, especially Italy, personally selecting and furnishings for Florida home. She brought many pieces from old Venetian palaces”. It was emphasized that she was an “art collector” spending a lot of

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<sup>2</sup> A *haseki* is not a concubine who may be sent away from the palace any time but gives her blood to the lineage of the Ottoman dynasty.

time in Europe in her obituary in the *New York Times* (June 9, 1929). This short obituary might lead us to understand how Hürrem Sultan's image had arrived in Sarasota. The painting of Hürrem was cataloged by the museum in 1936.<sup>3</sup> We do not know whether or not the couple aimed to include a valuable painting by the famous painter Titian rather than the image of an Ottoman queen.

The portrait, painted in 1550, is recorded under the name "La Sultana Rossa (Roxolana)" in the museum.<sup>4</sup> A curly-haired blond woman in a green velvetish Ottoman woman's costume, holding a chained iguana in her hand, appears against a dark background in the painting. Boone argues that Vasari mentioned that Titian had painted Hürrem's image just as he painted many other influential elite figures of his time. He notes that since the painter had never been in Istanbul or met with Hürrem in his lifetime, "her face is imaginary" (Boone 2018, 97). Boone also argues that Titian might have sent the painting to the King of Spain with the name "Queen of Persia," although he did not explicitly declare the work as his own. Titian was not paid for this work by the King. For this reason, he wrote letters to the Spanish authorities asking for the payment late in his life (Boone, 2018, 97). However, we do not know how the painting ended up in Florence before it was sold to Mable Ringling.

I will make some assumptions to answer why Titian did not send the painting to the Ottoman Sultan's Palace but to King Philip of Spain. My first assumption is that it is because the woman in the picture was not Hürrem. Since the image of the same woman appeared in other paintings by Titian, it is claimed that the woman was a Lavinia in Turkish dress.<sup>5</sup> Leslie Peirce argues that we do not know Hürrem's original appearance because all painters depicted an imagined Hürrem. She maintains that they did not paint her since, according to social norms, it was not appropriate to talk about the Sultan's wife or make her a public figure (Peirce 2019, 9). I argue that we do not have her original image depicted as painting since images of individuals were not allowed in the Muslim Ottoman Empire, although Sultans had their own portraits. Hürrem, a devout convert to Islam, possibly did not want to have a conflict with the Muslim ulema.

My second assumption is related to the marketing of the paintings. We knew that he had already sent some other paintings before to the Spanish king. My third assumption is related to hostility towards Muslims. Sending the image of the wife of the Muslim Ottoman Sultan to King Philip has symbolic meaning when the power of Muslims was declining in Iberia while that of the Spaniards was on the rise. The Ottoman Sultans had opened their land to Jews whom the Spaniards had persecuted. It might have been anticipated that sending a Muslim noblewoman's image to King Philip would have pleased him. Rather than using the strong term Islamophobia, I will use Said's concept of "orientalism".

3 <https://emuseum.ringling.org/emuseum/objects/24004/portrait-of-a-woman>.

4 <https://shakko.wordpress.com/2018/07/10/sources-about-la-sultana-rossa-by-titian/>.

5 <https://shakko.wordpress.com/2018/07/10/sources-about-la-sultana-rossa-by-titian/>.

Edward Said proposed in his theory “orientalism” that artists who had never been physically present in the Orient depicted it as an imaginary place through the stories which they heard. The Orient was a place which did not have any definition in Titian’s mind when he named the painting either “La Sultana Rossa” or “Queen of Persia” when he sent it to King Philip. It was therefore very surprising for me when I came across another portrait of Hürrem made by Titian, which was listed in an auction under the name of “The Property of a Gentleman”. The note next to the portrait says, “follower of Tiziano Vecellio, called Titian’s portrait of a woman, possibly Haseki Hürrem Sultan, called Roxelana (1506–1558) bust length, in Ottoman costume, with a jeweled headdress”. Her name was assumed to be Ruslana by the curator of the auction.<sup>6</sup> The auction was closed for 55,250 GBP in 2012. The image in the portrait was depicted with a light complexion which is not identical to the other image. Her hair was covered by her conic headgear, which has a large item of jewelry symbolizing the Ottoman Sultan.

Mohja Kahf argues in her book *Western Representations of the Muslim Woman* that “on the level of popular culture, melody, song, and folk stories poured into Europe from and through the Islamic world, carried by pilgrims, minstrels, merchants, and others who ventured in-between” in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Then, the West had saw the Orient as a relatively advanced place which they admired for its technology and science. She maintains that any imitation was valuable since the Orient was at a higher cultural level (Kahf 1999, 20). Kahf continues that the Islamic “hosts entered epic and romance, poetry and prose, aristocratic and popular literature; and the Muslim woman stepped into Western imagination in the 15<sup>th</sup> century before the Orient was not romanticized yet” (Kahf 1999, 21). Artists used especially interaction with wild animals and Muslims in their paintings to create a fantastical world in their works.

Kahf maintains that in medieval times, art was not in a position to “orientalize” “the Orient” to create a system of knowledge about it to delimit and differentiate it. Yet they tried to make it the “same” till the Renaissance. She acknowledges her reader that “(t)he influence of Islamic structures of thought, the experience of Islamic modes of reference, even of fabric, food, music, military technology, and aesthetic objects of Islamic production, permeate Italian consciousness in this era.” (Kahf 1999, 60). In order to prove her argument in her book, she reminds her reader that there were special ties between Turks and Italians in medieval times. Italians who had a strong association with Byzantines transferred it to Turks after capturing Constantinople and controlling trade between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Kahf argues that changes in the perception of Muslims as the “other” started with the Renaissance “when in prescriptive male views of women through the trends of secularization, Reformation, and new concepts of individualism and domesticity happened” (Kahf 1999, 54). I follow Kahf’s argument that this orientalist image of Hürrem in the 16<sup>th</sup> century serves the idea to create sameness between the Western and Oriental noblewomen. “This Italian intimacy with the Islamic Other — a traditional foe of

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5586275>, Auction: LOTS 9, 109, 123, 155 & 174.

France, far-off enemy of England, overbearing nemesis of Christian Spain — lends a unique cosmopolitan feeling to Italian Renaissance explorations of identity” (Kahf 1999, 59).

Galina Yermolenko argues that Western literature, especially historians, described her as an ambitious evil woman seizing the throne for her children by intrigue in the Palace because of their biased patriarchal views. She argues that Hürrem lived with other grandiose women figures in Europe at the same period and deserves more respect that she found in Ukraine. She also claims that this negative image sticks to her because of biased fictional narratives in the works of authors, including historians (Yermelenko 2005, 233).

## Florence

When secular ideas arrived in Europe, scholastic thought in the Islamic world became more rigid. Michel Sokolnicki argues that it was not surprising that “Sultana Ruthene and her daughter had their portraits carefully hidden” from believers since the painting of images was strictly forbidden in the Ottoman state. He wrote an article on two paintings of Hürrem, one of which was in the Uffizi Museum in Florence and the other in the Topkapı Museum in Istanbul (Sokolnicki 1959, 232). Those two images are sharply different from the image in the painting of Titian. He did not depict the whole face portrait but the left side of the face. The woman in the picture has a Turkish turban with pearls and braided hair hangs down both sides of her neck. Sokolnicki states both portraits have the same name, Roxolane. However, the one painted by Cristofano Altissimo, who had never been in Istanbul 1556, is registered under the name Roxelane or Roxolones in the Uffizi Museum in Florence. From many published and unpublished documents it emerges with certainty that “the painter went to Como in June 1552, made twenty-four portraits by May 1553, by July 7, 1554, another twenty-six, by September 20, another twelve, and by October 23, 1556, others twenty-five.”<sup>7</sup> The painting may have been sent from that inventory of paintings.

## Istanbul

Hürrem’s portrait in Topkapı Palace was painted in 1533/34 when Sultan Suleiman was in Szigetvár. She was depicted with black hair and a light complexion in the portrait. She has a gorgeous headgear ornamented with pearls and a large ruby on the top. She was wearing a blue robe and red costume as well as a big necklace going down to her abdomen. The necklace reminds us of Christian zealots’ necklaces since it has the shape of a cross with beads. Another image of Hürrem in Turkey is named “Rossa Solymanni Vxor” or just “Uxor”. She appears in a very modest red robe

<sup>7</sup> [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cristofano-di-papi-dell-altissimo\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cristofano-di-papi-dell-altissimo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)

holding her robe with her left hand while holding a stick with the other hand. She wears white conic headgear with a large pearl hanging down her forehead and matching her earrings. This portrait belongs to the private collection of Jak Arram (Baltacı 1998, 499) or Amram (Peirce 2019, 5), which is claimed to have been painted by an unknown Venetian painter in either the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, or 18<sup>th</sup> century.

## London

The image of Hürrem in the British Museum in London is a printed copy. She is plain wearing headgear with pearls in this portrait. It is recorded under the name of “La piu bella e piu favorita donna del gran Turcho dita la Rossa” in an oval with a decorated border with a lion mask and two women within a rectangular frame. It was painted in Venice in 1540-1550 by Matteo Pagani. The British Museum purchased the portrait from Alphonse Wyatt Thibaudeau in 1878.<sup>8</sup>

## Self-image: Hürrem’s Voice in her Letters

Systematic education in language, religion, and customs turned slaves into loyal members of the Palace by erasing their memories (Peirce 2019, 16). Such a sharp break with Hürrem’s old identity in her teen years after becoming a slave in the Palace not only turned this new historical figure into a subject of identity change, it also affected her narrative, which can be seen in her love letters. First of all, she shows her sincere religiosity as a devout Muslim in her letters. Possibly, the Christian religious education she received from her father during her childhood helped her to transfer and transform her faith to Islam. Even though they are love letters full of longing for Sultan Suleiman, she includes that “She prays till the morning to reunify with the Sultan.” She also assures him that she supports his campaign against the Christian world: “You are in a campaign against the enemy on behalf of Allah” and “You will exalt the holy war, jihad.”

The second point in her letters is that she mentions that she has still been the Sultan’s slave. Because of her religious affiliation with Islam, we may assume that she uses the word “slave” as a metaphor of Sufi literature. However, her emphasis on being a slave shows us that she has double or triple identities in conflict deep down within her. The first is the child Hürrem or a Ukrainian Christian girl which was suppressed, the second is the slave girl who remained within her, and the third is Hürrem Sultan. Erikson argues that childhood and the society in which they live affect an individual’s entire life (Erikson 1963, 277).

Adolescents undergo four psychological stages of identity construction when they develop an ego identity before an identity crisis starts. During this identity crisis, the

<sup>8</sup> [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1878-0713-4166](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1878-0713-4166).

identity formation processes the ego's ability. Namely, a "critical turning point in the life of an individual starts in which development can only move forward by taking a new direction" (Kroger 2003, 207–8). Individuals synthesize and integrate necessary earlier identifications from their childhood into a new form, uniquely. Eventually, the identity crisis is resolved later in their lives. Marcia argues that women tend to go through more commitments based on the expectations of society in order not to "pay the price in the lack of extensive social support" (Marcia 1980, 179). Even if it seems that Hürrem adopted a new identity, the letters which she wrote to Suleiman shows that she is still in the third stage in which she synthesizes and integrates earlier religious identifications into a new religious domain, the domain of Islam.

From the self-narration of Hürrem in her letters to Sultan Suleiman, I can say that she was in a social moratorium stage in her incompleting identity construction in post-adolescence years. Readers can see that she feels alone and wants Suleiman next to her at the Palace. Marica does not name this stage as a crisis but as "disequilibrating circumstances," which do not originate only from family circumstances, anything can cause it. It is the case that crises or disequilibrating circumstances can occur at any time in an individual's life and they do not have to happen only once. Under this circumstance, one takes a break from social life to find oneself, as stage which Erikson called the stage of social moratorium (Kroger 2003, 207). Hürrem does not socialize or trust others, relying only on Sultan Suleiman. She writes, "My Life, My Dear, My Sultan! May God let us meet again and look at your glowing face. I do not want to be separated again. I wish you to be happy in this and other worlds."<sup>9</sup>

Leslie Peirce assumes that Hürrem did not write the letters by herself, but that a secretary who knew the conventions of the language in high-status letters wrote them on her behalf with her agreement (Peirce 2019, 87). In my view, she was brought to Istanbul in 1517 when she was young enough to learn a language quickly. She received an education in the Palace with other concubines. When the earliest letter was written she was 23 years old. To function at a superior level in Turkish, ten years is enough time for a learner. I do not claim that she did not use the secretary to write or edit the letter, but I can say the voice in the letters is Hürrem's voice.

It can be seen in her letters to Sigismund II, the King of Poland, that she had a desire to connect with her past and her former society. She writes a letter to greet him after he gained the throne. I examined only two letters Hürrem sent to the King in which she stated that she started the conversation with him and was pleased to receive an answer. She reveals her Muslim identity in her letters to the King, too. Her signature always has the words "humble/poor" as she used in her letters sent to Suleiman. Her humble tone become more robust when she promises the King that she would support him if he were a subject discussed by the Sultan (Uçtum 1980, 712).

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9 <http://www.haberself.com/h/3336>.

## The Image of Hürrem in Poems

Crown princes of the Ottoman Empire acquired a solid education from their *Lalas*, including languages and literature. Sultan Suleiman was a poet under the pseudonym *Muhibbi* or 'Lover'. He used metaphors, language, and meter masterfully in his poems. He wrote both didactic and lyric poems, which are in *ghazal* form and full of metaphors. The image of Hürrem can be seen in his poetry. Muhibbi addresses the beloved one in one of his poems:

Even though my beloved oppresses me, it is a pleasure  
Eventually, her being faithful to others is a pleasure

...

O! Even though Muhibbi gets the throne of the world  
He is to be a beggar of the beloved, it is a pleasure

In another poem, he uses many affectionate terms such as "my spring", "my holy water", "my day", "my plants", "my sweet", "my pomegranate", "my citrus", "my candle in the darkness", "khan of my heart", "my Istanbul", "my Karaman", "my Byzantium", "my Baghdad", "my Horasan", "my curly hair", "my non-Muslim" (!). The repetition of similar words and names emphasizes his love. They develop a sense of rising tension and an effect in the reader, who becomes impatient to see a reunion. The opening lines of the poem:

My companion, my everything, my shiny moon  
My friend, my women, my everything, the queen of the beauty, my Sultan

The Sultan praises her in the closing lines:

Since I am a storyteller at your door, I always praise you  
My heart is full of sorrow, and my eye is full of the tear; I am Muhibbi and in  
a happy mood

Sultan Suleiman states openly that he is in love with Hürrem. When he departs on a campaign, both miss each other's company, which can be seen in his poems and Hürrem's love letters. This image of lovebirds mesmerized the audience after the Turkish serial began to be aired on a Turkish television channel in 2011.

## The Image of Hürrem in Performance Art: Plays

Abide Doğan analyzes two plays written based on the story of Hürrem in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The first is the play “Helpless Princes or Hurrem Sultan,” was written by Yusuf Niyazi in 1909.<sup>10</sup> Doğan summarizes the plot that Hürrem engineered a game against Prince Mustafa since she wanted her sons to be on the throne and secure her own status after the Sultan dies, since she is afraid to lose her status as well as her life (Doğan 1999, 60). Hürrem in the play was the one who was behind Prince Mustafa’s being killed by the Sultan. She convinced the Sultan that the prince was planning a rebellion against him. With the help of the vizier, Hürrem reaches her goal and Mustafa was poisoned. The playwright Yusuf Niyazi includes Sultan Suleiman’s fondness/love sickness for Hürrem. The play shows Hürrem as a loser who regrets what she has done at the final scene (Doğan 1999, 60).

The second play is entitled “Hurrem Sultan,” written by famous playwright Orhan Asena in 1959.<sup>11</sup> Doğan argues that Hürrem was depicted as a Sultan, mother as well as an ambitious and jealous person in the play (Doğan 1999, 61). The play was staged in the same year in the Grand Theatre in Ankara.

The opening words of the play spoken by Hürrem are “I am scared”. “I am the first lady, the chief Haseki of the Palace. I am scared”. She was scared of the people of the Ottoman Empire who have never accepted her and her children (Asena 1960, 11). The protagonist Hürrem is confident with her beauty but does not feel secure in the Palace. She says she is wild because she has always lived in a hostile environment. Despite the fact that Hürrem has always been accused as being a Machiavellian queen in the Ottoman Palace. The character, Suleiman, in the play confesses that he is a Machiavellian leader. “I am scared of peace. For this reason, I do not take a long break from war” (Asena 1960, 21). Hürrem plans to eliminate Suleiman’s son Mustafa with the help of her daughter and son-in-love. The fear she feels causes her to be a cruel person. She thinks that Mustafa is an innocent person, but he would kill all of them if she does not kill him first (Asena 1960, 26).

The plot is not a romance but a matter of being loyal to the Sultan. The character Suleiman does not have love sickness in the play but questions who Hürrem is after he orders his son Mustafa to be killed. “I have been sleeping with you for more than thirty years. Oh my God, I know you too little. Who are you? Whose child are you? Where are you from? Are you a friend or an enemy?” (Asena 1960, 70). The playwright highlights Hürrem as a mother “We mothers cannot live our own lives. We are no longer our own ‘self’ after giving birth for the first time” (Asena 1960, 83). Hurrem is a character who does everything to save her children, even committing the crime of having Prince Mustafa killed. Hürrem’s son Beyazıt became furious after he learning that Mustafa had been killed and he accuses his mother. Hürrem is presented in the play as a ruthless queen and mother at the same time.

<sup>10</sup> Modern editions of Niyazi’s plays spell Hurrem without an umlaut.

<sup>11</sup> It was spelled as Hurrem without an umlaut.



Hürrem was accused of causing the Ottoman Empire's decline with her support for Mustafa's being killed and keeping the throne for her children. After ordering the execution of his own son, Sultan Suleiman feels a sharp remorse and isolates himself from everyone, including Hürrem, in the play. Hürrem feels lonely. The play's closing lines are "I am scared" by Hürrem and "Me, too" by the vizier (Asena 1960, 96).

### Television Serial: Suleiman The Magnificent

The woman character Hürrem, tall, blue eyed, light complexioned, and red-haired, attracted the Sultan in the harem after she fainted during the Sultan's visit to the harem at the beginning of the serial in 2011. This humanized side of the Ottoman sultan and his love for a Christian slave girl who used a broken Turkish accent was enough to make the show one of the most popular shows.

The actress Meltem Uzerli is herself from Germany and had become an icon by the time she left the show. The jewelry and costumes she wore in the program also became very popular as the show became increasingly popular beyond Turkey's borders. More than 150 million persons have watched the show and loved this new image of Hürrem when it appeared on Netflix, reaching an even greater international audience (Peirce 2019, 29).

Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan made a statement in 2012 criticizing the scenario which highlighted the human side of the Sultan spending time in the Palace with Hürrem. "We do not have such ancestors. We do not know that Suleiman. He spent thirty years on horseback. He did not have such a life in the show. You need to know and understand that I disapprove of the director and the TV station owner. We warned them but are waiting for the decision of the court." Unfortunately, heavy censorship came to bear upon the producers of the show after that statement.<sup>12</sup>

### Ballet

The ballet "Hürrem Sultan", the first two act ballet in Turkish history, was composed by Nevit Kodallı and Oytun Turfanda in 1975 and staged in 1976. The choreography is based on the play written by Orhan Asena (Karaca 2008, 110). It became popular after 1998 and again in 2011 and was staged in Istanbul, İzmir, Mersin, and Samsun. The plot is a plain historical romance based on Hürrem's intrigues to get rid of Prince Mustafa to guarantee her son the throne. Hürrem is shown to an ambitious person who wrongly influences Sultan Suleiman and causes a tragedy in his life. After he ordered Prince Mustafa to be killed she dances for the Sultan. The choreographer highlights her hybrid identity by using both Slavic and Ottoman figures in her dance (Karaca 2008, 100–113).

<sup>12</sup> BBC Türkçe, [https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2012/11/121126\\_magnificent\\_century](https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2012/11/121126_magnificent_century) (27 Kasım 2012).

## Music

The composer Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) composed Symphony #63 in 1781 after he was inspired by image of Hürrem Sultan (Ward 1994). The symphony entitled “La Roxelane” has four movements. Flutes and violins in the first movement create royal happiness with the help of cellos and oboes. Flutes give the music an “Oriental” sense. The second movement, “La Roxolana” or “La Roxelane Allegretto”, is led by a flute that continues a duet between violins. The symphony was given its name after a troupe visited Eszterháza Palace in Hungary where Haydn worked and lived. They performed the comedy “Les Trois Sultanes” by French playwright Charles-Simon Favart in 1777 in which Hürrem was a character (Ward 1994). The piece is mellow and relaxing, with a repeating melodic figure in each movement.

## Opera

The image of Hürrem also inspired Denys Sichynsky’s opera “Roksoliana” in 1911, as well as Turkish composer Tevfik Akbaşı’s opera in the libretto of Işık Noyan.

## Conclusion

This article focused on the image of Hürrem in various forms of art from the 16<sup>th</sup> century when she lived until today. Hürrem Sultan’s image in the paintings of famous Western painters is not her original image, but imagined images of an “Oriental” Queen. She was depicted as a Western woman in Ottoman costume. Paintings are in museums from North America to Europe and Turkey. This transborder image of Hürrem has her own voice in the letters which she wrote to her beloved husband and Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, Suleiman, while he creates an image of a woman who deserved the most profound love in his poems. Hürrem’s image stayed alive in Europe and Turkey’s performing arts in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. Her image in the television serial “Suleiman the Magnificent” created an enormous community connected not only through the show, but also in the marketplace and popular culture, with consumers seeking imitations of Hürrem’s jewelry, clothing, and even hairstyle and color.

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# Conditionals in Khalaj

Hasan Güzel

## 1. Introduction

The Khalaj language has many linguistic characteristics which make it special among Turkic languages, and it has great importance in Turcology and the Altaic theory. Until the 1960s, Khalaj was thought to be a variant of Azerbaijani, in that Khalaj and the Oghuz languages had characteristics in common. Because the Oghuz and Khalaj people lived and migrated in the past in Iran and especially the Khorasan region, the Khalaj and Oghuz languages have closely influenced each other for centuries. Khalaj is spoken by about 40 000 people in a few dozen villages in an area bordered by the towns of Saveh to the north, Arak to the south, Hamadan to the west and Qom to the east, and was so to speak rediscovered by a team under the leadership of Doerfer. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Doerfer proved that Khalaj was an archaic Turkic language. The preservation of the ancient Proto-Altaic \*/p-/ as /h-/ is an archaic characteristic not seen even in Chuvash. The preservation of the Old Turkic word medial and word final /-d-/ and /-d/ sound as in Tuvan and Tofa is another archaic characteristic. The primary vowel lengths which are thought to have existed in Proto-Turkic are regularly preserved outside Khalaj only in Yakut and Turkmen. Along with this, according to Doerfer there are also diphthongs in Khalaj (Doerfer 1978: 19–21). Many morphological characteristics of Khalaj are archaic. For example, Khalaj still preserves causative affixes such as *-GUr* and *-GAR*, and the adjective verb ending *-(X)GLX ~ -(X)KIX*, seen in the Old Uighur and Karakhanid periods (Doerfer 1988: 118–123). Also, the locative case ending is *-çA* in Khalaj and the ablative case is *-DA* as in Old Turkic: *ūça* ‘asleep’, *yan-i-ça* ‘beside’, *häv-i-dä* ‘from his house’ (Doerfer 1971:165). Khalaj also has an archaic character in terms of vocabulary. Old Turkic *baliq* ‘city’ = Khalaj *baluq*, Old Turkic *küdän* ‘wedding, celebration’ = Khalaj *küdän*, Old Turkic *idiş* ‘dish’ = Khalaj *hidiş*. However, this vocabulary has largely changed due to the copying of large numbers of words from Farsi, Arabic, Azerbaijan and other languages of Iran: Khal. *guldän* ‘vase’ < Farsi *guldän*.

The sociolinguistic state of Khalaj does not seem very bright, and no positive predictions are being made about its future. This has been stated clearly in many articles on Khalaj. For social and linguistic reasons, the Khalaj people see their native language as a means of communication within the community, and their adoption of Farsi for communication outside the community greatly narrows the functional area

of Khalaj. This unbalanced bilingualism in the Khalaj community means that Farsi is influential at every level (Doerfer 1999: 303–310, Bosnalı 2010: 67–88, Kırıl 2000: 89, Güzel 2020: 429–440).

### 1.1. Data and Method

The data used in this study was collected from Khalaj people living in the villages of Talkhab (Talk.), Mansurabad (Mans.) and Vashqan (Vaš.) in the Markazi province of Iran. The random sampling method was used in the interviews, and participants were chosen randomly from those closest. Data collected from sixteen male and four female participants was used for the study. Five participants were in the 35–60 year age group, and six were aged between 60 and 80. The other participants were selected from among individuals of less than 35 years of age. The participants stated that they knew both Khalaj and Farsi well. In this article, examples were not taken from Khalaj-language texts in previously published studies, and 107 sentences in which conditionals were used were examined and classified.

## 2. Conditional forms in Khalaj

Conditional statements are defined logically as “the relationship between two propositions, a protasis (p) and an apodosis (q)” (Comrie 1986: 78). Conditional constructions are described as a complex construction including a main clause and an adverbial subordinate clause attached to this main clause. Conditional clauses state the condition of whether the action of the main clause has been performed, may be performed, or may have been performed (Bulut 2009: 35).

Explanations of conditional constructions generally refer to the presumption of truth to differing degrees, typically using open or closed conditions or contrasts such as real vs. unreal or factual vs. counterfactual. The character of most of these explanations is a regular limited two or three-way division, according to the language. Comrie thinks that conditionality (maybe) is a continuum without any definite separation, that different languages make simple distinctions at different hypothetical levels along this continuum, and that the choice of how this is done is subjective (Comrie 1986: 88).

Conditional constructions have different structural characteristics. According to the context of a conditional construction, the apodosis and the protasis may change places. In connection with this, the discourse-pragmatic evaluations of a conditional construction may vary (Can Bakırlı 2010: 27). In conditional constructions, both the protasis and the apodosis may vary in form. Khalaj, as well as using the *-sA* marker preserved from old Turkic to today in many Turkic languages (Bulut 2009, Menz 2009, Kerslake 2003), also uses methods which have developed as a result of language contact and which do not accord with the general typology of Turkic languages. Although conditional constructions have attracted the attention of large number of linguists, the conditional sentences of Khalaj have not often been the topic of study.

The aim of this article is to explain the various conditional constructions in Khalaj. The form and meaning characteristics of conditional constructions are examined in the study.

### 2.1. Constructions marked with *-sA*

In Khalaj, conditional clauses are generally formed with the addition of morphological markers based on *-sA* to the protasis. *-sA* based conditional sentences show different meaning content according to other morphemes used in the protasis and apodosis.

One of the commonest meaning contents of *-sA* based sentences is the expression of a real conditional. In these constructions, generally accepted truths or habits are mostly referred to. In this kind of conditional, the aorist is often used with *-sA* in the protasis, and the apodosis takes a non-past-tense marker. In sentence (1) below, a generally accepted scientific truth is conveyed. In sentence (2), a habit constantly repeated from the past until today is conveyed.

(1) Talk.

<i>yayuş</i>	<i>kälsä</i>	<i>häkinlär</i>	<i>käkärir</i>
rain	come:COND	crop:PL	sprout:AOR

“If it rains, the crops sprout.”

(2) Vaş.

<i>boyda</i>	<i>olmassa</i>	<i>arpa</i>	<i>häkärimiz</i>
wheat	be:NEG[AOR]-COND	barley	plant:AOR-1PL

“If there is no wheat, we plant barley.”

Along with this, *-sA*-based constructions can give a speaker’s opinions and plans which are closely related to notionally true conditions. In these conditional sentences, the speaker’s opinions, plans and judgments are given (see *potentialis* in Bulut 2009). These kinds of statement are expressed in different ways in Khalaj. The commonest is for the verb in the protasis to be marked with aorist + *-sA*, and the apodosis with the aorist.

(3) Mans.

<i>bāzārça</i>	<i>işlāsä</i>	<i>häyli</i>	<i>havul</i>	<i>olur</i>
market	work-COND3SG	very	good	be:AOR.3SG

“If he works in the market, that’ll be very good.”

(4) Talk.

<i>dädämiy</i>	<i>kärsäm</i>	<i>kömäk</i>	<i>‘etärim</i>
father:POSS1SG-ACC	see:COND-1SG	help:	AOR-1SG

“If I see my father, I help.”

Also, in *-sA*-based conditional sentences, modal markers are frequently used in the apodosis.

## (5) Talk.

*bōz*      *ossa*      *kārāk*      *holunʔam*  
 cold      be:COND      necessity      come back:OPT-1SG  
 “If it’s cold, I must come back.”

The conjunction *āgār* copied from Farsi can also come in sentences constructed with *-sA*. In these sentences, *āgār* is not a compulsory marker, but is used to reinforce the meaning of the sentence.

## (6) Vaš.

*āgār*      *xäläč*      *tili*      *ürgätsä,*      *häyli*      *xošhāl*  
 If      Khalaj      language:POSS3SG      teach:COND      very      happy  
*olʔam*  
 be:OPT-1SG

“If he teaches Khalaj, I’ll be very happy.”

In conditional sentences, the apodosis is usually a declarative sentence, but a question or an imperative can also be used.

## (7) Mans.

*sibä*      *zäng vursa*      *yovaraq*  
 tomorrow      phone:COND      go:IMP.1PL  
 “If he phones tomorrow, let’s go.”

In Khalaj, the unit *-sA* can be used in the protasis with the *är-* past tense forms of the verb. In this type of construction, the verb in the apodosis generally takes past tense or aorist forms. In examples below (8, 9), a counterfactual condition, *-sA* has been used in the protasis along with the past tense form of the *är-*. In the apodosis, the verb uses the past tense form of the *är-* in the same way.

## (8) Mans.

*kāčä*      *sändilä*      *varsattuq*      *tīʔmi*      *baluqča*      *olattuq*  
 night      you:INS      go:COND-PC-1PL      now      village:LOC      be:PC-1PL  
 “If we’d gone with you at night, we’d have been in the village now.”

## (9) Talk.

*uniy*      *pūliy*      *ossamuš*      *täräktuliy*  
 he:GEN      money-POSS.3SG      be:COND-PC      tractor-POSS.3SG  
*aluramuš*  
 buy:AOR.3SG-PC  
 “If he’d had money, he’d have bought a tractor.”

In example 9 above, the *-mXš* morpheme added to the protasis verb is not an evidential marker. Here, it is a pluperfect marker. This morpheme developed this function under the influence of Farsi (Kıral 2000: 89-101). The sentence indicates a counterfactual situation.



In Khalaj, the apodosis and protasis sometimes change places. In the counterfactual conditional sentence below (10), the apodosis comes before the protasis.

- (10) Talk.  
*älän, häftād olmušattu, hełmäsätti.*  
 now seventy be:PST.3SG-PC die:PST.3SG-PC  
 “He’d have been 70 now if he hadn’t died.”

## 2.2. Conditional constructions with the optative

In one frequently seen type of conditional sentence, the optative mood is used in the protasis. Here, what is noticeable is the use of a non-past tense marker in the apodosis. In the questionnaires, it was seen that the aorist was generally used. This is similar to the Turkic languages of Iraq (Bulut 2009: 46).

- (11) Talk.  
*sītiy hičmäyälär hełirlär*  
 milk:ACC drink:NEG.AOR-OPT.3PL die:AOR-3PL  
 “If they don’t drink milk, they die.”

- (12) Mans.  
*äkki kätāb alum, bīsi sänä*  
 two book buy:AOR.1SG one:POSS.3SG you:DAT  
*yuollayām*  
 send:OPT-1SG  
 “If I buy two books, I’ll send you one.”

The protasis can take the past tense form along with the optative. This was seen in only two examples. In these examples, the apodosis also takes past tense markers in conformity with the protasis. Examples 13 and 14 describe counterfactual conditions. The verb in the protasis takes the optative ending *-GA* and the pluperfect marker *-mXš*.

- (13) Vaš.  
*bōdā tırrilük itgämüş, xālī toqirämiš*  
 here live:OPT.3SG-PC carpet wove:AOR.3SG-PC  
 “If she’d lived here, she’d have woven carpets.”

- (14) Talk.  
*Mohsänla bilä işlägättüm, dārskā varmazzuttüm*  
 Mohsän:INS with work:OPT-PC-1SG class-DAT go:NEG.AOR-PC-1SG  
 “If I’d worked with Mohsen, I couldn’t have gone to class.”

Examples are also frequently seen in which the apodosis takes modal markers in constructions with the optative in the subordinate clause.

(15) Talk.

*bī toy oluḡa, toysahāb kārāk*  
 a wedding be:AOR.OPT.3SG host necessity  
*cār vurya*  
 announce:OPT.3SG

“If there’s a wedding, the host must announce it.”

(16) Mans.

*sibā vaqtiy olḡa Ezmāndkā*  
 tomorrow time-POSS.2SG be:AOR.OPT Ezmend-DAT  
*yovaraq*  
 go:IMP.1PL

“If you’ve got time tomorrow, let’s go to Ezmend.”

### 2.3. *agar*

The most commonly encountered construction in our texts was of conditional sentences constructed with the conjunction *ägär* (< Fars. *agar*), copied from Farsi. Gencan (2001: 461) states that the conjunction *eđer* in Turkish is used in apodosis clauses to reinforce its meaning. Also, it has been said that the use of *eđer* in Turkish is mostly optional (Csató and Johanson 1998: 203–235). Conditional sentences with *ägär* in Khalaj, as in other Turkic languages in Iran, have been influenced by Farsi. A real conditional sentence with *agar* in Farsi is in this form:

Fars.

*Agar mixwastand nan bepazand, tanurra*  
 If want:PST.CONT3PL bread bake:SUBJPL oven:ACC  
*roušan mikardand*  
 light:PST.CONT3PL

‘If they wanted to bake bread, they would (usually) light the oven.’ (Bulut 2009: 65)

Looking at the examples below, it is seen that the examples of conditional marked with *ägär* structurally resemble the Farsi model. In Johanson’s terminology, this is a mixed copy. In our recordings, we found 43 examples.

(17) Talk.

*ägär ullar kätāb hoqumaqiy hišöllar ullarqa*  
 if they book reading:ACC want:AOR.3PL them  
*kätāb yietgärüm*  
 book bring:AOR.1SG

“If they want to read a book, I’ll bring them a book.”

(18) Mans.

*ägär hišōriy hävdä hünäm*  
 if want:PRE-2SG house:ABL go out:OPT.1SG

“If you want, I’ll go out.”

This kind of conditional was used in the sentences below with the conjunction *ägär* and present (19), aorist (20) and past (21) tenses.

(19) Mans.

*ägär säsimiziy zabt 'etōriy matal hayōriz*  
if voice:POSS.1PL record:PRE-2SG story tell:PRE-1PL  
“If he’s recording our voice, we’ll tell a story.”

(20) Vaš.

*uniy ägär pūliy ɔlir hoyruluq 'etmāz*  
he:GEN if money-POSS.3SG be:AOR.3SG steal:NEG.AOR.3SG  
“If he has money, he won’t steal.”

(21) Talk.

*ägär päncārā bākitti, bōz olmaɣay*  
if window close:PST.3SG cold be:NEG-FUT.3SG  
“If he’s closed the window, it won’t be cold.”

In example 22 below, the real conditional sentence is based on *-sA*. In this sentence, the conjunction *ägär* is optional, as in the Turkish.

(22) Talk.

*ägär 'etābilsä yilqi ɔtlatullar*  
if do:ABIL-COND flock graze:AOR.3PL  
“If they can do it, they take the flock to graze.”

After a protasis with the conjunction *ägär*, the apodosis may contain an imperative.

(23) Vaš.

*ägär širīnī aldilär, kallarke*  
if sweet buy:PST-3PL child:PL-DAT  
*v'ärtälär*  
give:IMP.3PL  
“If they’ve bought sweets, let them give them to the children.”

(24) Man.

*ägär hasta ol'rsiyz, kīčä olduqi yatuvay*  
if tired be:2PL night be:CONV sleep:IMP.2PL  
“If you get tired, sleep at night.”

In a conditional sentence constructed with *ägär* (25), it was found that the protasis was used after the apodosis. This example, taken from a story told by an old person, expresses a command.

(25)

*yāk*                      *iċgār āgār hišōriy*                      *kāsikiy*  
 come:IMP.2SG    inside if            want:PRE-2SG            clothes:ACC  
*kōrāy*  
 see:OPT.2SG  
 “Come inside if you want to see the clothes!”

#### 2.4. Conditional constructions without conditional forms

Languages use different strategies to form conditionals. In terms of form, alongside constructions formed with conditional conjunctions, there are also constructions which are not in the form of a conditional, but which have a coded conditional meaning. These kinds of construction are coded in different ways. For example, there is no conditional marker in the following English sentence. An adverb clause of time provides expression of the conditional (Declerck and Reed 2001: 28):

You will be paid AFTER the job is finished, not before.

In some languages, there are conditional constructions in which adverbs are not used. Mandarin Chinese is a good example of this. In that language, a conditional statement can be made without the use of a conditional adverb. As can be seen in the example below, *rúguō* (if) in the protasis and *jīu* (then) in the apodosis are optional (Comrie 1986: 82).

*(rúguō) Zhangsan hē jīu, wǒ (jīu) mà tā*  
 If Zhangsan drinks wine, (then) I will scold him.

In Khalaj also, there are constructions which have a conditional meaning but which do not use any conditional markers. These conditional constructions are achieved with tense endings and mood markers in the protasis and apodosis. This kind of conditional, unmarked by any morpheme, were found 16 times in our recordings.

In the examples of conditionals below (26, 27), the present tense is used in the protasis and apodosis. In this sentence, the action expressed in the protasis must be realized for the apodosis to be realized.

(26) Talk.

*xäläcī hayōm,*                      *xäläcī fähm 'etmōllar*                      *farsī*  
 Khalaj    speak:PRE.1SG            Khalaj understand:NEG.PRE-3PL            Farsi  
*hayōm.*  
 speak:PRE.1SG  
 “I speak Khalaj. If they don’t understand Khalaj, I speak Farsi.”

(27) (Man.)

*y<sup>u</sup>olqa*                      *tüšōriy*                      *nānāsikā*  
 way:DAT                      set out:PRE-3SG            mother:POSS.3SG-DAT  
*zāng vurōr*  
 phone:PRE.3SG  
 “If he sets out, he calls his mother.”

In example 28, the real conditional statement is made using the present tense in the protasis and the aorist in the apodosis.

(28) Talk.

*Fəyzabadqa yovaraq. Ullar xäläci hayöllar,*  
 Feyzabad:DAT go:IMP.1PL they Khalaj speak:PRE.2PL  
*säsläriy zabt 'etämiz.*  
 voice:PL-ACC record:AOR.1PL

“Let’s go to Feyzabad. If they speak Khalaj, we’ll record them.”

Past Tense forms are frequently used to indicate conditionals. In the following sentences, the pluperfect is used in the protasis, but it is followed by an apodosis in which the past tense is used. The meaning content of this kind of structure often indicates unreal conditionals.

(29) Talk.

*qor häyli kälmišätti beyin işlämäzättik*  
 snow a lot come:PST.3SG-PC today work:NEG.AOR-PC.1PL

“If it had snowed a lot, we wouldn’t have worked today.”

(30) Talk.

*pulumuz olmušattu qara kinimiz däq*  
 money:POSS.1PL be:PT-PC bad day:POSS.1PL also  
*höz olattu.*  
 few be:[AOR].3SG-PC

“If we’d had money, we’d have had fewer bad days.”

In one sentence, the protasis refers to a hypothetical world. This is expressed by the use of the past tense form in the protasis. In the apodosis, present tense markers have been added to the verb.

(31) Talk.

*kälgili yıl torkiyäkä kældim šäyöm*  
 next year Turkey:DAT come:PST-1SG want:PRE-1SG  
*säniy ziyärat 'etgäm*  
 you:ACC visit:OPT-1SG

“If I come to Turkey next year, I want to visit you.”

Declerck and Reed (2001: 31) state that time-coding constructions can contain conditional associations. In Khalaj, it is seen that adverbs indicating time contain an expression of conditionality. In example (32), there is an adverbial clause of time constructed with the time adverb *bäd*, and here the meaning is ‘watching the film will happen only when/after the condition of studying has been met’.

(32) Talk.

*Mohammäd dârs hoqir, bād film vāqibilōr*  
 Mohammed study:AOR.3SG after film watch: ABIL-PRE.3SG  
 “Mohammed studies, later he can watch the film.”

Similarly, time-coded constructions were recorded with conditional-associated content with *o moqay* (<Farsi *moqei*) and *o vaqt*, meaning ‘then’.

(33) Mans.

*o moqay yovuşqan yiet'rōllar pūllariy*  
 when rhubarb bring:PRE.3PL money:POSS.3PL.ACC  
*v'ārōm*  
 give:PRE.1SG  
 “When they bring the rhubarb, I’ll give the money.”

(34) Vaš.

*vaqte ke hündü taşqar sözimiş*  
 when go out:PST.3SG outside word:POSS.1SG-ACC  
*hayōm*  
 speak:PRE.1SG  
 “If you go outside, I’ll speak.”

In Khalaj, conditional clauses can be expressed by lexical markers. Two examples were seen in our recordings in which the construction *her kim* was used in a conditional sentence, and one with *her ne*. These conditional constructions based on lexical markers come from the influence of Farsi.

(35) Vaš.

*hâr kim uniy ziyârâtkâ kâkir şuqulat yâ*  
 whoever him visit:DAT come:AOR.3SG chocolate or  
*şîrînî v'ârîr*  
 sweets give:AOR.3SG  
 “Whoever comes to visit him, he gives them either chocolate or sweets.”

(36) Vaš

*hâr nâ kârüngili ǫlur hirâq*  
 however apparent be:AOR.3SG far away  
*ǫlmaz*  
 be:NEG.AOR.3SG  
 “However much it seems, it’s not far away.”

## Conclusion

In daily communication, conditional expressions are commonly used, because they play a very important role in expressing hypothetical ideas, habits and obligations, suggesting results and as a result affecting human behaviour. The structural distribution of these conditional sentences is as follows:

1. Conditional sentences constructed with *agar* (43 examples)
2. Conditional sentences based on *-sA* (29 examples)
3. Sentences constructed with the optative (19 examples)
4. Morphologically marked conditional sentences (16 examples)

In conditional constructions formed from a protasis and an apodosis in Khalaj, the protasis is usually coded before the apodosis. In only two sentences in our recordings was it found that the protasis was coded after the apodosis. The two examples in which the protasis followed the apodosis were spoken by female participants.

In Khalaj, conditional sentences based on the Turkic type *-sA* morpheme was used very frequently. Conditional sentences based on *-sA* were used with the past tense just as with the aorist and present tenses. These constructions had hypothetical or unreal conditional content, according to the use of tense endings in the protasis and apodosis.

Farsi generally has a strong effect on Khalaj. This strong effect, seen in all areas of the language, can also be seen in conditional sentences. Conditional statements in Khalaj constructed with *ägär* are modelled on Farsi. This type of conditional sentence was more used by participants of less than 55 years of age.

The basic strategy in Khalaj of forming conditionals without morphological markers comes from the effect of Iran. As with other Turkic languages in Iran (Bulut 2009: 64–68), morphologically unmarked conditional sentences take time markers which are similar to Farsi.

Especially in the past century, the functional area of Khalaj has been greatly narrowed under the intense effect of Farsi, and is now spoken by a very small population. The effect of Farsi on conditional sentences is the result of a process over a very long time. It was found that although Turkic type conditional sentences are used, use of the Farsi-type construction is increasing.

## Abbreviations

ABIL	ability/possibility	AOR	aorist
DAT	dative	LOC	locative
PL	plural	PRE	present
ABL	ablative	COND	conditional
GEN	genitive	NEG	negative
PC	past kopula	PST	past
ACC	accusative	CON	converb
INS	instrumental	OPT	optative
POSS	possessive	SG	singular

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# *Yar-* Preverb as an Actional Specifier in Chuvash

Sinan Güzel\*

## Introduction

In Turkic, some verbs may lose their lexical meanings and acquire several grammatical functions. It is observed that some verbs can perform grammatical functions while preserving their current lexical meanings. In Turkic, one of the most typical examples of this situation, which is explained with grammaticalization, a developmental process in which lexemes turn into grammatical formatives or a less grammatical status turn into a more grammatical status, is the auxiliary verbs, which are also called as *descriptive verb, postverb* within the linguistics literature. There are these kind of verbs in Chuvash as well, which lost their function of becoming the predicate of a main sentence and appear only with their grammatical uses. One of these, the verb *yar*<sup>1</sup> ‘to leave, to send’ creates a postverb in the form of *{-sA yar-}*, that occurs in several actional specifications, by merging with *{-sA}* converb in Chuvash. However in Chuvash, the verb *yar-* can also be used as an actional specifier except for the mentioned position in verb sequence.

This study focuses on a use of the verb *yar-*, which is not mentioned within the grammaticalization processes. This verb can be used as a preverb in Chuvash by presenting a counter development to the *Verb+Converb+Auxiliary Verb* construction, which is familiar for Turkic language. The uses of the verb *yar-* in the preverb position constitute the main focus of this study, which will also include the actional specifications regarding *{-sA yar-}* postverb. In addition, the verbs in which *yar-* preverb is frequently used will be determined; for what reasons such an adverse construction might have occurred will be discussed.

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1 The verb *yar-* in Chuvash can be compared to Old Turkic form *id-* ‘to send’ (Egorov 1964: 354; Fedotov 1996: 503). Both data are related to Proto-Altaic *\*id-* form. (Tekin 1995: 175).

## 1. Grammatical uses of Chuvash verb *yar-*

As stated before, the verb *yar-* becomes a source by being grammaticalized for structures that are used as postverbs and preverbs in Chuvash. Even though this study mainly focuses on *yar-* preverb, the determination of whether there is a parallelism between the related structure and the actional specifications of *{-sA yar-}* postverb holds importance. Therefore, both grammatical processes that are mentioned will be examined and discussed in this section.

### 1.1. *{-sA yar-}* postverb and its usages

The last of the construction levels that Johanson designated for the converb clauses in Turkic, sheds light to the formation process of postverbs. In the fourth level of this model; “The base segment is just part of the predicate core, i. e., of a periphrastic construction in which it functions as a grammatical marker. The converb segment subjunctive plus the base segment verb stem form a postverb expressing actionality.” (Johanson 1995: 315). However, it is observed that desemanticization, which constitutes the first step of the transformation of lexemes into grammatical markers, does not occur at the same level in every verb (Gökçe 2013: 31); it is also seen that the postverbs Johanson points to make specifications with different grammatical densities than one another. When the uses of *{-sA yar-}*, which a part of our study, are examined, it is observed that the process of desemanticization is mostly completed.

In the studies, that provides information about which types of actionality the *{-sA yar-}* postverb specifies in Chuvash, information that complements one another despite the differences arising from interpretation and definition is observed. N. I. Ašmarin, in his work titled as *Opit Issledovaniya Čuvaškogo Sintaksisa II*, determined three different actional specification regarding the mentioned postverb. These can be briefly stated as such: (i) It specifies that an action is undertaken, started. (ii) It is used to specify an action, which is unexpected, unpredictable, unusual, fast (only for once). (iii) It specifies that the action is completed (Ašmarin 1898: 46). According to I.P. Pavlov, it can be used with two different actional specifications: (i) It shows that the action is performed towards far away and out. (ii) It shows that the action is performed very intense and strong way (Pavlov 1965: 225–226). E. Lebedev, who is the author of the only book discussing postverbs in Chuvash within the focus of actionality, determined two different specifications of the structure: (i) It specifies that the action is started. There is also an information here that the action happens in an intense and strong way. (ii) It specifies that the action is completed (Lebedev 2016: 57, 66).

When all the determinations mentioned above are brought together, actional specifications regarding *{-sA yar-}* postverb can be listed as follows:

**Phase Specifications:** (i) It specifies that the action is started (initial phase). (ii) It specifies that the action is completed.

**Quantitative Specifications:** (i) It specifies that the action is performed very intense and strong way. (ii) It specifies that the action happened unexpectedly, unusually, fast and only for once.

**Vectorial Specifications:** (i) It specifies that the action is performed towards far away and out.

In order not to disrupt the focus of this study, this part is completed by giving examples regarding the specifications mentioned above.

- (1) *Un mayñ vara Sankka-pala tepř hřača ta*  
 she like after Sankka-INSTR other girl also  
*vil-es pek hřa-sa ya-nř.*  
 die-PTCP like scare-CONV send:POSTV-PST.PT.3.PL.  
 ‘Like her, Sankka and the other girl also got scared as if they would die.’  
 (ČSK XVI)<sup>2</sup>
- (2) *Přm křetk(e)-i-pe sillen-se křkř-sa-(a)h*  
 all body-POSS.3.SG-INSTR shiver-CONV scream-CONV-INT  
*makř-sa ya-čř Vašuk.*  
 cry-CONV send:POSTV-TRM.PT.3.SG. Vašuk.  
 ‘Vašuk cried [started crying] by screaming and his all body shivering.’  
 (İY, 79)
- (3) *Ah, rhan-sker, řiv-a čik-sen-eh*  
 oh gentle-SN water-ACC/DAT<sup>3</sup> dip-CONV-INT  
*Yeple hutř křkř-sa ya-čř.*  
 how violently scream-CONV send:POSTV-TRM.PT.3.SG.  
 ‘Oh, gentle thing, how she violently screamed when she was dipped in water’. (AČ, 8)
- (4) *Vř řiru-ra epř kil-e layřh,*  
 that letter-LOC I home-ACC/DAT good  
*sivřih-pa řit-řř-m tese řir-sa*  
 health-INSTR arrive-trm.PT.1.SG saying write-CONV  
*ya-tř-m.*  
 send:POSTV-TRM.PT.1.SG.  
 ‘In that letter I wrote that I arrived home well and in good health.’ (KČ)

In the examples above numbered as (1), (2), (3) and (4), {-sA yar-} postverb makes phase specification. There is an information that the action is started in the examples (1) and (2), whereas the action is completed in the examples (3) and (4). As it is known, postverb structures are typically used for phase specification. They specify

<sup>2</sup> The references of the works in which the sample sentences are quoted from are given after their translations in order not to cause confusion in glossing.

<sup>3</sup> In Chuvash, unlike the historical and contemporary written languages of Turkic, there is a common suffix for the accusative and dative cases.

the action qualitatively or quantitatively by highlighting an inherent phase of the actional phrase. The actional specification regarding these verbs, which has transformativity as the basic classificatory criterion, is transformative if it has a natural evolutionary turning point, a crucial initial or a final limit (Csató, et al. 2019: 3).

It is also possible to observe the mentioned transformativity in the examples, which specify initial and final point in regard to *{-sA yar-}* postverb. The verb *hřra-* ‘to get scared’ in the example (1) is an initiotransformative verb that expresses the initiation of a form. Here, the continuing process following the crucial initial point is clearly monitored. The meaning that is ‘got scared and continues to be scared’, which presents the two phased structure of the compound verb, can clearly be seen. The verb *makř-* ‘to cry’ in the example (2) is a nontransformative verb, for which initial and final points are not determined. However, *{-sA yar-}* postverb changes it into an initiotransformative verb by providing the verb in question with an initial limit emphasis that the verb does not possess in its main meaning. On the other hand, the verb *křřkř-* ‘to yell, to scream’ in the example (3) is a finittransformative verb which occurs suddenly as a reaction to the situation that initiates the action. The verb *řir-* ‘to write’ in the example (4) is a dynamic nontransformative verb which is open to the meaning of ‘wrote and still writing’. This verb, too, becomes a finittransformative verb with the *{-sA yar-}* postverb.<sup>4</sup>

- (5) *Epř huttřn-huttřn kul-sa yar-at-řp.*  
 I strongly laugh-CONV send:POSTV-PRES.1.SG.  
 ‘I am laughing strongly’ (řY, 142)
- (6) *řak samant-a řřtay-mi křř-nř*  
 that moment-ACC/DAT stand-NEG.CONV wait-PST.PTCC  
*mamak tin-eh kul-sa ya-řř.*  
 granny suddenly-int laugh-CONV send:POSTV-TRM.PT.3.SG.  
 ‘The granny, who was waiting at that moment, could not stand and laughed suddenly.’ (řY, 17)
- (7) *Patak-(ř)-ne tit-sa il-se vřnk!*  
 stick-POSS.3.SG.-ACC/DAT grip-CONV take-CONV whirling  
*řeř ayakk-a-lla ivřř-sa yar-as-řř.*  
 just away-ACC/dat-DIR throw-CONV send:POSTV-OPT.3.SG.  
 ‘S/he just wanted to grab the stick and throw it away whirling.’ (AČ, 33)

In the examples (5) and (6), there are quantitative specifications. While the verb *kul-* ‘to laugh’ in the example (5) is happening in an intense and strong way, it happens in the example (6) in a sudden way. In the example (7), there is an information about the direction of the action. The action gains an orientation from its current position towards outside and far away.

<sup>4</sup> In this brief analysis, the adopted method and terms that are used belongs to the model seen in Johanson 2000.

## 1.2. The verb *yar-* as a Preverb

In the previous section, the information that the verb *yar-* can be used as a preverb by providing a counter development to the *Verb+Converb+Auxiliary Verb* construction, which is familiar for Turkic language, was provided, yet the issue was not explained in detail.

It is seen that there are fewer studies, which include the witnesses of preverbs in Turkic and shed light to their attitudes in verb sequence compared to the ones, which discuss postverbs. The subject is exemplified by Banguoğlu (1974: 493), Korkmaz (2009: 834) under the titles *Yarı Tasvir Fiilleri* ‘Semi Descriptive Verbs’ and *Belirleyici Birleşik Fiiller* ‘Decisive Compound Verbs’ respectively, with the verbs of *alakoymak* ‘to detain’ and *çıkagelmek* ‘to show up suddenly’, however, the development and formation conditions of relevant grammatical process are not explained by these researchers in question.

Csató, who discusses the subject in theoretical grounds, states that the verbs *al-* and *tut-* are grammaticalized and used so in a way to show expressions of “start doing, do suddenly and unexpectedly” in Turkish. The researcher, who mentions two different uses of the verb *tut-* that specify the action happening “suddenly” and “unexpectedly”, also includes the verb sequences with converb such as *tut-up çık-tı* ‘He left (with a sudden decision)’ along with the paratactic version in which both verbs bear the same suffixes.: *tut-tu çık-tı tı* ‘He left (with a sudden decision).’ (Csató 2001: 177–178). Besides, Csató tries to determine the syntactic properties of preverbs: “(i) The order of the two verbs is fixed. (ii) Only two verbs can be serialized. (iii) The original lexical meanings of the grammaticalized verbs are still transparent. (iv) The two verbs need not to be strictly adjacent: e.g. *tutup sormaya başladı* ‘all of a sudden he started to ask questions.’” (Csató 2001: 178–179).

Ağcagül, who discusses whether the verbs *al-*, *çık-*, *gel-*, *git-*, *kalk-*, *tut-*, *var-* in Turkish hold a grammatical attitude in verb sequences or not, also states that the relevant verbs need to meet some prerequisites in order for her to determine whether they are preverbs or not. The researcher states that these types of verbs cannot be expanded semantically, cannot no longer accept semantic additions typical for lexical uses; therefore, an action regarding the subject cannot be observed anymore. In addition, Ağcagül also expresses that preverbs specify and define how the main verbs are formed and therefore the meanings of these verbs are no longer required for the semantic content of the sentence, and the elimination of them does not influence the understandability of the sentence (Ağcagül 2009:106).

Gökçe, who evaluates preverbs in terms of their syntactic behaviours, makes determinations of “No phonetic erosions occur as a result of the compound.” and “Compound verbs with preverbs are usually inclined to lexicalization.” (Gökçe 2013:50) as an addition to the (i), (ii), (iii), (iv) numbered determinations of Csató.

To what degree the Chuvash verb *yar-* ‘to leave, to send’, which presents a grammatical attitude in the verb sequences in analytic construction of *Preverb+Converb+Main Verb* in Chuvash, carries the mentioned characteristics of preverbs,

which actional specifications it makes, and to what degree these specifications overlap with *{-sA yar-}* postverb appear to be the questions which need to be answered. It would be convenient to discuss these questions after presenting the examples of related structure.

The connection of Chuvash verb *yar-* with the main verbs in the constructions exists mostly happens via *[-sa]* converb. However, examples in which it creates verb sequences with the converbs *[-a]*, *[-arah]* and postterminal *[-nĭ]* are witnessed.

### 1.2.1. *yar-sa* + *Verb*

- (8) *Śemyuk ĭna sasarĭk kap<sup>5</sup>*  
 Śemyuk it-ACC/DAT suddenly INTRJ  
*yar-sa il-čĭ*  
 send:prev-CONV take-TRM.PT.3.SG.  
 ‘Śemyuk suddenly took it.’ (AČ, 29)
- (9) *Hĭy-sam putek-(ĭ)-n-e šĭl-ĭsem-pe*  
 self-pl lamb-POSS.3.SG.-PRN-ACC/DAT tooth-POSS.3.SG.-  
 PL-INSTR  
*ur(a)-i-n-čen yar-sa śirt-nĭ.*  
 foot-poss.3.SG.-PN-ABL send:PREV-CONV bite-PST.PT.3.PL.  
 ‘They suddenly caught the lamb by its foot with their teeth.’ (ČSK IV: 218)
- (10) *Anne strajnik pat-(ĭ)-n-e*  
 Anne watchman next-POSS.3.SG.-PN-ACC/DAT  
 TRM.PT.3.SG  
*vĭrkĭn-čĭ ĭna allinčen*  
 jump-TRM.PT.3.SG he-ACC/dat hand-POSS.3.SG.-PN-ABL  
*yarsa ttrĭ.*  
 send:PREV-CONV hold-TRM.PT.3.SG  
 ‘The mother jumped right next to the watchman (and) suddenly held him by the hand.’ (AČ, 120).
- (11) *Huralšĭ kap yar-sa ttr-nĭ*  
 watchman INTRJ send:PREV-CONV hold-PST.PT.3.SG.  
*ĭna.*  
 he-ACC/DAT  
 ‘The watchman immediately caught him.’ (ŠP, 167)
- (12) *Mana takam hul-ran yar-sa*  
 I-ACC/dat someone arm-ABL send:PREV-CONV  
*ttr-rĭ.*  
 grab-TRM.PT.3.SG  
 ‘Someone suddenly grabbed me by my arm.’ (TTČ, 122)

5 This interjection informs that the action happens quickly and unexpectedly in Chuvash.

- (13) *Sis-men*                                 *te,*    *ytiř*  
 notice-NEG-pst.pt.3.sg                 INT    dog  
*yar-sa*   *ta*    *hip-nř.*  
 send:PREV-CONV                         INT    catch-pst.pt.3.sg.  
 ‘She didn’t even notice, the dog suddenly caught her.’ (ČSK IV: 219)

In the examples above numbered as (8), (9), (10), (11), (12) and (13), there is the specification that the action happened unexpectedly, unusually and fast. Besides, in the related sentences, adverbs such as *sasartik* (8) *kap* (8, 11) which reinforce the mentioned meaning of *yar-* preverb, grasp attention. The verb *vřrkřn-* ‘to jump’ in the example (10) gives information about the occurrence manner of the action. Whereas, in the examples (12) and (13), the fact that the action happened in an unexpected moment stands out rather than the speed of the action. In both examples, there is a subject, who does not witness the action, is exposed to the action, and realizes the action later.

- (14) *Pir-řň řava virřsla;*                 *yar-sa*                         *yar-sa*  
 we-GEN scythe Russian style send:PREV-CONV                 send:PREV-CONV  
*řul-sassřn,*                 *př*                 *itam-a*                 *řuh*                 *křř-et.*  
 reap-CONV                 one                 arms-ACC/DAT                 barely                 fit.into-PRES.1.SG.  
 ‘Our scythe is in Russian style, it barely fits into an arm when you reap strongly.’ (ČSK IV: 218)

- (15) *Pir-řň řavi*                         *virřsla;*                 *yarsa*                         *ta*  
 we-GEN scythe                         Russian style send:PREV-CONV                 INT  
*yarsa*   *turt-sassřn*                 *valem-řpe*  
 send:PREV-conv                         reap-CONV                 stack-POSS.3.SG.-INSTR  
*valem-řn*   *ut*                 *tuh-at’.*  
 stack-POSS.3.SG.-ARC.INSTR                 grass                 came.out-PRES.1.SG.  
 ‘Our scythe is in Russian style, haystacks of grass come out when you reap strongly’. (ČSK IV: 218)

In the examples (14) and (15), the action is performed strongly. In the Russian meanings ‘kosit’ s razmaxa’ and ‘tyanut’ (t. e. kosit’) s razmaxa’ (ČSK IV: 218) that Ařmarin gives to the compounds of *yarsa řul-* and *yarsa turt-* there is the information that the action is done in a way to cover a large area. This create an action definition, which can be translated into English as ‘to reap strongly by opening the arm sideways’.

1.2.2. *yar-a* + *Verb*

- (16) *Vut vřsen-řň řurt-ř-n-řen vřylř řil-ten*  
 fire they.GEN house-POSS.3.SG.-PN-ABL strong wind-ABL  
*kürř (ř-i-sen-e) te yar-a*  
 neighbor-poss.3.SG.-PL-ACC/DAT INT send:PREV-CONV  
*yar-a il-et.*  
 send:PREV-conv take-PRES.1SG.  
 ‘The fire (coming out of) their house successively takes over neighbours [neighbours’ houses] because of the strong wind.’ (ČSK IV: 216)
- (17) *Vuč-ř křlet řinřen, ulřm-pa vit-nř*  
 fire-POSS.3.SG warehouse from hay-INSTR cover-PST.PTCP  
*huraltř-sem třřřh, itti huraltř-sen-e te*  
 shed-PL along other shed-PL-ACC/DAT also  
*yar-a yar-a il-et.*  
 send:PREV-CONV send:PREV-CONV take-PRES.1SG.  
 ‘The fire, from the warehouse, also takes over other sheds successively along with the sheds covered with hay.’ (ČSK IV: 2167)
- (18) *řřna yitř-sem yar-a*  
 he-ACC/DAT dog-PL send:PREV-CONV  
*yar-a řřrt-ařřř.*  
 send:PREV-CONV bite-PRES.3.PL.  
 ‘The dogs are biting him repeatedly.’ (ČSK IV: 216)

In the examples (16), (17) and (18), in which the verb sequence is connected with *[-a]* converb suffix, there is the information that the action clearly happens in a repeated way. In a parallel way to our related determination, Ařmarin, too, gives the Russian meanings of the examples (16) and (18) respectively as ‘(za-)xvativat’ (mnogokratno)’ (Eng. ‘to take over repeatedly’) and ‘kusat (povtoryaya ukus)’ (Eng. ‘to bite [repeated bites]’) (ČSK IV: 216).

1.2.3. *yar-arah* + *Verb*

- (19) *Yar-arah pus,*  
 send:PREV-CONV STEP-IMP.2.SG.  
*unsřřřň ur(a)-ř-na yřřpet-ř-n.*  
 or feet-POSS.3.SG.-ACC/DAT wet-FUT.2.SG.  
 ‘Walk fast or you will get your feet wet.’ (ČSK IV: 216)



- (20) *Pir-ň*                      *šavi*                      *vrjšla;*                      *yar-arah*  
 we-GEN                      scythe                      Russian style                      send:PREV-CONV  
*yar-arah*                      *turt-sassň,*                      *valem-ň-pe*  
 send:PREV-conv                      reap-CONV                      stack-POSS.3.SG.-INSTR  
*valem-ň-n*                      *ut*                      *tuhat*’.  
 stack-POSS.3.SG.-ARC.INSTR                      grass                      came.out-PRES.1.SG.  
 ‘Our scythe is in Russian style, haystacks of grass come out when you  
 reap strongly’.’ (ČSK IV: 216).

In the examples, in which the verb sequence is connected with *[-arah]* converb, two different actional specifications are determined. Within the compound in the example (19), there is the information that the verb *pus-* ‘to step, to walk’ happens in a fast way, whereas in the example (20), just like in the example (15), it is expressed that the verb *turt-* ‘to pull, to reap’ is done strongly and in a way to cover a large area. When the record of Ašmarin, ‘šagat’ (šagnut’) boloee krupnim šagom’ (Eng. ‘to walk with larger steps’) (ČSK IV: 216), is considered, the actional specification regarding the example (19) can be explained with the definition of ‘to walk with larger steps, fast’, that belongs to the proverb *pergelleri açmak* ‘taking long steps’ in Turkish.

#### 1.2.4. *ya(r)-čič*<sup>6</sup> + *Verb* + *{-čič}*

- (21) *Kušak*                      *Huraška-na*                      *sšms(a)-i-n-čen*  
 cat                      dog-ACC/DAT                      nose-POSS.3.SG.-PN-ABL  
*ya-čič*                      *il-čič*  
 send:prev-TRM.PT.3.SG.                      take-TRM.PT.3.SG.  
 ‘The cat suddenly caught the dog by its nose.’ (ČSK IV: 218)

In a parallelism with these types of verb sequences, which can be compared to the example of *tut-tu čik-ti* ‘He left (with a sudden decision)’ (Csató et al. 2001: 177) in Turkish, verb compounds formed with different suffixes in Turkish are also witnessed: e.g. *bakar durur*, *baktı durdu*, *bakmış kalmış* (Demir: 2013: 389–398). In the structures of *yar-* preverb, the mentioned variety is limited to *{-nň}* suffix (see 1.2.5.).

#### 1.2.5. *ya(r)-nň* + *Verb* + *[-nň]*

- (22) *Šapla*                      *pňh-nň*                      *čuh*                      *suh-al-dan*  
 thus                      look.at-PST.PTCP                      time                      beard-ABL  
*ya-nň*                      *tit-nň.*  
 send:prev-PST.PT.3.SG.                      grabb-PST.PT.3.SG.  
 ‘While he was looking at it like that, (someone) suddenly grabbed him by  
 his beard.’ (Güzel 2019: 173).

6 When the *{-čič}* and *{-nň}* suffixes are added to the Chuvash verbs *kür-* ‘to be useful’; *per-* ‘to hit, to shoot’; *ššir-* ‘to pee’, *hur-* ‘to put’, *kňř-* ‘to enter’, *par-* ‘to give’, *pir-* ‘to go’, *tšir-* ‘to stop’, *yar-* ‘to leave, to send’, *yňř-* ‘to cry’ that end with /r/ phoneme, this /r/ phoneme drops (Egorov 1956: 194).

- (23) *Vil arim-(i)-n-e čup tu-nĩ čuh*  
 he wife-POSS.3.SG.-PN-ACC/DAT kiss-PST.PTCP time  
*arim-i ya-nĩ tut-nĩ.*  
 wife-poss.3.SG. send:PREV-PST.PT.3.SG. grabb-PST.PT.3.SG.  
 ‘When he kissed his wife, she suddenly grabbed (him)’. (Güzel 2019: 176)

In both examples numbered (22) and (23), in the construction of *yar-nĩ + verb+{-nĩ}* there is an action which happens unexpectedly and suddenly.

As it can be seen from the examples, the verb *yar-*, in the preverb position, can mark all quantitative actional specifications regarding the *{-sA yar-}* postverb. In addition to this, in the *yar-a + verb* construction, there is the information that the action happens repeatedly. The verb *yar-*, which has syntax properties in parallel to the explanations of preverbs, can also be witnessed having some uses, which show tendency to lexicalization (Gökçe 2013:50). For example, *yarsa tut-* compound, which specify that the action *tut-* is performed fast and suddenly, is also in position that can be explained with a lexical verb such as Turkish *kapmak* (Rus. ‘sxvatit’) ‘taking suddenly by grabbing, pulling’. In some examples, there is a use of both verbs in the compound in a way, which points to one single action. There is a strong semantic convergence and lexicalization tendency, as in the third level that Johanson identified (1995: 315):

- (24) *Laša ikkĩ-viśśĩ kĩna yar-sa*  
 horse two or three only send-CONV  
*pus-rĩ vara čar-ĩn-čĩ.*  
 step-TRM.pt.3.SG. then stop-PASS-TRM.PT.3.SG.  
 ‘The horse only two or three stepped, then stopped.’ (ČSK IV: 218)

In the example numbered (24), *yar-sa pus-* (verbatim. send and step [on something]) compound, became a lexical unit which is given the meaning of ‘to step, to take a step’.

## 2. *yar-* Preverb and Ambiguity

Sometimes, it can be hard to determine whether the preverbs in the verb sequences keep their lexical meanings or not; present a grammatical attitude or not. For instance, the compound verb *al-di git-ti* in Turkish can be given two different types of meanings:<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> In Turkic, ambiguities may arise because preverbs are used in their own meanings. Demir identifies many examples of the semantic ambiguities in question witnessed in Turkish preverbs and states that the emphasis functions as an element that eliminates the ambiguity without context (Demir 2020: 28–29).

- (25) *Al-di*    *git-ti*  
 take-TRM.PT.3.SG.                                  go-TRM.PT.3.SG.  
 (i) ‘X took (it) and went.’ versus (ii) ‘X took (it) (definitely).’ (Csató et al. 2019: 1)

In the verb sequences in which *yar-* preverb exists, there are no uses that includes such an ambiguity. In this context, the determination, “The original lexical meanings of the grammaticalized verbs are still transparent.” (Csató 2001: 178–179) which is recorded for the preverbs, cannot be seen as valid for *yar-* preverb. None of the lexical meanings given below belonging to *yar-* preverb, which is completely in a meaningless state, can be witnessed in the examples of the actional specifications of the structure:

1. to leave. 2. to release. 3. to send, 4. to put. 5. to fill, add. 6. to pour 7. to allow. 8. to throw. 9. to pass, to flow (about water, etc.). 10. to make sth. move, to set sth. going, to make sth. start (about a mechanism). 11. to drive (about a car, etc.). 12. to delay. 13. to remove, to clean (about a stain, etc.). 14. to lengthen (about fabric, dress, etc.). 15. to lay, to charge upon (about a blame, etc.). 16. to sell. 17. to hit with an object (about a bat, etc.). 18. to drink. 19. the command is used in the meaning of ‘Let it go, don’t mind’. (ČRS)

With this aspect, the *yar-* preverb presents an intense grammatical attitude that shows parallelism with the postverbs such as Chuvash *{-sa kay-}*, which becomes completely meaningless. The trace of ambiguity that can cause two or more types of analysis in the verb sequences constructed in the form of *yar-sa + verb* is not encountered.

### 3. Conclusion and Evaluations

**3.1.** In the grammar studies about Chuvash language, it is seen that actional specifications regarding *{-sa yar-}* postverb is discussed, however, the examples which show the use of *yar-* verb as preverb are not mentioned. It is only possible to witness these uses in question in the volume IV of the dictionary prepared by N. I. Ašmarin and titled as *Slovar Čuvaškogo Yazıka* among the analytic structures that comes right after the *yar-* entry.

**3.2.** As result of the analysis, these actional specifications regarding *yar-* preverb are determined:

- (i) It specifies that the action happens in an intense and strong way.
- (ii) It specifies that the action happens unexpectedly, suddenly, unusually, fast and only for once.
- (iii) It specifies that the action happens repeatedly.

**3.3.** There are examples of the verb *yar-*, which both are in a tendency to be lexicalized and can be defined lexically.

3.4. The determination, “The original lexical meanings of the grammaticalized verbs are still transparent.” (Csató 2001: 178–179) which is recorded for the preverbs, is not as valid for *yar-* preverb. In the verb *yar-*, which has a grammatical intensity incomparable to the other preverbs in Turkic language, the ambiguities that occur with the existence of lexical meaning are not witnessed.

3.5. Whether a neighboring language has influence on the use of preverb structures in Turkic is an issue, which needs to be studied in detail. In Mari language, one of the Finno-Ugric languages that Chuvash language is in close contact in the Middle Volga region, there is a verb, *koltaš*, which has the main meaning of ‘to leave, to send’ and is in postverb position just like in Chuvash specifying that the action happened unexpectedly and only for once (İsanbaev 1978: 63). However, it is stated in the resources regarding the issue that these mentioned semantic and syntactic properties may have been copied from Chuvash to Mari language (Bradley 2016: 165). Besides, in Mari language, no examples are encountered that shows the preverb uses of *koltaš* verb.

In my opinion, it is also possible to explain such verb sequences with the own structural probabilities of Turkic. In Turkic language, the converb added forms of verbs define the main verb from various aspects. As it can be observed from the several suffixes and adverbs that are defined as semi-grammatical in some sources, the verbs that describe the main verb are grammaticalized by losing their meanings in time. When the syntactic properties of Turkic are regarded, the verb sequence *Verb+Converb+Postverb*, considered as a characteristic of Turkic, presents a more surprising development for Turkic. In the preverb structures a sequence, which is parallel to the features of Turkic syntax, are seen. In this structure, in which the main verb is placed at the end of the sentence, the converb segment becomes an actional specifier that cannot be semantically expanded and present a grammatical attitude.

## Abbreviations

### Abbreviations of Works

AČ	Ača Čuhnehi (Marvhi 2003)
ČSK	Čivaš Sımahısen Kıneki - Slovar Čuvaškogo Yazıka (Ašmarin 1994-2000)
İY	İrhi Yırsem (Orlov 2004)
KČ	Konstantinapol’ri Čıvašem (Arhipov 1903)
TTC	Tam Tivni Čun (Petrovskaya 2006)
ŠP	Šinkıravlı Pıke (Saval’ev 1993)

### Other Abbreviations

ČKİ	Čıvaš Kıneke İzdatel’svi /Čuvaškoye Knižnoye izdatel’stvo
ČAKİ	Čıvaš ASSR Kıneke İzdatel’svi

ČĠIGN	Čuvaškiy Gosudarstvennyy Institut Gumanitarnih Nauk
/	It separates different phonemes of a morpheme.
[ ]	Used in semantic additions in the translation of sentences. It is used in the writing of allomorphs.
{ }	It is used in the writing of morphemes
-	It is used before the suffixes added to verbs.
+	It is used before the suffixes added to nouns. It is used to present the elements in the same analytic pattern.

ABL	ablative	PT	optative
ACC/DAT	accusative/dative	PL	plural
ARC.INSTR	archaic instrumental	PN	pronomial n
CONV	converb	POSS	possessive
DIR	directive	POSTV	postverb
FUT	future	PRES	present
GEN	genitive	PREV	preverb
IMP	imperative	PST	postterminal(ity)
INF	infinitive	PT	past
INSTR	instrumental	PTCP	participle
INTRJ	interjection	SG	singular
INT	intensive	SN	syntactic nominalizer
LOC	locative	TRM	terminal(ity)
NEG	negative		

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# Where is Paradise? The Psychological Foundations of the Idea of Afterlife in Medieval Islamic and Jewish Thought

Gyöngyi Hegedűs

## Introduction

Maimonides was accused of heresy almost immediately after his death in 1204. His books were burnt by the “orthodox” members of the Jewish community in Spain, who claimed that Maimonides did not believe in the doctrine of bodily resurrection. Al-Ghazali (d. 1111) levelled the same charge against the Muslim philosophers, namely, al-Farabi and Avicenna, in his book *The Incoherence of the Philosophers*. Both Avicenna and Maimonides considered the state of ultimate happiness as the eternal bliss of the soul which leaves the body untouched, and they viewed it as the union between the individual and the active intellect.<sup>1</sup>

In this paper I would like to establish that the controversy concerning bodily resurrection which occurred in the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, was prefigured in both Jewish and Islamic thinkers of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. In my demonstration I will rely on four sources: 1) Saadya Gaon’s *Book of Beliefs and Convictions*;<sup>2</sup> 2) Al-Qirqisānī’s *Book of Lights and Watchtowers*;<sup>3</sup> 3) *The Epistles of the Sincere Brethren*;<sup>4</sup> and the treatise written by Elkhanan ben Abraham, entitled *The Foundation of the World*.<sup>5</sup>

I will argue that in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, two basic models were dominant in both the Jewish and Islamic reflections on Paradise (i.e. the ultimate undisturbed happiness of the human soul). The first model regards paradise as a physical realm created in the future wherein body and soul are rewarded together; the second model considers it as a purely spiritual realm which co-exists with the visible world, although in a manner

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1 The most recent article comparing the notion of paradise in the works of Avicenna and Maimonides is that of Stroumsa, S., “True Felicity”: Paradise in the Thought of Avicenna and Maimonides, in: *Medieval Encounters* 4, 1998, Brill, Leiden-Boston-Köln, 51–75.

2 *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa-’l-’I’tiqādāt* [Judeo-Arabic text with Hebrew translation]. Qafih, Y. (ed.), Jerusalem 1970.

3 *Kitāb al-Anwār wa-’l-Marāqib*. Code of Karaite Law, by Ya’qūb al-Qirqisānī, edited from Manuscripts in the State Public Library in Leningrad and the British Museum at London, Nemoy, L. (ed.), New York 1940.

4 *Rasā’il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā’ wa-Khillān al-wafā’*. Paris-Beyrouth 1995.

5 Elkhanan ben Abraham, *The Foundation of the World* [Yesöd ‘Olam]. In: Kaufmann, D., *Studien über Salomon Ibn Gabirol*. Budapest 1899.

that is inaccessible to most. The first model can be characterized as cosmological, since it implies a whole new creation at the end of time; whereas the second one can be described as psychological, given the fact that it affects the individual soul as a kind of illumination, and does not imply visible physical changes. Otherwise said, the Jewish and Muslim thinkers, theologians and philosophers discussed the topic of the afterlife in two basic manners: (1) using temporal-spatial categories in terms of an *afterlife*, and (2) in terms of a purely spiritual realm which co-exists with the physical world, i.e. in terms of an *otherworld*.

The two pairs of words used in Arabic and in Hebrew reflect this duality. The first opposition, that of the visible and invisible realms (Arabic: *‘ālam al-šāhid*, *‘ālam al-ġayb*, Hebrew: *nir’eh*, *nistar* ‘visible and hidden (realm)’) is based on a distinction of an epistemological nature, which entails the fact that human knowledge is limited. Thus, the invisible world refers to things and events remote and unknowable in terms of space and time. The realm of future, i.e. the time which is hidden or the world of angels, can be described as both “hidden or invisible”, given the fact that both are inaccessible to our knowledge.

The second distinction, that between ‘this world’ and ‘the hereafter’ (Arabic: *dunyā*, *ākhirā*, Hebrew: *ha-‘olam ha-ze*, *ha-‘olam ha-bā’* ‘this world and the world to come’), is of an ontological nature. In Arabic, these terms have both temporal and spatial implications: ‘this world below and the one that is beyond it, hereafter’. The Hebrew equivalents, on the other hand, reflect a purely temporal distinction: ‘this world and the world to come’.

### The Notion of *Afterlife* in Saadya’s Book of Beliefs and Convictions

This first masterpiece of Jewish rational theology (*kalām*), composed in 933, devotes three treatises to the topic of afterlife. Treatise 7, ‘Concerning the Resurrection of the Dead in This World’ (*fī ihyā’ al-mawtā fī dār ad-dunyā*, 218–236), has survived in two versions. The Medieval Hebrew translation of Yudah ibn Tibbon<sup>6</sup> can be traced back to a version differing from that of the extant Judeo-Arabic manuscripts. This treatise concerns the demonstration of the necessity of the resurrection of the dead at the time of Israel’s redemption. Herein, Saadya also outlines the laws according to which the Biblical text needs to be interpreted, and he proves that the Bible contains explicit indications of the doctrine of bodily resurrection which must be understood in a non-allegorical sense.

The 8<sup>th</sup> treatise (*fī-’l-furqān*, ‘About [the Notion of] Redemption’, 237–260) considers the topic of redemption. It enumerates the Scriptural passages dealing with the duration of the exile and the promises made concerning Israel’s redemption. In Saadya’s view, history will proceed in one of two directions, dependant upon the repentance or non-repentance of Israel: if Israel repents, the Messiah descended from

6 *Sēfer ha-Emunōt we-ha-De’ōt*. Leipzig 1859, 132–146.



David will redeem the people for all their sufferings in the past. In the event that the foreordained term of the exile is completed, and Israel has not repented, God will send the Messiah descended from Joseph, who will lead the Israelites in war against the nations and be slain, whereupon great misfortunes will come upon the Jewish nation. At the end of the fifteenth chapter, arguments are enumerated against the Christians who claim that the Messiah had appeared in the days of the Second Temple.

The 9<sup>th</sup> treatise (*fī- 'th-thawāb wa-'l- 'iqāb fī dār al-ākhirā*, 'About Reward and Punishment in the World to Come', 261–296) concerns the nature of reward and punishment in the world to come. After having established the inevitability of the existence of a hereafter in which men will be requited for their conduct on earth, Saadya depicts in detail the world to come. This treatise tackles the notions of place and time in the hereafter, the differences of gradation among the righteous and the wicked, and the corresponding gradation of their reward and punishment.

For Saadya, the differentiation between the notions of [worldly] *redemption* (Arabic *furqān*, Hebrew *yešū'a*) and *resurrection* in the hereafter (Arabic *iḥyā' al-mawtā*, Hebrew *teḥiyat ha-mētim*) appears to be of paramount importance. He notes that certain people confuse the two concepts, and thus asserted the necessity to give them appropriate definitions. In his view, *redemption* refers to the positive end of human history, i.e., the Messianic Age brought about by the repentance of Israel. Its eventual occurrence is established on the basis of prophecies and it is seen as parallel to the 'first redemption' (the deliverance of the people of Israel from Egypt).

*Resurrection*, on the other hand, implies the occurrence of a "new creation" wherein God recreates all humans by reuniting their souls and bodies. According to the opinion of both Jewish and Muslim rationalist thinkers, the *resurrection* of the bodies appears to be an absolutely necessary event, in the sense that the justice of God necessitates the recompensation of the apparent injustices in this world. Between these two groups though, there is one noteworthy difference: amongst the Jewish thinkers, the act of the *redemption* appears to be necessary only in the case where the people of Israel repent their sins and return to God. Without this repentance, and as opposed to the ushering in of the Messianic Age, a series of catastrophes and apocalyptic scenes are predicted which would put a violent end to the existing world.

According to Saadya, the Messianic Age implies neither a radically new creation, nor the introduction of a "new space" and of a "new time". It simply means a kind of a Paradise on earth, the return of the Jews to the Biblical land, the rebuilding of the Temple, the existence of widespread prophecy inside the Jewish nation, and the visible appearance of the Divine Light (*šekhīnah*).

The two most significant features of the afterlife are its occurrence in the undefined future and its being understood in terms of a perfect recompensation for the human deeds committed in the past. Thus, the 'afterlife' appears to function as a continuation and completion of the life in this world. The notion of time underlying both this world and the hereafter exhibits two main characteristics in Saadya's thought: (1) it is linear and (2) it is connected to bodily existence.

(1) Time as such is composed of three periods: past, present and future. As the present is shorter than any moment of time, it is best represented as a point.<sup>7</sup> The present is in a constant forward motion, in such a way that “every day that elapses of the time of the revolution of the sphere constitutes an increase in past time and a diminution of the time to come”.<sup>8</sup> (2) The very definition of time is connected to physical existence: it is defined as ‘the duration of existing things’ (*baqā’ al-mawǧūdāt*),<sup>9</sup> or as the ‘period of the duration of the bodies’ (*muddat baqā’ al-aǧsām*).<sup>10</sup> Time is also finite, at least concerning its beginning: it did not exist prior to the creation of the world.

The two characteristics of time described above will prevail in the period of the hereafter as well: it will be linear and since the bodies of humans will be recreated in an unperishable form, it will be of an eternal duration. In a general way, we may state that the afterlife is represented by Saadya as a perfect replica of this world, perfect in the sense that the elements will be recreated in an indestructible form.

The notions of place and time are interconnected in Saadya in such a manner that time always refers to the duration of the existence of a certain body which occupies a certain place. In the infinite period of the hereafter, this interconnection will remain the unchanged. Thus, while the elements constituting the world will be radically altered, time, as such, will remain an auxiliary notion, i.e., that which measures their existence.

### The Concept of *Afterlife* in Ya‘qūb al-Qirqisānī

Ya‘qūb al-Qirqisānī, the most prominent Karaite thinker of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, composed his main work in 936, three years after Saadya completed the *Book of Beliefs and Convictions*. The *Book of Lights and Watchtowers* (*Kitāb al-Anwār wa-’l-Marāqib*) is a comprehensive code of the Karaite law. A large part of this book survived and was published in four volumes by Nemoy. In the second volume a large passage of about 70 pages treats the topic of the afterlife. Given the fact that both Saadya and al-Qirqisānī are considered to be leading rationalist thinkers of their time, a comparison of their respective thought systems might be fruitful.

In general, it can be said that al-Qirqisānī’s basic tone in the *Book of Lights* is much more exegetical in nature than that of Saadya. This may be due to the fact that al-Qirqisānī belonged to the group of the Karaites, a purificationist movement inside Judaism, which disregarded the religious importance of the oral post-Biblical tradition and suggested rather that each believer should read and comment on the text of the Bible.

<sup>7</sup> *Book of Beliefs and Convictions*, 38.

<sup>8</sup> *Book of Beliefs and Convictions*, 63.

<sup>9</sup> *Book of Beliefs and Convictions*, 73.

<sup>10</sup> *Book of Beliefs and Convictions*, 106–107.

At the beginning of the passage dealing with the topic of the afterlife, al-Qirḡisānī remarks that both the Torah and the works of the great philosophers, e.g., Aristotle, needed commentaries. Just as the text of the Pentateuch was commented upon by the prophets, so Aristotle was introduced by Alexander Aphrodisias, Porphyry and by John the Grammarian.<sup>11</sup> This remark of al-Qirḡisānī suggests that in the subsequent part of his book he presents us with his view on the notion of afterlife which, on the one hand, is justified by the text of the Bible and, on the other hand, by analogical conclusions (*qiyās*). For instance, one of his arguments for the existence of a hereafter is similar to that of a rationalist approach to the problem: he asserts that the existence of a hereafter, wherein each soul gets its recompensation, can be justified by the apparent fact that the life of the wicked person may be longer and more pleasant than that of the pious.<sup>12</sup>

Al-Qirḡisānī also argues for the existence of the hereafter based on the exegesis of the text of Genesis which describes Paradise (*ḡanna*). Significantly, according to this passage, God did not demolish the Garden of Eden after the first couple was expelled from it. Moreover, the fact that God placed guardian angels at the gate of the garden means that one day it will be repopulated.<sup>13</sup> According to al-Qirḡisānī, the *Garden of Eden* is the place of eternal life which no mortal may enter. But as God does nothing in vain, that the garden is prepared and ready, although well guarded, implies that at some point in the future immortal people will dwell it. Conversely, according to Saadya, the place of the pious in the afterlife is called *Garden of Eden* only in an allegorical way.

The most important difference between the eschatology of Saadya and that of al-Qirḡisānī appears to be the fact that for Saadya the realm of the hereafter can be described as one endless period of time; whereas for al-Qirḡisānī, after the resurrection of the bodies, the hereafter consists of two distinct periods. While both periods can be termed the ‘hereafter’ (*ākhira*), they are significantly different. During the first phase, bodies and souls will be reunited and punished and rewarded together; in the second period, which follows the collapse of the physical realm, only God and the souls of the virtuous remain in a timeless, eternal state:

The recompensation of the individuals happens in two ways, both of which [occur] in the hereafter. The first [recompensation] takes place after the return of the souls (*arwāḥ*) to their bodies, in Paradise or in Hell, as we have explained above. This period will last until the end of the time ordained to the world, at which time all the bodies will be destroyed, as will be the space and time which are connected to the bodies. The second [recompensation] consists of the eternal survival of the souls belonging to the above mentioned bodies in a timeless state (*baqā’ fī-’d-dahr*) which is not cut by motion and will never end,

<sup>11</sup> *Book of Lights and Watchtowers*, 223.

<sup>12</sup> For example, in the Book of Beliefs and Convictions, Saadya argues that all the apparent injustices on God’s part in this world necessitate recompense in the afterlife (262–263).

<sup>13</sup> *Book of Lights and Watchtowers*, 224–225.

since it is one single eternal potential (*quwwa wāḥida sarmadīyya*). There the righteous [souls] will join the order of angels and become one of them and will dwell with the heavenly host. And they will enjoy the most perfect happiness by the proximity of their Creator, be He praised and exalted.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, in agreement with Saadya, al-Qirḳisānī states that the injustice in the visible world necessitates some kind of a recompensation which will take place in the afterlife. This recompensation is twofold: (1) after the resurrection, body and soul participate together in the joy of Paradise, or in the sufferings of hell (*ḡahannam*); then, (2) after the collapse of all time and space, the souls of the virtuous will remain with God for ever in a timeless, motionless manner.

Al-Qirḳisānī notes that the “place (*makān*) in the hereafter will be the same, but the notion of time (*zamān*) will be different from that in this world”.<sup>15</sup> What does he mean by this? The ‘sameness’ of the place undoubtedly refers to his understanding of the *Garden of Eden*, the place of Paradise, as a real and concrete geographical locus which will exist after the resurrection in the same manner as now. Time, on the other hand, will be different from what it is now, since it will be eternal. The assumption that the recompensation of God is perfect (*tamm*) means that it is eternal and not temporal.<sup>16</sup> Arguably, al-Qirḳisānī makes use of a different notion of eternity than that of Saadya. As opposed to Saadya’s notion of eternity as an everlasting duration of linear time, al-Qirḳisānī speaks about an eternal, timeless bliss. According to Saadya then, eternity can be understood in terms of mere quantity, i.e., the infinity of linear time; conversely, for al-Qirḳisānī eternity implies a qualitative change in the notion of time.

In light of this, it is clear why al-Qirḳisānī refers to that period in the hereafter where bodies and souls are reunited as the ‘interim period’ *al-martaba al-wustā*.<sup>17</sup> According to him, it is nothing but a preparation for the ultimate spiritual world (*‘ālam rūḥānī*, *‘ālam al-arwāḥ*) or for what can be denoted as the ‘otherworld’. In the spiritual world or ‘otherworld’, neither body, change, nor temporality will exist and the soul of the upright will enjoy the proximity of God in a timeless manner. This eternal spiritual bliss, however, cannot be reached during one’s lifetime according to al-Qirḳisānī. It will occur only after the destruction of the physical world when, after the cessation of all motion, the angelic souls (*arwāḥ malakīyya*) of the true believers will enjoy timeless redemption (*furqān*) and joy (*farāḡ*).<sup>18</sup> According to al-Qirḳisānī, this timeless notion of eternity is described in the text of Psalm 102 and in Isa 51:6.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Book of Lights and Watchtowers*, 241.

<sup>15</sup> *Book of Lights and Watchtowers*, 226.

<sup>16</sup> *Book of Lights and Watchtowers*, 227.

<sup>17</sup> *Book of Lights and Watchtowers*, 257.

<sup>18</sup> *Book of Lights and Watchtowers*, 238.

<sup>19</sup> Raise your eyes to the heavens/.../ for the heavens will vanish like smoke/.../ but my salvation will last for ever. *Book of Lights*, 239.

This immaterial world of eternal bliss is totally absent in Saadya's thought. For Saadya, the being of humans without time and bodily existence is inconceivable.

### Another Model: Philosophical Techniques for reaching Paradise

This spaceless and timeless spiritual world of eternal bliss, as described by al-Qirqisānī is not entirely unlike another model of the hereafter. In opposition to the notion of the *'afterlife'* which implies the continuation of a linear time-sequence, this timeless state of eternity may be referred to as the *'otherworld'*, as noted above. With a modern terminology one could refer to it as a kind of 'mental state' in which the mind of the thinker resides, or as a type of intellectual bliss attained by the philosopher. Dissimilar to the notion of the 'afterlife' of the rationalists, this 'otherworld' is uncreated and in religious terms can be described as 'the proximity of God' (*qurb allāh*) or as a 'spiritual world' (*'ālam rūhānī*).

In the Middle Ages, this representation of the hereafter as the 'otherworld' was peculiar to the 'philosophers' (*falāsifa*) who stated that the hereafter does not succeed this world in a temporal way, but exists simultaneously with it. Generally speaking, it is inaccessible to humans with the exception of those whose souls are so purified that they have the ability to reside in this purely spiritual realm while still living in the body. In fact, the ultimate aim of human existence is to reach this stage of loftiness where one no longer belongs to the everchanging world. This understanding of eternal bliss is the standard description of the ultimate happiness of the soul in Neo-Platonism and in Neo-Platonized Aristotelianism, which is the basic approach of medieval Jewish and Islamic philosophy.

In opposition to the first model of the hereafter (that of Saadya's and of the so-called 'interim period' of al-Qirqisānī, wherein bodily resurrection plays an important role), this second model, that of the purely spiritual 'otherworld', displays the following characteristics: (1) It exhibits a kind of *elitism* as opposed to the egalitarianism of the first model. Only the few whose souls are purified are able to reach this spiritual realm. (2) The 'otherworld' can be reached by *individuals*. Thus, its attainment does not take place in the form of a universal judgment on the last day. (3) It is by a kind of internal illumination, which occurs in the soul separated from the body, that people gain access to the 'otherworld'. Thus, it is *psychological-spiritual* and not physical or cosmological in nature. (4) Finally, and as noted above, neither linear time nor time in general plays a role in the attainment of this purely spiritual or intellectual bliss. Rather, this model is best characterized as *atemporal*, as opposed to temporal which is a mark of the first model.

### ‘Afterlife’ as ‘Otherworld’ in the Epistles of the Sincere Brethren

‘The Sincere Brethren and the Loyal Friends’ (*Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā’ wa-Khillan al-Wafā’*) was a secret society in the 10<sup>th</sup> century in Basra and Baghdad. Most of their epistles are written in the first person plural, and they appear to have functioned as a type of secret society, that of the ‘elect’. Their 52 epistles are structured around one topic, the ‘vision of God’, which is the source of everlasting felicity. They can be characterized as having a ‘gnosticizing’ nature, but they offer much more than a quick way to salvation via a special type of knowledge. In fact, the Brethren attempt to build a bridge between the philosophical sciences of late Hellenism and the young Islamic culture.

In the third section of the epistles which treat the topic of the ultimate aim of all knowledge (Epistles 28–41), an entire epistle (Epistle 38) is devoted to the problem of eschatology. The core of their theory is encapsulated in the following passage: “And know, my brother, that the word ‘resurrection’ (*ba’ath*) has a complex meaning in the Arabic language and can be used in three ways. In the first place it means to ‘send’ (*arsala*), as God says: ‘And Allah sent Messengers’,<sup>20</sup> in the meaning that ‘He sent them’ (*arsalahum*). The second meaning refers to the resurrection of the dead corpses from the graves and to the coming alive (*naṣr*) of the bodies from the dust, as it is promised to the unbelievers and to those who reject God: ‘When we die and become dust and bones, could we really be raised up again?’<sup>21</sup> and God, exalted be He, said: ‘say thou: yea’. Another [the third] meaning refers to the resurrection of the ignorant soul from the slumber of negligence and to her revival from the death of ignorance, as God, praised be He, mentioned: ‘Can he who was dead, to whom we gave life, and a light whereby he can walk amongst men, be like him who is in the depths of darkness, from which he can never come out?’<sup>22</sup> or as the Exalted [God] says: ‘Then we raised you up after your death, Ye had the chance to be grateful’;<sup>23</sup> and as God said to Muhammad, praise be upon him,: ‘soon will thy Lord raise thee to a station of praise and glory’<sup>24, 25</sup>

Herein, and in the first instance, the Brethren explain the literal meaning of the word ‘resurrection’ (*ba’ath, qiyāma*). Next, they assert that in its second and third senses, it refers to the historical-cosmological and individual-psychological realms, respectively. Thus, on the first and more superficial level resurrection connotes a future event, i.e., when the heaven and earth collapse and all beings will be judged according to their deeds. In the second and allegorical sense, the notion of resurrection

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<sup>20</sup> *Qur’an*, 2: 213.

<sup>21</sup> *Qur’an*, 23: 82.

<sup>22</sup> *Qur’an*, 6: 122.

<sup>23</sup> *Qur’an*, 2: 56.

<sup>24</sup> *Qur’an*, 17: 79.

<sup>25</sup> *Epistle* 38, 246.

intends the enlightenment or illumination of the individual soul, that is, when it sees the real nature of things, not their bodily cover, but their spiritual essences.

In this passage then, we find the two models used to describe the hereafter: the physical-cosmological model of the ‘afterlife’ and that of the psychological-spiritual model of the ‘otherworld’. As outlined above, al-Qirḡisānī also makes use of both models. However, there exists a major difference between his view and that of the Brethren: for al-Qirḡisānī, the two models follow each other in a temporal succession; whereas in the view of the Brethren, the two models coexist. According to al-Qirḡisānī, the collapse and destruction of the physical world precedes the formation of the purely spiritual ‘otherworld’ in a temporal manner. For the Brethren, on the other hand, the two models function as the expression of the views of the general population and of the elect: the rationalists (*al-muwahḥida*) and those who have an understanding of the notion of the afterlife based on simple belief or on intellectual endeavours adopt the first model; whereas the ‘elite’, i.e., those few who have had a direct experience of the ‘hereafter’ (*afḍal al-‘ulamā’*, or *awliyā’ allāh*), understand it in terms of an ‘otherworld’.

The ‘otherworld’ is described as the luminous, purely spiritual world of the soul. This world, situated in the heavens, among the stars (*‘ālam al-aflāk wa-sa‘at as-samawāt*), is identified with Paradise as depicted in the Qur’an.<sup>26</sup> The ‘otherworld’ experience of Paradise belong to a gnostic elite. Those whose souls are awakened from the ‘slumber of negligence’ (*nawm al-ḡafla*) see God everywhere with their internal vision in a timeless and spaceless manner.

“And know, my brother, that those who expect (*muntazirūn*) the world to come can be divided into two groups: one of them expects its happening in the future, when the heavens and the earth collapse. These people do not know but the sensible things (*al-maḥsūsāt*) and the corporeal substances (*al-ḡismānīyyāt*), and they do not see but the apparent state of things (*mā zahara*). The other group, on the other hand, expects it as an illumination, a manifestation and as a clear knowledge (*kaṣḡan wa-bayānan wa-ittilā‘an ‘alayhā*). And these people know the intelligibles (*al-ma‘qūla*), the spiritual substances (*al-ḡawāhir ar-rūḡānīyya*), and the states of the soul (*al-ḡālāt an-nafṡānīyya*).”<sup>27</sup>

This basic two layered stance offers an opportunity for the Brethren to incorporate two traditions which otherwise would exclude each other: (1) the cosmological-temporal understanding of the ‘afterlife’ which is expressed by the rationalists and is based upon a literal reading of both the Qur’an and the Bible; and (2) the

<sup>26</sup> Epistle 38, 244.

<sup>27</sup> Epistle 38, 241.

psychological notion of the invisible spiritual realm, in terms of ‘otherworld’, which is hidden, immaterial, uncreated and attainable only for exceptionally purified souls.<sup>28</sup>

### *Elkhanan ben Abraham*

The fourth view on the notion of the ‘afterlife’ to be examined is that of Elkhanan ben Abraham, a Neo-Platonic Jewish philosopher from 14<sup>th</sup> century Spain. Little is known of his life and works as there remains only one extant treatise entitled ‘The Foundation of the World’. The text is mystical in nature and univocally negates the future aspect of the afterlife. He claims to follow the Empedoclean<sup>29</sup> tradition in asserting that: “...Indeed, who thinks that there is a gap between the destruction of this world and the beginning of the hereafter, by saying this, commits a mistake. On the contrary, the one is linked to the other...”<sup>30</sup>

In comparison with the three thinkers examined above, this opinion appears to be the most extreme. Unlike the Sincere Brethren, Elkhanan ben Abraham refuses the notion of the ‘afterlife’ which is supported on the basis of the testimony of the Scripture. Rather, he argues that the ‘otherworld’ is attained only through the return of the individual soul and intellect to God, and their continuous contemplation of the divine essence as He pours his light on the soul, thereby unifying the individual soul with the divine intellect.<sup>31</sup>

The contemplation of one’s soul detached from all corporeal pollution is the manner by which the soul reaches the divine world. Thus, the dualism of body and soul or of the physical and the spiritual realms plays a decisive role in his thought: “...We have the duty to examine our soul which resides in us and to observe its nature. But this does not mean the investigation of the soul situated in a body full of desires and of perverse inclinations.... The soul, after its renouncement of these vices, becomes pure in this body, and it is so as if it were not there [in the body], and detached from it.”<sup>32</sup>

This extremist model regarding the otherworld as mental state did not begin with Elkhanan ben Abraham, although he appears to present the clearest formulation of it. Yudah ibn Gabirol (1058–1070), the leading Neo-Platonic thinker of Judaism, presents a similar view of the ‘otherworld’, though without overtly negating the validity of the model of the ‘afterlife’ based on Biblical exegesis.

28 Although this concept of the ‘otherworld’ prevails in Neo-Platonic authors, the motif of the so-called ‘heavenly trips’ (purely spiritual journeys to the divine realm) equally exists in the Jewish and Islamic traditions untouched by Neo-Platonic thought, e.g., the story of *isra*’ in Islam, and the *ma’ asē merkabhah* literature in Judaism.

29 The most recent monograph on Pseudo-Empedocles is that of De Smet, D., *Empedocles Arabus, Une lecture neoplatonicienne tardive*. Brussels 1998.

30 *Yesōd ‘Olam*, paragraph 22, 220.

31 *Yesōd ‘Olam*, paragraph 22, 220..

32 *Yesōd ‘Olam*, paragraph 39, 230.



The otherworld is timeless in the same way as the ‘spiritual world’ in the Sincere Brethren, and stands in a sharp opposition to the visible material world. Elkhanaan ben Abraham argues that the very existence of time generated by the constant changes in the physical world means trouble and suffering: “...we can state that felicity, joy and happiness are in the eternity and this implies a world without time and without instants. But in this world this is not the situation...”<sup>33</sup>

The history of both Jewish and Islamic thought exhibits a constant tension between the two models. The temporal-cosmological representation of the hereafter has always been the mainstream version used by the theologians, while the purely spiritual model has been attributed to a relatively small numbers of mystics and philosophers. In a purely philosophical way, we may argue that this duality in the representation of the notion of the ‘hereafter’ corresponds to the existence of two traditions in which the notion of time is understood, not only in Judaism and in Islam, but in a general way: (1) the understanding of time as linear, flowing from past to future, which implies the existence of one single reality, and (2) the concept of a multi-layered time, in the sense that beyond the linear time marked by the constant changes of the physical world there exists a realm of motionless eternity.

In the last part of this paper, I would like to argue that the understanding of afterlife/otherworld of our medieval authors is related to their understanding of the nature of the soul. Those, who define the soul as the form, or the perfection of the human body, will adhere to the understanding of the hereafter in terms of a physical-temporal unity. Those, on the other hand, who define the soul as ‘its own spiritual world’ will describe the hereafter as the timeless spiritual realm of ultimate felicity.

## The Psychological Foundations of the Concepts of ‘Afterlife’ and ‘Otherworld’

### *Saadya*

The human soul created simultaneously with the completion of the form of man,<sup>34</sup> is the place where the process of cognition, and thus the establishment and the absorption of convictions, occurs.<sup>35</sup> It is endowed with intellect (*‘aql*) and wisdom (*ḥikma*), and therefore is charged with the observance of divine commandments.<sup>36</sup> In treatise 6 of

<sup>33</sup> *Yesōd ‘Olam*, paragraph 11, 214.

<sup>34</sup> *ma’ kamāl šūrat al-insān* (Book of Beliefs and Convictions, 199).

<sup>35</sup> On the highest level of the process of cognition the soul becomes united with the truth it absorbs: “When a person has achieved the knowledge (*ma’rifā*) of this lofty subject by means of rational speculation (*bi-ṭarīq an-naẓar*) and the proof of miracles and marvels..., his soul believes it as true and it is mingled with his spirit and becomes an inmate of his innermost recesses” (*Book of Beliefs and Convictions*, 111).

<sup>36</sup> *Book of Beliefs and Convictions*, 262. Moreover, the concept of the Creator is implanted in the soul as immediate knowledge (*ma’qūl*), although intellectual speculation is necessary for its articulation and understanding. (*Book of Beliefs and Convictions*, 111).

the *Book of Beliefs and Convictions*, which is consecrated to the notion of the soul, Saadya draws a clear comparison between the difficulties encountered during the inquiry into the science of the soul, into that of the creation ex nihilo, and into that of the knowledge of the real nature of the Creator.<sup>37</sup> The rational faculty (*tamyīz*), which is the center of the tripartite soul, performs the act of cognition through its essence, however, it needs a material tool for its appearance and function.<sup>38</sup>

In the *Book of Beliefs and Convictions* Saadya overtly asserts that the soul and the body constitute a single agent.<sup>39</sup> The Talmudic parable of the two watchmen, one of them lame, the other blind,<sup>40</sup> serves as a proof for this assertion. Thus, the body serves as a necessary instrument for the performance of both good and bad deeds and both are equally subjected to eternal reward and punishment.

### Al-Qirqisānī

According to the view of al-Qirqisānī the soul (*rūḥ*) can by no means be considered as an accident of the body, rather it is a living substance (*ḡawḥar ḥayya*), which can be described as eternal.<sup>41</sup> He insists that in the hereafter they have to be punished, or rewarded together, since in this world as well they exist in a united form.<sup>42</sup> Thus, certain souls will dwell in the bundle of life (*sirar al-ḥayat*) in the highest heavens, in the proximity of God, while other souls will be wandering about (*ḡawwāl*).<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, as we have mentioned above, the hereafter according to him consists of two periods: first divine recompensation takes place in a physical manner in the *Garden of Eden*, which is a concrete geographical place. But after the collapse of heaven and earth and the ultimate destruction of the categories of space and time, the soul of the virtuous will remain with God in the same manner as the angelic souls (*arwāḥ malakīyya*), thus in a pure spiritual state.<sup>44</sup>

In spite of some minor differences, Saadya's model of the soul is not completely dissimilar from that of al-Qirqisānī. Both authors are labelled as rationalist as far as

37 *Book of Beliefs and Convictions*, 197.

38 *Book of Beliefs and Convictions*, 208 Although the soul is stronger and more subtle than the body, it requires the latter as a means of execution in obedience to the commands of God, for the increase of its bliss. In the hereafter they will be punished and rewarded together, since the soul, like the element of fire, needs to be conjoined with another element in order to appear (*Book of Beliefs and Convictions*, 205).

39 *Book of Beliefs and Convictions*, 209.

40 According to the story a king who had an orchard stationed two watchmen, one a lame man and the other a blind man in the orchard. The two guardians decided to steal from the fruits of the orchard, but the blind was unable to see the fruits, while the lame was unable to reach them. Finally, they succeeded, while the lame stood on the shoulder of the blind. The king, after having discovered their deed punished both of them equally, since they performed the misdeed in cooperation (Sanh.91a).

41 *Book of Lights and Watchtowers*, 227.

42 *Book of Lights and Watchtowers*, 228.

43 *Book of Lights and Watchtowers*, 240.

44 *Book of Lights and Watchtowers*, 241.

they exhibit a vivid interest in the role of sensual experience. The difference they display when they touch upon the topic of the hereafter correspond to the differences between their respective psychologies: al-Qirqisānī emphasizes more the dualistic nature of the soul and its ability to experience felicity and pain while detached from the body, while Saadya univocally negates the possibility of the disembodied soul to feel sorrow and pain.

### The Sincere Brethren

The main difference between the psychology of those who line up with the spiritual ‘otherworld’ model of the hereafter and those who believe in the material temporal model is that the first group attributes a paramount significance to the introspection of the soul. In fact, they claim that the Creator and the soul share the same nature, thus, the knowledge of the Divine can be realized exclusively by the knowledge of the soul.

The Delphic maxim<sup>45</sup> is frequently and extensively quoted in the Epistles: “who knows himself knows his Lord”;<sup>46</sup> “the first degree in divine sciences is the knowledge of the substance of the soul”;<sup>47</sup> or, “the beginning of all real science stands in man’s knowledge of his soul”.<sup>48</sup> In fact, the human soul contains all the knowledge of the world<sup>49</sup> and, at the same time, the soul is the closest subject to man.<sup>50</sup> The one who does not know his soul is like the one who feeds someone else while he is hungry,<sup>51</sup> and if he is not cognizant of the substance of the soul it is equal to unbelief.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, the knowledge of his soul enables man to measure all sensible objects (*maḥsūsāt*) and to infer (*yastadill*) on all the intelligible notions (*ma‘qūlāt*) in both worlds.<sup>53</sup> The smartness of the soul and the purity of its substance are the bases of all knowledge,<sup>54</sup> and at a certain point the soul may gain an insight into its essence and thus know its own substance.<sup>55</sup>

45 On the Delphic maxim in Medieval Jewish and Arabic philosophy see the article of Altmann, A., The Delphic Maxim in Medieval Islam and Judaism, In: Altmann, A. (ed), *Biblical and Other Studies*. Cambridge (Ma) 1963, 196–232.

46 *man ‘arafa naḥsahu fa-qad ‘arafa rabbahu* (Epistle 40, 375), or “the more one knows his soul the more he knows his Lord” (Epistle 48, 193).

47 *awwal darağat al-‘ulūm al-ilāhīyya ma‘rifat ġawhar an-naḥs* (Epistle 2, 76).

48 *ifitāḥ ġamī‘ al-‘ulūm al-ḥaqīqīyya huwa fī ma‘rifā al-insān naḥsahu* (Epistle 29, 34), also Epistle 26, 462.

49 *al-‘ulūm kulluhā fī-‘n-naḥs bi-‘l-quwwa fa-idhā fakkarat bi-dhātihā wa-‘arafathā sārāt al-‘ulūm kulluhā fīhā bi-‘l-fī‘l* ‘potentially, all knowledge is in the soul and if the soul thinks of its essence, and gets to know it, all the knowledge contained in it becomes actual’ (Epistle 24, 416).

50 *naḥs al-insān aqrab ilayhi min kull qarīb* (Epistle 48, 193).

51 Epistle 23, 378.

52 Epistle 29, 61.

53 Epistle 32, 188.

54 *dhakā‘ an-naḥs wa-ṣafā‘ ġawharihā wa-hiya-l-aṣl fī ġamī‘ al-ma‘arīf* (Epistle 46, 63).

55 *an-naḥs taṣṭabšir dhātahā wa-ta‘raf ġawharahā* (Epistle 48, 185).

The *Brethren* negate the view of the materialists (*ḡismīyyūn*), according to whom the soul is made by nature (*min fi'l aṭ-ṭabī'a*) and that of most of the Muslim rationalists, who hold that it is the direct result of an act of the Creator (*min fi'l al-bārī*).<sup>56</sup> In the opinion of the *Brethren*, the soul occupies an intermediary position: vis-a-vis its internal faculties it stands in connection with the Creator, the angels, and with immaterial forms, whereas in virtue of its external senses it is linked to the material (*huyūlā*), to nature (*ṭabī'a*) and to bodies (*aḡsām*).<sup>57</sup> Elsewhere they assert that the soul has two sides: the one turning towards the intellect, which is represented by the sun, and the other turning towards nature, which is illustrated by the moon.<sup>58</sup>

### *Elkhanan ben Abraham*

The treatise entitled *The Foundation of the World* (*Yesōd 'Olam*), the only work attributed to Elkhanan ben Abraham is only 37 pages long. However, it provides sufficient proof that the author appears to be more gnosticizing and much more a dualist in nature concerning the connection between soul and body than the *Sincere Brethren*. While the *Brethren* fully accept the external sensual and rational activities of the soul, Elkhanan ben Abraham univocally discredits them. In his view the soul has a simple option: either it observes its own luminous and radiant substance which is 'its own world', or it becomes intermingled with the physical world and thereby lost in it.<sup>59</sup>

As a result of the inward orientation of the soul, it perceives itself to contain the wholeness of space: "...the soul is not situated in a defined moment and in a concrete space, but rather the space is situated in it, while it is larger and vaster than the space. The proof for this is the dream: when one dreams he sees the spiritual beings and his own soul joining that other world..."<sup>60</sup>

It is a characteristic tenet of the thought of Elkhanan ben Abraham and of the Neo-Platonizing and mystical authors as well that the luminous spiritual world attained by the introspection of the soul plays the same role as the concept of the 'afterlife' in the more externally oriented rationalists and orthodox theologians. The apparent injustice, pain and suffering of this world is counterebalanced and corrected in an other realm. This realm is described by the rationalists in temporal and physical terms as 'afterlife', while the Neo-Platonic authors describe it in spatial terms as located in the soul and being identical to it.

"...There [in the other world], the space and the object situated in the space are the one and the same. This means that the soul is radiant and its world consists of simple

<sup>56</sup> *Epistle* 23, 394–395.

<sup>57</sup> *Epistle* 24, 415.

<sup>58</sup> *Epistle* 49, 215.

<sup>59</sup> *Yesōd 'Olam*, paragraph 38, 230.

<sup>60</sup> *Yesōd 'Olam*, paragraph 17, 218.

light as far as it is directed towards this other world. In its world there is neither time, nor motion. And since there is no time and no motion there, there is no change from one thing to the other either, and the fact that there is no change there implies that it [the soul] is both space and substance, given the fact that the soul and its world are one single existent...<sup>61</sup>

At this point, the notion of eternity loses its temporality, it is no more the continuation of the physical time, but it becomes the motionless entirely spiritual realm which is represented by al-Qirqisānī as the state of the existents after the collapse of the physical world, and by the *Sincere Brethren* as the view of the elected about the concept of the hereafter.

## Conclusion

In this paper I argued that the two models applied in the representation of the hereafter correspond to the two orientations the soul may take in Muslim and Jewish medieval thought. Namely, in case if the soul is represented as having an outward orientation focusing on the external world, the notion of the ‘hereafter’ will be described as physical and temporal, whereas, in case if the soul is engaged in the observation of its own substance, the ‘hereafter’ is depicted as purely spiritual and timeless. To put it in other words, the apparent opposition between the two imageries applied in the description of the hereafter can be solved by the fact that while describing the ‘hereafter’, the soul applies the same language as it applies in its more direct investigations. Thus, in case if the soul is directed towards the external world of the accidents, it is in the terms used for the description of the physical world that it describes the ‘hereafter’ as well, whereas, in case if the soul’s dominant activity is introspection, it tends to represent the ‘hereafter’ as being a non-temporal, purely spiritual realm.

I have also attempted to prove that in the works of both Maimonides and Avicenna, the differences from one work to the other in describing the ‘hereafter’ reflect a problem which already existed in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Undoubtedly, they were familiar with both traditions described above and with the tensions existing between them. It is likely that both philosophers recognized that the purely spiritual, timeless view of the ‘otherworld’ is highly elitist in nature and that as such it could not represent a general outline for all the members of the community. They were, no doubt, also aware of the fact that the purely inward orientation of the soul entails ethical difficulties as it overlooks interpersonal relations. Therefore, while in the case of certain individuals it may serve as a viable method to attain the ‘hereafter’, it does not represent a general model for an entire community.

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<sup>61</sup> *Yesōd ‘Olam*, paragraph 25, 222.



# Some Unlisted Lexical Materials of the Gözleve Bible 1941

Murat Işık

## 1. Preliminary Remarks

This article will present some lexical materials in the Book of Leviticus of the so-called Gözleve Bible which includes the translation of the entire Hebrew Bible (without Chronicles) into Karaim. This printed edition was printed in four volumes in Gözleve (contemporary Eupatoria) in 1841 (Jankowski 2018: 51). The language of this translation presents some different characteristics since it was edited based on older manuscripts together with some linguistic adaptations from its own period. The data of the present paper is the translation of the Book of Leviticus, which was written in Hebrew script and present on folios 93 r<sup>o</sup>–121 r<sup>o</sup>, consisting 57 pages of the Gözleve Bible.

The lexical materials of the Karaim language were listed in various studies. The best-known Karaim dictionary (including 3 dialects of Karaim) KRPS was written in 1974 and consists of previous lexical studies and various materials from the written sources. Recently, Aqtay and Jankowski (2015) also published a Crimean Karaim dictionary, which also comprises many written materials including the Crimean Karaim lexemes that were listed in KRPS. The new analyzes of the Karaim written sources will contribute to such studies as well. For instances, Çulha (2021) presented a brief summary of her forthcoming study that deals with the unlisted Karaim materials from the manuscript B288 which also includes the entire Hebrew Bible (except Chronicles) and held in the Cambridge University Library (among the holdings of the British and Foreign Bible Society) in four volumes. In this regard, the present study also aims to demonstrate such lexical materials which are not present in the best-known Karaim dictionaries, e.g. CKED, KRPS.

The present paper will list the words alphabetically. The non-Turkic and Turkish copies will be denoted. An example of their attestations in the Book and the total number of occurrences will also be shown. Besides, in order to present whether such words and/or their similar forms were listed in other sources, some dictionaries will be presented. Among the Turkic sources, ÖTS presents the various lexical materials from different periods of Turkish (Old Anatolian, Ottoman, and contemporary Turkish together with its dialects). The dictionary KRUS represents the lexical

elements of the Crimean Tatar since the Crimean Karaim and Crimean Tatar show significant similarities. Besides, the dictionary of the famous Codex Cumanicus (CC) and the etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkic (EDPT) will also be shown.

## 2. Lexical Materials

### A

\***ağ baba**<sup>1</sup>: (Lev 11: 14, once) ‘vulture’ <Tur> (ÖTS 1: 166).

\***ağkan**: (Lev 15:2, 5 times) ‘flow’. It derives from the verb *ağ-* ‘to flow; to drop’ (CKED: 44; KRPS: 58; EDPT: 77; CC: 30; KRUS: 45–46).

\***artkan**: (Lev 25:27, once) ‘remainder’ (CC: 40 *artkan*; ÖTS 1: 301 *artan* ‘remainder’). It derives from the verb *art-* ‘to increase’ (CKED: 49; EDPT: 201; KRUS: 68–69).

\***aşam**: (Lev 5:15, 22 times) ‘guilt offering’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 58).

\***avadanlık**: (Lev 11:32, twice) ‘tackle; kit; equipment’ <Per+Tur> (ÖTS 1: 356).

\***Aza’zel**: (Lev 16:8, 4 times) ‘scapegoat’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 468).

### B

\***balıkçin**: (Lev 11:18, once) ‘heron; egret’ <Tur<sup>2</sup>> (EDPT: 337 *balıkçın*; ÖTS 1: 452 *balıkçın/balıkçıl*; KRUS: 95 *balıkçıl* ‘heron; egret’).

\***bama**: (Lev 26:30, once) 1. ‘stage, pulpit, forum. 2. elevation, platform. 3. high, altar’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 76).

\***bekmâz**: (Lev 2:11, once) ‘boiled grape juice’. (EDPT: 327 *bekmes* ‘syrup of fruit juice; ÖTS 4: 3813 *pekmez*; KRUS: 105 *bekmez ~ pekmez ~ petmez* ‘syrup of fruit (such as grape, berry, apple etc.)’).

\***beyin**: (Lev 24:12, once) ‘brain’ <Tur> (ÖTS 1: 573 *beyin*; EDPT 348: *béni ~ meñi*; KRUS: 104 *beyin ~ miy* ‘brain’).

\***binek**: (Lev 15:9, once) ‘saddle’ (ÖTS 1:614 *binek* ‘saddle horse’, ‘mount’; KRUS 112: *binek ~ minek* ‘riding animals’).

\***bodir**: (Lev 21: 20, once) ‘short, shortie’. (ÖTS 1: 640 *bodur* ‘short, shortie’)

\***bohağ** (Lev 13:39, once) ‘a kind of disease (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); brightness’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 65).

1 Although the word *ağ-baba kuşu* ‘kite’ has been listed for Crimean Karaim in KRPS: 377, the word was directly copied from the Ottoman Bible translations and therefore it stands for ‘vulture’. For further details, see Işık (forthcoming).

2 It is also a lexical copy from some Ottoman Bible translations. For further details, see Işık (forthcoming).



## Ĵ

\***ĵüzam:** (Lev 13:2, 33 times) ‘leprosy’ <Ar> (ÖTS 1: 845 *cüzam/cüzzam* ‘leprosy’; KRUS: 744 *ĵüzam*).

## Č

\***čaķırmaķ:** (Lev 23:2, 11 times) ‘convocation’. It derives from the verb *čaķır-* ‘to call’ (CKED: 112; KRPS: 622; EDPT: 410; KRUS: 689; *çağır-* ÖTS 1: 852–853).

\***čaylak:** (Lev 11: 14, once) ‘kite’ <Tur> (ÖTS 1: 908 *çaylak* ‘kite’).

\***čaypalmaķ:** (Lev 22:25, once) ‘corruption’. It derives from the verb *čaypal-* ‘to be destroyed; to be spoiled; to perish; to decay; to deceive’ (CKED: 114, KRPS:621), see also *čaypa-* ‘to loot; to rob’ (KRUS: 688).

## D

\***damla-:** (Lev 1:15, once) ‘to drip’ (ÖTS 1: 1093 *damla-* ‘to drip’). It is the Oghuzic variant of the verb *tamla-* ‘to drip’, (CKED 381; KRPS: 510; see also *tam-* ~*damla-* ‘to drip’ KRUS: 150).

\***dävür:** (Lev 17:7, 14 times) ‘generation’ <Ar?><sup>3</sup> (ÖTS 2: 1187–1188; KRUS: 153 *devir* ‘time; period’).

\***deniz kartalı:** (Lev 11:13, once) lit. ‘sea-eagle’ <Tur> (ÖTS 2: 1160 *deniz kartalı* lit. ‘sea-eagle’; *haliaeetus albicilla*).

\***derän:** (Lev 13: 25, once) ‘deep’ (ÖTS 2: 1172 *derin* ‘deep’). It is the Oghuzic variant of the word *teren/terin* (CKED 396, KRPS 595 *teren*; EDPT 551 *terin*; CC: *teren*; KRUS: 159 *deren/teren*).

\***dilim:** (Lev 6:14, once) ‘slice’ (ÖTS 2: 1223 *dilim* ‘slice’). It is the Oghuzic variant of the word *tilim* (EDPT: 500 *tilim*, ‘slice’; CC: 244 *tilim* ‘a piece of bread’; KRUS: 587 *tilim* ‘slice’).

\***diri:** (Lev 11: 10, 3 times) ‘living, alive’ (ÖTS 2: 1238). It is the Oghuzic variant of the word *tiri* (CKED: 404; KRPS: 529–530 *tiri* ‘living, alive’; EDPT: 543 *tirig* ‘living, life’; CC: 245 *tiri*; KRUS: 590 *tiri* ‘living; alive’).

\***diril-:** (Lev 16: 29, twice) ‘to keep alive’; ‘to revive’ (ÖTS 2: 1239). It is the Oghuzic variant of the verb *tiril-* (CKED: 404, KRPS: 526; EDPT: 547 *tiril-* ‘to be resuscitated, to be brought to life; to be alive, to live’; CC: 245 *tiril-* ‘to be alive, to live, to revive’; KRUS: 590 *tiril* ‘to revive’).

\***dolġınġa:** (Lev 25:30, once) ‘fully’ (ÖTS 2: 1268 *dolgunca* ‘fully’). It derives from the verb *dol-* ‘to be full, to be filled’ (ÖTS 2: 1268 *dol-*, see also the Kipchak variant *tol-* e.g. CKED 406; KRPS: 535; EDPT: 491; KRUS: 597).

\***duġan:** (Lev 11:16, once) ‘hawk, falcon’ <Tur> (ÖTS 2: 1257 *doġan* ‘hawk, falcon’; EDPT: 470–471 *toġan*; CKED: 440/458; KRPS 216/269: *yaduġan/yeduġa*).

3 The Arabic word دور [dawr] does not stand for ‘generation’. However, the word is also present in Hebrew as דור [dor] and stands for ‘time, period, generation’ (CEDH 119).

\***düz**: (Lev 14:7, twice) ‘plain; valley’ (ÖTS 2: 1340 *düz* ‘plain, flat steppe’). The Kipchak variant *tüz* ‘straight, plain, level; field; valley’ is also present in CKED: 421; KRPS: 552; EDPT: 571; CC: 261 ( see also KRUS: 620 *tüzlük* ‘plain’).

## E

\***efod**: (Lev 8:7, twice) ‘ephod’<sup>4</sup> <Heb> (CEDHL: 45).

\***ekin**: (Lev 11:37, once) ‘crop’ (EDPT 109; ÖTS 2: 1391; *ekin* ‘crop’).

\***esvap**: (Lev 11:32, once) ‘clothing, garment’ <Ar> (ÖTS 2: 1493: *esvab-esvap* ‘clothing, garment’).

## F

\***fa’iz**: (Lev 25:36, 3 times) ‘interest; usury’ <Ar> (ÖTS 2: 1540: *faiz* ‘interest, insury’).

\***farzam ki**: (Lev 11:14, 4 times) ‘although; though’ <Ar+Per>. (ÖTS 2: 1548 *farzen* ‘supposing that’)

## G

\***gevšemäk getir-; gevše-**: (Lev 11:3 twice; Lev 11:4, 4 times) ‘chew the cud’ <Tur> (ÖTS 2: 1695/1696 *geviş getir-; gevşe-* ‘chew the cud’).

\***gibeah**: (Lev 13:40, once) ‘bald on the forehead (a hapax legomenon in the Bible)’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 89).

\***girgiz-**: (Lev 4:5, 8 times) ‘to let in, to bring in; to implement’. The counterpart *kirgiz-* ‘to let in, to bring in; to implement’ is present in CKED: 312, KRPS: 322, and KRUS: 237.

\***gögürçün; gügürçin**: (Lev 5:7 3 times; Lev 12:6, once) ‘pigeon’ (CKED: 216, KRPS: 336 *kögürçin, kögürçin, kögürçün*; EDPT: 713 *kögürçgün*; CC: 157 *kügürçin*; ÖTS:2 1814 *güvercin*; KRUS: 141 *gögerjin* ‘pigeon’).

\***görüm**: (Lev 13:3, 10 times) ‘appearance; look’. It is the Oghuzic variant of the word *körüm* ‘appearance; look’ (CKED 219, KRPS 339, KRUS: 253).

\***güneş kelerisi**: (Lev 11:30, once) ‘a kind of lizard (lit. sun lizard)’ <Tur>.<sup>5</sup>

## H

\***hüd hüdi**:<sup>6</sup> (Lev 11:19, once) ‘hoopoe’. <Ar> (ÖTS 2: 2024 *hüthüt*; KRUS: 628 *üdüd kuş* ‘hoopoe’).

4 A garment worn by the high priest.

5 It is a copy from some Ottoman Bible translations. The second possessive marker (+*si*) in the word *kelerisi* is probably a copy mistake. For further details, see Işık (forthcoming).

6 The vowel -*i* in the final position is due to a copy mistake from Ottoman Bible translations, see Işık (forthcoming).

**H**

\***hag et-**: (Lev 23:39, 3 times) ‘to celebrate’ <Heb+Kar>. It derives from the Hebrew word *hag* ‘feast, holiday’ (CKED: 174).

\***hagav**: (Lev 11:22, once) ‘locust, grasshopper’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 207).

\***hamec**: (Lev 2:11, 4 times) ‘hametz — that which is leavened <Heb> (CEDHL: 222).

\***hargol**: (Lev 11:22, once) ‘a kind of locust (a hapax legomenon in the Bible)’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 230).

\***hatat**: (Lev 4:3, 63 times) ‘sin, guilt; sin offering’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 213).

\***hazir**: (Lev 11:7, once) ‘pig, swine’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 212).

\***herem**: (Lev 27:28, 4 times) ‘thing devoted’; ‘ban’; ‘devotion’; ‘destruction’ <Heb> (CEDHL 233). See also **herem et-**: ‘to devote’; **herem bol-**: ‘to be devoted’.

\***hošen**: (Lev 8:8, once) ‘breastplate of high priest’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 236).

**χ**

\***χilas**: (Lev 25:24, 34 times) ‘redemption’ <Ar> (ÖTS 2: 1846 *halas*; KRUS: 670 *halas~hales* ‘redemption; salvation’. See also **χilas~χilaslık et-/id-/ver-** ‘to set free; **χilas~χilaslık ol-/bol-** ‘to be set free; to get rid of something’).

**I**

\***iränk/irängk**: (Lev 14:4, 4 times; Lev 14:49, 2 times) ‘colour’ <Per>. The form goes back to *renk* ‘colour’ (CKED 328; KRPS 453; ÖTS 4: 3955; KRUS: 458).

\***ironi**: (Lev 11:13, once) ‘bearded vulture; a kind of eagle’ <Per><sup>7</sup> (CPED: 40).

**K**

\***küygän; küymäk**: (Lev 13:24, twice; Lev 10:6, once) ‘burning’. It derives from the verb *küy-* ‘to burn’ CKED: 226; KRUS: 257).

**Ḳ**

\***ḳabullik** (Lev 1:9, 18 times) ‘offering’ <Ar+Kar>. It derives from the word *ḳabul* ‘acceptance’ (CKED: 282; KRPS: 356; ÖTS 3: 2311; KRUS: 266).

\***ḳazev**: (Lev 26:18, 4 times) ‘time; -fold’ <Tur?> (Karakurt 2017: 128 *keziv* ‘time’).

\***ḳızdırma**: (Lev 26:16, once) ‘fever’ (ÖTS 3: 2658 *kızdırma* ‘fever’). It derives from the verb *kızdır-* ‘to heat up’, (CKED: 309; KRPS: 378; ÖTS 3: 2658; KRUS: 308), see also *ḳız-* ‘to fever; to get hot’ (EDPT: 681 CC: 208).

\***ḳol (bilän) ḳoy-**: (Lev 5: 21, once) ‘to pledge’.

\***ḳereaḥ**: (Lev 13:40, once) ‘bald (a hapax legomenon in the Bible)’; ‘place from which plants have been removed.’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 593).

\***ḳorban**: (Lev 1:2, 132 times) ‘offering, sacrifice, oblation; victim.’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 591). The Arabic form *kurban* ‘sacrifice’ is attested in CC: 203; ÖTS 3:

<sup>7</sup> In Persian, it stands for ‘eagle’ (CPED: 40). This word is also an erroneous form of a word (*iron*) which is present in some Ottoman Bible translations. For further details, see Işık (forthcoming).

2843, and KRUS: 302. See also **korban et-** ‘to sacrifice’ (ÖTS 3 2844; KRUS: 302 *kurban et-* ‘to sacrifice’).

\***ķuduš:** (Lev 11:44, 4 times) ‘holy’, ‘sacred’; ‘saint’, ‘saintly’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 562).

## M

\***ma’aflik:** (Lev 25:10, once) ‘free; liberty’ <Ar+Kar> (ÖTS 3: 3263 *muaflik* ‘exemption; freedom; liberty’).

\***maķbul bol-** (Lev 7: 18, once) ‘to be accepted’ <Ar+Kar> (ÖTS 3:3028 *makbul ol-*; KRUS: 331 *maķbul ol-* ‘to be accepted’).

\***mamur:** (Lev 25:21, once) ‘cultivated’ <Ar> (ÖTS 3: 3043; KRUS: 334 *mamur* ‘cultivated’).

\***mīķruķ/mīķruķa:** (Lev 11:10, 7 times; Lev 11:23, once) ‘abominable’ <Ar> (ÖTS 3: 3119 *mekruķ*; KRUS: 345 *mekruķ* ‘abominable’).

\***milu’im:** (Lev 7:37, 6 times) ‘filling in, setting’; ‘installation’; ‘supplement, addition.’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 348).

\***miskal/mesķal:** (Lev 5:15, 13 times; Lev 27:4, once) ‘mithqal (a unit of mass; weight)’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 678).

\***muķam:** (Lev 25:30, once) ‘location’ <Ar> ÖTS 3: 3025 *makam* ‘location, position; office’.

## N

\***netek:** (Lev 13:30,14 times) ‘scab’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 431).

\***nevela:** (Lev 7:24) ‘corpse, carcass’; ‘an animal that died a natural death’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 402).

\***no’eflik et-:** (Lev 20:10, 4 time) ‘to commit adultery’ <Heb+Kar> (CEDHL: 400 *no’ef* ‘to commit adultery’).

## P

\***peķetet:** (Lev 13:55, once) ‘sunken spot in leprosy (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); defect, fault. <Heb> (CEDHL: 502).

\***pul:** (Lev 11:9, 3 times) ‘fish scale’ <Per> (ÖTS 4: 3904; KRUS: 448).

## R

**raķami**<sup>8</sup>: (Lev 11:18, once) ‘carrion vulture’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 613).

## S

\***sallamaķ; sallama:** (Lev 7:30, 18 times; Lev 7:30 twice) ‘wave offering’. It derives from the verb *salla-* ‘to wawe’ (CKED: 334; KRPS: 463; ÖTS 4: 4043; KRUS: 474; see also *sal-* to move’ EDPT: 824).

8 Similar to the previous examples (see *hūdhūdi, ironi*), the word is a copy from some Ottoman Bible translations and the word-final *i* is probably a copy mistake.

- \***sarniç**: (Lev 11:36, once) ‘cistern’ <Per> (ÖTS 4: 4081 *sarniç* ‘cistern’).
- \***sarık**: (Lev 8:9, 3 times) ‘turban’ (ÖTS 4: 4076 *sarık*; KRUS: 481: *sarık*)
- \***şepere**: (Lev 11:19, once) ‘bat’ <Per> (ÖTS 4: 4444 *şepere* ‘bat’).
- \***silme yaği**: (Lev 8:2, 7 times) ‘anointed oil’. The compound noun consists of the verb *sil-* ‘to erase, to wipe’ (CKED: 357; KRPS:474; EDPT: 824–825; ÖTS 4: 4241; KRUS: 500) and the word *yağ* ‘oil’ (CKED: 440; KRPS: 215; EDPT: 895; CC: 109; ÖTS 5: 5152; KRUS: 518).
- \***sivri siçan**: (Lev 11:29, once) ‘shrew’ <Tur><sup>9</sup> (ÖTS 4: 4268 *sivri fare* ‘shrew; *sorex araneus*).
- \***siyir-**: (Lev 1:6, once) ‘to skin an animal’ (ÖTS 4: 4223 *siyir* ‘to to skin an animal; to skim’). The variant *sidir-* ‘to skin an animal; to tear off; to remove; to separate’ is present in CKED 349; KRPS: 488; EDPT: 802 and KRUS: 518.

## Ş

- \***şabat**: (Lev 16:31, 7 times) ‘Sabbath observance’; ‘complete rest.’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 639).
- \***şehita**: (Lev 17:5, once) ‘ritual slaughtering’ <Heb> (CEDHL 649).
- \***şahadetlik**: (Lev 16:13, once) ‘testimony’ <Ar+Kar> (ÖTS 4: 4413 *şahadet* ‘testimony’).

## T

- \***tayin et-**: (Lev 26:16, once) ‘to appoint’ <Ar+Kar> (ÖTS 4:4650; KRUS: 538 *tayin et-* ‘to appoint’).
- \***terapiz**: (Lev 24:6, once) ‘table’ <Gr> (ÖTS 5: 4897 *trapeza* ‘table’).
- \***teşen taşaklı**: (Lev 21:20, once) ‘eunuch’. The compound noun consists of the verb *teş-* ‘to pierce, to make a hole, to bore, (CKED 397, KRPS 568, EDPT: 559, KRUS: 583; see also *deş-* ÖTS 2: 1183 ‘to pierce’) and *taşak* ‘testicle’ (CKED: 386–387; KRPS: 519; EDPT: 562; CC: 236; ÖTS 5: 4628; KRUS: 558).
- \***tilim**: (Lev 2:6, 3 times) ‘slice’ (EDPT: 500 *tilim*; ÖTS 2: 1223 *dilim*; ‘slice’; CC: 244 *tilim* ‘a piece of bread’; KRUS: 587 *tilim* ‘slice’). See also **tilimlä-** ‘to portion out’.
- \***tohum**: (Lev 11:38, once) ‘seed’ <Per> (ÖTS 5: 4847 *tohum*; KRUS: 612 *tuhum* ‘seed’).
- \***tökmäk**: (Lev 15: 16, 6 times) ‘emission’. It derives from *tök-* ‘to pour out; to spill’ (CKED: 411; KRPS: 541; EDPT: 477; CC: 250; KRUS: 565, see also *dök-* ‘to pour out; to spill’ ÖTS 2: 1283–128).
- \***terefa**: (Lev 7:24, 3 times) ‘an animal tom by wild beasts’; an animal with organic defect’; ‘ritually forbidden food.’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 252).
- \***tor**: (Lev 14:30, once) ‘turtle-dove’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 695).
- \***Tumim**: (Lev 8:8, once) ‘one of the two objects attached to the breastplate of the high priest’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 706).

9 This word was also copied from some Ottoman Bible translations. For further details, see Işık 2020: 153.

## U

\***umundar** (Lev 11:25, once) ‘unclean; impure; dirty, filthy’ <Per>. It is a variant of *mundar*, (CKED 245; KRPS: 410; ÖTS 3: 3305). See also *murdar*, (CC 166; KRUS: 368 ‘unclean, impure’.

\***Urim**: (Lev 8:8, once) ‘one of the two objects attached to the breastplate of the high priest’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 14).

## Ü

\***ügi kuşu**: (Lev 11:17, once) ‘eagle owl’. (CKED: 424, KRPS: 573 *uğiy* ‘eagle owl’; EDPT: 101 *ügi*; CC: 269 *ügü*; ÖTS 5: 5035 *üğü* ‘owl’).

## Y

\***yerine/yerinä**: (Lev 16:32, 3 times) ‘instead’ (ÖTS 5: 5301 *yerine* ‘instead’). It derives from the word *yer* ‘place; ground’, (CKED 460; KRPS: 273, EDPT: 954; CC: 122–123; ÖTS 5: 5294–5299, see also *jer/er* KRUS: 735).

## Z

\***zav/zavlık**: (Lev 15:2, 18 times) ‘flux, issue’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 195).

\***zona**: (Lev 21:7, twice) ‘harlot, prostitute’ <Heb> (CEDHL: 196).

## Abbreviations

Ar = Arabic; Heb = Hebrew; Gr = Greek; Kar = Karaim; Per = Persian; Tur = Turkish

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## Paired Verbs in the *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā*\*

Mária Ivanics

*Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā* is one of the most significant written sources for the history of the Turkic peoples inhabiting the Volga region (Ivanics–Usmanov 2002). Its six chapters capture important events in the history of the Eurasian steppe in the 13<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The stories are written at different times and in various genres. The language is Turkī, the Eastern Turkic literary language of Central Asia used by the Volga Turkic peoples. The texts were probably compiled as one book in the 1680s by an unknown, lesser qualified person. Preparing for the critical edition of the sources, the author of these lines could always turn for advice to her colleague, Éva Kincses-Nagy. We both noticed that the texts contained a great number, circa 120, paired words and agreed these deserve interest. The majority of the paired words occurring in the texts are nominal compounds, while one quarter are verb compounds. The latter is significant, because we cannot find them in this quantity in other sources. In the description of the materials the first step was made by Éva Kincses-Nagy in 2004. In an article on the hendiadyoins of the Chaghatay language, she examined the hendiadyoins in *Babur-name*, *Shejere-i Terākime* and also cited 14 paired nouns and six paired verbs found in *Ĵingiz-nāmā* (Kincses-Nagy 2004).<sup>1</sup> In this paper, dedicated to her birthday, I would like to follow up her work.<sup>2</sup>

### Terminology

According to Johanson’s definition, “paired nouns, also called ‘binomes’ or ‘twin nouns’ (Turkish *ikilemeler*), constitute a specific asyndetic type of noun phrases. Two nouns with meanings pertaining to the same semantic field are juxtaposed, without intervening elements, to form a phrase that is treated morphosyntactically as a single lexeme, with modifiers preceding the first component and suffixes following the

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\* I am grateful to Professors Éva Ágnes Csató and Lars Johanson for their thoughtful grammatical comments on this paper.

1 The paired verbs cited by her are: *ösdi ulğaydı, ötti ketdi, sürediler tartdılar, çurlanıb çimīrganıb, töş töl bol-, zulm küç et-*.

2 Examples are given according to their transcription used in Ivanics–Usmanov 2002. The references to their occurrences in the texts follow also the notations applied in this edition.

second component. There may be synonym compounds, near-synonym compounds, antonym compounds and hyponyms compounds.” (Johanson 2021: 802–804).

Paired nominals in *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā* may consist from the duplication of the same words *köp köp qurallar* ‘many weapon’ (34v13) *qawm qawm quş čüni* ‘many handfuls of bird feathers’ (15v10); they can come to be rough synonym compounds, that is “sequences of two lexemes of similar but by no means necessarily identical meaning used together to denote one content” (Erdal 1991: 36), e.g. *eş yoldaş* ‘fellow, comrade’ (18r12); *öksüz yetim* ‘orphan’ (30v3), *sansiz saqışsiz* ‘innumerable’ (34v14). For the antonym compounds, there is only one example *yahşî yaman iş* ‘good and bad thing, that is ‘all, all things’ (34v3). In few cases, also hyponyms compounds occur in *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā*. They express a superordinative notion, with each noun denoting a subcategory, according to additive patterns. For example, the hyponym *quş qurt* ‘bird, worm’ means ‘wild beast’ (15r1)<sup>3</sup> or the compound *tobun mālın quralın azuğın* (*top* ‘canon’ *māl* ‘many’, *qural* ‘weapon’, *azuğ* ‘provision’ with the accusative form of the possessive suffix) is the phrase for the ‘military equipment’ (46v16).

Since all paired nouns in *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā* cannot be dealt with in one article, only examples of paired verbs will be dealt with. However, I have made an exception for paired nouns, when they form a verb together with an auxiliary verb. In Turkic linguistic literature, paired nouns (Turkish *ikileme*) are more often studied than paired verbs (Turkish *bileşik fiil*),<sup>4</sup> although Johanson’s definition can be applied to both of them. Biverbs in *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā* occur in large numbers and in varied grammatical forms, thus these texts are especially suitable for describing the typology of paired verbs.

## Types of paired verbs

### I. Paired finite verbs

#### Paired past forms in -DI

##### *ösdi ulğaydı* (13r5)

<i>Ĵingiz ös-di</i>	<i>ulğay-dî</i>	<i>halq-ğa</i>
Ĵ. grow up- DI.PST3	grow up - DI.PST3	people-DAT
<i>‘ādil-dād qıl-ub</i>	<i>fāyda-liğ</i>	<i>bol-di.</i>
just	make-b. conv	benefit
		be-di.pst3

‘Chingis grew up and matured he was just with his people and worked for their benefit.’

3 In the paired noun *quş qurt*, the second element *qurt* cannot mean ‘wolf’, since the Kipchak word, *böri* is used for it in the source. In the present-day Tatar language *quş qurt* simply means ‘wild’.

4 For the investigation of *ikileme* in standard Turkish see the classical monography of Hatipoğlu (1981), the newest dictionary of Akyalçın (2007) and the literature given there.

**ötti ketdi (8r12–13)**

*Bu söz-ni halāyiq-ğa waşıyyät qıl-ğan-din*  
 DET word-ACC people-DAT testament make-VN-ABL  
*şong Duyin Bayan dünyā-din öt-ti ket-di*  
 after D.B. wordl-ABL pass-DI.PST3 go.away-DI.PST3  
 ‘After he left his last will to his people with these words, Duyin Bayan departed from this world.’<sup>5</sup>

**sürädilär tartdilar (19r17)**

*Çingiz Hān arba-ğa otur-dī bu bar-ğan*  
 Ç. Khan cart-DAT mount-DI.PST3 this come-VN  
*beg-lār öz-lār-i arba (sic!) sürā-di-lār tart-dī-lar.*  
 chieftain-PL self-PL-POSS3 cart drive-DI.PST3-PL pull-DI.PST3-PL  
 ‘Then, Çinggis Khan mounted the cart, while the beys, who had come for him, pulled the cart themselves.’

**qaratdī aqtartdī (29r7–8)**

*Fāl-qār-lar-ni bağucī-lar-ni çiy-dur-dī*  
 astrologer-PL-ACC soothsayer-PL-ACC summon-CAUS-DI.PST3  
*īālī -in qara-t-dī aqtar-t-dī*  
 destiny-POSS3-ACC watch-CAUS-DI.PST3 turn over-CAUS-DI.PST3  
 ‘He summoned the astrologers and soothsayers, he had them survey and explore his destiny.’

**çiyildilar qoşuldilar (32v2–4)**

*az-ğan toz-ğan ata-din ana-din bāz-ğan oğlan-lar*  
 go astray-VN flee-VN father-ABL mother-ABL bore-VN boy-PL  
*bay-din qač-qan qul-lar an-gar çiyil-dī-lar*  
 master-ABL escap-VN servant-PL that-DAT gathered-DI.PST3-PL  
*qoşul-dī-lar.*  
 join-DI.PST3-PL  
 ‘The boys, wandering hither and thither, bored of the homes of their births, and servants escaped from masters, [all] gathered there and joined them.’

5 In this case the second element *ket-di* can be interpreted as a grammaticalized auxiliary verb. The construction itself is however ambiguous between a sequential reading ‘passed and left’ and a grammaticalized meaning ‘passed away (definitively)’. This second reading is of semantic reasons in this context obvious. See Danka (2020).

**örtändi küydi (32v17–18)**

*Bu habār yänä jaday Hān-ğa ešit-ül-di*  
 this news again j. Khan-DAT hear-PASS-DI.PST3  
*örtän-di küy-di.*  
 flame up-DI.PST3 burn-DI.PST3  
 ‘When this news reached Chagatai Khan’s ears, he grew furious.’

**aldı baqturdı (36r3)**

*Hājjī Tarhān-ni hām al-di baq-tur-dī.*  
 H T.-ACC also take-DI.PST3 watch-CAUS-DI.PST3  
 ‘He also captured Hājjī Tarhān and made it submit.’

**tutdı qamsadı toqtatdı (40v2)**

*Aqsaq Temir-ning läškär-i yet-ti hān-ni*  
 A. T.-GEN army-POSS3 reach-DI.PST3 Khan-ACC  
*halq-ni tut-dī qamsa-dī toqta-t-dī.*  
 people-ACC capture-DI.PST3 surrounded-DI.PST3 stopp-CAUS-DI.PST3  
 ‘That is when the army of Aqsaq Temir caught up with them. He captured and surrounded the khan and his people and had them stopped.’

**büldük joğalduq (37v8–9)**

*Biz-ni Aqsaq Temir bül-dür-di an-ing šūmluğ-in-din*  
 we-ACC A. T. ruin-CAUS-DI.PST3 he-GEN wickedness-POSS3-ABL  
*bül-dü-k joğal-duq.*  
 ruin.oneself-DI.PST-1PL perish-DI.PST-1PL  
 ‘Aqsaq Temir slew us, we perished, and we were annihilated due to his wickedness.’

**sävindilär šād boldılar (11r16–11v1)**

*Alaŋgo-din bu söz-ni ešit-ib halq oğl-ı*  
 A.-ABL this word-ACC hear-B.CONV people son-POSS3  
*säwin-di-lär šād bol-dī-lar.*  
 rejoice-DI.PST-3PL glad become-DI.PST-3PL  
 ‘When the people heard these words from Alaŋgo, they rejoiced and became glad.’

**berdi soyurgadı 22v15**

*Čingiz Hān öz-ni istä-y bar-ğan beg-lär-ğä [...]*  
 Č. Khan himself-ACC ask-A.CONV go-VN chieftain-PL-DAT  
*el kün ber-di soyurğa-di.*  
 people give-DI.PST3 deign-DI.PST3  
 ‘Činggis Khan deigned and gave people to the beys who had gone to ask him [to be khan].’

## II. Non-finite + finite paired verbs

### Paired verbs construed of a converb in -B and a past form in -DI

#### *istätib tabturdi* (29v1)

*Ĵaday Hān fāl baġučī-lar-din bu söz-ni ešit-ib*  
 ĵ. Khan soothsayer-PL-ABL this word-ACC hear-B.CONV  
*ol Almalıq avl-in-da-ġi Tarāġay-ni*  
 that A. village-POSS3-LOC-REL T.-ACC  
*istä-t-ib tab-tur-di.*  
 sought-CAUS-B.CONV discover-CAUS-DI.PST3

‘When Chagatai Khan heard these words from the soothsayers, he had Taragai, who lived in the village of Almalik, sought and discovered.’

#### *tašlab urdi* (31r16–17)

*Ol nārsä-ni Aqsaq Temir bōrk-i birlä*  
 that object-ACC A. T. fur.cap-POSS3 with  
*tašla-b ur-di.*  
 hit- b.CONV beat-DI.PST3

‘Aqsaq Temir hurled his fur cap at the object [placed there] and hit it, thus beating him.’

#### *qarab kördi* (35v6–7)

*Šāh Sulṭān qara-b kör-di šāyäd hilä-dür*  
 Š. Sultan watch- B.CONV see-DI.PST3 as if ruse-COP  
*yalġan-dur de-b išan-ma-di.*  
 lie-COP say-B.CONV believe-NEG-DI.PST3

‘Šāh Sulṭān took it and looked at it. ‘[It is] as if it were a ruse, as if it were a lie,’ he said and did not believe it.’

## III. Paired non-finite verb forms

### Paired converb forms in -B

#### *yġlašib kürüldäšib* (12r5–7)

*[...] ħalq oġl-i yġlaš-ib kürüldäš-ib*  
 people son-POSS3 weep.together-B.CONV murmur.together-B.CONV  
*ay-di-lar:*  
 say-di.PST-3PL

‘Weeping and murmuring, the people replied.’

**säwüb ögüb (13r7)**

*Halq oğl-i mu-ni säw-üb ög-üb Čingiz-ğa*  
 people son-POSS3 this-ACC love-B.CONV prise-B.CONV Č.-DAT  
*iyär-ä başla-dī-lar.*  
 follow-A.CONV begin-DI.PST-3PL  
 ‘The people loved him, praised him and began to follow him.’

**čurlanīb čimīrganīb (15r9–10)**

[...] *istā-dī-lār tab-ma-dī-lar čurlan-īb čimīrgan-īb*  
 search-DI.PST-3PL find-neg-DI.PST-3PL weep-B.CONV grouse-B.CONV  
*ilaš-dī-lar.*  
 cry.together-DI.PST-3PL  
 ‘They searched for him but did not find him, they cried murmuring and grouching.’

**čulašīb yīglašīb (15r17)**

[...] *čulaš-īb yīglaš-īb ‘ay Alango*  
 weep.together-B.CONV wail.together-B.CONV oh A.  
*Čingiz Hān-īmiz-nīng habār-in biz-lār-ğä äyt-gil.*  
 Č. Khan-POSS1PL-GEN news-POSS3.ACC we-PL-DAT say-IMP2  
 ‘Thus they clamoured and wailed her.’ Oh, Alango, tell us news about our khan Činggis.’

**anglašīb tirgäšīb (20r2–3)**

[...] *halq oğl- i anglaš-īb tirgäš-īb*  
 people son-POSS3 find.out.together-B.CONV infer.together-B.CONV  
*čiqar-dī-lar.*  
 realize-DI.PST-3PL  
 ‘[...] the people still learned of it and realized.’

**qorqub siskänīb (29r2–3)**

*Yaman tüš kör-di qorq-ub siskän-ib*  
 bad dream see-DI.PST3 fear-B.CONV get.scared-B.CONV  
*uyan-dī.*  
 awake-DI.PST3  
 ‘He saw a bad dream. Frightened, tremblingly he awoke.’

**ozub yürüb (36r2)**

*An-din oz-ub yür-üb Hājji Tarhān*  
 that-ABL march-B.CONV go-B.CONV H. T.  
*šahr-i-ğä käl-di.*  
 town-POSS3-DAT arrive-DI.PST3  
 ‘Having marched on from there, he arrived in the town of Astrakhan.’

**urušub soqušub (36r2–3).**

*Uruš-ub soquš-ub Hājjī Tarhān-ni hām al-dī*  
 fight-B.CONV clash-B.CONV H. T.-ACC also capture-DI.PST3  
*baq-tur-dī.*

see-CAUS-DI.PST3

‘He fought and clashed, he also captured Hājjī Tarhān and made it submit.’

**jabalanīb jamirganīb qačqarub baqurub (40r12–14)**

[...] *birāw aṭ-ī-niṅ aq köbüg-in oz-ub*  
 someone horse-POSS3-GEN white froth-INSTR pass-B.CONV  
*jabalan-īb jamirgan-īb qačqar-ub baqur-ub te-dī*  
 gesticulate-B.CONV cry-B.CONV din-B.CONV shout-B.CONV say-DI.PST3

‘Then, someone passed them, on his white frothing horse, nervously gesticulating and shouting he reported.’

**Paired converb forms in -A****ölä yetä (18v12–13)**

*Siz-ning mübāräk yüz-ingiz-ni arzula-b*  
 you-GEN blessed visage-POSSPL2-ACC wish-B.CONV  
*art-ungiz-dan öl-ä yet-ä käl-dü-k.*  
 back-POSSPL2-ABL die-A.CONV perish-A.CONV come-DI.PST-1PL

‘We, however, since we wished for your blessed visage, we have come after you through fire and water.’

**Paired negated converb forms in -A****öltürmäy talamay (37v15)**

[...] *an-ī ruw-ī tamur-ī birlä öltür-mäy*  
 that-ACC clan-POSS3 root-POSS3 with slay-NEG-A.CONV  
*tala-may yibär-ür er-dī.*  
 plunder-NEG-A.CONV send-AOR cop-DI.PST3

‘[...] he did not slay together with their clans and did not plunder, but he let them go.’

**Paired verbs construed of a converb in -B and a verbal nominal****qarab baqunča (40r18–19)**

[...] *artin qara-b baq-ğunča<sup>6</sup> qurtqa-niṅ börk-i*  
 backwards look-B.CONV watch-CONV old.woman-GEN fur.cap-POSS3  
*tüš-ti*  
 fall.off-DI.PST3

‘As the old woman looked back, her fur cap fell off.’

<sup>6</sup> Fort he suffix *-gInCA* see Erdal 2004: 479.

**Paired non-finite aorists in the dative*****asrarğa körürgü* (30r15–16)**

<i>Aqsaq Temir-ning</i>	<i>ata-si</i>	<i>ana-si</i>	<i>öl-di</i>	<i>yätim</i>
A. T.-GEN	father-POSS3	mother-POSS3	die-DI.PST3	orphan
<i>qal-di</i>	<i>asra-r-ğa</i>	<i>kör-är-gä</i>	<i>hiç</i>	<i>läyiq</i>
stay-DI.PST3	bring.up-AOR-DAT	take.care-AOR-DAT	no	worthy
<i>kişi</i>	<i>bulmadi.</i>			
person	find-NEG-DI.PST3			

‘Aqsaq Temir’s father and mother died, [and] he was left an orphan. He did not find one worthy man who could have brought him up, who could have taken care of him.’

**Paired non-finite verbal nominals in -Gan (32v2–4)*****azğan tozğan***

<i>Az-ğan</i>	<i>toz-ğan</i>	<i>ata-din</i>	<i>ana-din</i>	<i>büz-gän</i>
err-VN	be worn out-VN	father-ABL	mother-ABL	bore-VN
<i>oğlan-lar</i>	<i>bay-din</i>	<i>qaç-qan</i>	<i>qul-lar</i>	<i>angar</i>
boy-PL	master-ABL	escape-VN	servant-PL	that.DAT
<i>çiyil-di-lar</i>	<i>qoşul-di-lar.</i>			
be.gathered-DI.PST-3PL	join-DI.PST-3PL			

‘The prowler-loiterer boys, bored of the homes of their births, and servants escaped from masters, [all] gathered there and joined them.’

***ozğan bargan* (32v1–2)**

<i>Oz-ğan</i>	<i>bar-ğan</i>	<i>şatuçı-lar-ni</i>	<i>aslamçı-lar-ni</i>	<i>bas-ti-lar.</i>
pass-VN	go-VN	seller-PL-ACC	peddler-PL-ACC	attacked-DI.PAST-3PL

‘They attacked the sellers and peddlers coming and going.’

**IV. Paired nouns or verbal nominals construed with the auxiliary verbs *qil-*, *bol-*, *er-*, or *et*****Paired nouns + auxiliary verb*****töş töl bol-* (11r13–14)<sup>7</sup>**

<i>“Män öl-gän-din</i>	<i>şong</i>	<i>töş töl</i>	<i>bol-ub</i>	<i>käl-ür-män.”</i>
I	die-VN-ABL	after	foetus	be-B.CONV
				come-AOR-1SG

‘I shall descend after my death in the form of a seed.’

<sup>7</sup> Only the second element of the hendiadyoin *töş töl* is known in the Turkic languages in the meaning ‘seed, foetus’. May be we are faced with lambdacism, with an Ogur Turkic and a Common Turkic form of the same word?



**küč ziyān qıl- (36v15–16)**

*Bir Baraǰ atliǰ äzdähā yılan käl-di*  
 a B. with.name dragon snake come-DI.PST3  
*ol šähär-ning halq-i-ğa küč ziyān*  
 that town-GEN people-POSS3-DAT violance damage  
*qıl-a başla-dī.*  
 do-A.CONV start-DI.PST3

‘A dragon snake called Baraǰ appeared there and started to torment and plague the people of the town.’

**zäwq şafā qilur er- (27r5–6)**

*[...] här kün oşbundaǰ zäwq şafā*  
 every day that pleasure enjoyment  
*qıl-ur er-di-lär*  
 do-AOR cop-DI.PST-3PL

‘They filled every day with pleasure this way.’

**‘iys ‘iśrät qıl- (26v3–5)**

*Čingiz Hān bu beg-lär-ni tamāmi-sin*  
 Č. Khan this chieftain-PL-ACC complete-POSS3.ACC  
*köz üstün-dä qaş-i teg kör-ür er-di*  
 eye above-LOC eyebrow-POSS3 like see-AOR COP-DI.PST3  
*‘iys ‘iśrät qıl-ur er-di*  
 eating drinking make-AOR COP-DI.PST3

‘Just as to the eye belongs the eyebrow above it, Činggis Khan considered each of his beys as such. He ate and drank [...]’

**maǰrūr mäşgül bol- (41r7–9)**

*[...] fānī dūnyā-ğa maǰrūr mäşgül bol-ub*  
 fleeting wordl-DAT haughtily busy become-B.CONV  
 ‘To devote yourself haughtily to the fleeting world, [...]’

**maħrūm maǰbūn bol-**

*[...] haqq [...] buyruǰ-ın-dan yüz äwir-üb*  
 God comandement-POSS3-ABL face turn.away-B.CONV  
*maħrūm maǰbūn bolma-ngiz qatī ziyān-dur*  
 deprived deceived be-VN-POSS2PL hard transgression-COP  
*uluǰ ħorluq-dur.*  
 great shame-COP

‘[...] to become excluded and deceived by turning your face away from the commandment of [...] God is a serious transgression and a great shame.’

**tang 'aĵāib bol- (31r2–4)**

[...] *mān hām himmāt birlä hān bol-ub*  
 I also effort with Khan be-B.CONV  
*el kūn šāhār-lār al-ib orda-lar qil-sa-m*  
 people and-PL take-B.CONV empire-PL make-HYP-1SG  
*hič tang 'aĵāib bol-mas.*  
 no strange wonder be-NEG.AOR3

‘Even if I become a khan with effort, and would create an empire (*ordalar*) by occupying peoples (*el kūn*) and lands, there would be nothing at all to wonder at.’

**zulm küč et- (15r12–13)**

[...] *aġa-larī Bodonġar Qaġin-ġar Salġut*  
 elder brother-POSS3PL B. Q. S.  
*ġalq oġl-in-a zulm küč et-di-lār.*  
 people son-POSS3-DAT tyranny browbeat do-DI.PST-3PL

‘[...] his [elder] brothers Bodonġar, Qaġin-ġar [and] Salġut browbeat and tyrannized the people.’

**Paired verbal nominals + auxiliary verb****uruš toquš qılma- (36v10–11)**

*Bular šāhr-in-ing qaršu-si-ġa käl-üb or*  
 B. town-POSS3-GEN opposite-POSS3-DAT come-B.CONV dike  
*qaz-ib yat-di-lar uruš toquš qıl-ma-di-lar*  
 dug-B.CONV lie-DI.PAST-3PL fight battle make-NEG-DI.PST-3PL

‘[...] he came to the town of Bular. He dug in across from the town of Bular, he did not engage in battle.’

**Paired nouns each with an auxiliary verbs z****küč qıl- zulumlıq qıl- (9r2–3)**

[...] *törä-lär-imiz küč qıl-dī zulumlıq qıl-dī*  
 lord-PL-POSS1PL browbeat make-DI.PST3 tyranny make-DI.PST3  
*čida-ma-duq buşduq.*  
 tolerate-NEG-DI.PST-1PL wander.away-DI.PST-1PL

‘Our lords were browbeating and tyrannizing us. We could no longer tolerate it, and we left.’

**wirān qıl- ġarāb qıl- (36v8–9)**

*Aqsaq Temir šāhr-i Bulġar-nī wirān qıl-ib ġarāb*  
 A. T. town-IZAFET B.-ACC devastated make-B.CONV devastated  
*qıl-ġan-din ŝong Bular šāhr-i-ġä käl-di.*  
 make-VN-ABL after B. town-POSS3-DAT come-DI.PST3

‘After Aqsaq destroyed and devastated the town of Bulġar, he came to the town of Bular.’

### Paired negated verbal nominals + auxiliary verb

#### *könmäs čıdamas bol-* (11r5–6)

*Bu iş-kä halq oğl-ı kön-mäs*  
 this thing-DAT people son-POSS3 endure-NEG.AOR  
*čıda-mas bol-di-lar.*  
 bear-NEG.AOR become-DI.PST-3PL  
 The people could not endure or bear this thing [...]

Summing up, we can confirm that the paired verbs of *Däftär-i Ĵingiz-nāmā* could be finite verbs, converbs or verbal nominals. Examining the table from a morphological point of view, it is obvious that the past tense in -DI and converb in -B dominate.

Table I. Morphology

Past forms in -DI	<i>ösdi ulğaydı; ötti ketdi; sürädilär tartdılar; berdi soyurgadı; qaratdı aqtardı; čıyıldılar qoşuldılar; örtändi küydi; aldı baqturdi; tudı qamsadı toqtadı; büldük joğalduq; säwindilär šäd boldılar</i>
Converb in -B + past in -DI	<i>istätib tabturdi; taşlab urdi; qarab kördi</i>
Converbs in -B	<i>yığlaşib kürüldäşib; säwüb ögüb; čurlanıb čimırğanib; čulaşib yığlaşib; anglaşib tirgäşib; qorqub siskänib; ozub yürüb; uruşub soquşub; jabalanib jamırğanib qačqarub baqurub</i>
Converbs in -A	<i>ölä yetä</i>
Negated converbs in -A	<i>öltürmäy talamay</i>
Converb in -B + converb in -GUNČA	<i>qarab baqğunča</i>
Aorist forms in dative	<i>asrarğa körärgä</i>
Verbal nominals in -GAN	<i>azğan tozğan ozğan barğan</i>

In the examined texts both members of the paired verbs were – as expected – mostly Turkic. However, there are five compounds of which one member is a Mongolic copy in Turkic. Four times the copied Mongolic verb is the first member of the compound (*ösdi ulğaydı*, *qaratdı aqtardı*, *qarab kördi*, *asrarğa körärgä*), while once it is the second element (*könmäs čıdamas bol-*).

In her monograph *Mongolic Copies in Chaghatay* Éva Kincses-Nagy noticed that some Mongolic verbs “created large morphological families and could be found in many Turkic languages, while others were used only in Chaghatay. As examples, we may mention the verbs *qara-* ‘to watch’, *yasa-* ‘to arrange, make’, *čıda-* ‘to endure, stand’, or the *ös-* ‘to grow’” (Kincses-Nagy 2018: 247). The verbs cited by her also

appear in *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā*, so they may belong to the earliest layer of copies and became conventionalized.

No less interesting are paired verbs, where one member is Kipchak or Eastern Turkic, while the other is of Oghuz Turkic origin. Such are the *ötti ketdi*, *sürädilär tartdılar*, *čiyildılar qoşuldılar*, *qorqub siskänib*, *anglašib tirgäšib*, *büldük joğalduq*. This refers to the coexistence of two ethnic groups, the Kipchak and Oghuz tribes in the Lower-Volga region.

Copying of nouns is much more common than that of verbs, that is why paired nouns with an auxiliary verb show a diverse picture. In our examples, they are mainly of foreign origin Arabic or Persian, but in one case also a Mongolic loan occur. The Muslim lexicon came from the Karakhanid or directly from the Arabic or Persian sources.

Table II. Nouns with auxiliary verb

Turkic + Turkic	<i>uruš toquš qılma- töš töl bol-</i>
Turkic + Arabic	<i>tang ‘aĵāib bol- küč qıl- zulumlıq qıl-</i>
Turkic + Persian	<i>küč ziyān qıl-</i>
Turkic + Mongolic	<i>könmäs čidamas bol-</i>
Arabic + Arabic	<i>zāvıq şafā qıl- ‘ıyş ‘ısrāt qıl- mağrūr mäşgül bol- mağrüm mağbün bol-</i>
Arabic + Turkic	<i>zulm küč et-</i>
Persian + Arabic	<i>wirān qıl- ħarāb qıl-</i>

The paired verbs in our corpus mostly consist of two near-synonyms and are used together for expressivity. So we are faced with a stylistic device, especially in cases where both members are onomatopoeia, i.e. imitation of a sound, e.g. *čurlanib čimürğanib*, *čulašib yiğlašib*, *ĵabalanib ĵamürğanib qačqarub baqurub*. These verbs show a strong tendency to alliteration too. Some paired verbs are lexicalized (hendiadyoin) and used in fixed two-word sequences to render a single notion: *ötti ketdi* ‘he died’, *ölä yetä* ‘through fire and water’, *örtändi küydi* ‘he grew furious’ *ozğan barğan* ‘passer-by’.

How can such a large number of paired verbs in the *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā* be explained?

Especially in Old Turkic and Uyghur sources, Sogdian or Sanskrit texts, where this practice goes back to Chinese, we find a lot of them (Erdal 2004: 534, Çağatay 1978<sup>2</sup>, Kargı Ölmez 1997,1998; Mehmed Ölmez 2017). Considering the fact that the typeface of *Dāftār-i Ĵingiz-nāmā* follows the pattern of Uyghur sources, e.g. the inflections, signs and suffixes are written separately (Ivanics–Usmanov 2002), it

cannot be excluded that the use of paired verbs also goes back to Uygur influence, or it can even be assumed that *Dāftār-i Ğingiz-nāmā* had a sample in Uygur.

### Abbreviations

AOR	aorist
CAUS	causative
COP	copula
HYP	hypothetical
IMP	imperative
INSTR	instrumental case
NEG	negation
PASS	passive
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
REL	relational suffix
SG	singular
VN	verbal nominal

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# On the Turkish Mnemonic Past, an Evidential Category

Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató

## 1. Compound verb forms with the distant copula particle

A prominent typological feature of Turkic languages is the richness of their verbal systems, in which a large number of categories are grammaticalized, such as negation, viewpoint aspects, moods, modality, and evidentiality. In addition to simple verb forms, built with suffixes or chains of suffixes, compound forms are constructed with different copula particles.

For instance, the copula particle <i|di>, the terminal form of the defective copula *i-* ← EOT *är-* ‘to be’, can be added to aorist bases, e.g. <gel|ir|di> ‘X used to come’; postterminal bases, e.g. <gel|miş|ti>, ‘X had come’; intraterminal bases, e.g. <gel|iyor|du> ‘X was coming’; prospective bases, e.g. <gel|ecek|ti> ‘X was to come’; and necessitative bases, e.g. <gel|meli|ydi> ‘X had to come’. In this article, we will discuss the compound verb form made up of the terminal base in {-Dİ} and the copula <i|di>.

The terminal form of the copula <i|di> < *är-di* is grammaticalized as a copula particle denoting temporal or non-temporal remoteness. It is used as a distant (anterior) particle in combination with various thematic bases.

In the following, it will be argued that the combination of the terminal base in {-Dİ} with the copula particle <i|di> has undergone a specific grammaticalization process resulting in a typologically rare type of evidential marker.

## 2. The Turkish mnemonic past evidential {-Dİ-ydİ}

The use of {-Dİ-ydİ} in Turkish mnemonic past sentences was dealt with by Lars Johanson (1971), who stated that {-Dİ-ydİ} does not express postterminality in the way the pluperfect marker {-mİş-tİ} does. Its use implies a supplementary meaning which can be paraphrased ‘as I may recall’ or ‘as far as I can remember’ (1971: 62).

When <i|di> attaches to postterminals, the resulting verb form transposes the postterminal view into the past, and it thereby corresponds to the English pluperfect,

e.g. Turkish <Gel|miş|ti> ‘X had come’, and conveys a ‘plusquamperfectum status’, i.e. a state in the past after the event is regarded to be completed.

The Turkish {-Dİ-ydİ} is a non-postterminal past, and the construction thus refers directly to the time when the event was carried out, e.g. <Gel|dİ|y|dİ|m> <come-TERM-DIST.COP-1SG> ‘I once came’. This is a mnemonic past referring to self-experienced events as remembered, e.g. <Duy|du|m|du> ‘I heard it (I remember)’ ← <duy-> ‘to hear’. It is clearly an evidential construction; the source is the speaker’s own memory of a self-experienced event. Both {-mİş-tİ} and {-Dİ-ydİ} are called pluperfects, though they differ considerably from each other. It is also true that {-Dİ-ydİ} cannot be compared to {-mİş-tİr} with respect to expressing a “subjective security” (Johanson 1974: 88, 309).

The form {-Dİ-ydİ} is a historical preterit, and it is the marked member of an opposition with {-Dİ} in the system. The terminal {-Dİ} has a broad functional extent and renders both recent and past events. It expresses terminality referring directly to the entire event described. Terminals are the least qualified members of Turkic aspect systems and are mostly used as preterital markers, e.g. Turkish <Gel|dİ> ‘X came/has come’.

The form {-Dİ-ydİ} is often used for temporally distant past events and mostly suggests a distance that stresses the historical reference. It can mark events called to mind by performing an act of evocation and seem to have a kind of legendary shimmer (Johanson 1971: 59–62, 307–309.)

The distinction does not, however, concern the temporal distance between the event referred to and the event of speaking, but the evidential dimension. {-Dİ-ydİ} signals that the speaker refers to the event on the basis of personal experience; the statement is based on memory evidence. <Ali bir mektup yaz|dİ|ydİ> does not mean ‘I’m sure Ali wrote a letter’, but rather ‘As I remember it, Ali wrote a letter’. Thus {-Dİ-ydİ} has a specific function and occupies a remarkable place in the Turkish aspect-temporal system.

It has been discussed whether {-Dİ-ydİ} refers to events that occurred a long time ago. It can actually refer to a recent past, e.g. <Bunu sev|dİ|y|dim> ‘I liked it’.

In some varieties, the personal marker can attach to either the lexical verb or the copula (Banguoğlu 2007: 449). The verb *gel-* ‘to come’ can be inflected in different ways: either *gel-di-y-di-m*, *gel-di-y-di-n*, *gel-di-y-di*, *gel-di-y-di-k*, *gel-di-y-di-niz*, and *gel-di-y-di-ler* or *gel-di-m-di*, *gel-di-n-di*, *gel-di-i-di*, *gel-di-k-ti*, *gel-di-niz-di*, or *gel-di-ler-di*. Margareta I. Ersen-Rasch proposes that, in response to the utterance *You have not returned my money*, using the form <Geri ver|dİ|ydİ|m> ‘I remember I returned it’ places the former event in the foreground. Another option is to say <Geri ver|dİ|m|dİ> ‘I remember that I returned it’, to report what the subject has done (2001: 154–156), a topic which should be further studied.



### 3. Differences between {-Dİ-ydİ} and {-mİŝ-tİ}

The suffixes {-mİŝ-tİ} and {-Dİ-ydİ} are mostly handled as pluperfect markers in Turkish grammars, e.g. by Aslı Göksel and Celia Kerslake (2005: 85). A few researchers state their functional differences. Hasan Tahsin Banguođlu, who was born as early as in 1904, writes that the {-Dİ-ydİ} form implies remembering “Daha ziyade hatırlama üslubunda kullanılır” (2000: 459).

One basic difference can be explained by the postterminal meaning of {-mİŝ-tİ}, namely that something had been done before a reference time in the past. The terminal form {-Dİ-ydİ} refers to the whole event (Johanson 1971: 58–62. 307–309).

### 4. The frequency of {-Dİ-ydİ}

The suffix {-mİŝ-tİ} is frequent in the written language. İmdat Demir (2015), who compared the frequency of {-mİŝ-tİ} and {-Dİ-ydİ}, shows that {-Dİ-ydİ} is far less used than {-mİŝ-tİ} in the standard written language, assessing the difference to about 98% to 2%. This low frequency of {-Dİ-ydİ} explains why only a few grammars pay attention to this form (Johanson 1971: 309).

The form {-Dİ-ydİ} is often classified as substandard, but it is used in literary works, even by authors in Istanbul, when marking spoken registers. The actual difference is thus between written and spoken language.

### 5. {-Dİ-ydİ} in dialects

According to Nurettin Demir (personal communication), the form {-Dİ-ydİ} occurs in the dialects of, for instance, Adana, Gaziantep, Mersin, Antalya, Konya, and Ankara. Faruk Yıldırım’s study of Adana and Osmaniye dialects (2006) demonstrates that this form is frequently used in these dialects. It is similar in Antep, Alanya, and Ankara, e.g. <Bizim gelin de dur-du-ydu orda> ‘And, as I remember it, our daughter-in-law stood there’, <O zaman uña gitdiydik> ‘As I remember it, we then went there’. The use of {-mİŝ-tİ} is very limited in these dialects. It is possible to use it, but it is regarded as an influence of standard Turkish.

The function of a verb form depends on its position in the verbal system. Thus, for each dialect, an analysis must be made of which other forms {-Dİ-ydİ} competes with. The same applies to discourse types, which employ only a selection of possible verb forms. Thus the role of the individual verb forms is redefined in them (Johanson 1971).

As an example, we here demonstrate how {-Dİ-ydİ} is used in the Aliefendi (Alanya) dialect, in a narrative published by Nurettin Demir (1993: 164–169). The following text shows the use of {-Dİ-ydİ} and competing anterior forms (Demir 1993:

156, in Demir's transcription). The German translation was made by Demir, who is a native speaker of the dialect (1993: 165). An English translation is added.

Example 1. Narrative in the Aliefendi dialect

D	<i>O bükä gonaridiq ışdä şöylä.</i>	Na ja, wir ließen uns ja gewöhnlich auf diesem Feld im Tal nieder.	Well, so we used to settle down on this field in the valley.
O	<i>Bildim, bildim.</i>	Jetzt weiß ich es, jetzt weiß ich es.	I have understood it. I have understood it.
A	<i>Şindi girdi:dik, orta yerdä saban çaqılı. Ora ğadar sürmüşlär gayri. Sabanıla sökällärimiş.</i>	Wir sind nun hingegangen, der Pflug steckt in der Mitte [des Feldes]. Sie haben also bis dahin gepflügt. Sie gruben [die Erdnüsse] mit dem Pflug aus.	I recall we went there, in the middle (of the field) there is a plow. They have apparently plowed up to that place. They obviously used to break up the land with the plow blade.
O	<i>Onnar başlamışimiş sökmäyä yä:ni?</i>	Das heißt, sie hatten schon angefangen zu pflügen?	You mean, they had begun to break up the land?
A	<i>Onnar başlamışimiş. Ora varınca bu, čükürdän vazgeşdi dä nä: čükürülä o:rašaca:z, bu sabaniñ bi bildi: var dedi bu.  Nä var dedim bän. Bunuñ öküzlärini bir aryalim dedi, nerdä? Yamaçci:nda bi fışdıq dami varidi ufaciq, yamaniñ yüzündä. Ora do:ru vardi:dıq, öküzlär ba:li orda.</i>	Sie hatten schon angefangen.  Als wir hierkamen, verzichtete der da auf die kleine Hacke und sagte: »Warum sollen wir uns denn mit der kleinen Hacke herumschlagen. Dieser Pflug da hat wohl etwas zu bedeuten sagte der da.  Was ist denn?« sagte ich Laß uns doch mal«, sagte er, »die Ochsen, die diesen Pflug ziehen, suchen, wo sind sie?  Genau auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite, am Berghang, gab es eine kleine Hütte für die Erdnüsse. Wir kamen hin, die Ochsen waren dort angebunden.	They had apparently begun.  When we arrived there this (person) gave up the idea to use the little hoe and said "Why should we toil using the hoe? This plow can do something".  I said "So what?" He said, "Let us look for the oxen. Where are they?" On the slope of the hill there was a cottage for the peanuts, a tiny one, on this side of the slope. I recall that we arrived there; the oxen were tied.

<p>Öküzləri çezdik gäldik, goşduq mu, ayıñaydıñi. Şindi bu bireyi sürü'bduru, biz dä gayrı, ay a: sabanıla da gözäl sökülürümüş, inäk sa:r gibi yolarız poçularımıza.</p>	<p>Wir brachten die Ochsen herbei, spannten sie vor den Pflug, es war taghell. Nun pflügt er in Seelenruhe, und wir – o Mann, es läßt sich ja mit dem Pflug gut ausreißen – füllen dabei unsere Tücher, als würden wir eine Kuh melken.</p>	<p>We drove the oxen here, as soon as we started to work it was daylight. Now they kept plowing on their own; we too; it was clearly as easy to break up the land with the plow and to fill our bags as it would be to milk a cow.</p>
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Table 1. The verb forms marking anteriority

Morpheme	Function	Example in standard orthography	
{-DI}	Terminal	⟨bil di m⟩	'I know', i.e. 'I have learned about it'
⟨i di⟩	Distant copula particle	⟨var i di⟩	'It was existing'
{(V)r} ⟨i di⟩	Intraterminal aorist + <i>i-di</i>	⟨kon ar ı dı k⟩	'We used to settle down here'
{-mİŞ} ⟨i mış⟩	Pluperfect evidential	⟨başla mış ı mış⟩	'They had obviously begun'
{-DI} ⟨i di⟩/ {-DI-ydI}	Mnemonic evidential	⟨gir di y dik⟩ ⟨var dı y dı k⟩	'I recall that we entered' 'I remember that we arrived'
{-mİŞ}	Postterminal evidential	⟨sür müş ler⟩	'They obviously plowed'

Table 2. Non-anterior forms

{(V)r}	Intraterminal	⟨yol ar ız⟩	'We pluck'
{(V)r} ⟨i mış⟩	Intraterminal evidential	⟨sök är är i mış⟩	'Obviously they dig/dug'

The {-DI-ydI} forms, ⟨gir|di|y|dik⟩ and ⟨var|dı|y|dı|k⟩, are used instead of simple {-DI-} terminal forms in order to indicate that the speaker recalls the situation to mind.

## 6. The discourse function

Johanson (1971: 77–87) describes the function of verb forms to mark different discourse types. A verb form can be used to introduce a narrative and define the discourse type of the whole text. Another possibility is that a discourse type can be based on a verb form, i.e. the given verb form is used repeatedly in the text.

In Example 1 above, the {-Dİ-ydİ} forms *girdi:dik* and *vardi:diq* introduce the narrated episodes. They are used as encompassing markers to signal that the following narration is based on the evidence of a self-experienced event.

In the second example the entire episode is based on repeatedly used {-Dİ-ydİ} forms.

### Example 2.

*Benim hayatım Mehmet'in köye gelişi ile değişti.*

*İlk köy kahvesinde **gördüydüm** Mehmet'i, elinde gazete ile yola yakın bir masada oturuyordu.*

***Bakıştıydık.***

*Ne yalan söyleyeyim çok **beğendiydim** onu.*

***Gülümsedi**di bana.*

*Ben de ona **gülümsedi**ydim.*

My life changed when Mehmet came to the village.

I recall that I first *saw* Mehmet in the village coffeehouse; he was sitting with a newspaper in his hand at a table close to the road.

We *looked at each other*.

I will not lie, I *liked* him.

He *smiled* at me.

And I also *smiled* at him.

(Serra Menekay: *İğne Oyası: Bir 12 Eylül Romanı*. 2019)

This possibility, namely repeated marking of the discourse type, is not possible if the marker is an adverb denoting an evidential meaning, such as *obviously* in English. Therefore in an English translation, such grammaticalized meanings can be expressed only on a limited scale. For a comparison of means of expressing evidential meanings in Turkish and Swedish, see Csató (2009).

## 7. The decline of {-Dİ-ydİ}

The form {-Dİ-ydİ} is old and occurs in historical texts. It is frequently used in literary works by Fakir Baykurt, Orhan Kemal, Yaşar Kemal, and other village literary writers, and also authors from Istanbul, e.g. Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar.

{-DI-ydI} is the remainder of an old vital form. Its decline has affected the development of the true pluperfect {-mİŝ-tI}, which today can also be used without referring to a time before a localization point in the past; in other words, it can be used to mean ‘It was done’ rather than ‘It had been done’ (Johanson 1971: 58–59).

East Old Turkic displays {-DI} *är-di* as opposed to {-mİŝ} *är-di*, e.g. *Kör-dü-m är-di* ‘I once saw’, *Öğ-dün sözlä-đi är-di* ‘X once spoke’. Several other Turkic languages display constructions of this kind, e.g. Gagauz *Al-dı-y-dı-m*, Crimean Tatar *Al-dı-m ä-dı* ‘I once bought it’. Other modern languages exhibit similar constructions. The similarities between these forms should be investigated.

## 8. Conclusion

This article deals with the position of {-DI-ydI} forms in the Turkish verbal system. Arguments have been presented in favor of analyzing this verb form as an evidential anterior form referring to a self-experienced event as remembered or as recalled to mind. The source is the speaker’s memory. To our knowledge, this is a typologically non-attested type of evidential marker.

## Notations and abbreviations

Examples in italics are given in a Turcological transcription. Examples in Turkish orthography are between < >, and morpheme analysis is marked with |. Morphemes are in { } brackets. High lax vowels are marked by a dot under the vowel sign.

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# Term and Concept of Qualification in Turkish Grammar

Bahar Eriş Karaođlan

## 1. Introduction

In the studies conducted by foreign researchers on grammar and linguistics terms and concepts are quite different from traditional terms and concepts in Turkey. Changing terms that show concepts as linguistic thought streams develop and adding new ones make it difficult to agree with foreign researchers. Therefore, in Turkey, terms in Turkish and foreign languages are given together to facilitate agreement even within ourselves in our writings on grammar. In this case, the problem of terms that turn into jargon for Turkish grammar, the lack of a term to express the subject and the coincidence of a term with more than one concept cause a mountain of problems for those working in the field of language. Today, there are also studies on Turkish grammar that bring new perspectives to terms and concepts. However, it is now mandatory to rethink the terms and concepts related to each sub-branch of grammar.

Although there are many terms and concepts to consider, it is planned to make an evaluation on the term and concept of qualification in this article. In our dictionaries of grammar/linguistics terms, in books on grammar, this term is used for more than one concept and cannot reflect the most thoughtful features in foreign sources as a concept. When foreign resources are used, it is seen that each theory has a terminology within its own system. Since there is a certain logical and philosophical perspective on the basis of this terminology system, it is possible to understand what it means in theory. However, there is no introduction to logic or philosophy in our grammar books since the Republican period, so the basis of the concepts is not clear in grammar studies known to be written from a functionalist perspective today.

In the theories emerging under the leadership of Functional Grammar and Generative Grammar, which are the representatives of the functionalist and formative level today, the terms and concepts of *modification*, *attribution*, *qualification* do not fully coincide with the qualifying terms and concepts in the Turkish grammar terminology system. When the subjects are approached in the light of these theories, it is seen that there are conceptually nuances in these terms that meet the concept of qualification. Therefore, some suggestions will be made for the concept of qualification in Turkish grammar in the light of this information by giving information in regard to how the term qualification is handled in modern linguistics (Functional Grammar, Generative Grammar) after addressing the studies in the main sources with

a critical perspective, where common opinions relating to qualification emerge in the following chapters.

## 2. The Term and concept of qualification in Turkish grammar and linguistic terms dictionaries

Grammar books, term dictionaries, and, of course, syntax studies are examined to gain general knowledge based on Turkish publications about what should be understood when *qualification* as a scientific term is called. For this reason, we will outline the definitions of the term *qualification* in such publications following the purpose of our study.

### 2.1. The term and concept of qualification in Turkish grammar books

The *Türk Dilbilgisi* ‘Turkish Grammar’ book of M. Ergin comes at the beginning of the books that we can look at in order to find an answer to the question of what *qualification* is. For the concept of *qualification* in *Turkish Grammar*, Ergin uses the term *vasıf*. Attributes attached to the structure of the entity, such as *color, shape, height, weight of the structure*, call a *qualifying adjective*; adjectives that do not depend on the structure of the entity also call *determinative adjectives* (Ergin 2002: 246–247).

The term *vasıf* is also used by Tahsin Banguoğlu for the concept of *qualification* in *Türkçenin Grameri* ‘Turkish Grammar’ and defines the equivalent of that term in a foreign language as *qualification* (Banguoğlu 2011: 341–342). In *Turkish Grammar*, Zeynep Korkmaz splits adjectives according to their functions into *qualification* and *determination*. Defines the equivalent of the *niteleme* term in a foreign language as a *qualification* (Korkmaz 2007: 361).

Elöve, mentions that *adjective* means *quality* in a translation of Jean Deny’s book *Türk Dilbilgisi* ‘Turkish Grammar’. For the concept of *qualification*, he uses the term *vasıf* and gives its equivalent as *qualifier* in a foreign language. In Ahmet Benzer translation, he also uses the term *sanlamama* for the concept of qualification (2012: 222). The term *sanlama* is also found in Mehmet Hengirmen’s *Türkçe Dilbilgisi* ‘Turkish Grammar’, and the English equivalent is given as an *apposition* (2007: 586). According to Hengirmen, the term *apposition* refers to the *appositive relationship*. It is also the term of a logical relationship that allows words or phrases to merge, similar to qualifying. However, because the definitions of terms in both uses are still incomplete, it is unclear in which sense they’re being used.

Fatma Erkman Akerson and Şeyda Özil explain in their book *Türkçede Niteleme Sıfat İşlevli Yan Cümleler* ‘Clause in the Qualifier Adjective Functions in Turkish’ that the adjective functional clause is given this name because it qualifies the name like adjectives (Özil 2015: 21). Because it combines an adjective, which is a type of word, and a *qualifier*, which is a function of the structure, the study suggests that the



*qualifier* element in the structure belongs to the adjective word type. In the study of the relative clause, however, it is incorrect to attribute these relative clauses to adjectives, which are a type of word. Of course, given the date of publication, it should be noted that it is one of the works that gives a new perspective outside of classical studies—its first edition was in 1998.

*Qualification* and *property* are defined as terms and concepts in Engin Yılmaz's book *Türkiye Türkçesinde Niteleme Sıfatları* 'Qualifying Adjectives in Turkish'. The English equivalent of the term *niteleme*, according to Engin Yılmaz, is the term *attribution*, but he does not define the foreign language equivalent of the term *özellik*. Engin, who classifies knowledge of *primary* and *secondary qualities*, defines *property* as permanent meaning units and *quality* as variable meaning units determined by our senses, perceptions, and needs (Yılmaz 2004: 50–52). Engin has made a very important commitment here, because *property* is an integral part of being in philosophy, just like time. *Quality* is one of the semantic categories of existence (Shaw 1989: 381). Even if such a classification was given in this study, the basis for the classification was not defined. Although studies prepared with modern linguistic methods on Turkish grammar do not consider the subject of *qualification* separately, serious studies are being carried out in the field.

The book *Dilbilim Kavramlarıyla Türkçe Dilbilgisi* 'Turkish Grammar with Linguistics Concepts' by Turgay Sebzecioğlu is one of them. From phonetic to syntax, he uses the term *niteleme* in his work. The term *modification* is included in the index as the English equivalent of the *niteleme* term. The terms *quality* and *attributive* are not mentioned in the study (Sebzecioğlu 2016: 408). In the same way, the term *modification* is used in the book *Belirteç İşlevli Bağımlı Cümleler* 'Adverbial Functioning Dependent Sentences' of Duygu Özge Gürkan for the term *niteleme*. The adverbial words adverbial functioning dependent sentences are defined in this book as *modifiers*. In an analysis of the Generative Grammar method, the term was used appropriately, but the conceptual framework of the *modifier* term was not drawn up (Gürkan 2016:135).

The book *Türkçede Öbekler* 'Phrases in Turkish' written by Hürriyet Gökdayı was prepared with the perspective of Generative Grammar. The term *niteleme* is used in the study, but it has no equivalent in any other language. Similarly, in the book *Türkiye Türkçesi IV Sözdizimi* 'Turkey Turkish IV Syntax' recently edited by Erdoğan Boz, the term *niteleme* is used, but the foreign language equivalent of the term is not given (Boz 2020). Again, the term *niteleme* is used in the *Syntax* section written by Bayram Çetinkaya in the book *Dilbilim: Teorik ve Uygulamalı Alanlar* 'Linguistics: Theoretical and Applied Fields' edited by Erdoğan Boz. The term *qualification* is not included in the Turkish-English term index at the end of the book part (Boz 2020: 329–332).

Seçil Hirik's book *Sözdizimi Kuramları Bağlamında Türkçede Baş Unsur* 'The Head Element in Turkish in the Context of Syntax Theories' is another recent work. Four types of *tamlama* (complements) are mentioned in the section of the book that deals with *noun phrases*, and the *qualification* is also counted in these syntactic

complements. The *Generative Grammar* model is tested in the book's analysis chapter, but the concept of *niteleme* is not emphasized, and so there is no index of concepts, the term has no foreign language equivalent (Hirik 2020: 103). Unfortunately, *complement* was shown as a *structural occurrence* in the study. It is not mentioned that this relationship is a *functional composition* in the *Generative Grammar*.

The term *quality* is the foreign language equivalent of the term *nitelik* in the book *Dilbilgisi Bileşenleri* 'Grammar Components' prepared by Ö. Can, P. Akşehirli, Ö. Kosaner, M. Özgen. Those who work within the framework of the *Generative Grammar* in the section of the book that describes the *adjunct* and *complement* are the researchers who are shown the source for detailed information on this subject (Can et alia 2020: 356). The reason for mentioning this is that in early versions of the *Generative Grammar*, the term *modification* was used to refer to a syntactic position. However, rather than this term, the author of the chapter was referring to a syntactic relationship with the term *merge* proposed by Minimalist Program. However, in this section, the syntactic positions section was created and returned to the first versions of the *Generative Grammar*, only subject, object, positions and features were mentioned without defining the syntactic positions of the *head*, *complement*, *modification*, and *specifier*. Modification is not counted as one of the syntactic position, just like participants of the subject and object (Can et alia 2020: 440).

## 2.2. Qualification term and concept in Turkish linguistics dictionaries and Turkish grammar terms

In the *Felsefe ve Gramer Terimleri Sözlüğü* 'Dictionary of Philosophy and Grammatical Terms' published in 1942 by the Turkish Language Institution, the term *nitelik* is included. In a foreign language, the term *quality* is given as *nitelik*'s equivalent. But as a concept, this term does not have an explanation. In equivalent for the word *san*, the dictionary also includes the terms *adjective* and *attribute*. The terms *mahmul*,<sup>1</sup> *sifat* 'adjective' and *yüklem* 'predicate', and *san* are the Turkish equivalents of the terms *attribut* and *attribute*. The meaning of the predicate comes from the function of the syntax in which the adjective is the predicate, and *mahmul* is also related to Aristotle's philosophy of *categories/predicates*. The fact that the same terms were used for *predicate*, *adjective* and *mahmul* without establishing a philosophical and logical basis also led to confusion. Although there are many aspects to be criticized, it is also important in terms of reflecting a period when the young Turkish Republic accelerated its language studies.

The term *qualification* is not shown as a dictionary item in the *Dilbilim ve Dilbilgisi Terimleri Sözlüğü* 'Dictionary of Linguistic And Grammatical Terms' prepared by Berke Vardar (1980), and the term is only included in the title of *qualification adjective*. The term *belgeç* is equivalent of *san* in the dictionary, and it is also given as the foreign language equivalent of the French term *epithet*. The term

1 *Mahmul* is a logic term in the sense that it is related to something that is predicated.

*belgeç* refers to an entity's permanent property. The term *epithet* is defined as a unit of meaning that defines a noun, and it is indicated as an adjective in grammar. In Turkey, the term *belgeç* is not used; instead, the terms *belgili sıfat* 'determinate adjective' and *belgisiz sıfat* 'indeterminate adjective' are used. The conceptual structure of these grammatical terms differs from that of the *belgeç* concept.

The translation of Andre Martinet's book of *İşlevsel Dil Bilgisi* 'Functional Grammar' published five years after the publication of the *Dictionary of Linguistic and Grammatical Terms*, includes the term *niteç*, which is not included in this dictionary. The French equivalent of the term as an *attribute* is also referred to by Vardar (1985: 119–122). The term qualification does not appear in Nurettin Koç's Dictionary of *Açıklamalı Dilbilgisi Terimleri Sözlüğü* 'Explanatory Grammatical Terms' as a *niteleme* term, but it is used to express other concepts. The German *attributive* and French *qualificative* terms are the foreign language equivalents of the *niteleme* term (Koç 1992:190). In her *Grammer Terimleri Sözlüğü* 'Grammatical Terms Dictionary' Zeynep Korkmaz uses the terms *tamlayan* for *qualification* and *tamlanan* for *qualified* as synonyms. The terms *determinant* and *determined* are used to describe *tamlayan* and *tamlanan*, respectively, in English (Korkmaz 2017: 223). Here, the relationship between the terms and concepts of *tamlama* and *niteleme* is not specified. The term of *tamlama* isn't clear whether it refers to semantic or syntactic. Korkmaz's equalization of the *tamlayan-tamlanan* relationship with the *niteleyen-nitelenen* relationship, as well as its equivalent of the term *determination* for the term *tamlama*, creates ambiguity. The relationship between *tamlayan* and *tamlanan* in a noun phrase is different from the relationship between a verb and its complements.

Does the meaning of another element in a noun phrase complement the meaning of another element? Is it claiming that one of the complete syntax parts occurs? Unfortunately, the information provided by the dictionary is insufficient to answer these questions. Berke Vardar's dictionary of *Açıklamalı Dili Bilim Terimleri Sözlüğü* 'Explanatory Linguistics Terms', does not include the concept of *qualification* as a dictionary item.

Dictionary in question, foreign language equivalent of the *determination* and *identification* are *tamlayan/tamlanan* and *belirleyen/belirlenen*. The term *qualification* is a dictionary item, and the term *qualification* is used for its foreign language counterpart. And the *qualification* is used for its equivalent in a foreign language. There is a *modification* term in the dictionary that is also referred to as a *modifier* linked to the *qualification* term. The modification refers to an externally focused organization, according to this dictionary, and the phrase should not be included in the distribution of the head noun. Vardar, defines the relationship in this phrase as a *modifier relationship*, giving the example of a *kolu kırık adam* 'man with a broken arm', because *kolu kırık* 'broken arm' does not specify the kind of man (Vardar 2002: 69).

The term *niteleyen* is used for the term *modification* in Imer & Kocaman & Özsoy's *Dilbilim Sözlüğü* 'Dictionary of Linguistics' (2011). The term *nitelik* is also dictionary item and, the foreign language equivalent is *attribution*. The term *niteleyici*

is also used as an English adjective and attributive term. The term *quality* is the foreign language equivalent of the term *nitelik* in the dictionary. The term *determination* does not appear in dictionary. There are several statements that conflict each other in the definition of *qualifier*. The term *niteleyen*, according to the dictionary, indicates the degree of comparison and superiority of the noun and refers to the noun's properties. An adjective or a term that describes a noun is referred to as a *niteleyici*. The definitions used in this case are unable to distinguish between the *niteleyen* and the *niteleyici*.

The term of *niteleyen* is the dictionary item in Ahmet Topaloğlu's *Karşılaştırmalı Dilbilgisi Terimleri Sözlüğü* 'Dictionary of Comparative Grammar Terms' (2019). The term *tamlayan* is known as a *niteleyen* term. In French the term is equivalent to *qualifie*, *epithete*, and Ottoman Turkish *adjective*. The foreign language equivalent of the *tamlayan* in the dictionary is *determinant* in French. Similarly, the French equivalent of the *nitelenen* is *qualifier*. In the French *determine* is the equivalent of a *tamlayan*. Topaloğlu's classification matches that of Zeynep Korkmaz's *Dictionary of Terms* (2017) but the way they express concepts is different.

The terms *qualifier* and *modifier* are used in equivalent for the term *niteleyici* in Günay Karaağaç's *Dilbilimi Terimleri Sözlüğü* 'Dictionary of Linguistic Terms', and the term *niteleme* is also used in equivalent for the term *qualification*. For *tamlayıcı* and *açıklayıcı* terms, the term *niteleyici* is also used as a synonym. But *tamlayıcı*'s equivalent is *determinative* and *açıklayıcı*'s equivalent is an *appositive*. Despite the fact that the terms *niteleyici* and *niteleyen* are used in different words, their conceptual frameworks are the same. Both have been used to represent a logical form in the sense of the structure's skeleton. The term *açıklayıcı* means that the descriptive expression comes after the head element syntactically. Karaağaç claims that this isn't a *qualification* relation, but he calls the descriptive item a *qualifier* item (Karaağaç 2013: 23).

The term *modifier* is included with the *complement* within the subcategories of grammar in Agop Dilaçar's article *Grammer* 'Grammar'. According to the definition, this category is represented by adjectives and adverbs with the *modifier* implying a change in meaning. *Sanlama* is also used in place of the *qualifier*, and it is stated that *modifier* is a subcategory of the grammatical category (Dilaçar 1971: 94).

The *niteleyici* term equivalent is a *modifier* in TÜBA *Bilim Terimleri Sözlüğü* 'Tüba's Dictionary of Scientific Terms'. *Değiştirici* is also listed as a synonym for this term. The term "değiştirici a word or phrase that provides additional information about another word or set of words, as well as an adjective or token that modifies the attribute of the noun that follows" is defined. The term *niteleme* is also defined in the dictionary as "describing objects or phenomena in terms of their structural properties without resorting to measurement", in philosophy and "describing an entity with its distinctive properties." In this dictionary the term of *niteleyici* and *değiştirici* are syntactic term and the term *niteleme* is a semantic term. Among these studies, TÜBA's dictionary stands out because it explains terms in terms of logic, philosophy, and grammar.

The terms *niteleme* and *niteleyici* are listed separately in the dictionary. The terms *değiştirici/niteleyici* denote a *syntactic qualifier*, whereas the term *niteleme* is used to express a *semantic qualifier*. In the dictionary, the term of *öznelik* equivalent is the term of *attributive*. The dictionary definition of the *attribute* in philosophy is “what is found in a word, requires a carrier, is dependent on the essence, is distinct from the variable and random one.” It can also be defined as “property, argument, or internal correlation” in logic.

As a result, the terms used for the concept of *qualification* in Turkish Grammar are as in this table:

Terms used for the concept of qualification	qualifier, qualification	attributive attribution	modifier modification	apposition	determination	epithet
Ergin(2002)	<i>vasıf</i>					
Banguoğlu (2011)	<i>vasıf</i>					
Korkmaz(2007)	<i>niteleme</i>					
Deny(2012)	<i>vasıflama</i>					
Benzer (2012)	<i>sanlama</i>					
Hengirmen (2007)				<i>sanlama</i>		
Özil and Akerson (2015)	<i>niteleme</i>					
Yılmaz(2004)		<i>niteleme</i>				
Sebzecioglu (2016)			<i>niteleyici</i>			
Can&Akşehirli& Koşaner&Özgen (2020)	<i>nitelik</i>					
Felsefe ve Gramer Sözlüğü (1942)	<i>nitelik</i>	<i>sıfat, yüklem</i>	<i>san</i>			
Vardar(1980)						<i>belgeç</i>
Vardar(2002)	<i>nitelik</i>		<i>değiştirici</i>		<i>tamlayan</i>	
Vardar (1985) A Martinet		<i>niteç</i>				
Korkmaz(2017)					<i>tamlayan</i>	<i>niteleyen</i>
İmer&Kocaman & Özsoy		<i>niteleme</i>	<i>niteleyen</i>			
Topaloğlu (2019)	<i>niteleme</i>	<i>niteleyici</i>			<i>tamlayan</i>	<i>niteleyen</i>
	<i>niteleyen</i>					

Karaağaç (2013)	<i>niteleyici</i> <i>niteleme</i>	<i>nitelendirme</i>	<i>niteleyici</i>	<i>açıklayıcı</i>	<i>tamlayıcı</i>
Dilaçar(1971)	<i>sanlama</i>		<i>modifier</i>		
TÜBA	<i>niteleme</i>	<i>öznelik</i>	<i>niteleyici</i> <i>değiştirici</i>		

According to the research, the concept of *qualification* in Turkish grammar terminology is not examined syntactically, pragmatically, or semantically. It is not specified why these terms are used, that is, the concept framework is not drawn properly.

### 3. Qualification term and concept in linguistics

In this section, *qualifier*, *attributive*, and *modifier* concepts will be investigated using Generative Grammar, Functional Grammar and Systemic Functional Grammar. As a result we will consider about this terms and concepts from different perspectives. Because Generative Grammar views language as a structure, Functional Grammar, which views language as communication, and Systemic Functional Grammar, which views language as a system, from semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic perspectives.

#### 3.1. Systemic Functional Grammar: modification, attribution, qualification terms and concepts according to M. A. K. Halliday, R. Fawcett and L. Tucker

Language is treated as a society-semiotic system in Systemic Functional Grammar. Ludwig Wittgenstein's *language plays* and Gilbert Ryle's opposing views on the *mind-body* distinction have shaped it (Bateman 2017: 14). The language in Systemic Functional Grammar is made up of systems. Saussure's concept of *valeur* corresponds to systems with paradigmatic sets of selects determined by society (Chapman & Routledge 2009: 225). In a language, *value* is defined solely by the value that an element receives from its community of users. The language in communication-based functional grammar, according to Halliday, is made up of *stratums*, *ranks*, and *metafunctions*. Barlett and O'grady (2017) define stratums as *paradigmatic relationships* that form content (Barlett & O'grady 2017: 3–4). The *metafunctions*, on the other hand, are the stage after the content is created when it is interpreted. The horizontal syntagmatic relationship is established by *ideational*, *interpersonal*, and *textual metafunctions* (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 30–31). Why something is said in terms of interpersonal relationship, how something is said in textual terms, and what is said in experiential terms, have all been linked to Systemic Functional Grammar (Chapman & Routledge 2009: 226). In fact, after this stage, we will only look at *ideational metafunctions* and will not provide detailed information about other metafunctions. The *ideational function* is a network of meaning that exists within the

global order and allows experiences to have meaning (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 68–69). Systemic Functional Grammar is divided into two components as an *experiential* and *logical* function during this functional phase, in which we can create types and typologies of meaning in a given space (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 30). The basis of all experiences, according to Systemic Functional Grammar, is change. With change, our consciousness changes as well, and the focus of this change in consciousness is the sequence of *processes*. According to Systemic Functional Grammar, *processes* are cognitive categories that we use to make sense of events around us (Chapman & Routledge 2009: 229). A cognitive process has three components: the *process* itself (performed by the verb), the process *participants* (typically noun phrases), and *process-related conditions* (typically the adverb and prepositional phrases) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2006: 512).

The process, which is a cognitive category, represents the linguistic concept of *transitivity* (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 83–169). The semantic category of *transitivity* in grammar, according to Halliday, is based on our internal and external experiences from a young age. When we want to associate external and internal experiences with each other, the *relational process* is also formed (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 213). The *relational process* that we will focus on, according to our subject, is the process of *being*. *Being* does not imply *to be* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2006: 96–97). It literally means *to become*. The entity or process is evaluated in the *relational process* based on the intrinsic properties they possess (Tucker 1998: 127). One of the *participant* in the process is *qualification* in Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 218–219). *Qualification* is divided into two subcategories in a *participant function*: *entity* and *quality*, with *quality* being further divided into *expansion* and *projection* qualities. The *elaboration category*, which is a subtype of the *expansion meaning* category, is divided into *attribution* and *identification* sub-semantic categories. The *attribution* meaning category is further divided into subcategories such as “human or animal characteristics, class, social status, quantity, and sense-measurement” (Halliday & Matthiessen 2006: 62). For example, *Houses look clean*. The attributive action in this sentence is *look*.<sup>2</sup> Attribute is the *clean* and the Carrier is *house*. A relational process exists between the *Attribute* and *Carrier* relationship. Halliday also refers to the *Attribute* function or semantic role in adjectival groups.

*Epithets* are another problematic term in Turkish grammar that is referred to by the term and concept of *qualification*. The *epithet* is a term in Systemic Functional Grammar that belongs to both the *experiential* and *logical metafunctions*, as well as the *interpersonal metafunction*. If the head element of the logical structure in the noun phrase is not an entity, the *epithet* acts as a *premodifier* for the *adjective*, *adverb*, or *preposition* as a *logical metafunction* term (Matthiessen & Teruya & Lam 2010: 70). The *epithet* represents different experiential characteristics, such as the *age*

2 Halliday has created a table of verb that define as ascribing. For further information, see Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 238.

*dimension*, *value* in the noun phrase, as an *experiential function*. We should concentrate on the use of the term *property* rather than the term *attribute* in this case. Because the word *epithet* realizes at *lexico-grammatical* rank. The *selection process* took place in this rank, and the grammar and lexical items were combined. The *epithet* is a function that occurs after merging as a semantic subcategory of the quality. The term *attribution*, on the other hand, is a semantic term that refers to a subtype of quality. The term *attribution*, on the other hand, is a semantic term that refers to a subtype of quality. There is an attribute-intensive relationship with the entity, according to the term *attribution*, and words in the *attributive function* are interpreted as the entity's intrinsic features (Halliday & Matthiessen 2006: 210–211). In other words, the experiential function in a noun phrase specifies the subcategory of what the noun phrase represents (Matthiessen & Teruya & Lam 2010: 70).

It can be seen in Systemic Functional Grammar that the terms *classifier* and *epithet* are sometimes used interchangeably (Halliday & Matthiessen 2006: 210–211). The *classifier* is also defined as measure words in some Systemic Functional Grammar studies. However, a *classifier* is a term that refers to words that refer to groups of entities. The distinction between the terms *epithet* and *classifier* here is whether or not an experience is a subclass of an entity. Tucker, a Systemic Functional Grammar researcher, defines the *classifier* as sociocultural subclasses of thing and claims that classified assets cannot be graded (Tucker 1998: 125).

One of the types of experience interpretation is *logical metafunction*, which deals with how one part can merge with another, how it can be repeated, and how these parts are sorted, or their logical relationships. One sentence or phrase always follows another in this relationship.

As a result, they're referred to as complex, and each connection is referred to as a *nexus* (Matthiessen & Halliday 2006: 23). According to Halliday, noun phrases have two logical function: the *head* and the *modifier*. *Determiners*, *numerical*, *epithet*, *classifier*, and a *qualifier semantic categories* are subcategories of *modifiers* in this logical relationship (Fontaine 2017: 268). Modification is a logical semantics concept found only in noun phrases in Cardiff Grammar (Fawcett 2000: 214–217). *Color modifiers*, *emotion modifiers*, and *general epithet modifiers*, for example, can all be divided into species (Fawcett 2000:217). As a result, a modifier alters or clarifies the submission expressed by the head element rather than changing or describing the head element itself (Fawcett 2000: 217).

Before we conclude our discussion of Systemic Functional Grammar, we should note that adjectives and verb complements are similar in Systemic Functional Grammar. The modifier is claimed to be a complement-like element, according to this viewpoint. This modifier, on the other hand, does not complete the meaning of the adjective (Tucker 1998: 72–73). In other words, the structure's filling<sup>3</sup> process takes

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3 In Cardiff Grammar (2010), operation is the name of the process of creating a structural relationship. M. A. K. Halliday (2014) uses the term rule in response to this term.



place. In Cardiff Grammar, this is one of the syntactic operations that occurs during the formation of meaning.

### 3.1.1. Functional Grammar: modification, attribution, qualification terms and concepts according to Simon C. Dik

Natural language is a social interaction tool, according to Functional Grammar. Because a language is a tool, it does not exist in and of itself, rather, it exists as a result of its use in social interactions. Communication between natural language users is the primary function of a natural language, and pragmatic knowledge is formed alongside communication. Pragmatic knowledge encompasses all of an individual's knowledge, beliefs, prejudices, emotions, and other mental contents over time (Dik 1997a: 6–7). In the structure of linguistic expressions, Functional Grammar makes a clear distinction between lexical (or content) and grammatical (or form) elements. The basic predicates listed in the dictionary are known as lexical elements. At various levels, linguistic elements reflect various *operators* and semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic *functions*. The term processor or *operator*<sup>4</sup> comes from the fields of algebra and formal logic. Similarly, the concept of *predicate* and *satellite* is a logical term (Dik 1997a: 159–160). In addition Functional Grammar has *entity operators*, *predicate operators*, *predication operators*, *pragmatik operators*, and *propositional operators*. One of the types of entity operators is *quality operators*. Operators that specify properties of the entity, such as countability, class, abstract, concrete, and so on, are known as *qualification operators* (Dik 1997a: 159–162). In a sense, *qualification operators* specify the types of the entity rather than the quality of the entity.

*Satellite* is an optional adjunction in Functional Grammar that modifies the predicate in lexical meaning (Dik 1997a: 226–227). We must discuss the sentence structure formed by expanding the *predicate* in order to fully describe the *satellite*. The linguistic relationship that arises from Frege's *concept-object paradox* is known as *predication*. The concept in the *concept-object paradox* is *incomplete/unsaturated* and *functional*. The object also represents the argument that completes it (concept). As a result, the predicate-argument relationships are regarded as complementary. The predicate refers to a semantic relationship as well as a structural sequence that allows this relationship to happen. That is, it is a technique for constructing sentences (Stalmaszczyk 2014: 225). The subject and object, both of which are *predicate* syntactic functions in Functional Grammar, combine to form the *nuclear predicate*. This *nuclear predicate* includes a number of *operators* and *satellites*. The *core predication* layer is formed in this manner. Similarly, an *extended predicate* is created by once again adding an operator and a satellite (Dik 1997a: 217). The operator and satellites are added to the event state for expansion, *nuclear predication* is changed,

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4 In Turkish grammar, the term operator refers to the grammatical subcategories of verb and thing. In Turkish grammar, these subcategories of things denote grammatical meanings, just as they do in Functional Grammar.

and core predication takes place (Dik 1997a: 226–229). In other words, *modification* in Functional Grammar is a logical term for the *merge relationship*. It's also a term used to describe the predicate's semantic distribution. Because of their semantic connection to the speaker's personal attitude, the *modifiers* have a loose connection to the rest of the sentence and exhibit an attitudinal characteristic (Dik 1997a: 66). *Modifiers* also serve as semantic restrictors in Functional Grammar, but if their position changes, they may lose this function and become *appositive* (Dik 1997a: 147). When the *modifiers* are in front of the noun, Dik counts them as being in front of the noun as a pragmatic emphasis (Dik 1997a: 429–430). In addition, *verbal restrictive modifiers* such as relative clauses are considered.

There's also a type of *attributive modification* known as reduced versions of relative clause (Dik 1997b: 25–26). In Functional Grammar, the term *attributive* refers to a pragmatic function. B. Russell advocated a theory of *definiteness* in his famous paper *On Denoting* (Russell 1905). As a result, the meaning of defined expressions is determined by the larger grammatical structure in which they are found. As a consequence, it's clear that *definiteness* exists on a pragmatic level (Hughes 2014: 99–101). To put it another way, the concept of *attributive* in context serves a *pragmatic* as well as a *syntactic* function (Dik 1997a: 194–196). Finally, the term *epithet* is not a common term in Functional Grammar. It is used semantically in the sense of the property of being (Dik 1997a: 319).

### 3.1.2. Formalist-functionalist view: modification, attribution, qualification terms and concepts according to Talmy Givon

Givon uses the method of grammatical structure explanation, which takes into account functional, pragmatic, communicative, discursive, and informative factors. Givon stated in the book named *An Introduction Syntax I-I* that “morphological-syntactic structures and their semantic and pragmatic relationships, as well as attempting to reveal some of the universal principles that govern both the functional and structural order of grammar by identifying the possible limits of typological variability among languages” (Givon 2001a: 17). Talmy Givon only uses the term *modifier* for qualification in his books and does not use the term *qualifier*. The term *attributive* is used only for non-referential predicates in a discourse-pragmatic sense (Givon 2001a: 247).

Human language, according to Givon, serves two important functions in the learning process. The first is a representation, while the second is communication (declarative and communicative coding). There are two subsystems in the communicative coding system. One of these subsystems is grammar (Givon 2001a: 7). Within the abstract components of grammar, which is a sub-branch of this communicative coding system, the term *modifier* is also one of the concepts that shows the *scope-relevance relationship*. The *modifier-noun* relationship is indicated by this relationship (Givon 2001a: 12). When the syntactic role in the noun phrase is called, the relationship between *modifier* and noun is understood, according to the syntactic characteristic of nouns. Grammatical roles, also known as case roles, are

mentioned in the sentence. In a noun phrase, nouns serve as the *subject*, *object*, and *predicate* in the sentence, as well as the syntactic and semantic head, or they define the type of entity involved. That is, all of the elements except the head are *modifiers* (Givon 2001a: 59). Givon examines *modifier* types into four categories. *Classifier*, *number*, *state* morphem, and *determiner/articles* are all subsets of bound morpheme. The subset of lexical words includes *nouns*, *demonstratives*, *adjectives*, *compound nouns*, *numbers*, and *quantifiers*. *Prepositional phrase* and *relational phrase* are included in the subset of phrases, the *noun complement* and *relative phrase*, the subset of the sentence (Givon 2001b: 2). According to the position of *modifier*, Givon divides them into two groups: *prenominal modifiers* and *postnominal modifiers* (2001a:243). Givon, who considers *modifiers* from both a pragmatic and functional standpoint, distinguishes between two types of modifiers: *restrictive* and *non-restrictive*. The referential scope of *restrictive modifiers* has narrowed the head element. Modifiers create a hierarchical structure in the syntax tree, and the *modifier* is the sister node of the head noun, according to Givon. When there are multiple qualifiers, a hierarchical merger with syntactic complexity (merging) occurs.

### **3.2. Modification, qualification, and attribution terms and concepts according to Generative Grammar and Minimalist Program**

It is impossible to describe the 60-year history of Generative Grammar in detail in this study, which focuses on the use of the term and concept of *qualification* in formalist and functional linguistic theories. However, Chomsky's theories develop in a way that supports and connects them, we'll have to mention some of the Generative Grammar concepts when explaining a phenomenon in the Minimalist Program.

The *attributive* and *quality* terms are not at the center of the theory in Generative Grammar. Instead, the term *modification* is used, which refers to a broader structural and functional relationship. In early versions of Generative Grammar, the *Projection Principle* explains this structural and semantic composition. The *Projection Principle* states that each lexical item must be represented as a *phrase category* at each syntactic level. As a result, the *head* element is syntactically combined with the complement, which logically consists of the *minimal projection*, that is, a *phrase category* in grammar level. Because the subject is required in projection based on the concept of predication, the *Extended Projection Principle* was developed (Chomsky 1982: 10). Chomsky then approaches the noun phrase and clause from a different perspective, designing the lexical head as a lexical function. It also accepts the general principle that all functions of the *Extended Projection Principle* must be *saturated/completed* from this perspective. Chomsky explicitly refers to Frege in this view (Chomsky 1986: 116). In Frege's semantics, applying a function (structural entities) to an argument is not simply a combination of two elements. Because the function contains a logical place (argument place) that needs to be filled, it merges with the argument to form an independent part (Stalmaszczyk, 2014: 236–239). The predicate, seen as a function, is applied to its argument to saturate the unsaturated meaning (Scontras & Nicolae, 2014: 18). Until this stage of theory, the modifier is thought to be an adjunct, but it is

not a complement position. The functional composition between the argument and the head element/predicate, on the other hand, changes in Minimalism.

Instead of the *Projection Principle*'s structures, *phase* creates phrase categories and sentences that represent a functional composition (Chomsky 2000: 108). Grammatical operations such as *case marking*, *agreement*, and *movement* are performed using these grammatical relationships. Modified *heads*, *adjectives*, *adverbs*, *prepositions*, and *relative complement* form their own argument structures as predicate and have the ability to select during this phase. *Nouns*, *verbs*, *adjectives*, and *prepositions* are *n-place predicate* in this view, according to Frege. *Modification* is a functional composition, and their *modifiers* are logically higher-order predicates<sup>5</sup> (Escribano, 2004: 10). Due to the lack of a structural distinction between *complement* and *adjunction*, it is thought that the semantic differences between *complement* and *modifier* have also been erased in today's traditional adjunct analysis of Minimalist Program. The *adjunct* is even thought to be reduced to *complement* or *specifier*. In general, the subject of *modification* is described as *terra incognita* "unknown place" in the Generative Grammar (Escribano, 2004: 37).

#### 4. Conclusion and Recommendations

As can be seen, it is not clear which linguistic model or philosophical logical point of view is used for the concept of *qualification* in Turkish Grammar. In this article prepared to contribute to the solution of this problem, considering how the concept of *qualification* is handled around formative and functionalist and formative-functionalist views, we can list the issues to be considered in the use of the concept of *qualification* in Turkish Grammar as follows:

1. When referring to the concept and term of qualification, we need to specify which of the functionalist or formative levels we approach the subject with. Because in linguistics, each model or theory has its own terminology, and it makes sense in the whole.
2. If we are to approach the issue in terms of Systemic Functional Grammar, we must first understand the difference between *experiential* and *logical metafunctions*. As we approach the subject experientially, we need to know that the concept of *qualification* is included in the syntax as a *participant* of the sentence and *niteleme* (qualification) is a semantic category of the *participant*. The term *attribution* is a semantic subcategory of the concept of qualifying roof. The *attribution* logically begins to give more detailed information about the *quality*. In addition, the terms *attributive*, *attributor*, and *attribute* fulfill the *participant semantic role* in the sentence. In other words, a meaning such as *attributive* concept, *agent*, *goal* can also be the name of a syntactic function or role. *Nitem* (epithet) is one of the semantic

<sup>5</sup> Higher order predicate is one of the logic terms used in the sense of explaining a group or set in hierarchical order.

categories of the roof concept *quality* in Systemic Functional Language. The meaning, which expresses the subclasses of the asset and intense relationships with the asset, covers all *qualities* other than units. In Systemic Functional Grammar, the term *epithet* also fulfils the function of the *premodifier of adjective*, adverb, or preposition as a term of logical metafunction in the logical structure. Also, the epithet represents the entity that is dispositional in the interpersonal metafunction. In Functional Grammar and from a formative functionalist point of view, the *attributive term* and concept fulfil a pragmatic function that points to a specified non-referential entity.

3. The term *qualification* and *attribution* for Turkish grammar does not reflect the difference and hierarchy between them. Therefore, it is more accurate to call it *detaylı nitelme* ‘detailed qualification’ or *öznelik* for attribution in noun phrase and qualification as a semantic framework concept *nitelme*. For the qualifying function in sentences, the fact that we call the *attributor* and *attribute* as a *nitelme rolü* in return for the attributive terms will also eliminate the confusion and show in what sense we use this term. In a reference to the concept of attribution, we talk about pragmatic function, and in return for the term, we can form a complement such as a certain *gönderge dışı belirli nitelik* ‘non-attributive quality’. Since it has been observed that the term epithet is also used with the term *niteleyen* ‘qualitative’ or the use of adjective terms in return for the term epithet makes it difficult to draw the concept framework. Because the meaning of epithet characterization is a semantic subcategory and adjective is a linguistic item within this category. Epithet, meaning is a semantic category, but gains this function at the lexico-grammar level. *Attribution* and *classifier*, on the other hand, fulfil this function at the semantic level.

4. If we are to approach characterization in terms of logical form, that is, logical function, in Systemic Functional Grammar and Functional Grammar and Generative Grammar, the term describing the relationship between the skeleton in the structure and that structure is the *modifier*. It is also used in the sense of a syntactic function such as subject and object because it expresses the logic of the structure due to its function in a modified logical structure at the formative-functionalist level. It describes the modifier at the pragmatic level within the framework of Systemic Functional Grammar. Halliday used the postmodifier and qualifier terms as synonyms to describe the qualifying part in sentences combined with the reflection relationship, which is one of the modifier types separated by their syntactic positions. This use is included as a premodifier in Turkish grammar, that is, it is also met by the term qualifier, which is a semantic category as a premodifier syntactic position. Since the term *değiştirici* ‘modifier’ already exists in Turkish grammar, the term should not be called qualifier, because qualitative is a semantic category and modifier is a term that refers to syntactic, logical, and pragmatic functions.

5. It is also necessary to clarify the *tamlayan-tamlanan* ‘determinate-determined’ *niteleyen-nitelenen* ‘qualifier-qualified’ equivalence in Turkish Grammar in terms of the use of terms. From the point of view of the Generative Grammar and the Functional Grammar, we can approach the issue in two ways: In Generative Grammar, it is shortened as *modifier*, *complement* and *specifier*, so when

the *modifier* switches to *specifier position* in use, the *tamlayan-tamlanan* relationship occurs. The reason for taking this name when it switches to the position of specifier may be that it is called determinant in Turkish grammar. There is also the idea that modifiers must always be completed in order for them to gain the function in the structure as a predicate. This point of view also shows that the *tamlayan-tamlanan* relationship is a functional relationship. According to the Functional Grammar, one element does not complete the meaning of the other element. It means that only one/clutter of parts in syntactic structure has occurred. According to this point of view, the *tamlayan-tamlanan* relationship is a structural relationship.

As a result, if we can grasp the basis of linguistic theories and perspectives, linguistics will change the way we think about our subjects. Understanding what is meant by terms and concepts will enable us to create something new.

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## Barla – The Cradle of the Nurcu Movement

Valéria Kicsi

Barla is a little village in the province of Isparta, Turkey, on the shores of Lake Eğirdir Gölü. The Turkish Lake District is a series of shallow freshwater lakes in southwestern Anatolia, nestled between the wrinkles of the Taurus Mountains, including Eğirdir, one of the largest, at 482 km<sup>2</sup>. The Greek name of the lake is *Akrotiri*, and before the population change of the 1920s, was inhabited by a large Greek Orthodox community and a much smaller Armenian one.



Barla is not a real waterfront town, the road winds steeply from the lake shore between the mountains. The village overlooks the lake in the mountains – its location is reminiscent of Aszófő on the shores of Lake Balaton in Hungary. The newly built parts are getting closer and closer to the water, the older ones are stretching on the hillsides. Before 1922, Orthodox Greeks and Muslim Turks also lived here together.

In the upper part of the village there are several manor houses, which have been uninhabited for decades but still reveal their former wealth. Away from the village, the completely abandoned 18<sup>th</sup>-century church of Hagios Georgios is a reminder of former Greek residents.

The nearest big city is not the lakeside Eğirdir, but the more distant Isparta. Said Nursi was originally exiled here in 1925. The governor of Isparta sent him on to Barla, where he was placed in the village house. Here he spent the years of his exile in Barla and wrote a significant part of his voluminous explanations of the Qur'an, creating his own movement.



Today, of the many religious communities in Turkey, one of the largest is the one following the teachings of Bediüzzaman Said Nursi. Over the past decade and a half, this community has also begun to cultivate the cult of the spiritual father of the community, creating a whole legend around him and creating places of remembrance evoking scenes of his life – including in Barla.

Bediüzzaman Said Nursi (March 18, 1877 or 1878–1960) was undoubtedly the most influential Muslim thinker of Turkey in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Historical events are well suited to make Nursi a legendary figure today. The name *Bediüzzaman* ‘best of his age’ is said to have been given as a teenager because of his great knowledge. For the same reason and as an expression of respect, his followers also refer to him as *Üstad* ‘master’.

Said Nursi is the founder of the Nurcu Movement, the author of an extensive (approximately 6,000 pages) Quranic explanation *Risale-i Nur* 'The Message of Light'. In addition to interpretations, it contains self-reflections and stories as well.

He distinguished three stages of his own life according to the inner path he took. The first between 1877 and 1920 was the 'old Said', while until 1950 the 'new Said' and finally the period leading up to his death was the era of the 'third Said'.

Nursi was born the 4<sup>th</sup> child of a poor Kurdish family with seven children south of Lake Van, a small village in the Taurus Mountains. The town of a few houses is still officially called the village of Nur today. He was registered in the registry as Said Okur. His father was also an imam, his son studied with him and in the nearby madrasa, and according to the hagiographic narrative, he was already arguing on his own at the tender age of 16. He had a legendary memory, he is said to have learned several books by heart. At the invitation of the governor of Van he continued his studies at the provincial headquarter, where he read science books in the library and learned Turkish.

Here he developed his conception of education, the very pith of which was that institutions teaching science should also teach Islamic philosophy, significant Sufism, that is, mysticism, and in parallel, those receiving religious education should also learn science, especially mathematics.

The *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* 'Commission for Unity and Progress', an ambitious young Turkish movement to modernize the Ottoman Empire and stop the loss of its territory, was founded in 1906. During the so-called Thessaloniki coup in 1908, it gained power and forced Sultan Abdul Hamid to re-enact and convene parliament, the hitherto ignored 1876 constitution. A conservative counter-coup was organized against the youth Turkish movement in 1909, in which Said Nursi also played an important role. After defeating this, Nursi was arrested but he was later acquitted. He devoted all his energy to the realization of his educational ideals.

In World War I, he fought on the Caucasian front, where he was commander of a smaller unit. He was also honored for his merits. He was taken prisoner of war in Russia in 1916, from where he escaped under adventurous circumstances in early 1918. His journey home led to Istanbul through Belarus, Poland, Germany, Austria and the Balkans, where he was greeted with a standing ovation. Upon his return, he became a teacher at *Dar-al Hikmat al-Islamiye*, 'the Theological Academy'. He attacked the British occupiers in a sharp voice in the press, endangering himself once again.

Nursi watched Mustafa Kemal's activities with suspicion and concern, although he supported the war of independence. The suspicion was mutual. Mustafa Kemal offered him a high-paying post to oversee the religious affairs of Eastern Turkey. He could also have maintained his position at the *Dar-al Hikmat al-Islamiye*. However, Nursi refused. According to some sources, the two of them met in person on November 25, 1922, when Nursi allegedly raised his voice against Mustafa Kemal. From then on, they looked at each other as opponents. Nursi did not support Mustafa

Kemal's ideas and ideology. So much so, that he returned from Ankara to Van, where he lived a retired life (in a cave).

The reforms of Mustafa Kemal exiled religious thought, significantly suppressed the Muslim institutional system, and sought to keep it under state control. The monastic orders were banned, the number of the so-called *imam hatip* schools (training of mosque staff) was reduced to a minimum, Islamic theological education also took place in only one institution. Religiosity became synonymous with obscurantist, it was a shame. At the same time, especially in the countryside, "folk religiosity" continued to live on, and local religious authorities educated in various monastic orders and madrasas created a world outside the officially authorized creed. Of course, the suspicion and sometimes persecution of official institutions accompanied their activities. However, belief and folk religiosity persisted throughout.

After the suppression of the Anatolian uprisings of 1925, although Nursi did not take an active part in them, he was exiled to Western Anatolia. He refrained from the Kurdish uprising associated with the name of Sheikh Said, although one of the aims of the uprising was to restore the caliphate abolished by Mustafa Kemal. Following the suppression of the uprising, at least 5,000 judgments were handed out immediately by the court *İstiklâl Mahkemesi*, 'Independence Tribunal' of which at least 420 were death sentences.

However, as at the site of his exile, in the town of Isparta, a large crowd soon became his followers, the governor assigned him a forced residence in a village called Barla. It was during this period that he began to put his large-scale work, a Qur'an commentary *Risale-i Nur* on paper. Although he had already begun work during the First World War, at least two-thirds of the full text must have been written in Barla between 1926 and 1934. Leaving the "old Said" who was disappointed in the world behind him, the years of the "new Said", which he himself characterized with intellectual isolation and privacy, begin roughly with his years in Barla. There is not a word about persecution, but it is known that from 1931 his visitors were regularly monitored and harassed, and his educational activities were also obstructed. In 1934, his mosque was closed. Not long after, Nursi was transferred to Isparta.

Despite the difficulties, it was undoubtedly the most productive period in Barla, where he also wrote a 33-part treatise called *Sözler* 'Words'.

Next in his line of works is the *Mektûbat* 'Letters', which contains 33 letters to his disciples. Both *Lem'alar* 'Rays of Light' and *Şualar* 'Rays' are defense speeches written in his own defense. He pronounced the former in a criminal trial in Eskişehir in 1935 and the latter in a trial in Afyon (Afyonkarahisar) in 1948–49. He was accused of an attempt to overthrow the secular order. Nursi lived in exile in various locations between 1926 and 1949, after which he settled in Isparta. This is the era of the "Third Said".

When the multi-party system was introduced (after 1946), he encouraged its supporters to support the Democratic Party (DP) led by Adnan Menderes. Nursi considered communism to be the most threatening threat of his time (as it combined

the teaching of atheism and materialism), so he supported the DP's Western orientation, Turkey's NATO membership, and its involvement in the Korean War. In view of the communist threat, it was necessary to unite Muslims and Christians. To this end, he contacted Christian leaders (he wrote to the Pope and to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople).

In the last part of his life, despite his declining vitality and torturous illnesses, he traveled extensively, and on March 20, 1960, he drove to Urfa (Şanlıurfa). He already felt very weak on the way and died in his hotel room on the 23<sup>rd</sup> during his stay in Urfa. His funeral took place on the 25<sup>th</sup>, his farewell was in the Ulu Mosque, and near it he was laid to rest in front of the entrance to Abraham's cave. He was accompanied by a crowd of thousands on his last journey, his coffin being handed almost hand to hand.

In May, the same year, a military coup took place in Turkey. Members of the then-ruling Menderes government and DP leaders were arrested – and later Menderes and his two associates were executed. Immediately after the coup, in June, Nursi's corpse was excavated and transported to an unknown location. To this day, it has not been revealed where he rests. From time to time, news pops up about finding a real resting place. (Presumably his tomb is in Isparta.) The fact of not knowing where he rests contributes to the legends woven around his figure.

Nursi's activity was already surrounded by a kind of mystique in his life. He created his main work during a period of total prohibition of religious literature. The purpose of the commentary was to present the living text of the Qur'an, which is also able to respond to the challenges of the modern age. Barla did not have a library at his disposal, the references had indeed to be quoted from memory. He recruited followers from among the locals, who then followed him all the way to their deaths. Nursi dictated his thoughts to one of his students, who took notes in shorthand. After clearing the manuscript, several copies were made and distributed to other students across the country – the network was called Nursi's Post Office. His followers acquired the first duplicating machine in 1946, while the first official edition may have appeared in 1956. Proponents say the number of handwritten copies could reach 600,000.

The promotion of Said Nursi and the dissemination of his teachings is still considered to be their task by his students. Along with the popularization, the mystification of Nursi's person began, almost inevitably.

One of the most famous Nursi biographies – *Islam in Modern Turkey. An Intellectual Biography of Bediuzzaman Said Nursi* (2005) – author Şükran Vahide (originally Mary Weld, 1949–) converted to the Muslim faith as an adult under the influence of Nursi's teachings. She devotes her life to translating Nursi's works into English. He married one of Nursi's students, Mehmet Nuri Güleç (1928–2020), known as Mehmet Fırıncı. Her husband's life goal was to publish and promote Nursi's works, so he run a book publishing house (Sözler and several other names).

In the preface to her book, Şükran Vahide describes that in her work she relied mostly on Nursi's disciples and on the writings of the master himself. This important note of the author was omitted from the Turkish edition. His book contributed significantly to the formation of the legends surrounding Nursi's person. The author sought to process every moment of Nursi's life. Thus e.g. we also learn that who made the soup for him at his forced residence in Barlai, but with the same precision she tries to reconstruct the history of his inner struggles from his surviving writings.

The Nurcu movement, created by Nursi, began to create memorials in the locations of Nursi's life through its foundations in the second half of the 2000s. These are memorial houses and museums run by foundations. As soon as the visitor enters, it becomes clear that these are not simple memorial sites. Nursi also has four (!) memorial sites in the village of Barla. He lived here twice for a total of eight and a half years, so his two former houses were also converted into memorials. A memorial is also the mosque he created and the grove where he used to walk and meditate. Nowadays, both dwellings are designed to hold homemade services there. Shoes must be taken off when entering (this is not common in museums, a bag may have to be pulled on the shoes), ladies are provided with shawls if they may not be wearing them (this is also not common in a museum) and a footwisher (*şadirvan*) on the ground floor of one of the houses can also be found.



The furnishings of the buildings allow quite a few people to sit around and listen to the reader. There are no exhibits at all, there is no reference to Nursi's person other than his image on the wall and the quotation from him. Both buildings could be renovated thanks to the generosity of a student. (During his second exile in Barla, he lived in a house in the immediate vicinity of a sycamore tree, so he could move from the window to the tree where a room was built for him. Today, this room built on the tree no longer exists.)



The situation is similar with the mosque that can be linked to the name of Nursi in the village. The building shows that it was originally built not as a mosque but presumably as a residential house. It is also clear that the locals, the people of Barla, do not use this building as a mosque. One board reads that Nursi's followers covered the cost of the renovation. We learn from a local pamphlet that Nursi was dissatisfied with the local imam and created another community of his own, holding his own worship in another mosque. A sign in the mosque informs that Nursi could not accept that all elements of the ceremony had to be recited in Turkish. In protest, he acted as an unpaid prayer at the head of a self-organized community, and continued to say the *ezan* 'call to prayer' and *kameti* 'at the beginning of the prayer' in this building in Arabic. (These must be said in Turkish from 1928.) This building was renovated in 2014 by its adherents, apparently without saving money.

It is also interesting how he is remembered in his home village. In the small village, which currently consists of about 50 houses, its birthplace and mosque were renovated in the 2010s. There was also a large-scale commemoration in September 2014. The event, which was attended by about 5,000 people – *Şehri Bediüzzaman Hızan Kültür Etkinlikleri ve Nurs Mevlidi* – was opened by *Diyanet* President Mehmet Görmez.

The *Diyanet* – the *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı* ‘Office of Religious Affairs’ – appoints the imams and covers the costs of maintaining the mosques. It also seeks to extend its control to various Muslim religious communities, for example by conditional on financial support or other means. The appearance of a representative of *Diyanet* at the celebrations clearly indicates that the movement is very close to the government’s interpretation of religion.



*Éva Kincses-Nagy at Barla in 2015*



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## *Zhesir dauy* (жесір дауы ‘widow debate’), or Debates Related to Women in Kazakh Rhetoric\*

Mukusheva Raushangul

The peculiar genre of the oral tradition of the Kazakh people, the art of Kazakh rhetoric (*шешендік өнер*), is known by only few in the West. The nature of this genre in Kazakh oral tradition is similar to the notion of European rhetoric, but it has a plenty of unique features because this literary phenomenon was born among a people whose way of life differed considerably from that of the West and represents another language and culture.

With the demise of the Kazakh Khanate (at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century) the Kazakh people gradually lost some of their important customs and traditions, which were characteristic of old Kazakh society. The rules and laws that had been operating flawlessly in the system of the khanate, started to change – from the civil administration to the administration of justice. Kazakh tribal laws, in most cases, were transmitted and survived via oral tradition. The system of regulations laid down by the law called the ‘Seven decrees’ (*Zheti zhargy*) that was established during the rule of Tauke Khan (1678–1718) remained an authoritative source in jurisdiction in later centuries. The collection and publication of tribal laws began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup> – in this paper those publications will also be referred to. Albeit those laws were far not as strict as they had been in the times of the Kazakh Khanate or compared to the rules of the ‘Seven Decrees’.

Kazakh *zhyraus*<sup>2</sup> and *bis* propagated and glorified the greatness of the just and unified Kazakh Khanate. Some of *zhyraus* played the role of *bis*, since some of them were advisers to the khans and solved disputes, for example, Asan Kajgy *zhyrau*, Buhar *zhyrau* and Zhiembet *zhyrau*, the last one will be discussed later in concern

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\* During the classes of the course, Cultural History of the Eastern Peoples, which I was honoured to teach with Dr. Éva Kincses-Nagy, I noticed that one of her favourite topics, was the customs of Turkic peoples regarding women and marriage. She shared her immense knowledge of this field with the audience and that is why I have chosen this topic.

1 *Қазақ әдет-ғұрып құқығының материалдары*. ред Кенжалиев З, Дәулетов С, Андабеков Ш, Әділбаев М, Тоғжанов Е. Алматы. *Жеті жарғы* 1996. (Materials on Kazakh customary law)

2 The word *zhyrau* (*жырау*) derives from the word *zhyr* (*жыр*) meaning ‘song, chant’. Its meaning is ‘bard’. It is still known as an archaic word by the Bashkir (*жырлаусы*, ‘bard’) and Karakalpak (*жырау* ‘bard’). (Mukusheva 2017: 294)

with a lawsuit on a widow dispute. The Kazakh *bis*<sup>3</sup> (plural form of *bi*) made decisions concerning debates and lawsuits arising among the people, who meted out justice on the steppe where there were no prisons.

## 1. Disputes or lawsuits (*daу*)

This genre showcases how Kazakh society functioned and what kind of disputes they had. Most of the disputes originated from the people's nomadic way of life, and the primary cause of them was land, pasture or accommodation (the nomads had summer, winter and autumn accommodations), but wells also led to many debates, since the tribes demarcated their borders with wells too. They sued because of animal theft (*барымта* [*barımta*]<sup>4</sup>), but also due to assuming responsibility for injury or death during skirmishes among the tribes or in wars. The judges endeavoured to make decisions so that the tribes would not become enemies, and the unity of the Kazakhs would not come undone. They passed very strict sentences, for example, for acts against the honour of women and they severely punished those who abducted a bride betrothed to another man. They condemned love affairs among the members of the tribe, and marriage within the same tribe was forbidden for seven generations. [...]

The debates (*dau*) were named according to the issue at hand as follows:

*Zher dauу* (*жер дауы*) – debates concerning landed property,

*zhesir dauу* (*жесір дауы*) – disputes concerning widows and every kind of abduction of women, as well as disputes with regard to the defamation of women,

*mal dauу* (*мал дауы*) – debates due to animals or property,

*khun dauу* (*құн дауы*) – disputes regarding the price of a dead man, *ar dauу* (*ар дауы*) – disputes due to honour.

As a matter of fact, all disputes were for honour. According to a Kazakh proverb: “My wealth is the sacrifice of my soul, whereas my soul is the sacrifice of my honour.” (*Malım – žanimniñ sadagasi, žanim – arımnıñ sadagasi*). (Mukusheva 2013: 135–137)

### 1.1. The status of women and the *zhesir dauу* (*жесір дауы*), widow dispute in nomadic Kazakh society

Next to the most important debate of landed property, the second most frequent dispute was the *zhesir dauу*, namely the debate that emerged on account of women. Concerning the latter, the nomadic people paid attention to the fate of women. If one

<sup>3</sup> When a debate emerges in a tribe or among tribes, the *aksakals* turned to the *bis*, that is, the judges. The *bis* presided over the observance of tribal rules (every tribe had their own rules) and unwritten laws. They also headed negotiations, adjudicated, decided on the severity of sins and the method of punishment. In other words, they were simultaneously policemen, lawyers, and judges. (Mukusheva 2013: 132)

<sup>4</sup> *Барымта* (*barımta*) in Kazakh, in Hungarian it is known as *baranta*, Turkic loanword. „Барымта 3. Long ago when one of the quarreling parties did not agree with the decision of the judge or the guilty party did not comply with the court's decision then the opposing side would steal horses from them.” <https://sozdikqor.kz/search?q=барымта>

looks at these laws, then it can be seen that these laws have become increasingly stricter with the ever-strengthening Islamic faith. However, it is also clear that they did not allow a woman to be hurt or beaten. They protected women irrespective of their age or social status (young girl or adult girl,<sup>5</sup> orphaned girl, unmarried or married woman, woman with child or childless, barren, divorced, or widowed).

Kazakh women were pampered and excessively looked after when they were children. The use of the word girl (*қыз*) was not acceptable in the case of little girls; instead, they used *ükilim* (*үкілім* ‘my owl-feathered one’),<sup>6</sup> *šašbaulym* (*шашибаулым* ‘my hair-decorated one’), *syrğalym* (*сырғалым* ‘my earring-bearing one’) and other metonyms. Kazakh women, as it is characteristic of Kipchak tribes, did not hide their faces. Women could ride a horse quite well, and they even participated in horse games. However, it is also true that the customary education of contemporary people set up forty strict rules<sup>7</sup> to limit this liberty. The relatively free life of young girls outlined above lasted until their engagement, usually by the age of 15 or 16. When they got married the number of their responsibilities increased; in my opinion, this was not only a characteristic of nomadic society but also of sedentary societies. In Europe works on the status of women in European societies started to appear by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. I find the opinions and reflections of European travellers, especially that of the Hungarian ethnographers who travelled to Central Asia, and particularly how they evaluated the situation of Kazakh women when they visited the Kazakh lands, quite interesting. In her book entitled *Újfalvi Károly utazása Párizstól Szamarkandig* [Károly Újfalvi’s Journey from Paris to Samarkand], Mária Újfalvi-Bourdon describes the life of the Kazakhs and writes the following in regard to Kazakh women: “Women perform every duty of the nomadic Kyrgyz people.<sup>8</sup> Even the horses are left to their care. Men lead an entirely idle life. For them this is the secret of the household’s balance. Besides, such a division of labour makes it so no altercation is possible. The entirety of rights is assumed by men, while the entirety of duties by women.” (Újfalvi-Bourdon 1885: 142). Count György Almásy wrote about Kazakh women quite the opposite: “The sentimental traveller that writes, tends to embellish the situation of nomadic women most artfully, and they describe them as miserable creatures who are indeed slaves to their coarse and tyrannical husbands. My experiences, however, led me to believe otherwise. The man is not a “lord of the house” at all, but it is the woman or women.” (Almásy 1903: 715–716).

5 *Baligat* (*baligat*) – coming of age, the age of a boy or a girl when he or she can get married.

6 They put owl feathers of the owl into their caps and the cradle of the baby; according to old Kazakh beliefs, the owl had protective powers.

7 *Қызға қырық үйден тыйым* – ‘Prohibitions for a Girl from Forty Houses.’ In this unwritten rule the educational restrictions are listed. The Forty Houses stood for the community where the girl grows up, and the people of the village of the tribe are all responsible for bringing up the girl.

8 Mária Újfalvi-Bourdon used the word Kyrgyz for Kazakh like most European travellers of 19<sup>th</sup> century, she really was writing about Kazakh people near Kazalinsk (Kazakh territory).

A Kazakh woman acquired her greatest “power” and authority when she became a grandmother: “The subordinate position of women derives from patriarchal customs and it is far from being an issue of power due to the differences of the sexes. I have already mentioned what privileged status matrons (*kympir*<sup>9</sup>) had in the family. This is the result of exceptional reverence generally shown towards the elderly.” (Almássy 1903: 716). There were many cases in Kazakh history, when a woman became the mother of a tribe, or indeed, the whole people.

“Among the Kazakhs there is no greater dispute than a debate over land or a woman.” (Törekululy 1995: 270). In what cases did disputes in relation to women emerge? What causes led to these debates?

### 1.1. Causes of the debates

a) Abduction of women. Among the Kazakhs it was called ‘abduction of girl’: *kız urlau* (*қыз ұрлау*). It meant the abduction of somebody’s daughter, betrothed, or somebody’s wife or widow. The abduction of women has left traces in literature as well. A number of motifs in literature from all over the world bear witness to this. In the epic poem of Homer the reason for war was the abduction of the beautiful Helen, the wife of Menelaos, who eloped from Sparta with Paris, the son of the king of Troy, Priamos. This is why the Greek army marched against Troy to avenge the slander. According to old Hungarian legends, the sons of Ménrót, Hunor and Magor, while pursuing the Miracle Stag, settled in the region of the Lake Maeotis and abducted the daughters of King Dula; Hunor’s descendants are the Huns, while Magor’s descendants are the Magyars.

In Kazakh society abduction of women was considered one of the most serious crimes and was punished very severely. In accordance with the ‘Seven Decrees’, if somebody’s wife was abducted without the woman’s consent, then the abductor was sentenced to death or was made to pay *khun*, and if it happened with the consent of the woman, then the abductor had to pay *kalym*<sup>10</sup> (Artykbaev 2012: 112).

In later times various punishment fees, namely *ajyps*, were decreed for such crimes (for a married woman – in Zharkent – 29 horses and 1 camel were due, while in the Illisk district 50 horses were owed; for a bride whose *kalym* had been paid and for an engaged girl one had to give 8 horses and 1 camel; in the region of Illisk 100 horses could be demanded for the abduction of a girl; in other words there were different fees depending on the region) (Materials on Kazakh customary law 1996: 91).

b) Murder of a woman (homicide) and the death of a woman. In this case the widow debate, that is, *khun dauy* (*құн дауы*) could be levied, but the penalty was different for women and men. It meant that in the case of killing a woman the *khun* differed from that of men. Usually, the penalty claimed for killing a woman was half of that claimed for killing a man (Materials on Kazakh customary law, 1996: 58).

<sup>9</sup> The word *кемпір* (*kempir*) means old woman.

<sup>10</sup> *Калым* (*қалын*) – is animal, property, or bridal fee paid for an engaged bride (Dictionary of the Kazakh Language 2008: 466). The word *Қалыңдық* ‘bride’ is derived from this.

According to the ‘Seven Decrees’, for murdering a man 100 horses (or 1000 sheep) had to be paid, and for killing a woman, half of this sum, 50 horses had to be paid. If the dead person was the descendant of the sultan or the *hodja*,<sup>11</sup> then one had to pay the price of 7 men (Artykbaev 2012: 168).

Ármin Vámbéry wrote about it as follows: “There are two types of punishment: a) *khun*, which is not different from the Persian *Khun*, blood; b) *ajb* (*ajyp*), borrowed from the word error, mistake. The penalty for the *khun*, that is, homicide, consisted of 100 horses for men, and 50 for women, in addition to which in exchange for an *ajb* a *toguz* ‘nine’ had to be paid too, viz. 9 horses or colts, or cows, or lambs etc.; whereas for children under 10 the third of the *khun* had to be paid. The *ajb*, which had to be paid for other offences, for example, the mutilation or injuring of a body part, adultery, theft, and for other minor violations, consisted of one, two, or occasionally three *toguz*, namely once, twice, or three times nine smaller or bigger animals, in proportion to the damage caused.” (Vámbéry 1885: 370).

However, again depending on the woman’s social status, the compensation for her death was not the same as in the case of men. If a wife died on her own, then her bridal fee was refunded and her saddle with the harness was returned too. If the deceased girl had already been engaged to somebody, and if she had a younger sister, then instead of the older sister, the younger sister could be wed (Materials on Kazakh customary law 1996: 77). *Toguz*, that is, the number of nine was used for expressing a present (Kincses-Nagy Éva 2020: 215–227), but the amount of punishment was also measured with this number. The name of the latter was *toguz ajyp* (*тоғыз айып* [*togiz ajip*]) ‘nine sins’.<sup>12</sup>

c) Punishment was inflicted for abusing a girl, an engaged woman, that is, a bride, as well as a married woman (e.g., rape, bodily harm), and for defamation. According to the ‘Seven Decree’, the punishment for raping a woman was the death penalty, or if her relatives agreed, the perpetrators had to pay *khun*, and if the rapist marries the woman, he has to pay *kalym* instead of *khun* (Artykbaev 2012: 112).

Accordingly the sources from later centuries, for raping a woman, the perpetrator had to pay a three times of *toguz ajyp* (Materials on Kazakh customary law 1996: 59).

d) The inheritance of the widow is what gave the name of all the debates related to women in general. In line with old Kazakh customary law, if the older brother dies, the younger one inherits his sister-in-law. “Certain complications are known to have arisen due to the death of the husband or the bridegroom. On such an occasion the woman or the bride passes to the closest relative of the husband, as an inheritance. More recently, this custom, under Russian influence, was pushed to the background.”

11 *Hodja* (*қожа*) – Islamic preacher, proselytiser, and religious organiser (Dictionary of the Kazakh Language 2008: 507).

12 *Toguz ajyp* (*тоғыз айып*) consisted of three parts: *bas toguz* ‘main toguz’, 9 animals led by a camel; *orta toguz* (middle toguz), 9 animals led by a horse; *ajaq toguz*, respectively ‘final toguz’, consisted of other large cornigerous domestic animals and smaller domestic animals, they did not include any animals without horns (Materials on Kazakh customary law 1996: 63–64).

(Almássy 1903: 716). The dead husband's younger or older brother, who can inherit the widow, that is, the inheritor, is called *amenger* (*әмеңгер*), and the name of the custom of inheriting the widow is *amengerlik* (*әмеңгерлік*) (Dictionary of the Kazakh Language 2008: 88). The aim of this custom was that the wife and the children should not drift apart from the relatives of the father, stay in the family, and should not get into the company of strangers: *Erden ketse de, elden ketpejdi* (*Ерден кетсе де, елден кетпейді*) 'She can leave the husband, but she cannot leave the folks (relatives)'. There were cases when the widow did not want to marry the younger brother of her husband, which led to debates.

e) Divorce. Generally, women had no right to divorce their husbands, but there were cases, when a woman was allowed to do so. If the husband is unsuitable in performing his duties, beats his wife too often without any reason, suffers from a mental disorder, cannot maintain his family, abandons his family for more than six months, disappears without any trace for seven years, etc., then the wife was allowed to divorce her husband (Artykbayev 2012: 116).

f) Infidelity, unfaithfulness. The debate related to women with one of the most severe punishments in which a man could be sentenced to death: "The man who has an immoral, adulterous relationship with another man's wife must be sentenced to death" (Kaliev 1994: 210). In the Mongolian nomadic Kazakhs' Abak Kerej tribe, laws were strict in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; the woman was flogged for her infidelity, and if the *mulla* sentenced that she could no longer live with her husband, then she was immediately killed (Materials on Kazakh customary law 1996: 147).

g) Suits arising from issues of wealth related to women (bridal fee, dowry, property rights of the widow), originated from the above-mentioned disputes, from their material aspects: "[...] since the woman – disregarding her workforce – has material value already due to the *kalym* paid for her." (Almássy 1903: 716). A woman could not remain in a materially neglected situation.

The aim of my article is not to research the rights of Kazakh women and debates related to women from a legal point of view, but their representations in Kazakh rhetoric. This, however, cannot be carried out without the knowledge of the background of the Kazakh customary law. The examples outlined above are typical disputes, and in their concrete forms are usually far more complex and complicated. For example, questions regarding polygamy (the rights of *bajbishe* and *tokal*<sup>13</sup>) were not involved in the list due to their extensiveness, which have led to number of debates in modern Kazakh society nowadays. Moreover, it was not the same if a man or woman comes from the common folk or from the aristocracy (*қарасүйек* – black bone, common folk, *ақсүйек* – white bone, aristocracy).

The word *zhesir* means 'widow'. If one surveys the history of the Kazakh Khanate, there were hardly any peaceful periods without war on Kazakh lands. Disputes arose due to the widows of heroes fallen in war so later every debate related to women was called *zhesir dauy* (*жесір дауы*), that is, 'widow debate'.

13 *Bajbishe* 'the first wife', *tokal* 'the second, or third, or fourth wife'.



## 2. *Zhesir dauy* in rhetoric

The types of debates referred to above were generally not separated, and they were not listed or classified according to their thematic range. Disputes lived on in the collective memory of the people in the form of the eloquent rhetoric and the wise decisions of certain *bi*. In the same manner, debates related to women were also spread among the Kazakh people via oral tradition. Many times, it is unknown what happened to the woman, who was the object or cause of the dispute. From the perspective of the art of rhetoric it was only the word uttered at the final decision of the debate that mattered as most important. To illustrate these, a couple of examples are quoted.

### 2.1. Widow debate and ‘widow inheritance’ (*ämengerlik - әмеңгерлік*)

An outstanding example of the widow debate is the story of Esim Khan.<sup>14</sup> The older brother of Esim Khan, Tauekel, died and Tauekel’s wife, Aktorgun, thus became a widow. Aktorgun was a beautiful and clever woman. One year after the death of his older brother Esim Khan wanted to marry her via *amengerlik*, that is, ‘widow inheritance’. However, Aktorgun fell in love with Zholymbet, the younger brother of Zhiembet, and she got pregnant from him. The khan sent the hero, Zholymbet, to war with 1000 soldiers. He intended to exile Zhiembet with war prisoners captured during the war with the Oyrats.<sup>15</sup> Complying with the order of the khan, Zholymbet went on his campaign to the east and returned six months later victorious with many spoils of war. He brought 100 *sürsits*<sup>16</sup> to Esim Khan as a present. The khan was pleased with this but did not forget his vengeance, and indeed, his hostility even grew. During one dispute he wanted to eliminate Zholymbet, so he issued an order to first imprison him and then hang him. Zhiembet became aware of this and went to the place where his brother, the hero was to be hanged. Zhiembet looked into the eyes of the khan and said the following:

*Әмірің қатты Есім хан,  
Бүлік салып бұйырдың,  
Басын бер деп батырдың,  
Қанын ішіп қанбаққа,  
Жанын отқа салмаққа.  
Атадан жалғыз мен емес,  
Хан ие, ісің жол емес.  
Жолбарыстай Жолымбет  
Құрбандыққа қол емес.*

14 Esim Khan (1598–1630), Zhiembet Bortogashuly (1570/1575–1643). The long verse of *Zhiembet zhyrau*, the *Ensegej bojly Er Esim* ‘Stalwart Heroic Esim’ states that the poet really confronted Esim Khan.

15 Oyrats, the westernmost group of the Mongolic peoples.

16 *Šüršit* (*уұршым*) in olden times, this is what the Chinese were referred to (Dictionary of the Kazakh Language 2008: 929).

*Жол тосып алып кетінті*  
*Қалмақтан алмақ сыйыңды,*  
*Қаһарыңды басқалы*  
*Қалың елім жиылды.*  
*Бастап келген өзге емес,*  
*Жиёмбет сынды биіңді.*  
*Малын салып алдына,*  
*Әр саладан құйылды,*  
*Он екі ата байұлы*  
*Бір тәңірге сыйынды.*

Your order is stern, Esim Khan,  
 you gave an order inciting mutiny,  
 in order to execute the hero,  
 You wanted to suck his blood,  
 you wished to incinerate his soul.  
 I was not born solely from the father,  
 Tiger-like Zholymbet  
 cannot be such a sacrifice.  
 He carried your loot on the road,  
 which you wanted to get from the Kalmyk.  
 These many folks gathered together,  
 to soothe your anger,  
 they did choose as a leader nobody else,  
 but me – Zhiembet, your judge.  
 With their animals  
 They crowded to the place from everywhere.  
 On eki ata Bajuly tribe,<sup>17</sup>  
 pray to One God. (Törekululy 1995: 73–74)

Upon hearing these words Esim Khan changed his mind and released Zholymbet who was waiting to be hanged. This decision of the khan was not a coincidence: he did not want to lose his influence among the people, and by killing a heroic man he would have lost his power. It was like this that Zhiembet ended this long quarrel and *zhesir dauy*, that is, widow debate, which involved revenge.

## 2.2. The abduction of the engaged bride and the verdict of *Ajteke bi*

Another example of a woman dispute that is very famous is that of a decision of the great *bi* of the Kazakhs, *Ajteke bi* (*Әйтеке би*).

A long time ago a girl from the Middle *Zhüz* was wooed and got engaged (*құда түсіп, атастырып қойған*) to a man from the Great *Zhüz*. The girl eloped with a

<sup>17</sup> This means: “Bajuly tribe consisting of twelve branches”

young man from the Argyn tribe (Middle *Zhüz*). Hence, a widow debate emerged between the two tribal alliances. They stole animals from each other, which led to *baranta* ‘brawling’, too.

Eventually, they turned to *Töle bi* from the Great *Zhüz* and *Kazybek bi* from the Middle *Zhüz*.<sup>18</sup> *Kazybek* said the following:

*Аға болып алдымен туасың,  
Барымталап жылқымды қуасың,-*

As my older brother, you were born before me,  
Why did you chase my horse away with *baranta*?

*Töle bi* answered:

*Артымнан ерген еркемсің,  
Ағаңның көзі тірісінде  
Жеңгенді неге ертесің?–*

You follow my steps, my pampered brother,  
Your brother still lived, why  
do you take your sister-in-law away with you? – says *Kazybek*.

It was so that the two *zhüzs* hurled their anger at each other. They argued for a long time and could reach an agreement. Then, *Ajteke* seated between them stood up and said the following:

*Сабыр етіңдер ағайын!  
Ашу бар жерде ақыл тұрмайды.  
Ашу деген ағын су,  
Алдын ашсаң, арқырар.  
Ақыл деген - дария,  
Алдын тоссаң, тоқырар.  
Кісі бірге туыспау керек,  
Туысқан соң, сөз қуыспау керек.  
Сөз қуған бәлеге жолығады,  
Жол қуған олжаға жолығады.  
Төле сен, жылқысын қайыр!  
Қазыбек, сен жесірін қайыр!*

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18 The structure of the institution of the Kazakh *bis* is neatly connected to the alliance of the three – Great, Middle, and Minor – tribes (*zhüz*) of the Kazakh people. Every tribal alliance had its own greatest and most famous *bi*, who was called *töbe bi* in Kazakh. *Ajteke bi* (1644–1700) was the *bi* of the Minor *Zhüz*, *Kazybek bi* (1667–1764) was the *bi* of the Middle *Zhüz*, and *Töle bi* (1663–1756) was the *bi* of the Great *Zhüz*. All three of them participated in making the rules of the Kazakh law, ‘Seven Decrees’.

Be patient, my brothers!  
 Where anger rules, there is no place left for reason.  
 Anger is like flooding water,  
 If you do not stop it, then it will sweep away everything,  
 Reason is the water of a broad river,  
 If you stop it, then it will cede there.  
 People should not be born as siblings,  
 If they are born siblings, then they should not argue.  
 Who follows a train of disputes, will find trouble.  
 Who follows a road, will be favoured by fortune.  
 Töle, give his horses back to him,  
 and Kazybek, you return the widow in turn. (Kazakh Bis and Rhetors  
 2016: 50)

It was so that Ajteke, the young *bi*, decided the dispute of her; the two sides made peace and shook hands.

If one looks at this widow dispute, then it is clear that there is no widow; instead, there is an engaged girl. The debate arose because the bride was stolen for which the *kalym* had already been paid.

Ajteke Bajbekuly (1644–1700) lived in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century when laws were quite strict. If one looks at this story, then Ajteke *bi* settled this debate “successfully” in the view of contemporary laws because the bloody quarrel between the two tribes was brought to a halt, there was no homicide committed in the end. Back then the ultimate goal of the laws was to keep the people together, to prevent animosity and wars from erupting among the tribes. However, the fate of the woman in this debate could not change for the better; it is not mentioned in the oration, as the folk song *Zhubatu* ‘Consolation’, about the fate of the Kazakh woman, shows in the following lines:

*Қара суды жайлаған қаз барады,  
 Анасынан айырылып қыз барады.  
 Қара суға қан құйсаң ағар, кетер,  
 Жат кісіге қыз берсең алар, кетер.  
 Жылама, бикем, жылама,  
 Көзіңнің жасын бұлама.  
 Ұл боп тусаң әуелден,  
 Сені мұндай қыла ма?  
 Біз бермейік десек те,  
 Мал бергенің қоя ма? (Auezov 1991: 52)*

The goose flies off from the surface of the deep water,  
 The girl departs from her mother.  
 If you pour water on water, it flows away,

If you give your daughter to a stranger,<sup>19</sup> he will take her away.  
 Do not cry, young lady, do not cry,  
 Dry up your tears.  
 If you had been born a boy,  
 You would have had a different fate.  
 Would they cover your face?  
 We do not want to give you away,  
 But who paid for you does not leave us alone.

### 2.3. The death of the poetess and the price of her art (өнер құны)

If an educated woman, trained in the arts, is killed, then some kind of *өнер khuny* ‘price of the art’ (өнер құны) could have been demanded. The *өнер khuny* was for both men and women. The famous Kazakh poet, philosopher, ethnographer, and scholar, Mashür-Zhüsüp Köpejuly (1858–1931) wrote a short story, entitled ‘Ulbike’s Death’.

It is a story of the divorce of a famous poetess; the son of a very rich man sued for the hand of Ulbike Zhankeldikyzy (1815–1849). As the girl was not only beautiful, but also excelled in poetic talent, a threefold bridal fee was paid for her. Her husband was called Bojtanseri. He was jealous of his wife going to feasts and in particular at one of these banquets she was reciting poems with a *hodja*.<sup>20</sup> Her husband warned Ulbike: “From now on you cannot attend feasts, cannot sing competition songs, or else I will kill you.” When her husband was not at home, Ulbike went to a feast and recited poems. The siblings of her husband or her brother-in-laws supported their sister-in-law. Other people, however, informed her husband that his wife was reciting poems with the *hodja* at a banquet. After he had returned home, her husband killed Ulbike. The relatives of the woman asked for *khun*. Customarily, in the case of *zhesir dauy*, or debates related to women, the case on the husband’s side was heard, but in this case the right was given to Ulbike’s relatives. They were asked according to which law jurisdiction ought to be served. According to the rule of *Sharia*<sup>21</sup> or the rule of the *bis*? As they chose the *Sharia*, the judging of the case was entrusted to Küderi *hodja*.<sup>22</sup>

19 The family of the bridegroom was called ‘stranger’ (*жам*). There is a proverb: *Қыз - жам жұрттық* ‘A girl matches a stranger.’

20 The poetess Ulbike competed with Küderi *hodja*, Madeli *hodja*, Taspа *hodja*, and the poet Iztileu (Akmetov in Radloff 1994: 613). “The song contest between Ulbike and Küderi *Hodja*” was recorded and published by the Turkologist, W. Radloff in the volume, “The Dialects of the Turkic Tribes of the South Siberian and Dzungarian Steppe” (Radloff, 1994: 569–573).

21 *Sharia* (Arabic: path to a source of water; also Persian and Urdu: *shariat*) *Sharia* is the law of Islam based on God’s sovereign commandments and prohibitions as conveyed by the Quran, and on the *Sunna* of Muhammad and his Companions, as embodied in the *hadith*. It is often identified with another concept of Islamic law—jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Juan E. Campo. Encyclopedia of Islam 2009: 620.

22 Küderi *Hodja* Kösekuly (1820–1858): famous Kazakh poet. It is a popular belief that Küderi *Hodja* was Ulbike’s master.

Küderi demanded the price of three men for Ulbike: 1. ‘the price of the bone’ (*süjek khunu cүйек құны*): 50 horses and ‘six good things’ (*алты жақсы*), which had to be paid for every man, and in the case of women, this is half of a man’s price; 2. ‘the price of art’ (*өнер khunu өнер құны*): 50 horses and six good things; and 3. ‘black khun’ (*қара құн kara khun* or *тоқал құн tokal khun*, that is, second): *тоғыз жақсы* ‘nine good things (camel, carpet, rifle, etc.)’ (Köpejuly 2006: 256).

The great 19<sup>th</sup>-century Kazakh poet, Abaj Kunanbajuly (1845–1904) did a tremendous amount for the protection of Kazakh women’s rights. He wrote many progressive chapters on defending women’s rights in the Karamola lawbook written by him. There are many articles on the law-reforming activity of the Kazakh people’s great poet, and it is worthy of further studies.

## Summary

Kazakh literature is served with numerous examples of disputes related to women. This study quoted and interpreted only a few. In the first debate a woman may have been the victim of the situation that emerged around her, and the later fate of this woman is unknown. However, her story, passed down in the memory of the people, carries positive, pleasant feelings and connotations due to the eloquently worded decision of Ajteke *bi* that held together the three tribal alliances. In the other debate, *Zhiembet zhyrau* managed to secure happiness for the woman and her heroic brother; in this case Kazakh oral tradition preserved the words of the poet, Zhiembet, in the form of a fine verse. These beautiful words were carved into the memory of the people because of their eloquent and fine verse form, which were transmitted orally from one generation to the next among the people. It can also be seen that the situation of Kazakh women, even though they were constrained by strict rules, were included in the most important questions of Kazakh society in every period. The debates related to women show that the fate of women were always paid attention to, since it was very closely connected to the fate of the tribe and the people.

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# Political and Administrative Organisation of the Ottoman Central Government<sup>1</sup>

Sándor Papp

عزیز ناکی اوا خانمہ  
با حرمت و احترام  
بندہ بی وجود

In the development of the Republic of Turkey's historiography, Turkish historians wanted to clarify that the Ottoman Empire's bureaucratic system was based on Mongol-Turkish, Central and Eastern Asian administrative traditions influenced by the Caliphate as well as by the Byzantine state administration occupied by them. To prove this, two dominant historians of the era, Fuat Köprülü and İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, each wrote a book that contrasted with Western historiography, stating that the administrative structure did not primarily follow Byzantine traditions but instead Central Asian traditions.<sup>2</sup> However, a combination of the elements mentioned above did in part affect the Ottoman state administration. The predecessors of the Ottomans, the Seljuks became acquainted with the Muslim governing structure through Islamised Iran, which, however, did still strongly retain the structural elements of the defeated Sassanid state. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, an early 19<sup>th</sup>-century Austrian historian, Ottoman-Turkish court interpreter and diplomat of the Habsburg Monarchy described the functioning of the Ottoman state administration in the stage before the Tanzimat reforms and attested in his two volumes that the Ottoman Administration was a blend of the aforementioned elements.<sup>3</sup>

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2 M. F. Köprülü, *Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Tesiri*. Külliyyat 3. Alfa, İstanbul, 2014; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtına Medhal. Büyük Selcukiler, Anadolu Selcukileri, Anadolu Beylikleri, İlhanîler, Karakoyunlu ve Akkoyunlularla Memluklerdeki Devlet Teşkilâtına bir Giriş*. Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 1984.

3 Joseph von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*. II. Wien 1815, 431.

The *dīvān-i hümāyūn* (the Imperial Divan = State Council) was the focus of the Ottoman central administration, and was the most important decision-making and deliberative body of the empire. The etymology of the word *divan* is still unclear. More recently, it has been believed to be of Aramaic descent, which was adapted into Persian, and from there it entered Arabic and then all languages spoken by Muslims.<sup>4</sup> Traditionally, there are several folk etymological explanations that go back to the Persian word *dev* ‘mad, devil’. According to tradition, an old Persian ruler said to his state council: *inān dīvānand* ‘These are demons’.<sup>5</sup> According to another etymology, *divan* traces back to the Arabic word *dawanna* (to collect, to register).<sup>6</sup> This meaning in Arabic is also related to another interpretation of the word, the collection of poems. According to Hans Wert’s dictionary, *dīvān* (pl. *dawāwīn*) has a very broad meaning, including statements of the state treasury to the council of state as well as a comfortable couch as in in European languages.<sup>7</sup> The first mention of a *divan* is a surviving military census from the period of Caliph ‘Umār. Later it means a collection of written texts (*dīvān al-rasā’il* = collection of letters). The caliph read the incoming letters, commented on them, and the clerk prepared responses based on the comments.<sup>8</sup> Caliph Mu‘āwīya established the *dīvān al-ḥātām* ‘the office of seal’, which meant that letters issued from this office were all sealed when sent, while a copy of each was made and preserved. This central state administration was placed under the control of the vizier by the Abbasid dynasty. In Egyptian practice, the Divan had already functioned as an advisory body on economic affairs (*dīvān al-maqlis*). This is when we find an office called a Divan that took over the entire administration of the state.<sup>9</sup> In Iran, the divan was also under the control of the vizier, who directed all outgoing and incoming correspondence (*dīvān al-inṣā wa-l-tuḡra*, at times, *dīvān al-rasā’il*).<sup>10</sup>

In the case of the early Ottoman state, there is little information about how the institution of the Divan operated. The first appearance of the word is from the chronicle of Aşıkpaşazāde, who referred to a twisted turban (*burma bülend*) that had to be worn in the Divan during the time of Orhan Gazi (1299-1326).<sup>11</sup> After the deaths of Mehmed I (1403-1421) and Murad II (1421-1451), the pashas of the Divan ruled the country until the heir to the throne arrived.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the statement from the

4 A. Mumcu, *Dīvān-i hümāyūn دیوان همایون* Osmanlı devlet yönetiminde XV. yüzyıl ortasından XVII. yüzyılın ilk yarısına kadar en önemli karar organı. In: *TDV İslām Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul 1994. 9, 430–432.

5 Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung*, II., 412; Duri, A. A. *Dīvān*. I. Caliphate. In: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*.<sup>2</sup> Leiden–London 1991, 323.

6 Duri, *Dīvān*. I. Caliphate. *EP*, 323.

7 H. Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*. Wiesbaden 1958<sup>3</sup>, 273.

8 Duri, *Dīvān*. I. Caliphate. *EP*, 323.

9 Duri, *Dīvān*. I. Caliphate. *EP*, 323.

10 A. K. S. Lambton, *Dīvān*. IV. İrān. *EP*, 333.

11 Ahmed Âşık Aşıkpaşaoğlu. *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmân*. (ed.: Atsız, N. Ç.) In: *Osmanlı Tarihleri*. Türkiye Yayınevi, İstanbul 1949., 118.; B. Lewis, *Dīvān-i hümāyūn*. *EP*, 337.

12 Aşıkpaşaoğlu: *Tevârih*, 155–156; 190–191.

English Consul of Izmir, Paul Ricaut, that a Divan didn't exist before the reign of Sultan Murad II cannot be true. It is possible, however, that Murad II was the first to appoint his teacher, Lala Şahin, as grand vizier.<sup>13</sup> In the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the most important decision-making body in the Ottoman Empire was the Imperial Divan (*dīvān-i hümāyūn*).<sup>14</sup> A tradition that deeply influenced Ottoman statehood stemmed from the Sasanian theory of the state. This concept is that the ruler and the state regard the preservation of social justice (the support of tax-paying subjects) as their most important duty. As a result, the Divan was not only the authority of central administration, but acted as the ultimate legislative forum.<sup>15</sup> Until the reign of Mehmed II, sultans personally participated in the Divan together with the pashas.<sup>16</sup> The legal code of Mehmed II reveals that he abandoned this practice and instead listened to the meeting from a different room, separated by a curtain or lattice.<sup>17</sup> Starting from the reign of Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent, this custom was altered even further. The sultan began to distance himself from everyday contact and rarely met with the grand vizier, instead communicating with him in writing (*telhīs*).<sup>18</sup>

The importance of this central authority is proven not only by the Turkish sources, but also by the contemporary European sources, which sometimes mention certain reports about its activities. In addition to the most frequently cited authors, such as Gerlach<sup>19</sup> and Busbecq,<sup>20</sup> here is an account by Ferenc Forgách of Ghymes, who was a learned Hungarian clergyman and bishop of Großwardein in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, "The Divan is held by the Turks before the public, here one answers the questions of the envoys and the people. A window, into which a lattice has been woven, opens onto the place of deliberation from the ruler's apartments and from which everything can be seen and heard. However, no one can see the ruler. The place in question is covered like a stage, sufficiently comfortable and spacious enough to hold many people. ... In every single Divan, food is also served to the chief dignitaries and the others

13 P. Ricaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. London 1686, 80.

14 J. Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Süleymān des Prächtigen*. Wiesbaden 1974, 5; A. Mumcu, *Hukuksal ve Siyasal Karar Organı Olarak Divan-i Hümayun*. Ankara 1986<sup>2</sup>.

15 H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age, 1300-1600*. Fheonix 1997<sup>3</sup>, 89–92.

16 Mumcu, *Hukuksal ve siyasal karar organı*, 131.

17 Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen*, 11–12; A. Özcan, *Fatih Sultan Mehmed Kānunnāme-i Āli-i Osman* (Tahlil ve Karşılaştırmalı Metin). Kitabevi, İstanbul 2003, 15.

18 Fodor P., Szultán, birodalmi tanács, nagyvezír. Változások az oszmán hatalmi elitben és a nagyvezíri előterjesztés kialakulása. In: *A szultán és az aranyalma*. Balassi Kiadó, Budapest 2001, 45–66.

19 *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch der von zween glorwürdigsten römischen Kaysern, Maximiliano und Rudolpho, beyderseits den Andern dieses Nahmens an die ottomanische Pforte zu Constantinopel abgefertigten und durch den Wohlgebornen Herrn Hn. David Ungnad, Freiherrn zu Sonnegk und Preyburg [...] mit würcklicher Erhalt- und Verlängerung des Friedens zwischen dem Ottomannischen und Römischen Kayserthum und demselben angehörigen Landen und Königreichen glücklichst-vollbrachter Gesandtschaft*. (ed.) von Samuel Gerlach, Zunner, Frankfurt am Mayn 1674.

20 E. S. Forster, *The turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq. Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople 1554-1562*. Translated from Latin of the Elzevir edition of 1633. Oxford 1927.

assembled. At a certain hour the dishes are placed before the chief dignitaries, as well as before the orators, and for the others it is placed sometimes here, sometimes there, even on the green grass, and in this there is no shame in men, however great their dignity, eating there or taking their portions with them.”<sup>21</sup>

The most important source for the functioning of the *dīvān-i hümāyūn* is the legal code (*kānūnnāme*) of Sultan Mehmed II. It contains a detailed description primarily of the members of the Divan, and beyond this, of the relationships and hierarchy of the court dignitaries. In this, there is a separate description of who can be seated at the Divan and who cannot.<sup>22</sup>

The composition of the Divan changed over the years after the first Ottoman rulers. In the time of Sultan Süleymān I (1520–1566), members and participants in the Divan, which had already been documented from the early period of the Ottoman state, probably consisted of only a small number at the beginning of his reign. The members included: the grand vizier, who was the sultan’s general deputy especially in civil and military matters; three other (later this number increased) so-called dome viziers; the military judges of Rumelia and Anatolia (*qāḍī’asker/qaḍīleşker*); the *defierdâr* of *mālīye*, who dealt with the income and disbursements of the treasury (*ḥazīne*); the *defterdâr* of *mīrī*, who dealt with distributed fiefs (timar lands); and the *nişāncı* (*tevqī’î*), who made the *tugra* or signature of the sultan on the deeds issued under the name of Padishah. The *beylerbeyi* of Rumīli and the *qapudan paşa* (admiral of the Ottoman fleet) were also called upon to participate in the deliberations of the Imperial Council during the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent, both of whom later attained the office of vizier and became regular members of the Divan.<sup>23</sup> From the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, several other dignitaries, especially the *beylerbeyi* of Buda in Hungary, attained the office of vizier. Later, viziers in the provinces began to multiply. These viziers, if they were in Istanbul in person, were likely to attend the meetings. The lower officials who attended were not allowed to sit down. Among them, the most important was the head of the Divan secretaries (*re’îsü l-küttāb*). These secretaries were also present, but could not be seated or to participate in the deliberations.

Other important participants in the Divans as non-members were the interpreters (dragomans). It seems that at the beginning, the interpreters at the Porte were Muslims, but the majority of them had converted to Islam. Some of them played very important roles, such as Yunus bey, who worked as a dragoman at the Porte for more than 20 years at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. He was originally a Greek, and was also

21 Majer F., (ed.) *Ghymesi Forgách Ferencz nagyváradı püspök magyar históriája 1540–1572, Forgách Simon és Istvánfi Miklós jegyzéseikkel együtt*. Pest 1866, 103–104.; Forgách F. *Emlékirat Magyarország állapotáról*. (transl.: Borzsák, István), In: *Humanista történetírők*. Budapest 1977, 661.

22 Özcan, Fatih Sultan Mehmed Kānunnāme-i Āli-i Osman, 5–14.

23 S. Papp, *Die Verleihungs-, Bekräftigungs- und Vertragsurkunden der Osmanen für Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung*. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Wien 2003, 18.

utilized as a diplomat several times, especially for international affairs with Venice.<sup>24</sup> Two expatriate interpreters at the Porte, Tercümān Mahmūd and Tercümān Murād, are also worth mentioning. They were captured after the defeat of Hungary (1526) and raised at the Porte. Mahmūd was originally Austrian (Serbold, son of Jakob von Pibrach),<sup>25</sup> but Murād was Hungarian (his original name was Balázs Somlyai). Mahmūd wrote a history of Hungary (*Tārīḥ-i Ūngūrūs*) with the help of Murād,<sup>26</sup> and Murād himself translated some important sources from Ottoman-Turkish into Latin, such as the *Tārīḥ-i Oruç* (or, according to some historians, the historical work of Neşri's Cihānnumā), which were then published by Johannes Launklavius/Löwenklau in Latin and German in 1590/1591.<sup>27</sup> Another Hungarian expatriate, Zülfikar efendi became head interpreter at the Porte, although he was actually only able to translate between Hungarian and Ottoman-Turkish. Since he was not able to translate from Latin himself, he enlisted the help of other experts, mostly foreign diplomats or translators. His lack of knowledge was once revealed during a meeting of the Divan when he could not understand a letter from the Spanish king written in Latin. His job had been performed by the translator of the Habsburg monarchy's envoys, the Greek Nikusius Panajotis, who had been born in Istanbul.<sup>28</sup> This resulted in Panajotis becoming the interpreter of the Porte.<sup>29</sup> Following this, the position was filled exclusively by Phanariot Greeks (Rums) until 1821.

24 Aydın: *Divan-i hümayun Tercümanları*, 48–53.

25 E. D. Petritsch, Der habsburgisch-osmanische Friedensvertrag des Jahres 1547. *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 38(1985), 71–72, and about the interpreter at the Porte Mahmūd (60–66); P. Ács, Tarjumans Mahmud and Murad. Austrian and Hungarian Renegades as Sultan's Interpreters, In: *Die Türken in Europa in der Renaissance*. (ed. von Wilhelm Kühnmann – Bodo Guthmüller) Tübingen 2000, 307–316. (Frühe Neuzeit, 54); T. Krstić, Illuminated by the Light of Islam and the Glory of the Ottoman Sultanate: Self-Narratives of Conversion to Islam in the Age of Confessionalization. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, 1(2009), 35–63; Papp S., A Képes Krónika, Thuróczy János krónikája és a Tārīḥ-i Ūngūrūs kapcsolata. Volt-e „török fogságban” a Képes Krónika? In: *Szent Márton és Benedek nyomában. Tanulmányok Koszta László emlékére*. Fontes et libri 3. (eds.:) Fedeles Tamás – Hunyadi Zsolt. Sorozatszerkesztő: Papp S. Szeged–Debrecen, 2019, 342–357.

26 In the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Török F. 57; Gy. Hazai, (ed.) *Die Geschichte der Ungarn in einer osmanischen Chronik des 16. Jahrhunderts: Tercümān Mahmūd's Tārīḥ-i Ungurus*. Edition der Handschrift der Bibliothek der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. (Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der Türkvolker 8.) Berlin 2008.

27 J. Leunklavius, *Neuwe Chronica Türkischer Nation*. Frankfurt am Main.; Löwenklau, J. 1591. *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum*. Francforti; R. F. Kreutel, *Der Fromme Sultan Bayezid. Die Geschichte seiner Herrschaft (1481–1512) nach den altosmanischen Chroniken des Oruç and des Anonymus Hanivaldanus*. Styria Verlag, Graz-Wien-Köln 1978, (Osmanische Geschichtschreiber 9); Aydın: *Divan-i hümayun Tercümanları*, 55; (Bilgin Aydın mentioned, that the text von Neşri had been translated by Tercüman Murad.)

28 Simon Reniger to Ferdinand III. Constantinople, 3<sup>rd</sup> of April 1650, ÖStA, HHStA Wien, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I, Kt. 122, Konv. 1, fol. 119r–121r. (Fragment)

29 G. Kármán, Grand Dragoman Zülfikar Aga. *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 35,1(2018), 5–29.

It is very likely that the Divan sessions took place four times a week on consecutive days, from Saturday to Tuesday.<sup>30</sup> Twice a week, on Saturday and Tuesday, the grand vizier visited the sultan to inform him about the state of affairs in the audience chamber (*‘arz odası*).<sup>31</sup> Sometimes the sultans also received foreign diplomats or politicians at a private audience following a Divan meeting. An example of this was when the Hungarian Prince Rákóczi, who had led a rebellion against the Habsburg Monarchy (1703–1711), was received at the end of 1717 and again at the beginning of 1718. The topics of conversation discussed were so important that the interpreter Andreas Schmid recorded the sultan’s words first in Arabic script and then in transcription (Turkish in Latin script) and in Latin translation, *Tarafı devleti aliemde muzaheret ü muavenet bulağıgına ishtibah ioktur, ve devleti aliemize gelen giümle musafırlere riayet oluna gelmiş tür, sanga dachi ziadessile olağıagi mukarrerdür. (Taraf-i devlet-i aliyemde muzaheret ü muavenet bulacağına ishtibah yoktur. Devlet-i aliyemüze gelen cümle misafıra riayet olunagelmışdür. Sana dahi ziyadesiyle olacağı mukarrerdür.* “There can be no doubt that the help and protection of the empire will be provided. Attention is generally given to guests who come to our high realm. It is certain that this will be the case for you to an even greater extent).”<sup>32</sup>

After the morning prayer, the participants sat down and affairs were negotiated by the members of the Divan. Decisions were recorded during the meeting by the *re’isü l-küttāb* or the other Divan secretaries, and this draft was called the *müsvedde*. After the meetings, meals were held together.<sup>33</sup> The members of the Divan were experts in the problems and matters discussed. During the Divan session, only those issues that were the most important in terms of state affairs were included in the discussion, other matters were handed over to specific experts. It is likely that only the grand vizier himself heard all or almost all of the matters. It was customary during the meeting to check the documents taken down there and issue them after they received the imperial signature (*tuğra*) from the *nisāncı*. If matters were not settled in the Divan session, they were postponed to the Afternoon Divan (*ikindi dīvān* = Afternoon Divan or *paşa dīvān* = Grand Vizier Divan), a practice that is known starting from 1532. This session started after the *ikindi* prayer (from 3 to 4 p.m. in summer and from 2 to 3 p.m. in winter) and continued until evening. As the other name of this Divan, the *paşa dīvān*, shows, usually only the grand vizier participated in this. The *tezkereci*, who was his private secretary, read the important matters and the decisions were made by the grand vizier. However, sometimes he called in other

30 Ricaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. London 1686. 81.

31 İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, 93; B. Lewis, *Dīvān-i humāyūn. EP*, 337.

32 Andreas Schmid’s report to Vienna, Edirne, 4<sup>th</sup> of January 1718, ÖStA, HHStA Wien, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I, Kt. 182, fol. 1.

33 Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen*, 13.

officials (*qāzī'asker*, *defterdār*) to deal with the business of the *ikindi dīvāns*.<sup>34</sup> During the reign of Sultan Süleymān I, two Afternoon Divans still existed, on Wednesday and Friday, where the grand vizier usually ruled on legal issues with the help of the army judges (*qāzī'asker*) of Rumelia and Anatolia and sometimes with the judges (*qāzī*) of Galata, Eyüb and Üsküdar.

There are other alternative forms of the Divan, which were differentiated from one another on the basis of ceremony. The first was the *'ulufe* or *galeb dīvāni*, a ceremony with a very special characteristic. During this Divan, one-fourth of the yearly salary was paid to the janissaries and other military units of the Porte. There is abundant information from incidental diplomatic correspondence about the *'ulufe* or *galeb dīvāni*, such as in the reports of the Habsburg resident envoy, Simon Reniger.<sup>35</sup> Sometimes, when the affairs of state required, the Divan held the meeting while standing (*ayak dīvāni*). In these cases, the sultan sometimes took part in the meeting in person. At the time of a great janissary revolt (1656), there was an *ayak dīvāni*, but only two members of the Divan, who had almost lost their lives in the uprising, were personally present with the sultan.<sup>36</sup>

The Grand Divan was officially a decision-making organisation under the sultan's control, and the most important decisions were made here until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This was true even when essential matters of state were referred to an audience with the sultan, where the ruler himself wrote his orders on the petition (*'arz*, *'arzuḥāl* and later *telḥīs*). From the reports of Simon Reniger, it seems that the *dīvāni hümāyūn* was divided into three different levels from the perspective of foreigners. The first was the Divan and Council, the second was the Public Divan and the third was the Great Divan. The first one most likely was when the Divan only dealt with

34 Gy. Káldy-Nagy, J. Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen Süleymāns des Prächtigen*, Freiburger Islamstudien. Bd. V. F. Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1974. VIII + 172S. + XVI Tafeln. (Besprechungen). *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes* 65(1975), 335–337; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*. II. Ankara 1988<sup>5</sup>, 355–356.

35 „Allerdurchleuchtigster, allergnädigster khayser und herr, vorgestern, den 17. diß, hat man in seraglio und grossen divano die militia bezahlt. Der indianische pottscaffter hat eben dazu mahl bey dem sultan audienz gehabt. Daß praesent, so er bracht, war ein säbl und kostlicher raiger buschen, baide mit herlichen edlstein, grosen diamandten und rubin versetzt. Die Türckhen aestimiren dises praesent sehr hoch, sonst hat man disem pottscaffter alle gewöhnliche ehr und ceremonien erwissen, bey 20 cafftan auß getheilt, selbst dritten darinen in divano bey der mahlzeith gehalten und selbst vierden vor den sultan gelassen. Hat ungefehr bey 100 persohn mit sich, aber ein schlechtes gesindl, übel khlaidt und (salva reverentiae) halb par fueses. Waß er biß hero vorbracht, war maisten theilß ein compliment, wirdt auch schwerlich waß anders antreffē, dan die kauffleuth biß weillen dergleichen pottscaffter procuriren, darmit sie under ihrem gläitt sicher hin und her raisen mögen, wo fehrn gedachter pottscaffter nit etwo wegen Condahar, so die Persianer denen Indianern vor ein jahr abgenomben, die Ottomanische Porten [181v] wider Persia in eine allianz zu ziechen vermaint. Die zeith würdt besser nachricht geben, versichere aber, daß die Türckhen bey iezigen coniuncturen mit Persia nichts anfangen werden.“ Simon Reniger to Ferdinand III. Constantinople, 19<sup>th</sup> of June 1653, ÖStA, HHStA Wien, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I, Kt. 126, Konv. 1, fol. 181r–182v.

36 İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*. Ankara 1988<sup>5</sup>, 225–229.

everyday decisions. A Public Divan would have been when a reception of dignitaries, diplomats, or rebels that were pardoned would also be allowed to attend. A Great Divan was probably a meeting when the grand vizier had an audience with the sultan after a Divan meeting.<sup>37</sup> The importance of the Divan began to wane during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Afternoon Divan did not have an independent chancellery of its own, and as a result, all issues were dealt with in the three secretariats or offices (*qalem*) that belonged to the Imperial Divan. The most important secretariat of these three was the *beglikçi qalemi*, or *dīvān qalemi*, which was also called the *mühimme qalemi* (secretariat of important matters because the *mühimme defteri* were drafted in this secretariat).

The name of the department is related to the title *beglikci*, who was the head of this office and thereby a deputy of the *re'ūsü l-küttâb*.<sup>38</sup> The word *beylik* probably comes by folk etymology from *bitik* or *biti* (Turkish: document, letter) and the *bitikçi* was the chief official responsible for the paperwork in the chancellery (mostly of the Eastern Turkish states). The term *bitikçi* was not used by the Ottomans, but they did use the term *biti* in the meaning of a document in the early practice of the sultan's chancellery.<sup>39</sup> The decisions of the Divan were set down in writing here. Imperial letters (*nâme-i hümayûn*) to other sovereigns and the most important vassal rulers, as well as the commands (*fermân, hüküm*) to Ottoman officials and vassal rulers of lesser importance were also issued here.

Another secretariat was the 'transfer office' *tahvîl qalemi*, also called the *nişân* or *kise qalemi* 'land grant office or 'purse office', which was responsible for the appointment of high officials and fief-holders.<sup>40</sup> It was here that the documents of appointment (*berât-i hümayûn* or *nişân-i şerîf*) for the highest dignitaries were issued, the viziers, *beylerbeyis*, *sanjakkbeyis*, *mollas* (the judges of the highest rank), foundation administrators (*mütevelli*), guild masters (*eşnâf kethüdâsı*), as well as other dignitaries and officials who held fiefs (*haşş, zi'âmet* and *tümâr*).<sup>41</sup>

The final department was the *rü'ūs qalemi*. It can be called the diploma department or the main secretariat. The most important difference between the *tahvîl* and the *rü'ūs qalemi* was that the diplomas for the appointment of officials who received salaries

37 „Volgenten tags, den 1. April seind sie in grossen divano mit den vezirn an der taffel gesessen, mit sieben cafftan ein khlaydt und zum sultan zuer audienz introducirt.” Simon Reniger to Ferdinand III. Constantinople, 9<sup>th</sup> of April 1653, ÖStA, HHStA Wien, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I, Kt. 126, Konv. 1, fol. 77r–78r.

38 Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen*, 19.; H. İnalçık, *Reis-ül-küttâb*. İslâm Ansiklopedisi. IX. Eskişehir 1997<sup>2</sup>, 674.

39 Mumcu, *Hukuksal ve siyasal karar organı*, 68.; „Bitikçi = yazıcı, kâtib yerinde kullanılmış bir tâbirdir. Uygur lehçesinde bitik yazı, mektub, nüsha demektir.” M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*. I. İstanbul 1946, 237; F. Kraelitz, *Osmanische Urkunde in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur osmanischen Diplomatie*. Wien 1921, 45.

40 Mumcu, *Hukuksal ve siyasal karar organı*, 68.

41 Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen*, 20.



instead of fiefs (e.g. from the *şeyhü l-islām* and the black eunuch to the simplest fortress soldiers) were not issued in the *taḥvīl* but in the *rü'ūs qalemi*.<sup>42</sup> In the reign of Süleymān I, administration was not as strictly divided into departments.<sup>43</sup>

The *mühimme defteri* are the most important type of source that has survived. In the professional historical literature, there is often the opinion that every document from the sultan was recorded in it. With some exceptions, this view can indeed be accepted. The literal meaning of *mühimme defteri* is the defter of important matters. The first copy of this preserved at the *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi* (İstanbul) dates from 1544/45.<sup>44</sup> During the reorganisation of the *Başbakanlık Arşivi*, a new register book from 1501 came to light. According to the editors who published this, İlhan Şahin and Feridun M. Emecen, the method of registration at the offices belonging to the Divan was changed at the beginning of Sultan Süleymān's reign, so the aforementioned *mühimme defteri* (from 1544/45) is the earliest surviving copy composed according to the method of the new defter series after this reorganization.<sup>45</sup> Another type of defter, the *şikâyet defteri* (register book of complaints) also branched off from the *mühimme defteri* in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and one copy of this from 1675 is preserved in Austrian National Library in Vienna.<sup>46</sup>

Another important type of registration book or defter related to the international documents of the Porte was the *nâme-i hümayûn defters*. Documents of the *nâme*-type were issued exclusively to the sovereign Muslim or European rulers and the most important vassal rulers of the Ottoman Empire. However, these documents, which were for international relations, were recorded in the *mühimme defterleri* until the 1580s, but then disappeared for a time. It is not yet clear where these types of documents were recorded for several decades. However, there are two defters from the University Library in Göttingen, which are most likely prototypes of the *nâme-defters*.<sup>47</sup> These two volumes contain about 500 documents sent from 1054 A.H. (1644 C.E.) to 1098 A.H. (1686 C.E.) by the Porte to several different rulers in Asia

42 İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı*. Ankara 1988<sup>3</sup>, 45: 2. „Rüüs, küçük berat demektir.”

43 Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen*, 20.

44 M. Berindei, & G. Veinstein, *L'Empire Ottoman et les Pays Roumains 1544–45*. Paris – Cambridge 1987; H. Sahillioğlu, *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi H. 951–952 Tarihli ve E-12321 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*. IRCICA, İstanbul 2002; Dávid G. & Fodor P., „Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való”. *A szultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei (1544–1545, 1552)*. „Affairs of State Are Supreme.” *The Orders of the Ottoman Imperial Council Pertaining to Hungary (1544–1545, 1552)*. Budapest 2005, História – MTA Történettudományi Intézete. História Könyvtár. Okmánytárak 1.

45 İ. Şahin, & F. Emecen, *Osmanlılarda divân-bürokrasi-ahkâm. II. Bâyezid dönemine ait 906/1501 tarihli ahkâm defteri*. İstanbul 1994, XV–XVI.

46 H. G. Majer, (ed.) *Das osmanische „Registerbuch der Beschwerden” (Şikâyet defteri) vom Jahre 1675. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. mixt. 683. I.* Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1983.

47 *Protocollum correspondentiae Turcarum Vezirii cum praecipuis Europae aulis*. Göttingen, Niedersächsische Nationalbibliothek, 4 o Cod. MS. Turcica 29, 30.

and Europe. Each document belongs to the *nāme* or *mektüb*-type. *Mektup* means a kind of letter from the grand vizier to domestic and foreign dignitaries. Both manuscripts probably fell into the hands of Habsburg soldiers during the Ottoman campaign after the former Hungarian capital, Buda (1686), was taken. They were both in private hands in Vienna in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and then were sold to Göttingen. The oldest *nāme-i hümayūn defterleri* in the archives of *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* date to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

The final type of defter is the *Düvel-i Ecnebiye defterleri* ‘register of foreign countries’, which was part of the Divan administration. They were compiled in various periods and contain the most important diplomatic correspondence, mostly from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. These manuscripts also contain later copies of the older and more important treaty documents and commercial agreements, as well as the Sublime Porte’s correspondence with ambassadors and consuls (the older defters show relations between the Ottomans and the Habsburg Monarchy, Venice, Dubrovnik, France, and Poland). For example, the *Nemçelü Ahid defteri* contains the text of the 1568 treaty amongst other diplomatic files mostly from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In addition to this defter, there are another 13 examples of defters related to the Habsburg Monarchy and then the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy that contained political correspondence until approximately the beginning of the First World War.<sup>48</sup>

In conclusion, it is important to mention that the *dīvān-i hümayūn* was the most important ceremonial location for the grand vizier, and even sometimes the sultan himself, to receive foreign ambassadors. Diplomatic ceremonies are often mentioned the final reports of the ambassadors. The permanent resident envoy of the Habsburg monarchy, the aforementioned Simon Reniger, also made regular reports from Istanbul between 1648 and 1664 that provided accounts of the affairs of the Divan to the Vienna Court.<sup>49</sup> It should also be noted that not only diplomats from independent

48 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Düvel-i Ecnebiye defterleri, Nemçe ahd defteri, Nr. 57/1; Nemçe Ahidname Defteri, Nr. 59/3; Nemçe Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 58/2; Nemçe Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 60/4, Nemçe Ahkam Defteri, Nr. 61/5.

49 S. Papp, & Zs. Cziráki, & H. Tóth, & J. Szabados, *Everyday Life and Imperial Politics in the Köprülü Era. Reports of the Resident Envoy, Simon Reniger from Constantinople to the Vienna Court (1649-1660)*, Szeged 2018, 1443. (Manuscript)

states were received at the Divan, but also the envoys of vassal states such as the Crimean Khanate, Transylvania, Moldova and Wallachia.<sup>50</sup>

Simon Reniger reported some unusual events from the Divan. One day, for example, the English ambassador's translator had not interpreted the diplomat's words humbly enough, which angered the grand vizier. Therefore, he ordered the translator to be expelled from the Divan meeting, forcing another interpreter to take over.<sup>51</sup> The Divan was used as a court of justice several times. During the great Celāli uprising, a rebel leader, Katercioğlu, obtained a pardon from the Great Vizier and appeared with his men in Istanbul at a Public Divan, where he and his men were not only forgiven, but he was appointed the pasha of Beyşehir (Karamania).<sup>52</sup>

50 „Den 9. diß hat der sibenbürgische ambassator, nebens vorhero gehabt tractament in divano und acht cafftan, beym sultan audienz gehabt. In divano hat der vesir zu ihm geßagt: ...” Simon Reniger to Ferdinand III. Constantinople, s. d. [between the 10<sup>th</sup> of October and the 10<sup>th</sup> of November], including *Opinio*, ÖStA, HHStA Wien, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I, Kt. 121, Konv. 2, fol. 341r–348r; S. Papp, Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia. In: *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*. (eds.: G. Ágoston, & B. Masters,) Facts on File An Imprint of Infobase Publishing, New York 2009, 570–571; 588–590; 389–391; S. Papp, Die Inaugurationen der Krimkhane durch die Hohe Pforte (16–18. Jahrhundert). In: *The Crimean Khanate between East and West (15th–18th Century)*. (ed.: Denise Klein), Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012, 75–90. (Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte Bd. 78); Natalia Królikowska, Sovereignty and Subordination on the Crimean-Ottoman Relations (Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries). In: *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. (ed.: Gábor Kármán,–Lovro Kunčević,) Brill, Leiden – Boston, 2013, 43–65; S. Papp, Krimtatarische und ungarische Interessengemeinschaft während des Rákóczi-Freiheitskampfes. In: S. Papp, & F. Tóth, (eds.) *Európa és Magyarország II. Rákóczi Ferenc korában / Europe and Hungary in the Age of Ferenc II Rákóczi*. Studia Caroliensia 3–4 (2004), 63–78.

51 „Dieße tag, alß der Engeländer ambassator auff inständiges anlangen bey dem gros vesir audienz erhalten und wegen der gelt pretension purgieren und den accordt recht außlegen wollen, und der dolmatsch angefangen zue reden mit dießen formalibus, sie hetten nur pactiert das volckh überzueführen, welches sie auch albereit gethan, in übrigen wehren sie der Türckhen diener nicht, ist der vesir also baldt auffgstanden, hatt den ambassator sizen lassen und bevolhen, der dolmatsch hinfüro ihme nicht mehr under daß gsicht kommen solle, in massen dann die Engeländer ein andern auffnembten, dessen im divan und angehörigen orten sich bedienen muessen.” Simon Reniger to Johann Rudolf Schmid. Constantinople, 29<sup>th</sup> of August, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> of September 1649, ÖStA, HHStA Wien, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I, Kt. 121, Konv. 1, fol. 236r–241r (Extracts).

52 „Die revolution in Asia ist ganz gestillt. Dem Katterschy Oglı, welcher allein mit 500 man ein zeit herumb crassiert, ist so vill guts versprochen worden, das er endtlih deß vesirs parola getrauet und mit 15 der seinigen den 12. diß sich hie her gewagt, dießem sampt den seinigen sein in offnem divan pardoni erthailt und cafftani angelegt worden. Meniglich hatt ihn wollen sehen als das die Türckhen fast einer dem andern auff den kopff gestigen. Der vesir hatt in seim serraglio ihn loggiert, tractiert ihn woll und hatt ihn alberait zum bassa zue Beischeher in Asia<sup>52</sup> gemacht. Vor den sultan, wie ich iüngst geschriben, ist er noch nit kommen.” Simon Reniger to Johann Rudolf Schmid. Constantinople, 25<sup>th</sup> of November 1649, ÖStA, HHStA Wien, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I, Kt. 121, Konv. 2, fol. 278r–281v.



## Ḥaydar Ḥ'ārizmī's “*Maḥzan al-asrār*” and a Peculiarity of the “*Maḥzan al-asrār*” Manuscript Tradition

Benedek Péri

The edition of a classical Chaghatay manuscript preserved in the Oriental Collection of the Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was published in late November 2020 (Ḥaydar Ḥ'ārizmī 2020). The volume contains the transcription of the Chaghatay text, its versified English translation and images of the manuscript. The manuscript of Ḥaydar Ḥ'ārizmī's narrative poem (*masnavī*) is included in the collective volume Ms. Perzsa O. 81, that contains a Persian *masnavī* as its first text. The Persian narrative poem seems to be a unique copy of a pornographic work supposedly composed by Azraqī Haravī (d. after 1073) in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> Though the manuscript is undated and the name of the copyist and the place of the copying are unknown, clues found in the Chaghatay text suggest that it was copied in Iran. Scattered marginal notes written in Ottoman Turkish indicate that the volume had Ottoman owners and it was copied perhaps in the 16<sup>th</sup> – early 17<sup>th</sup> century. A peculiarity of the manuscript is that both texts were planned to be illustrated, which is clearly indicated by spaces left blank for the images. It is all the more interesting as a relatively great number of Ḥaydar Ḥ'ārizmī's work known today are illustrated and many of them were made in Iran. The present paper has a two-fold goal. First, it aims at defining the place of Ḥaydar Ḥ'ārizmī and his work in the context of 15<sup>th</sup> century classical Chaghatay poetry and secondly, it tries to give an answer to the question why does such an unimportant looking Chaghatay text has this many illustrated copies.

The first Muslim Turkic classical text, the *Qutadḡu Bilig* (‘Wisdom of Royal Glory’) was composed in the Qarakhanid period, in 1069. One would think that the reign of dynasties of Turkic origin, the Ghaznavids and the Seljuks brought with them the development of Turkic literature and led to a flourishing Turkic literary scene. However, this is not the case as from the period between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries only a meagre amount of Turkic texts were left to us. Moreover, the geographical distribution of these texts is quite unbalanced as in the Western parts of the Turkic world more text were produced, especially from 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

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1 For a detailed description of the manuscript see Péri–Mohammadi–Sárközy 2018, 187–189. An edition of the text is being prepared by Katalin Torma and the author of the present paper.

The situation considerably changed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century with the advent of the Timurids. Though the great empire created by Timur (d. 1405) disintegrated very fast and its place was taken over by a network of centres of power, the support these princely courts granted to various branches of contemporary art led to a cultural renaissance that gave an impetus to the development of literary life. Our most important literary historical sources from the period, the literary anthologies (*tazkira*) of Daulatšāh Samarqandī (d. 1494 or 1507) and Mīr ‘Alī-šīr Navāyī (d. 1501) provide the reader with snapshots of a bustling literary scene where next to the dominant literary medium, Persian, Turkic also started to play an increasing role.

This was quite certainly made possible by the socio-economic changes that led to the establishment of a well-to-do élite, the members of which were willing to spend part of their accumulated wealth on cultural projects.<sup>2</sup> As Ḥaydar Ḥ‘ārizmī’s following lines indicate, in the early 1410s there were a great number of affluent patrons of Turkic origin and they formed a new type of audience that were eager to consume classical cultural products.

*Türk zühürüdur ajunda bu kün  
Başla uluq yir bilä türkāna ün  
Rāst qıl āhang-i navā u hijāz  
Tüz yatuğani birlä şudurğani sāz  
Türk surūdini tüzük birlä tüz  
Yaḥşi ayalğu birlä köglä qopuz* (Ḥaydar Ḥ‘ārizmī 2020, 87)

Nowadays Turks are everywhere and it’s not wrong,  
When you let everyone hear your loud Turkish song,  
Compose melodies in the *rāst* and the *hijāz* scale,  
Prepare your *yatuğan* and *şudurğan* and don’t fail.  
Play the Turkish songs, well-composed and full of bliss,  
Pluck the strings of the *qopuz*, you should never miss. (Ḥaydar Ḥ‘ārizmī 2020, 178)

Besides the appearance of Turkic consumers of classical art products, like classical music, represented in the poem by two classical musical scales (*maqāms*), *rāst* and *hijāz*, Ḥaydar Ḥ‘ārizmī’s lines also suggest that this new audience wished to enjoy art in a way that was more familiar to its members and thus easier to comprehend. In the case of music this audience preferred classical melodies played on various Turkic instruments, *şudurğan*, *yatuğan* and *qopuz*. Since the lines quoted above are parts of a poetic text it is possible to take them figuratively as well, and suggest that they were also meant to refer to literary products. Ḥaydar Ḥ‘ārizmī’s words thus clearly indicate that in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century a demand arose for classical art, music, poetry, etc. dressed into a Turkic garb.

2 For a detailed description of the process see Subtelny 1988.

It has been mentioned earlier that the patronage of the new élite gave an impetus to the development of art and in the Timurid centres of power a bustling art scene emerged.

The city of Shiraz in the province of Fars was one of the important centres of art during the reign of the Timurid prince, Iskandar Sultān (d. 1415). Preceding the advent of the Timurids, Shiraz had already grown into a major city and a capital to several Iranian dynasties since the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> It had become an important centre of trade, pilgrimage and culture during its history and it was the hometown to such important representatives of classical Persian poetry as Sa‘dī (d. 1292) and Hāfīz (d. 1390).

After the Timurid conquest in 1393, the province of Fars and its capital Shiraz was governed by the eldest surviving son of Timur, ‘Umar Šayḥ (d. 1394). Following his death three of his sons, Pīr Muḥammad, Rustam and Iskandar Sultān continuously fought for supremacy until 1412–1413 when Iskandar’s power was finally acknowledged in the province (Soucek 2012).<sup>4</sup> One year later he rebelled against his uncle, Šāhruḥ (d. 1447) and declared himself an independent ruler. He minted coins and his name was included in the Friday sermon (*ḥutba*). However, his revolt didn’t last long and it ended with his execution in 1415.

The prince’s court situated in Shiraz and later in Isfahan, was an important hub of contemporary cultural life adorned with the presence of distinguished intellectuals of the age like the astronomers Giyās al-Dīn Kāšī (d. 1429) and his brother, Maḥmūd Kāšī (d. 1428), the historian Mu‘īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī (d. early 15<sup>th</sup> c.), the author of a voluminous chronicle, and the poet Būshāq (d. 1424 or 1427) who became famous for his poetic lampoons collected in a volume entitled *Dīvān-i aṭ‘ama* (‘A Collection of Poems on Food’).

Near contemporary literary historical sources list Ḥaydar Ḥ‘ārizmī among the court poets of the Prince. Though the first reference work written on classical prosody in Turkic, the *Funūn al-balāḡa* (‘The Sciences of Eloquence’) compiled by Šayḥ Aḥmad Tarāzī in 1437, doesn’t say explicitly that Ḥaydar Ḥ‘ārizmī was a court poet, it quotes quite a few of his lines, which would suggest that he was an acknowledged poet of the Turkic poetic scene in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (De Weese 2005, 123, 150–153).<sup>5</sup> Later sources, the anthologies of Daulatšāh, Navāyī and Faḥr al-Dīn Rāzī (d. after 1566), and Bābur’s handbook on prosody also mention him (Péri 2020, 13–15) indicating that he was still remembered in the late 15<sup>th</sup>–mid 16<sup>th</sup> century, both as a poet composing Turkic poetry and a panegyrist of Iskandar Sultān.

Our sources make it clear that besides composing panegyrics addressed to the Prince, he was the author of two narrative poems. One of them titled *Gul u Naurūz* (‘Gul and Naurūz’) is still often attributed to a better known Turkic poet, Maulānā Luṭfī and the other, originally titled *Gulšan al-asrār* (‘The Rosegarden of Secrets’), is

3 For an outline of the history of pre-Timurid Shiraz see Limbert 2011, 3–46.

4 For a detailed account of his life see Soucek 1996.

5 For more on Ḥaydar Ḥ‘ārizmī see Péri 2020.

usually mentioned as *Maḥzan al-asrār* ('The Treasury of Secrets') in modern scholarship.<sup>6</sup>

The *Gulšan al-asrār* is an approximately 600 couplets long narrative poem<sup>7</sup> meant as a poetic reply (*javāb*) to Niẓāmī Ganjavī's (d. 1209) *Maḥzan al-asrār*. Ḥaydar Ḥvārizmī's intentions are made clear by his references to Niẓāmī:

*Şayḥ Niẓāmī damīdīn jān tapīp*  
*Ma'nāsīdīn yarlıq u farmān tapīp*  
*Qoptum ise öpti elimni bilig*  
*Ganj-faşānliq bilä açtim elig*  
*Keldim etäkläp gavhar-i şāhvār*  
*Qilsa qabul öz qulidīn şahriyār* (Ḥaydar Ḥvārizmī 2020, 88)

The spirit of Niẓāmī made my tired soul glow,  
 His works gave me guidance in which direction to go.  
 I set to work; knowledge arrived and paid me tribute,  
 It offered a great treasure for me to distribute.  
 With pockets full of jewels, worried did I come,  
 Would the king accept from his servant at least some? (Ḥaydar Ḥvārizmī 2020, 180).

The poem, as the lines above and the chapter devoted to praising the ruler indicate, was dedicated to Iskandar Sulṭān and as the author made it clear, it was composed in a period when the Prince ruled as an independent king (*pādšāh*) displaying the most important signs of sovereignty: minting coins and having his name included in the Friday in the *ḥuṭba*. These hints suggest that the poem was composed between 1412 and 1415, when the Prince acted as an independent ruler.

*Sikka u ḥuṭba āyīnīdīn sar-firāz*  
*Fath u zafar himmatīna kār-sāz* (Ḥaydar Ḥvārizmī 2020, 83)

He issues coins and to his name *ḥuṭba* is said,  
 His army has always made the enemy fled. (Ḥaydar Ḥvārizmī 2020, 176).

The *Gulšan al-asrār* is not the only *javāb* inspired by Niẓāmī's *Maḥzan al-asrār* and it is not even the first one. Bābur's *Muḥtaşar ft'l-'arūz* ('A Compendium of Prosody') mentioned above, lists the most important ones from the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Bābur 1971, 194). The first such poem, titled *Maṭla' al-anvār* ('Dawn of Lights') was composed by Amīr Ḥusrau Dihlavī (d. 1325) followed the *Gulšan-i abrār* ('The Rosegarden of the Righteous') by Kātībī (d. 1434 or 1436), a contemporary of Ḥaydar

6 For the details see Péri 2020, 16–17.

7 The length of the text varies in the manuscript tradition.



Ḥ̄v̄ārizmī. The end of the century witnessed the production of two more *javābs*, ‘Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī’s *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār* (‘Gift to the Nobles’) in Persian and Navāyī’s *Ḥayrat al-abrār* (‘The Wonder of the Rightous’) in Turkic. Two Persian, one Eastern Turkic and two Ottoman poems from the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries should be added to Bābur’s list. Ḥ̄v̄ājū-yi Kirmānī (d. 1361) wrote his poetic reply titled *Rauzat al-anvār* (‘The Garden of Light’) in 1342 (Niyāz Kirmānī 1991, 35). Madīḥī’s *masnavī*, *Jannat-i Aḥrār* (‘A Garden of the Noble’) is from the reign of the Aq Qoyunlu ruler, Ya‘qūb (1478–1490) (Çakar 2012, 15). Sayyid Qāsimī composed his *Majma‘ al-aḥbār* (‘A Collection of News’) during the reign of the Timurid ruler Abū Sa‘īd Mīrzā (1459–1469) (Eker 2004, 136, 139). Derviş Ḥayālī’s *Rauzat el-envār* (‘The Garden of Light’) was completed in 1449–1450 (Köksal 2003) and Behištī (d. 1511?) finished his *Maḥzen el-esrār* (Ersoy 2011, 256–257) during the reign of Bāyezīd II (1481–1512).

Since these poems were all meant as *javābs* to an earlier poetic text they share a few features of the model text. They are composed in the metre (*ṣarī‘-i musaddas-i maṭvī-i maksūf*; - . . - | - . . - | - . -) and they imitate the structure, the subject and the tone of Niẓāmī’s work. All of them are didactic poems written in an admonitory tone and focus on ethical concepts, such as righteousness, generosity, perseverance, trust in God, etc. They start as *masnavīs* in the Persian tradition usually do, with an introduction containing the praise of God, the Prophet Muḥammad, the Caliphs, and the dedicatee, usually the acting ruler. The text is divided then into chapters. Each chapter starts with the author’s introductory lines expressing his views concerning an ethical concept, which is followed by a story meant to illustrate what was said earlier. Chapters are concluded by the poet’s concluding remarks.

Compared to the model poem and other poetic replies Ḥaydar Ḥ̄v̄ārizmī’s text is much shorter; it consists of approximately 600 couplets and contains only eight stories. The order of the stories can vary in the manuscript tradition. 1. The story of the young man who lost his money in the bazaar highlights the hypocrisy of various characters connected to religion; 2. The story of Amīr Temūr and the ant illustrates the importance of perseverance; 3. The story of the Prophet Jacob warns everyone that ordinary love shouldn’t replace the love of God; 4. The story of the cloth-merchant and the poor widow reproaches heartless people making profit on others who are in need; 5. The story of the caravan at Ḥātīm-i Ṭayy’s tomb speaks of generosity; 6. The story of King Sulaymān and the earthenware jar warns of the ephemeral character of power; 7. The story of the meeting of the Ghaznavid ruler Maḥmūd and the dervish focuses on true devotion and faith in Divine Providence similarly to the story of Hārūn al-Rašīd and the saintly Bahlūl.

Osman Fikri Sertkaya mentions that he prepared a critical edition of Ḥaydar Ḥ̄v̄ārizmī’s text based on eighteen manuscripts (Sertkaya 1974, 182, note 9). Unfortunately Sertkaya didn’t list the manuscripts and his edition has never been published. Later works on the text list less copies (Goca 2000, VI; Çakmak 2019, 336–338) and the critical edition published in 2008 was prepared based only on five (Gözütök 2008, 6–7).

As it has been mentioned in the introduction, some of the manuscripts are illustrated. The oldest illustrated copy (Persian Ms. 41) prepared for the Aq Qoyunlu ruler, Ya'qūb (1478–1490) in 1478, is preserved in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library.<sup>8</sup> The manuscript was compiled using expensive Chinese paper and it contains one painting illustrating the story of the Ghaznavid Maḥmūd and the dervish.<sup>9</sup> The copyist was one of the famous calligraphers of the period, Sulṭān 'Alī Mašhadī (d. 1520).<sup>10</sup>

According to Blochet's catalogue the copy of Ḥaydar Ḥ'arizmī's text kept in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris was made in the 1550's in Tabriz (Blochet 1933, 116). Lale Uluç an expert on Shirazi paintings, however, thinks that they were made in the second half of 16<sup>th</sup> century in Shiraz.<sup>11</sup>

The copy kept in the Vever Collection at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington was copied by Mīr 'Alī al-Kātib in the late 1570s somewhere in Iran, perhaps in Khurasan. The manuscript contains eight illustrations, one to each story (Lowry & Beach 1988, 133–134). The manuscript of the Chester Beatty library (Ms. No. 433) is thought to have been copied somewhat later also in Iran and Minorsky suggested that it was dedicated to the Safavid ruler, 'Abbās I (1587–1639). The volume contains eight paintings, six of them prepared to illustrate stories. Interestingly, the story of the old woman and the cloth-merchant has two illustrations (Minorsky 1958, 56–57).

The undated copy of the Millet Kütüphanesi (Ae Mnz 951) is also supposed to have been copied and illustrated in a Safavid environment, perhaps in Tabriz in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Öztürk 2012, 248–249). The copy contains nine paintings, one to each story and an additional miniature in the introductory chapter. There are two copies of the text in the collection of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi. One of them (E.H. 1641) was illustrated by Rizā-yi 'Abbāsī (1565–1635), a celebrated artist from 'Abbās I's reign and copied by an equally acknowledged painter, Şādiqī Beg, the librarian of the ruler (Soudavar 1992, 199).<sup>12</sup> The copy contains seven illustrations (Çağman & Tanındı 1979, 48). The other manuscript (E.H. 1640) was copied by Mīr 'Imād al-Ḥusaynī (1553–1615), a famous calligrapher of the same period in 1605 (Gözütok 2008, facsimile 22a). Rizā and Mīr 'Imād worked together on the fragmentary copy preserved in the art collection of the Art and History Trust Collection in Houston (Cat. no. 110). Only the nine pages containing paintings, including the colophon page, are preserved all the others seem to be lost (Soudavar 1992, 200–201). According to Abolala Soudavar both the Topkapı and the Houston manuscript was commissioned in Isfahan in the early 17<sup>th</sup>

<sup>8</sup> For a detailed description of the copy see Soucek 1988.

<sup>9</sup> For the use of Chinese paper in Timurid manuscripts see Blair 2000, 26–28.

<sup>10</sup> For Sulṭān 'Alī Mašhadī see Serin 2016.

<sup>11</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Lale Uluç for her views on the paintings.

<sup>12</sup> All references to Soudavar's book are to the .doc version of the book available at the author's website. [www.soudavar.com/ArtPersCrt.doc](http://www.soudavar.com/ArtPersCrt.doc) (Accessed on 08. 01. 2021).

century (Soudavar 1992, 198). He thinks that the Mīr ‘Imād version was prepared first, perhaps for a well-to-do patron and the other copy was prepared on the order of the shah to prove that the royal atelier can produce a manuscript equalling the Rizā–Mīr ‘Imād copy (Soudavar 1992, 199).

As it has been mentioned before, the Budapest manuscript was also meant to be illustrated. Spaces for two paintings, one illustrating the story of the old woman and the cloth merchant and the other the story of the caravan at Ḥātim-i Ṭayy’s tomb, were left blank (fols. 32a, 35a). Several linguistic features of the manuscript suggest that the text was copied by a scribe whose mother tongue was an Oghuz dialect close to Azeri. Just to mention a few examples, on fol. 33a instead of *toqulğan* ‘woven’ *toḥulğan* on fol. 33b instead of *berür* ‘he/she gives’ *verür*, on fol. 34b instead of *yigit* ‘young man’ *igit*, on fol. 41a instead of *yürägim* ‘my heart’ *ürägim* is written. Since the first work in the collected volume containing Ḥaydar Ḥvārizmī’s work, is a Persian text, it is not without reason to believe that the manuscript was also copied somewhere in Iran. Since the text of the *Gulšan al-asrār* fits perfectly into the ‘*Maḥzan al-asrār* tradition’, perhaps the answer for the question, why are there this many illustrated copies of an unimportant looking Turkic text, prepared by well-known artists, should be looked for in the manuscript tradition of the *Maḥzan al-asrār* genre.

It seems that illustrations became an inseparable part of the Nizāmī textual tradition during the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Many illustrated copies are known to have been prepared in well-known centres of Persian manuscript production Herat, Shiraz and Baghdad.<sup>13</sup> The tradition appears to have been continued during the reign of the Safavids and quite a few exquisitely illustrated copies of Nizāmī’s *Ḥamsa* were produced and as the *Maḥzan al-asrār* was one of the five *masnavīs* it was often illustrated too.<sup>14</sup> The Topkapı Palace Museum Library alone has seventy-one illustrated copies out of which thirty are “dated prior to 1503–1504” (Tanındı 2019, 227).

Being illustrated seems to be a feature most of the poetic replies inspired by Nizāmī’s *Maḥzan al-asrār* share. Though some of these texts were preserved in copies without paintings, a great number of the manuscripts belonging to the ‘*Maḥzan al-asrār* tradition’ is illustrated. It is especially true for Amīr Khusrau’s *Maṭla‘ al-anvār*,<sup>15</sup> Jāmī’s *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār*<sup>16</sup> and Nevāyī’s *Ḥayrat al-abrār*.<sup>17</sup> Nizāmī’s *masnavī* and these three *javābs* were fashionable texts in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and perhaps, must

13 For a detailed account on these manuscripts see Soucek 1971.

14 See e.g. Lowry and Beach 1988, 216–224, 239

15 For a detailed study of the topic see Brend 2003.

16 See Lowry and Beach 1988, 149–157; Robinson 1958, 108–109, 166–167. Digital images of Ms. Elliot 149 preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford are available online at <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/dab179f1-21bb-4dfd-a14b-b6d3a534e6ed/> (Accessed on 01. 02. 2021). See also Arberry et alii 1962, 18–19, 24.

17 See e.g. Uluç 2019. Images of an exquisitely executed copy of the *Ḥayrat* preserved in the Royal Collections are available online at <https://www.rct.uk/collection/1005032/khamsah-yi-navai-khmsh-nwyy-the-quintet-of-navai> (Accessed on 01. 02. 2021).

have items in the libraries of affluent patrons who could afford to have such valuable books commissioned or purchased. As it has been referred to earlier, the number of wealthy patrons considerably increased during the reign of the Timurids. The demand for illustrated books grew and these popular texts with their short stories were especially suitable for being illustrated. It seems that due to these three factors, the increase in the number of rich book lovers, the popularity of these texts and their suitability for being decorated with paintings, illustrations became part of the ‘*Maḥzan al-asrār*’ tradition’ and texts accepted as belonging to the genre were often illustrated. This general practice continued beyond the 15<sup>th</sup> century and in the centres of Persianate book production, in the Ottoman Empire, in Safavid lands, in Shaybanid Bukhara and in Mughal India many illustrated copies of these texts were prepared.

Ḥaydar Ḥ‘ārizmī’s *Gulšan al-asrār* also seems to have been a popular text in the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries, though in a narrower circle, among consumers of Turkic literary products. Quotations contained in the *Funūn al-balāḡa* and the three copies written in Uyghur script (Çakmak 2019, 336–337) in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century are all signs of this popularity. One of these copies produced in Istanbul in 1480 was part of the library of Bayezid II (1481–1512) (Csirkés 2019, 716).<sup>18</sup> If we add that the New York manuscript was also prepared for another royal patron the Aq Qoyunlu ruler, Ya‘qūb in 1478, it is clear that the reputation of Ḥaydar Ḥ‘ārizmī’s text enjoyed in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Such a high prestige may have been attributed to it partly because it was originally dedicated to a Timurid prince and thus it carried the air of the Timurid cultural ethos, and more importantly because when the above mentioned royal copies were prepared Navāyī’s *Ḥayrat al-abrār* still didn’t exist and thus the *Gulšan al-asrār* was the sole representative of Timurid poetic replies written in Turkic to Niẓāmī’s model poem.

The prestige of the text seems to have remained unbroken in the Safavid period. At least this is what the number of manuscripts produced under the Safavids and the Chester Beatty copy supposedly prepared for ‘Abbās I, another royal patron would suggest.

Though the status of Persian was unquestionable in the Safavid Empire, Turkic was an integral part of the court culture (Csirkés 2016). Safavids, at the same time, were heirs to many diverse aspects of the Timurid cultural legacy and this quite naturally means that there had to be a market for copies of Chaghatay texts composed by Timurid period authors. Though particularly the works of Navāyī were sought for, seeing the number of its manuscripts produced under the Safavids, it can be surmised that the *Gulšan al-asrār* was popular as well. There might have been another factor that influenced the Safavid popularity of the text. Originally it was composed in a region that was ruled by the Safavids so perhaps those who were interested in this text had an easier access to manuscripts that could be copied.

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<sup>18</sup> For the edition of the text see Goca 2000.

As a summary it can be said that the relatively high number of the illustrated copies of the *Gulšan al-asrār* can perhaps be explained with the favourable conjunction of several factors. Nizāmī's *Maḥzan al-asrār* inspired quite a few poetic replies from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards and the texts had formed a distinct 'Maḥzan al-asrār genre' by the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. As a result of various socio-economic processes the wealth of potential patrons of art increased during the same period and it also created a high demand for illustrated books that could reflect their possessor's financial and cultural status. Texts of the 'Maḥzan al-asrār tradition' with their short stories were perfectly suitable for being decorated with paintings, and by the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century illustrations became an inseparable part of this tradition. Ḥaydar Ḥ'arizmī's *Gulšan al-asrār* was the first Turkic text composed in this genre and it quickly became popular. This popularity still held in the 16<sup>th</sup>–early 17<sup>th</sup> century. As it was considered part of the *Maḥzan al-asrār* tradition, it also started being illustrated and this custom was still followed in the early years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. After this period, Ḥaydar Ḥ'arizmī's narrative poem seems to have sunk into oblivion for reasons yet undiscovered.

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# Is Tearing the Tent Down the Symbolic Expression of the Death Penalty? – The Traces of an Avar Custom in the Work of Theophylact Simocatta

Katalin Pintér-Nagy

The tent or the yurt played an important role in the lives of the nomadic peoples. The mobile homes of these peoples have already been researched in many aspects. Recently, Peter Alford Andrews explored this topic in more detail in his two-volume work (Andrews 1999). The author chronologically deals with the written sources and visual representations of the tents/yurts of the nomadic people, starting with the Scythians up until the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, Andrews also touches upon the symbolic meanings of the tent or its various parts for some peoples. In the case of the Avars, he analyzes one source, Maurice's *Strategicon*, from which one might infer the type and shape of the tent used by these nomadic people. In addition to the source used by Andrews for the Avar tent, another author's work can be included in the investigation. There is a passage in the work of Theophylact Simocatta that tells about the Avars' tent-related habits. According to the Byzantine author, for these nomadic people tearing down the tent symbolizes the death penalty.<sup>1</sup> In this study, I analyze this detail of Theophylact Simocatta's work.

Theophylact Simocatta, the author of the source, played an important role in the Byzantine state apparatus.<sup>2</sup> His most important work including eight books is the *Oicumenicé historia* deals with the reign of Emperor Maurice (582–602). The author focuses on two main subjects: Avars and Slavs in the Balkans and the Byzantine war in the East against Persia.<sup>3</sup> Because of his position, he had access to numerous documents and records, and, as a result, his work contains much valuable information about the 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup>-century South Russian steppe peoples, including the Avars.

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1 The historical work of Theophylact Simocatta was published in English, German and Hungarian translation. Michael Whitby, Mary Whitby, and Peter Schreiner did not focus on the importance of source's part discussed here (Whitby–Whitby 1986: 28; Schreiner 1985: 51). At the same time, Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss and Terézia Olajos emphasized the significance of the nomadic background of the custom (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998: 63).

2 For the life and work of Theophylact Simocatta in details, see Moravcsik 1983: 544–545; Olajos 1981: 3–4; Whitby–Whitby 1986: xiii–xiv; Whitby 1988: 28–33.

3 For his work Theophylact Simocatta used mainly historical writings of Ioannes Epiphaneus, but besides, works of Menander Protector, Ailianos, and Diodorus Siculus also served as sources for him (SZÓM 140–141; Olajos 1979: 3–17; Olajos 1988: 14–66, 96–112).

However, it should be noted that due to the intricate style of the Egyptian author, certain details of the work, originating in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, are often difficult to interpret and sometimes dating problems arise with the source (Moravcsik 1983: 544–545; Whitby – Whitby 1986: xvii–xxv, xxvii–xxviii; SZŐM 140).

The piece in question appears in Theophylact Simocatta’s historical work on the Avar’s campaign against the Byzantine Empire in 584. The nomadic people, who moved into the Carpathian Basin in 567, then advanced to Anchialos, and in this year, in the hope of making a peace deal, the Byzantine emperor, under the leadership of Elpidius and Comentiolus, sent an envoy to the Avar Kagan.<sup>4</sup> While Elpidius responded calmly and conciliative to the threatening, lofty words of the Kagan, Comentiolus, a member of the Byzantine Embassy, responded harshly. The speech of the Byzantine envoy, who started as an imperial bodyguard, was an utter diplomatic failure. The Avar Kagan roared in fierce anger, ignored the respect of the ambassadors, and captured Comentiolus, tied him up, put his leg in the stocks, and tore off his tent. Theophylact Simocatta believes that tearing down the tent, in this case, is a local Avar custom, symbolizing the death penalty. Eventually, the hot-headed Byzantine envoy escaped, because the Avar nobles persuaded the Kagan not to pronounce the death sentence on Comentiolus, thus releasing the Byzantine delegation. The peace treaty was finalized lastly in 585, with the assistance of Elpidius which resulted in the Byzantines raising the Avars’ annual money by 20,000 solidi (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998: 62–63; Olajos 2012: 81; Pohl 2018: 93–94).

It is clear from this part that both the description of the event and Comentiolus’ long, well-elaborated speech to the Avar Kagan, which is absolutely characteristic of the author, are entirely Theophylact Simocatta’s work. The exact meaning of the phrase “tent-tearing” (σκηνοπήγιον διέρρηξε) is not entirely clear. In this section, Theophylact Simocatta uses the term σκηνοπήγιον, which is commonly applied for the tent (Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae I. 6, 2), meaning “tent set-up, tent-pitching” (Györkösy–Kapitánffy–Tegyei 1990: 961; Liddell–Scott–Jones–McKenzie 1958: 1608). In the text edition edited by Carolus de Boor and Peter Wirth, the term is referred to as a “tent” (tentorium) (Boor–Wirth 1972: 425).<sup>5</sup> However, the context in the source clearly explains the correctness of the translation.<sup>6</sup> The verb related to the tent (διαρρήγνυμι) has several meanings; it has been used in the sense of breaking,

4 According to Samu Kardoss and Terézia Olajos this event took place in the autumn of 584 or in the winter of 584–585. (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998: 62), while in according to Michael and Mary Whitby, and Veselin Beševliev, the legation of Elpidius és Comentiolus to the Avar Khagan was in the autumn of 583 (Beševliev 1950: 257; Whitby–Whitby 1986: 238; Whitby 1988: 142).

5 Hungarian, English and German translations all used the “tent” meaning determined by the Boor text edition: “tent” (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998: 63; Olajos 2012: 81); „Zelt” (Schreiner 1985: 51) (Whitby–Whitby 1986: 28).

6 Besides this part, the author used the term σκηνοπήγιον in further five places, and in all cases, both in the text edition and in the translations it is applied in the meaning of “tent” (Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae II. 12, 10; III. 2, 1; III. 14, 10; V. 11, 1; VII. 10, 1; Whitby–Whitby 1986: 61, 74, 95, 193; Schreiner 1985: 78, 90, 108, 155, 190; Olajos 2012: 114, 127, 150, 202, 252).

tearing, cracking (Györkösy–Kapitánffy–Tegyei 1990: 248; Liddell–Scott–Jones–McKenzie 1958: 410). The term was interpreted by Terézia Olajos and Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss, the translators of the historical work, as tearing down the tent, but it was mentioned in a footnote that it might have meant tearing-off the tentpole (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998: 62–63; Olajos 2012: 81).<sup>7</sup> From the interpretations of Michael and Mary Whitby (Whitby 1986: 28),<sup>8</sup> and Peter Schreiner (Schreiner 1985: 51),<sup>9</sup> it seems that they meant tearing up the tent. Thus, the meaning of the words used by Comentiolus in the source passage is unclear, so it cannot be declared that the author was merely thinking of destroying the tent or destroying/damaging any part of the tent (breaking the tent cover or breaking the tent roof column).<sup>10</sup>

Maurice also refers in his military work to the Avar tent, apart from the written sources about the Avars, investigating the custom of tearing down the tent.<sup>11</sup> The Emperor, knowledgeable in military strategy, recommends that the Byzantine army applies the type of tent used by the Avars.<sup>12</sup> According to him, this type of tent used by the nomadic people is pleasing to the eye and practical to use (Maurice I. 2, 10 cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998: 80–81). Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss, who was the first to study this source in detail, concluded that these could have been yurt-like structures. He interpreted the characteristics of the Avar residence in the source in question, that, unlike the rectangular Byzantine tent, the Avar tent was round in shape, which made it more resistant to strong wind attacks than the square one. He also assumes that it had lattice structured lateral walls, therefore it was easy to transport and assemble (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986: 212–213; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998: 80–81).<sup>13</sup> We cannot

7 „...Komentioszt megalázóan megkötöztette, lábait fakalodába szorította, a követi sátrat leszakította, s ennek nyomán egy helyi szokás értelmében halálbüntetés fenyegette őt.” (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998: 63; Olajos 2012: 81)

8 „...dishonoured Comentiolus with chains, crushed his feet in the clamp of wooden stocks, tore apart the ambassador’s tent, and hence, according to a native custom, threatened the death-penalty.” (Whitby–Whitby 1986: 28)

9 „...entehrte den Komentios durch Fesseln, seine Füße ließ er durch einen schmerzenden Block zusammenpressen und das Zelt des Gesandten riß er ein, womit nach dem dort üblichen Brauch die Todesstrafe drohte.” (Schreiner 1985: 51)

10 In another place of Theophylact’s work, we find a further event connected with the destruction of a tent, when soldiers rebelled against general Priscus in the Persian front. During the rebel, Priscus’s tent was torn up (Whitby–Whitby 1986: 74; Olajos 2012: 81). The author used another verb in this part: *περσιζέω*, meaning ripping up (Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae III. 2, 1).

11 For the representation of a probably Avar tent/yurt at jar 2 of the Nagyszentmiklós treasure, see in detail, Göbl–Róna-Tas 1995: 34; Bálint 1998: 238–239; Róna-Tas 1998: 943–944.

12 According to Peter Alford Andrews, it is the only example for using this type of tent by peoples other than nomads (Andrews 1999: 1273–1274).

13 According to George T. Dennis, description of the Avar tent known from the work of Maurice refers to the round and spacious character of the Avar dwellings (Dennis 1984: 13).

therefore clearly determine the type of tents used by the Avars, from the available sources.<sup>14</sup>

The tent was an important part of the nomadic peoples' daily lives, and at the same time, these mobile homes played an important role in their religion and belief system as well. The yurt can be deemed as a reduced model of the universe, the macrocosm, its internal order followed a strict system, with a definite place for women, men, people of lower rank, etc. (Róna-Tas 1961: 96–97; Róna-Tas 1997: 177; Atwood 2004: 615; Iván 2004: 115).<sup>15</sup> However, not only the tent as a whole but also some of its elements carried symbolic significance in the nomadic peoples' beliefs. Among the parts of the tent, there was a symbolic meaning of the roof-ring, the entrance of the yurt, the column(s) holding the roof-ring, the tent-rope and the fireplace (Andrews 1999: 480–481; Atwood 2004: 615; Iván 2004: 115–118). In connection with our topic, it should be emphasized that the symbolism of the tent and its elements is mainly known from the late Mongol Age sources.

The tent itself could have been the symbol of power, the owner of the yurt, stability, and played an important role in the burial tradition of some nomadic peoples. The importance of the yurt is illustrated by the data in the governance manual compiled by Kublai, according to which there was a large tent with a flag among the nine badges of the Mongol Empire (Sagaster 1976: 295–299).<sup>16</sup> There is an excerpt in *The Secret History of the Mongols* that suggests that the Khan's yurt could, to some degree, embody the ruler. When setting up the Khan Palace tent, one of the night bodyguards had to be present as a lodging master and supervise the process (SRH 10. 232. cf. Ligeti 2004:<sup>2</sup> 90; Rachewiltz 2006: 160–161). The ruler's tent, which was stood out of other tents/yurts, could have also symbolized the ruling power. There is a passage concerning to the Huns in Priscus' work dating back to 449, according to which the Huns did not allow the Eastern Roman delegation to set up their tents on a hill. In this way, Attila's tent built on a flat area would have been lower than the tents that followed. Particularly because this way, Attila's tent, which was built on a flat area would have been lower than the tents of the delegation (Exc. De Leg. Rom. 3. cf. Blockley 1983: 250–251). Plano Carpini noted that the Mongols destroyed the yurts of the dead at their funeral. Thus, the destruction of the yurt, which symbolized the owner, also symbolized the death of the owner (Plano Carpini 12. cf. Györffy 1965:

14 In István Fodor's opinion, the yurt came from Inner Asia and was brought to Europe by the Huns. (Fodor 1983: 95–98). Later, Andrews and Zimonyi expressed the opinion that this type of tents appeared in Eastern Europe only later, as the consequence of the western expansion of the Türks (Andrews 1999: 107–110; Zimonyi 2005: 107–121).

15 Mongols punished with death those who continued some prohibited activity (urinated, spitted out food) inside the yurt. After such events, the tent could be used again only after fire purification ritual led by the shaman (Plano Carpini III. 7. cf. Györffy 1965: 62). Similarly, the yurts of the dead were "cleaned with fire", and could be used again only after this rite (Plano Carpini III. 15. cf. Györffy 1965: 66).

16 The symbols of power in the Mongol Empire included also a black flad, red horn, golden quiver, yellow drum, sabre decorated with diamonds, golden saddle, and belt (Sagaster 1976: 295–299).

64–65). The importance of the tent can also be observed in burial practices. In the case of the Huns and the Turks, this phenomenon is similar: the dead were laid out in their tents, thus making it a feretory and then they rode around the funeral tent several times (Iordanes 256. cf. Kiss 2005: 93; Chou-shu 50. cf. Liu Mao-Tsai 1958: 9–10).

The top part of the yurt was the roof ring, held by the roof poles. The roof ring itself functionally provided a source of light for the yurt and served as a smoke outlet (Róna-Tas 1961: 86–88; Róna-Tas 1997: 176). Due to its shape, it can be generally observed that it appears as a sun-symbol mostly at nomadic peoples. Besides, its association with the Dharma- or law-wheel appears relatively late, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, with the re-emergence of Buddhism. Ethnographic parallels show that one of the symbols of Buddha's teachings leading to enlightenment appears mainly in the form of an eight-spoke wheel at the nomadic peoples (Andrews 1999: 416, 1266). In *The Secret History of the Mongols*, the crushing of the roof ring, along with the destruction of other parts of the yurt, also symbolized the breaking of the power of the Merkit leader who abducted Börte (SRH 3. 105, 109. cf. Ligeti 2004:<sup>2</sup> 29–30; Rachewiltz 2006: 36–37). The smoke outlet in the roof ring can also be regarded as a typical element that represented the entrance to the afterlife (Andrews 1999: 149). This phenomenon is hinted at the symbolism emerging from the origin story of Genghis Khan's Family, in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Alan-koa gave birth to three boys after the death of her husband, Dobun-mergen. Due to the precarious circumstance, her two sons born of Dobun-mergen have insinuated their mother who claimed that her three younger children derived from the God of the Sky. According to Alan-koa, this “brilliant, golden” man appeared through the smoke outlet of the yurt (SRH 1. 21. cf. Ligeti 2004:<sup>2</sup> 12; Rachewiltz 2006: 4, 263).<sup>17</sup> A similar story subsisted concerning the Uyghur Bögü Kagan, in whose yurt a maiden appeared every night for seven years (Ĝuvainī I. 8. cf. Boyle 1997:<sup>2</sup> 57). This detail of the late source is basically regarded as a dream image reflecting Manichean features, but it is also noticeable that the image of the entrance to the afterworld is linked to the identification of the smoke outlet reflecting steppe features (Andrews 1999: 149–150). The smoke-vent/light-opening of the roof ring also appears as a symbol of the entrance to the afterlife in another part of *The Secret History of the Mongols*. According to the source, Tengri punished Teb-Tengger by taking not only the life of the main oracle but also taking his body through the yurt's lightning opening in the evening twilight (SRH 10. 246. cf. Ligeti 2004:<sup>2</sup> 95; Rachewiltz 2006: 173; 2013: 886–887).

The wooden door of the yurt and its part, the threshold, also had an important meaning. The threshold of the yurt symbolized the dividing line between the microcosm of the tent and the macrocosm of the outside and formed a transition between the “outer” and the “inner” world (Andrews 1999: 1268; Iván 2004: 116). The already mentioned source detail from *The Secret History of the Mongols* also refers to this concerning the roof-ring, when a “shining” deity appears through the

<sup>17</sup> Besides the smoke-vent, the source also mentions the door of the yurt as a possible “passageway” for the man (SRH 1. 21. cf. Ligeti 2004:<sup>2</sup> 12; Rachewiltz 2006: 4, 263).

entrance of the yurt to Alan-koa (SRH 1. 21. cf. Ligeti 2004:<sup>2</sup> 12; Rachewiltz 2006: 4, 263). Besides, in *The Secret History of the Mongols*, the crushing of the door, along with the destruction of other parts of the yurt, also symbolized the breaking of the power of the Merkit leader who abducted Börte (SRH 3. 105. cf. LIGETI 2004:<sup>2</sup> 29–30; Rachewiltz 2006: 36–37). Out of the parts of the yurt entrance, external sources especially emphasize the sacredness of the threshold. The accounts of Plano Carpini and Rubruck, as well as the report of the first voyage of Friar Julian, underline that, especially in the case of the Khan's and the leaders' tents, there is a ban on stepping on the threshold,<sup>18</sup> and that this has been strongly pointed out to European envoys. Whoever broke this law and stepped on the threshold could expect the death penalty (Plano Carpini III. 7; IX. 11, 33; Rubruck XV. 6; XIX. 5; XXIX. 28, 29, 37; XXX. 8. cf. Györffy 1965: 48, 64, 95–96, 102, 141, 147, 176–178, 187; Göckenjan, Sweeney 1985: 105, 117–118).<sup>19</sup> Also, a portion of the historical work of Rašīd al-Dīn's clearly indicates that one of the Mongolian customs concerning the entrance of the tent symbolized surrender. In 1264, Ariq Böke wanted to surrender to his brother, Kublai, and appeared in the court of the Khan. According to the Muslim author, Ariq Böke had to undergo a surrender ritual before coming to Kublai. Toluy's youngest son, standing in the tent door, leaned on the door with his shoulders, waiting for the Khan's permission to enter and his forgiveness (Rašīd al-Dīn II. 7, 2 cf. Boyle 1971: 261; Andrews 1999: 542–543).

It is evident from some data of Mongol sources that the column(s) and tent ropes holding the tent's roof-ring had a symbolic meaning. The crushing of the holding column(s) of the yurt's roof – along with the destruction of other parts of the yurt – symbolized the breaking of the power of the Merkit leader who abducted Börte (SRH 3. 105, 109. cf. Ligeti 2004:<sup>2</sup> 29–31). It is clear from Rubruck's description that the tent-rope may have had a similar sacredness like the threshold and it was not allowed to be touched (Rubruck XIX. 5. cf. Györffy 1965: 147).

The fireplace, which could have been localized in the middle of the yurt, also had a symbolic meaning for the nomads. It primarily symbolized the well-being and survival of the family (Zimonyi 2005: 245; Iván 2004: 116).<sup>20</sup>

The destruction or the damaging of the tent can be seen in various ways in written sources. On the one hand, only a general description of the phenomenon remained,

18 In Peter Alford Andrews' opinion, the origin of the sacredness of the threshold had practical reasons. To provide the massive, strong character of these mobile tents, the frame of the tent should have been stable. The most vulnerable parts were the entrance, and its part (threshold), that is why they tried to protect it on the first place (Andrews 1999: 1268).

19 Rubruck wrote that during their legation, one of his fellows tripped over the threshold of the yurt and the Mongols took away the culprit at once. It was the most significant notary of the Khan's court, the one who "judged the capital crimes", who examined his case. Finally, Rubruck's companion was not convicted, however, he never again was allowed to enter the Khan's tents (Rubruck XXIX. 29, 37. cf. Györffy 1965: 176, 178)

20 Plano Carpini wrote about the increased protection of fire at Mongols, e.g. one touching the fire with knife was put to death (Plano Carpini III. 15. cf. Györffy 1965: 66).

which only revealed that the yurt has been destroyed. On the other hand, in some cases, the sources provide accurate information on the way the tent was destroyed: breaking the roof ring column(s), tearing the tent, breaking the tent entrance. In the first case, Tengri or some otherworldly power destroy the tent, and in the second case, they destroy the residence either at the command of the ruler or when the enemy is victorious. Also, there is the possibility that the death of the yurt owner may be associated with the destruction of his yurt. The common feature of all three cases is that the damaging or the destruction of the tent appears as an ominous sign in the sources.

Ibn Fadlān emphasized that the Volga Bulgarians had seen Tengri's punishment when lightning destroyed the tents. That is the reason why they didn't touch dead bodies or objects in such tents (Ibn Fadlān 63. cf. Togan 1966, 64; Simon 2007: 63–64). The destruction of the tent or having it left intact, which can be interpreted as a heavenly sign, also appears in connection with the Mongol Age. After the death of the Khorasan governor Chin Temür around 1240, two candidates wanted to take the position of Chin Temür, his son Edgü Temür and Körgüz. To accomplish their goals, they both brought tents as gifts to Ögödei, the great Khan in the Karakorum. After the tent provided by Edgü Temür was built, the Khan sat on the throne situated in the structure. However, as Ögödei left the tent, a large whirlwind swirled and tore down the tent and its support column, which fell on one of the Khan's concubines. According to the source, Edgü Temür's honor was shattered when the tent was destroyed. However, the tent built by Körgüz was not hit by any natural disaster, and of course, he won the position (Ĝuvainī II. 28, 232–233. cf. Boyle 1997:<sup>2</sup> 495–496). The destruction of Arik Böke's tent also appears as a sinister sign, in his case the sign of defeat to Kublai. Toluy's youngest son was having a feast in the tent, when a whirlwind suddenly ripped it apart, breaking the tent into a thousand pieces and breaking the yurt's pillar. The superiors supporting Arik Böke saw this as a fatal sign that predicted his downfall against Kublai, and therefore turned away from him (Rašīd al-Dīn II. 7, 2 cf. Boyle 1971: 261).

One passage of *The Secret History of the Mongols* reveals that the destruction of the leader's tent also refers to the destruction of the enemy. Concerning Temüjin's attack on the Merkits, who kidnapped his wife Börke, the source also strongly emphasizes, that the destruction of the tent's column, roof, and the door was a sign of the complete destruction of the enemy (SRH 3. 105, 109. cf. Ligeti 2004:<sup>2</sup> 29–31; Rachewiltz 2006: 36–37, 39).

In Plano Carpini's work, the motif of the destruction of the yurt is related to the death of the owner and the funeral ceremony (Plano Carpini III. 12. cf. Györffy 1965: 64–65).

We know very little about the various forms of punishment of nomadic peoples before the Mongol Age. For example, the Xiongnu punished disobedience within the army by death. There are relatively more sources available for the Mongols, who recorded that there were basically two types of punishment, depending on the gravity of the crime committed. Murder, fornication, running away from a battle, and high-

value theft were punishable by death. Smaller crimes were punishable by blows by a stick (Plano Carpini IV. 9; VI. 3; Rubruck VIII. 2. cf. Györffy 1965: 53, 68, 79, 130–131; Atwood 2004: 264; Aubin 2008). However, there is no evidence in the sources that the death sentence or any other form of punishment had any symbolic meaning for nomadic peoples.

In summary, we can conclude that the meanings of the terms used by Theophylact Simocatta are not univocal, so it cannot be stated that the author was merely thinking of destroying the tent or damaging a part of the tent (tearing the tent cover or breaking the tent roof column). It is clear from the examples listed above that, for nomadic peoples, the tent or yurt, in addition to being important in their everyday life, also played a significant role in their religious world and belief system. The tent or any of its components could have symbolized the power of the Kagan/Khan, stability, the sun, the gate of the afterlife, the boundaries of the universe and the human world, and so on. The damaging or the destruction of the tent can be inferred primarily from the sources of late Mongol period. It could have been the complete destruction, or perhaps the tearing of felt or other material covering the tent's frame, sometimes breaking or knocking over the column holding the tent. The damage to the tent was caused either by some otherworldly power, Tengri, or the ruler, or the enemy of the owner of the tent. They may have destroyed the yurt as a symbol of the death of the tent owner. In the cases listed above, the damaging of the tent primarily meant the loss of political power or social position, and secondly, it was a symbol of death. However, in none of the mentioned parallels does it symbolize the death penalty. Upon examining the parallels with the traditions that were customary at the Avars, we can conclude that the damaging of the tent symbolized some kind of sinister sign or death. Mostly, it signaled the perishing of power or a man himself. Thus, even though this Avar tradition was unknown in the customs of other nomadic people, it can be fitted well into the symbolic system of nomadic people concerning tents.

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## *Alma – and the Rest*

Klára Sándor

There is some romance to the study of the Turkic loan elements in Hungarian language, especially of those loaned before the so called „land-conquest”, i.e. the settling of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, but that is not the (only) reason why I chose this topic as the subject of the study in this inaugural volume.

Éva was among the first of my university teachers I met and the very first from the Department of Altaic Studies whom I got to know. It was a Friday in the early fall of 1984 and the weather was what counted as particularly summery at the time. Éva, representing her department at the pre-enrollment meeting for the first year students, shared with us that in Szeged we could study even something like „Altaic Studies”. Because I had chosen to study Hungarian primarily for the sake of studying language history, and I had read quite on the history of Hungarian, I was aware of the importance of the early Turkic loanwords for a language historian. Thus, I contacted the department immediately after the meeting, hoping that I could learn about early Turkic loanwords there.

I found Éva in the large common room that functioned also as a library, standing at the top of a tall metal ladder, looking for something among the academic journals on the top shelves. I told her that I had planned to enroll as a Hungarian-German major on Monday, but I would give up German without hesitation if I could add Altaic Studies instead because I was so very interested in it. I still remember her surprise, as she gave me a look I took to mean she thought I was a little bit – or not a little bit – „strange”, to say the least. But she explained me patiently how the recruitment was going – by no means at the pace I would have liked – but advised me I should come to the first meeting where the courses are scheduled. That is what I did, and as it turned out Éva also ended up teaching me. Her class, Turkic Loanwords in Hungarian, was my favorite of all my Altaic classes. In the next semester, we learned the rules for compiling etymologies from her. Although perhaps it is not a particularly desirable subject for others, it was for me, and I think I owe that to her. I loved her lessons. It quickly became evident she is an excellent teacher. I later got to know her as one of the most invaluable people I know. I have known since then that she is the best friend one could imagine – and it is a blessing that so many of us have been able to experience this about her.

## Vámbéry as a Linguist

Ármin Vámbéry<sup>1</sup> came to be thought of in 20<sup>th</sup> century Hungary as a “dilettante linguist” who, out of national pride, clung with tooth and nail to the doctrine that the Hungarian language belongs to the family of Turkic languages. It is taught as part of the school curriculum that he was in the wrong in a contentious linguistic debate dubbed the „Ugric-Turkic War”, which was fought in the newspapers: Vámbéry stuck to the old, false doctrines to the bitter end, as opposed to Pál Hunfalvy and József Budenz, who were excellent linguists and represented the enlightened scientific view that the Hungarian language is actually of Finno-Ugric origin. The “Turkic-party” Vámbéry was unable to accept this, and his disciples viciously attacked the poor Finno-Ugricists (Pusztay 1977).

This story, however, is a myth. It was fabricated by representatives of the winning scientific paradigm. It omits that Hunfalvy’s work also contains mistakes: for a long time he advocates a Hun-Scythian kinship, and in 1856 he is still arguing that the Dakota language is closely related to the Indo-European, Semitic, and Altaic “language species” (Hunfalvy 1856). These stories also tend to leave out that not only the publicists on Vámbéry’s side were brutal – those of the “Finnish party” were as well. Furthermore, Vámbéry cannot be accused at all of assuming close linguistic ties with Turkic languages solely for the sake of national prestige, as he himself writes that some people value Asian kinship more than Finno-Ugric out of “petty and childish national vanity” (Vámbéry 1882, 13–4). Undoubtedly, Vámbéry puts forward a large number of erroneous ideas, and only a small proportion of his etymologies - about one third - could later be proved accurate. Let us not forget, however, that most of his contemporaries did not have much better success: the precision of positivism that later became the cornerstone of historical linguistics was not a requirement in the first phase of Vámbéry’s career. There were no large collections of sources and no dictionaries that would have allowed his work to meet the criteria we set for linguistic history today. That is why it is important to say that Vámbéry also has good etymologies, and Hunfalvy and Budenz also propose many that could not be verified later. So, the picture is no longer black and white in this respect, either.

The picture becomes even more detailed if we base our evaluation of Vámbéry’s linguistic work on more than his etymologies and comparative linguistic views. These give a distorted picture because, although Vámbéry does not follow the strict rules of the then-developing positivist language history methods, he takes into account the social and historical embeddedness of the language much more than his

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1 Ármin Vámbéry (Hermann Wamberger, 1832–1913) was a Hungarian Orientalist of Jewish origin. He was a language genius who, in addition to several European languages, learned Hebrew and several Central Asian languages as well. He spent a long time in Istanbul and was at one time the secretary of the influential Mehmed Fuad Pasha. He spoke Turkish so well he was able to travel Central Asia disguised as a dervish. His journeys into the East aimed to discover the ancestral homeland of the Hungarians.

contemporaries do – not coincidentally, as he collected data in his studies of Central Asian Turkic languages and cultures primarily as an ethnographer. He is thus much more inclined towards the approach from which anthropological linguistics later evolved: if he had not succeeded at perfecting „participant observation” during his studies in Central Asian, he would have paid for it with his life. This explains why he sees the relationship between language and ethnicity much more clearly than his contemporaries – it should be emphasized, since it is little-known. Hunfalvy, for example, never renounces his belief that the origins and history of ethnic groups and languages are the same. In 1883 he writes, “the ethnic origin of a nation must be considered to be the same as that of the language in question” (Hunfalvy 1883, 35). By that year Vámbéry has long since moved past this unsustainable view, as he sees precisely that the formation of a nation or ethnicity is a process that includes ethnic mixing regardless of the continuity of the language. He criticizes Hunfalvy for the approach quoted above, and rightly so.

Fairness and historical fidelity therefore require that we do away with this myth painting Vámbéry only in a bad light. It is natural that every community creates myths that portray itself in a good light and its opponents in the opposite, as was the case with those who interpreted the scientific debate between Vámbéry versus Hunfalvy and Budenz as a conflict between faiths. However, we need to know that these myths are biased, and accordingly the image of Vámbéry that exists in the public imagination is distorted and one-sided.<sup>2</sup> In the last decade, a significant change in the image of Vámbéry has been brought about by the efforts of Vámbéry’s hometown, Dunaszerdahely. There, the Vámbéry Civic Association (*Vámbéry Polgári Társulás*) has worked to raise the profile of Vámbéry’s work, and, importantly, Vámbéry’s works are being republished. The events and publications of the Vámbéry Memorial Year, announced on the occasion of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Vámbéry’s death – both in Hungary and abroad – can also make a significant contribution to giving Ármín Vámbéry a well-deserved place in the history of Hungarian science.<sup>3</sup>

It is also time to recognize Ármín Vámbéry not only for his ethnographic descriptions, publications, and pioneering philological works. It is worthwhile to re-evaluate the oeuvre Vámbéry has created as a linguist. In this article, I will address one facet of it: that according to Vámbéry, the large number of Turkic loanwords came to Hungarian when a formerly Turkic ethnic group was assimilated into the Hungarian tribes. This question is interesting because at several times since the possibility has

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2 This myth is particularly strong in the public’s perception, as the work of Ármín Vámbéry was appreciated by Orientalists from a much earlier date. A Vámbéry’s biography free of this myth was written by György Hazai decades before Vámbéry became “fashionable” (Hazai 1976). Its new edition, with a bibliography of Vámbéry’s works: Hazai 2009.

3 In December 2013 conferences were organized in Budapest, Ankara, and Tehran in addition to Dunaszerdahely to pay tribute to the work of Vámbéry. The MTA Library’s pages introducing Vámbéry were also created at this time, and the August 2013 issue of *Hungarian Science* was also dedicated to Vámbéry.

been raised that the Turkic words that had been loaned into Hungarian were memories preserved from the language of the formerly Turkic ethnic group.

### Vámbéry's Theory of Language Shift

Contrary to popular belief, Vámbéry never said that the Hungarian language was not also Finno-Ugric: he considered Hungarian to be Finno-Ugric *and* Turkic all along. In his day there was no contradiction in this, as the Altaic and Uralic languages were grouped together even much later. His opinion changed several times as to whether Hungarian is more closely related to Turkic or Finno-Ugric languages. In his work published in 1869, he takes the position that the root of Hungarian was Finno-Ugric and the Turkic influences came later (Vámbéry 1869). When József Budenz, contrary to his own earlier view, wrote a strict critique of Vámbéry's book (Budenz 1871). Vámbéry partially reformulated his previous position in response to the criticism. His book *The Origin of the Hungarians (A magyarok eredete)* was published in 1882. In it he categorizes the Hungarian language as primarily Turkic and secondarily Finno-Ugric (Vámbéry 1882). Later, however, he returned to his original view: in his last book, published in 1895 after his death, *At the Cradle of the Hungarians (A magyarok bölcsőjénél)*, he put forward that the Hungarian language's core and grammar were predominantly Finno-Ugric but its vocabulary was largely Turkic (Vámbéry 1895, 1914). Vámbéry explained this by saying that Hungarians came from a mixture of ethnicities and the ruling ethnic group among this new, emerging population was Turkic. He made it clear in his texts that he was discussing only linguistic and not ethnic kinship, since the Hungarians, like all the peoples of Europe, came from a mixture of several ethnicities. In summary:

“... At the very beginning of the emergence of the Hungarian people and language, the Ugric rather than the Turkic element comes to the fore; but this can no longer be said about the later development of the ethnicity that spoke Hungarian when the Turkic element dominates, and the words for family life, religion, state organization, military matters, ethical and moral concepts are mostly of Turkic origin. In short, the Hungarian is descended from the Ugor, and, with the passage of time, became Turkified and was a Turkic ethnicity when it stepped onto the world stage.” (Vámbéry 2008, 38–39).

Instead of speaking of the “development” of people, languages, or ethnicities, we now say that these are changing and transforming; the term “Turkified” is also inaccurate, as the Hungarian language is still not one of the Turkic languages. But it may be true that the proportion of the Turkic ethnic component may have been notable among the Hungarians who first came into the Carpathian Basin, or that, while the Hungarians' language was not Turkified, their culture was. It is also true that there was no doubt about this in the eyes of the contemporary 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century world. Nor can we deny that the Hungarian language had to have a very intense Turkic influence

before the 10<sup>th</sup> century since we still use almost four hundred words of Turkic origin even after more than a thousand years later and over many cultural changes since the 10th century.

Thus, Vámbéry thought of the Turkic ethnic component as the stronger, the organizing force among the Hungarian tribes, and he saw the language shift in this context. And rightly so, since if we assume that before the entrance into the Carpathian Basin Turkic-speaking ethnic groups joined the Finno-Ugric-speaking Hungarian ethnicities, then they obviously shifted language. However, Vámbéry could not explain why, in his opinion, the Turkic group, who, in his view, were culturally and later even numerically superior, adopted the Ugric language. In 1895, in his work *The Origin and Spread of the Hungarian (A magyarság keletkezése és gyarapodása)* he formulated a theory that many have tried to rethink (emphasis in the original):

“Judging by what is most obvious in the language, it seems that the skeleton of this linguistic body was Ugric, but its flesh and blood were of Turkic origin; however, whether the Turkic peoples known as the Huns and Avars were affected by the Ugric peoples that became subject to them only with the passage of time, or whether the profound marks of the Ugric peoples’ tribal affiliation became clear at the outset because of their large numbers, I think, can hardly ever be definitively decided. [...] We should only conditionally accept that *the original Ugric majority was transformed ethnically by the influence of the increasing number of Turkic elements but survived linguistically.*” (Vámbéry 1895, 94).

### Other Theories of Language Shift

In 1912, Zoltán Gombocz opens a new era in the research of Turkic loanwords in the Hungarian language. Gombocz clearly considers the Turkic elements of the Hungarian language to be loanwords and not a “legacy” remaining after a shift in languages (Gombocz 1912). After he lends his authority to this position, the language shift theory all but disappeared. There are still some afterwards who, like Vámbéry, attribute the pre-conquest Turkic words in Hungarian to a former Turkic-speaking ruling caste who were later linguistically assimilated.

In his short book entitled *Hungarian Prehistory*, published in 1939, István Zichy explains his theory in a much more detailed way than Vámbéry. In his view, the Ugric tribes living, fishing and hunting in the forests of the Kama and Pechora regions were dominated by the Onogurs, who later controlled the territory of Bashkortostan and also engaged in the fur trade, so that the Ugric tribes paid their taxes in furs. The Ugrics, who lived in an unsophisticated culture, “did not wish for more,” and so the fur trading groups of the more advanced Onogurs learned the language of their subjects, and later the other Onogurs learned this same language from them. The Onogurs preserved from their original Turkic language those words, for which the

Ugric language, reflecting its less developed culture, had no equivalent, – according to Zichy, the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian derive from here. The Onogurs, of course, remained bilingual, but the Ugric (originally of Uralic origin) language had spread among them before the 5th century, as the Volga Hungarians, who were separated from the main body of Hungarians during the migrations and later, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century found by frater Julianus, already spoke “Ugric Hungarian” (i.e. a Finno-Ugric language). At the same time, the Turkic language, though spoken by smaller and smaller groups, remained until the second half of the 11th century, according to Zichy, explaining why there are so many Hungarian tribal and personal names of Turkic origin. Zichy saw the reason for the eventual disappearance of the Turkic language of Onogur origin in the fact that the connection with the Turkic languages close to „Onogur-Hungarian”, the languages of the Volga and the Danube Bulgarians, was lost. In the case of the Danube Bulgarians, this was because they linguistically became Slavic (Zichy 1939).

Thus, Zichy speaks much less about ethnic integration than Vámbéry. Zichy considers the Hungarians essentially Onogur-Turks who shifted language. It is particularly interesting that Zichy, who is otherwise very sensitive to the social and cultural aspects of language shift, argues that the Turkic-speaking Onogurs simply learned the language of their subjects for the sake of the fur trade. Nor does he justify why, even if that were the case, the other Onogurs would have learned the language of the “uneducated” Ugric people from the fur traders. He also fails to explain why the subordinate language, which was previously used only by a forest-dwelling Ugric people, would have become the dominant language of the ethnically and culturally Turkic Hungarians, whom he considered to have become bilingual by the time of the migration. His theory is thus more elaborate but more unrealistic than Vámbéry’s, as it contradicts everything that sociolinguistic experience has revealed about the reasons for language shift based on social-cultural-political dominance.

Much later, Tibor Halasi-Kun proposes a modified version of the language shift theory in 1990. In his view, the Hungarians’ language was originally Turkic, and their language shift was caused by the fact that, to make up for the loss of human life in battle, the nomads accepted the children of concubines as full members of their community. These children, however, were raised by their non-Turkic-speaking mothers. He writes, “Hungarians as steppe nomads lived in a warrior society with patriarchal traditions and matriarchal linguistic influences in a polygamous social framework,” and “as men were often distant, women became carriers of existing traditions, while transplanting their own language into the society they had been absorbed into” (Halasi-Kun 1990).

There are at least as many problems with Halasi-Kun’s theory as with Zichy’s. We are expected to believe that the children of Turkic-speaking mothers did not come into contact with their siblings from Ugric-Hungarian mothers, that the servants and concubines all came from the same ethnic group and were present in large numbers, and even that nor them neither their children did not learn the Turkic language of their



half-siblings, father, family, clan, tribe. All three claims are unjustifiable and decidedly unlikely.

Common to Vámbéry's, Zichy's and Halasi-Kun's theories of language shift is the theory that the pre-conquest Turkic borrowings in the Hungarian language were derived from the language of Turkic peoples believed to comprise a leader caste of the Hungarian tribal alliance. According to this theory, this ruling class assimilated but preserved much from its original language. In other words, this theory holds that these particular Turkic loanwords in Hungarian are actually *preserved* words, at least from the point of view of the assimilated Turkic speaking ethnic groups. The view expressed by Sándor Tóth, which attributes the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian to the language of the Kabars, is similar, except that according to his theory the mass of loanwords that are "preserved heritage" do not originate from assimilated leading tribes but from assimilated joining tribes (Tóth 1996).

Zichy's and Halasi-Kun's theories are clearly flawed. Every aspect of them contradicts established facts about linguistics, and the historical basis they rely on is also highly dubious. Vámbéry is much more restrained. He does not concoct a fairytale history, as he only writes that a Ugric population met a Turkic population and came under their cultural but not linguistic influence. This theory is still the prevailing one today. Could it also be true that Turkic loanwords do not actually come from borrowing but are the remnants of the original language of a formerly Turkic-speaking but assimilated Turkic population? Exactly the same question can be raised regarding Tóth's hypothesis: can the pre-Carpathian Basin Turkic vocabulary in Hungarian be the "heritage" of the language of the Kabars? We know, of course, that the Turkic – and Iranian – ethnic groups that were absorbed into the Hungarian tribes certainly shifted language, regardless of what we conclude about the words of Iranian and Turkic origin coming to Hungarian as a result of borrowing or a substrate effect.

### Historical Sociolinguistics: Borrowing and Substrates

In the following, using historical sociolinguistic methods, I examine the possibility whether the early Turkic vocabulary in Hungarian can be explained as substrate phenomenon. The theoretical foundation of historical sociolinguistics is Lyell's principle, which, adapted to linguistics, holds that the general properties of language and the process by which linguistic changes occur are the same throughout human history (Labov 1994, 21–23). When performing historical reconstruction, it is also useful to recall Labov's observation that historical linguistics is the art of how to get the best possible result from distorted and incomplete data (Labov 1994, 11). In applying Lyell's principle to the linguistic analysis of historical Turkic – Hungarian contact, it is worthwhile to first recall a general description of linguistic borrowings, in this case Thomason and Kaufman's. Their typology is based on a large database of recent and present language contact situations. Studies of contemporary language contacts prove that the linguistic imprint of the borrowing and the substrate are very

different. In borrowing native speakers of one language transfer items from another language to their own (native) language but their dominant language remains their native language. Thomason and Kaufman set up a scale based on the intensity of linguistic contact that includes the characteristic phases of borrowing. This is an implicational scale meaning that if we find that a contact shows the characteristics of one of the levels, it is implied to have already gone through the earlier phases of loaning, i.e. we will also find the characteristics of the previous levels. According to the borrowing scale, the first phase is always the borrowing of words, as even minor structural (grammatical) borrowing is usually preceded by large-scale word borrowing (Thomason and Kauffman 1988).

A substrate effect can be observed after language shift. It is the result of adult language learning: after the end of the critical period of language learning, a second or foreign language usually is no longer acquired perfectly. Thus, when many adults of a community acquire a second language, they inadvertently develop a variety in which the perspectives and phonetic features of their mother tongue are reflected. Thus, the linguistic elements of which speakers are the least aware of (that are the least reflected) appear in the substrate. (This is the same when we learn a foreign language.) That is why words are not typically included in substrate phenomena. If future generations learn the contact variety of the language which is modified by the mother tongue of their parents, traces of the original mother tongue of the community will be preserved, at least for a while. There is less chance of this if the new dominant language is constantly present and the new generations learn its native („original”) varieties as well, and not just the contact variety created by their parents.

For a better understanding of the difference between borrowing and substrate, I suggest to introduce the concept that highlights the depth of cognitive embeddedness. My aim is that interpreting the observations of contact linguistics from a cognitive point of view, we can say that the stronger the cognitive embeddedness of a linguistic element, the more likely it is that the language shifting group will transfer it to the new language. As I see, the degree of the cognitive embeddedness of a linguistic element depends, for example, on the frequency of its use, its structural embeddedness, and the degree of its markedness in both relative (between contact languages) and absolute (universal psycholinguistic) terms. In summary, we can say that the strength of a linguistic element depends on how strong the associative neural network connections of that element are. It follows that substrate phenomena occur most commonly in phonology and sentence structure and most rarely in vocabulary.

In this theoretical frame, borrowing and substrate effects are primarily distinguished by their degree of linguistic embeddedness and, introducing another cognitive aspect, the extent to which an element is available to linguistic awareness. The availability to language awareness depends on how easily a linguistic element can be segmented by speakers: words are easily differentiated, while the internal rules of the phoneme system, the category system of the language (the units and subunits it divides the world into and how it does so) and a language's embedded "worldview" (verb modes, verb tenses, use of plural or singular, what counts as a "unit," etc.) are

less available for language awareness. The looser the associative network into which the new element is to be inserted and the easier it is to segment a linguistic element for language awareness, the greater the chances of borrowing. In the case of the substrate, the opposite is true: the more difficult it is for linguistic awareness to access an element, the greater the chance that it will be preserved in the new language after a language shift.

Borrowing can be both from above and from below, meaning that speakers may notice that they have used an element from another language, but they can also remain unconscious of it.<sup>4</sup> The elements that remain as substrate effects, on the other hand, are hidden, and speakers are mostly unaware that such a linguistic element is an imprint of their group's former mother tongue.

Thus, the most common elements in borrowing are those that speakers are most readily aware of – in the first phases of borrowing, only such elements are copied by speakers. It is recognizability that makes borrowed elements suitable for a symbolic, identity-performing function: for example, if the culture behind the second language is highly prestigious, then the use of borrowed words expresses the acceptance of this and the desire to belong, since the borrowed words symbolize the language of their origin and the culture behind it. There are examples, however, for hidden borrowing as well, i.e. when meaning is borrowed – but also words can be borrowed from below, which is to say unconsciously. In cases of intensive bilingualism it is common for speakers to borrow words from the second language, without any cultural reason, simply for psycholinguistic reasons: they recall certain words in the second language faster because, for instance, they use a given expression more frequently in that language or they use the second language in a given context (such as when reading or writing a professional text). A recognized trait of borrowing that is not necessarily related to a strong identity is the earliest identified type of borrowing: cultural borrowing. This occurs when a group encounters a previously unknown concept, object, or phenomenon, or they encounter a new version of something that is already familiar to them. If they primarily learn about the phenomenon or behavior from the other group, they also take on the other group's words associated with that cultural innovation.

Thus, in addition to the cognitive relations of language, socio-cultural-political factors, i.e. the symbolic aspects of language use, also play a very important role in borrowing. In contrast, the development of the substrate effect is driven by the cognitive embeddedness of language. In simplified terms, borrowed words express expectations, values, or loyalty, since others notice that we have used a “foreign word.” However, this is not the case with the substrate phenomenon, since we do not even realize it. Of course, after the development of the new and modified contact variety of the language that is influenced by substrate effects, the variety itself takes on symbolic values, and like all language varieties may serve to symbolize the identity

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4 “Change from above” and “change from below” do not refer to relative social status but to levels of cognitive awareness.

of the community that uses it. But social and cultural values play no role in why particular elements came into the new language.

### Borrowing or Language Shift?

Keeping in mind the fundamental differences between borrowing and the substrate effect makes it easier to answer the question of whether the Turkic influence in Hungarian can be a remnant of the language of Turkic ethnic groups that played a role in the formation of the Hungarians. The pre-Carpathian Basin Hungarian alliance certainly had a Turkic ethnic component. Those groups did indeed shift language, but it is now impossible to find traces of their language in Hungarian. In the past, these clues were sought in vocabulary, but we should have been looking at grammar, phonetics, and *qualques* in Hungarian dialects spoken by formerly Turkic-speaking people who had already gone through language shift and became Hungarian - that is, shortly after their assimilation. The many hundreds of words in the vocabulary may not be their "heritage." Based on data from contact linguistics, it seems more likely that these words came into Hungarian before the Turkic-speaking people who joined the Hungarians underwent their language shift, when the Hungarian tribes encountered and adopted Turkic nomadic culture. Thus, the linguistic elements of Turkic origin were already part of that Hungarian language, which was adopted by Turkic people who later assimilated into the Hungarian alliance.

The theory that these elements were derived from the Kabar language can be refuted by the same argument from contact linguistics. It is quite unlikely that the early Turkic elements would have entered Hungarian borrowed from the language of the Kabars. For one thing, it is difficult to imagine that the Hungarians would have learned these words, which almost all relate to the nomadic lifestyle, only towards the end of their time on the Steppes. For another, the Kabars were a newly-joined group in the Hungarian alliance, and as such their lower position in the tribal hierarchy meant they did not have the necessary prestige for their language to have had such a strong effect on the language of the then very strong Hungarian tribal alliance.

We can thus say that linguistic arguments show all the above mentioned language shift theories in Hungarian as unlikely. In today's Hungarian language, almost four hundred pre-Carpathian Basin Turkic loanwords can be detected (Róna-Tas and Berta 2011), and there must have been even more before the 10<sup>th</sup> century. We know that borrowing is most evident in vocabulary, but hardly characteristic of the substrate effect after language shift. To the cases examined by Thomason and Kaufman, we can add another that is geographically and historically close to the Hungarian land-conquest: after the linguistic assimilation of the Danube Bulgarians settling among the Slavs, almost no words from the former Turkic language of the ruling class survived.

It is worth mentioning, however, that there are some known examples that run counter to the general rule: in some cases, not only grammatical elements but also a

large number of words from the former language were passed on from a former language when language shift took place. The best known is the example of the Norman language, whose language preserved hundreds of words even after the Normans underwent a language shift. Such cases, in which the linguistically assimilated group played a superior sociocultural role rather than a subordinate one, are also called superstratic. This difference is very important linguistically: it seems that political and cultural superiority is what allows a significant number of words from the former mother tongue to be preserved. It is worth noting that the Turkic-Hungarian language shift assumed by Vámbéry is closer to the Norman–Anglo-Saxon relationship and not to the Bulgarian-Slavic relationship. The Danube Bulgarian settlers were politically but not culturally dominant over the local Slavic culture, who practiced agriculture, but the Turkic leadership presupposed by Vámbéry would have dominated the also nomadic Ugric-speaking population.

Of course, the linguistic substrate and the borrowing are not mutually exclusive: often, before a language shift, the original mother tongue of the group that later shifts language serves as a source language for speakers of the other language. We can approach determining the possible ratio between the two language processes if we more closely examine the structural effect of Turkic on the Hungarian language. It may be determined that the discovered effect is more characteristic of borrowing or a linguistic substrate, i.e. that the Turkic traces prove to be more the kind of language elements that can be borrowed or more of what is retained (even if we often cannot determine which category an element can be classified into). The examination of structural effects is important for this reason, but it is also important in itself, because a comprehensive analysis of structural effects has so far been missing from the study of Turkic elements in Hungarian.

It is customary to make another linguistic historical argument against the possibility of a Turkic-Hungarian language shift. According to Lajos Ligeti and András Róna-Tas, the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian come from several Turkic languages and probably from several periods of Turkic language history (Ligeti 1986; Róna-Tas and Berta 2011). According to the generally accepted view, a significant portion of the loanwords contain an r-Turkic criterion, while some contain a z-Turkic criterion (a significant part of them contain neither, but due to their similar meanings they are customarily classified with the r-Turkic words). There are also considered to be two historical layers of r-Turkic loanwords. This means that the pre-Carpathian Basin Turkic borrowings in the Hungarian language come from at least three different source languages.

This is, of course, possible. However, it is better to be careful with historical data, because linguistic heterogeneity can easily deceive linguists doing historical reconstruction. It is well known from the study of ongoing language changes that many linguistic variables have at least two variants, an older and a newer one, and that these can exist side by side in the same language for a long time, possibly for centuries, or even in the same dialect or in the same idiolect of a given speaker. This, in turn, reminds us that words derived from different r-Turkic periods may have been

borrowed into Hungarian from the same Turkic language. In fact, based on our knowledge of the organizational model of nomad groups (differing languages and ethnicities posed no obstacle to the formation of an alliance, and remnants of formerly different groups could join the same tribe), we cannot rule out the possibility that only one Turkic population speaking several dialects/languages came into contact with Hungarians. There would not have been a barrier to communication, not only for those who spoke mutually understandable Turkic languages, but also for people who spoke varying (or entirely different) languages, as multilingualism may then have been as natural as it is today for the majority of people in the world.

Despite all this, I do not propose that the pre-10<sup>th</sup> century Turkic borrowings in Hungarian originated from the different languages and dialects of a single Turkic-speaking population. I only wish to demonstrate that even this possibility cannot be excluded, and I wanted to highlight that a linguistic approach based on empirical data cannot unequivocally confirm what would appear to be unquestionable evidence for classical historical linguistics.

## Summary

Based on a historical sociolinguistic approach applied, we cannot rule out that the early Turkic borrowings in Hungarian were preserved after a language shift if we consider these borrowings to be remnants after the linguistic assimilation of a politically and culturally dominant Turkic-speaking group. However, this is less likely than that these words come from linguistic borrowing, which would be in line with the vast majority of contact linguistic data. Moving forward, it would be essential to compare the reconstructed structural characteristics of the late Ancient Hungarian and early Old Hungarian languages to those of the proposed source Turkic languages.

Among the researchers who assumed a Turkic-Hungarian language shift, Ármin Vámbéry is the least detached from reality. He recognizes that it is difficult to explain why the Hungarians did not shift language, but unlike Zichy and Halasi-Kun he does not invent an unsupportable historical background to justify his theory. He also seems to be moving in a good direction when he explains that the reasons why the Hungarians did not shift language were the gradual assimilation of Turkic ethnic groups and the numerical superiority of the Hungarian-speaking population throughout the period of contact.

He sees much more accurately than his contemporaries that the formation of a people is a process, and it comes with ethnic mixing regardless of the continuity of language. In general, it is characteristic of him that he projects his ethnographic approach onto his study of language, and as a result he is ahead of his contemporaries in many respects. His etymological suggestions may have often proved erroneous and have been rightly criticized, but his approach to language is more modern and much closer to today's linguistics than to those who did not see the language – nor the community that speaks that language – beyond the words.

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# Notes on the *Muhabbetname* of Xorezmi\*

Uli Schamiloglu

*While a doctoral student at Columbia University I had the privilege of spending the fall semester of 1982 as a visitor in the Department of Altaistics at Szeged University. It has been my privilege to know Éva Kincses-Nagy since those memorable days. I dedicate this article to Éva and her loves...*

## 0. Introduction

The *Muhabbetname* of Xorezmi is one of a small number of Islamic Turkic literary works which we can associate with the Golden Horde. As is well known, what we call today the ‘Golden Horde’ was the western-most state of the Mongol World Empire granted by Chinggis Khan (d. 1227) to his oldest son Jöchi. When Jöchi preceded his father in death, the *ulus* or ‘patrimony’ of Jöchi, which extended westward without limit from the pass at Lake Zaysan (present-day eastern Kazakhstan), was inherited by his sons Orda and Batu. Following the initial campaigns in these western territories in 1221–1223, Batu began the occupation and establishment of a state infrastructure in his patrimony in the mid-1230s. The state he established came to be known internally as the *Aq orda* ‘White Horde’, but today we refer to the *ulus* of Jöchi (or sometimes just the western half ruled by Batu and his successors) by the name ‘Golden Horde’, a problematic name which was used for the first time in a Russian source from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century.

One of the features of the history of the Golden Horde is the rise of urban centers (Schamiloglu 2018b). Saray Batu and later Saray Berke served as capital, but the exact location of these two urban centers is still a subject of scholarly debate (Zilivinskaya – Vasil’ev 2016, 261–651; 2017, 637–649). What is far less controversial is that by the early 14<sup>th</sup> century the capital of the western White Horde became the center for a new Islamic Turkic cultural synthesis sponsored by the ruling élite at the court of the Golden Horde khan (Schamiloglu 2008). While apparently not written at the court of the Golden Horde ruler, the *Muhabbetname* of Xorezmi is an important example of

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this new Islamic Turkic civilization. As such, it is worthy of close attention both by Turkologists as well as by historians of the Golden Horde. I will take this opportunity to review the literature on this important work and offer a translation of relevant brief sections of this work. I will also comment on how one may understand several nuances hidden in couplets in this work from the perspective of the history of the Golden Horde.

## 1. The Literature of the Golden Horde

The number of literary works we can include under the rubric of the ‘literature of the Golden Horde’ is limited. An excellent survey is to be found in the 2<sup>nd</sup> volume of *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (Eckmann 1964). Generally, we may include in this list a small number of works written in Xorezm (which was an integral part of the territories of the Golden Horde until the late 14<sup>th</sup> century) and in Saray. The creation of the world and the stories of the prophets from Adam down to the Prophet Muhammad are the subject of Rabġuzi’s *Qisas ũl-enbiya*’ (1311) composed in Ribat-i Oġuz, perhaps along the Syr Darya. İslam’s *Mu’ın ũl-murid* (1313–1314), a handbook for Sufi aspirants, was also written in Xorezm. Qutb’s *Xusrev ũ Shirin*, an adaptation of Nizami’s work in Persian by the same name, was composed at the court of Timıbek Khan (r. 1341-1342). The *Nehj ũl-feradis: Ushtmaxlarnıń achuq yolu* by Mahmud b. °Ali Kerderi (1358/1360) is a handbook of Islam which may have been written either in Xorezm, where Kerder is located, or more likely in Saray, where the author apparently died on 22 March 1360. To the list of works we may also add Seyf-i Sarayi’s *Gũlistan bi-t-tũrki* (1 September 1391) as an example of a work by somebody from Saray continuing the literary tradition of the court of the Golden Horde, but in Egypt. (Since the Golden Horde falls into anarchy following the death of Berdibek Khan in 1359, for me this is an outlier as a post-Golden Horde work.) To this list of four (or five) works representing the Islamic Turkic literature of the Golden Horde we must add the *Muhabbetname* or ‘Book of Love’ (AH 754/1353–1354 CE) by Xorezmi. For additional references for the literature of the Golden Horde see Schamiloglu (2008).

In addition to these Islamic Turkic works, there are of course works in other languages such as the *Codex Cumanicus*, a multi-lingual work on the language of the Christian Cumans put together by German and Italian missionaries (Ligeti 1981), the recently-published Persian-language theological work entitled the *Kalendarname* written during the reigns of Özbek Khan and Camıbek Khan (Abũ Bakr Kalandar Rũmı/Gibadullin – Shamsimuxametova), as well as scientific works in Arabic (İzgi 1996; Fazlıoġlu 2104).

## 2. The manuscripts of the *Muhabbetname*

The *Muhabbetname* of Xorezmi is known from a small number of manuscripts in Uyghur and Arabic scripts; I will return below to the question of whether the original work was most likely to have been written in Arabic or Uyghur script. The Arabic-script manuscript housed at the British Museum (Add. 7914) was first described by Rieu, who called the work on folia 290v–313v “(a)n erotic poem in Mesnevi verse, including eleven love-letters, by Khwārezmi” (Rieu 1888, 290). (Rieu described most love poems as ‘erotic poems’ in his *Catalogue*.) Gandjei refers to this as manuscript **A** (Gandjei 1954–56, 131), as does Nadjip (1961, 27n.). The text of this manuscript has been published in an edition by Nadjip (1961). The manuscript bears AH 914/1508–9 CE as the date when and Herat as the place where the *majmuʿa* was compiled (Rieu 1888, 284). The manuscript may now be viewed on the website of the British Museum (<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts>), with the text of the *Muhabbetname* beginning on folio 290v available at the following URL:

[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add\\_ms\\_7914\\_f290v](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_7914_f290v)  
(accessed: 8 March 2021).

The Uyghur-script manuscript, also housed at the British Museum (Or. 8193), was first identified by V.V. Bartol’d (1924, 1973) and later described in exquisite detail by Clauson (1928). The *Muhabbetname* is to be found on folia 159v, 160 (after which two folia containing approximately 36 couplets are missing), 161–169, 181, 171, and 178r (Clauson 1928, 114). The manuscript in which this version of the *Muhabbetname* is found includes three colophons for various works in this manuscript stating that they were completed in Yazd in the Year of the Mouse on AH 29 Rajab 835/29 November 1431; in the Year of the Mouse on AH 4 Shaʿbān 835/4 December 1431; and in Yazd in the Year of the Mouse on 6 Rajab 835/6 November 1431. Fortunately for our purposes here the third colophon on folio 178r is from the manuscript of the *Muhabbetname*, so we can confirm that this work was copied in 1431 by Mansur Baxshī upon the order of Mir Jelal Din (Clauson 1928, 112–113). Gandjei refers to this as manuscript **U** (Gandjei 1954–56, 131), as does Nadjip (1961, 27n.). The text of this manuscript has been published in critical editions by Gandjei (1954–56, 1957, 1959) and Shcherbak (1959). Unfortunately, I did not have access to Shcherbak (1959) for the purposes of this essay. This manuscript may also be viewed now on the website of the British Museum with the text of the *Muhabbetname* beginning on folio 59v available at the following URL:

[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or\\_8193\\_f159v](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or_8193_f159v) (accessed: 9 March 2021).

Sertkaya has identified and published two additional partial manuscripts of the *Muhabbetname* (1972). In his study Sertkaya refers to the Arabic-script manuscript housed at the British Museum (Add. 7914) as **B** and the Uyghur-script manuscript

housed at the British Museum (Or. 8193) as **A** (1972, 185). The first of the new additional manuscripts, which was also cited by Eckmann (1964, 287), is found in the Millet Yazma Eseri Kütüphanesi (formerly the İstanbul Millet Kütüphanesi) in Istanbul (Arabî no. 86). It is in the form of Persian- and Turkic-language marginal notes to an Arabic-language *tafsîr*. The marginal notes include Hocendi's *Letafetname* on folia 91–98v. Folio 98v (also marked as page 194) is the same folio on which Xorezmi's *Muhabbetname-i türki* begins, continuing in the margins on folia 54r–57v (pages 105–112). Sertkaya identifies this manuscript as **C** (Sertkaya 1972, 186). The second is also found in the Millet Yazma Eseri Kütüphanesi in Istanbul (Ali Emîri, Manzum, no. 949). Sertkaya identifies this manuscript as **D**. Sertkaya offers a very thorough review of additional Turkish and foreign authors who have cited or included excerpts of this work in chrestomathies (including Kilisli Rifat, Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, and other more recent authors). Except for the fact that in his view the copyist of **D** did not understand the text at times, Sertkaya considers that there are no major differences between **C** and **D** (Sertkaya 1972, 187).

The Millet Yazma Eseri Kütüphanesi is in the process of digitizing its collection, but these two manuscripts in the Ali Emiri collection are not yet digitized. The record for manuscript **C** is as below:

Archive number: 34 Ae Arabi 86/2  
 Title: Hâşiyetü Hidâye  
 Author Name: Cürcânî, Seyyid Şerif Ali b. Muhammed 740-816 H. [şrh]  
 URL: <http://yazmalar.gov.tr/eser/hasiyetu-hidaye/184357> (accessed: 10 March 2021).

The record for manuscript **D** is:

Archive No: 34 Ae Manzum 949  
 Title: Muhabbetnâme  
 Author Name: Harizmî Haydar  
<http://yazmalar.gov.tr/eser/muhabbetname/190961> (accessed: 10 March 2021).

The manuscript labeled **C** by Sertkaya was also known to János Eckmann, as noted above. Eckmann died in 1971 (before the publication of Sertkaya's article) and his article on this manuscript was published posthumously (Eckmann 1987). In it he offers a study, edition, and translation into English of this fragment of the *Muhabbetname*.

### 3. Chronology, script & language of the *Muhabbetname*

The *Muhabbetname* has come down to us in parallel manuscripts in Arabic and Uyghur scripts. Gandjei and Nadjip believe that the longer Arabic-script version is older (Gandjei 1954–56, 132–133; Nadjip 1961, 16). Clauson (1962) takes a different approach, revealing how complicated the textual history of the *Muhabbetname* actually is in his view. He offers many reasons which I will not review here for believing that the book originally consisted of 10 *names* or ‘chapters’ (as stated explicitly in the work itself) of which 2 were subsequently lost and then later replaced by 3 *names* in Persian (one extra for good measure). He also proposes a revised numbering of the couplets. Clauson reconstructs the stemma of the manuscripts of the *Muhabbetname* as follows:

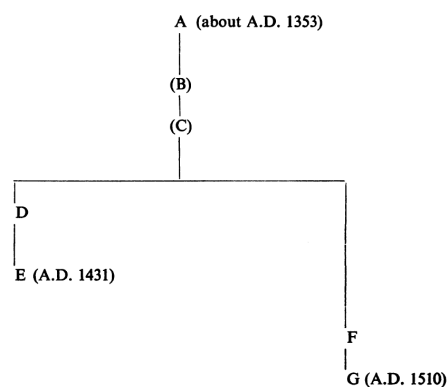


Figure source: Clauson (1962), 254–255.

- A. the author’s autograph ms.
- B. the ms. from which the 9th and 10th *names* were lost
- C. possibly the ms. to which a new conclusion was added
- D. the hypothetical damaged ms.
- E. Or. 8193
- F. the ms. which was altered and changed by the reviser
- G. Add. 7914

Clauson’s reconstruction, which is based on the approach of classicists (and familiar to scholars of medieval Russian literature as well), is not common in Turkology. For a discussion of constructing stemma for works in Ottoman Turkish, see for example Donuk (2018), Peaci (2019). I will follow below the reconstructed numbering of Clauson, who studied the *Muhabbetname* for almost half a century and whose astute observations and keen insights are well known to Turkologists. His suggestions in the case of the reconstruction of the text of the *Muhabbetname* are very

sensible and afford a much-improved reading and analysis of the various texts, especially in the translation of the ‘Introduction’ (Clauson 1962, 247–249) as well as in the ‘Dedication to Muhammed Xoja Bek’. Eckmann concludes that the fragments of the *Muhabbetname* contained in the manuscript which he studied (which is also one of the manuscripts studied by Sertkaya) are based on Clauson’s revised text **F** (Eckmann 1987, 102).

Following Clauson, then, let us examine briefly the case for considering the Uyghur-script manuscript in the British Museum (Or. 8193) as closer to the original. One reason is that it is closer to the original composition of the autograph, despite damage to it. A second reason is that it is also closer in time to the autograph. As Clauson considers the Persian *names* to be later additions, this itself is a basis for not considering the Uyghur-script manuscript to be defective solely for being shorter. Of course, Clauson (and therefore those who agree with him) may one day be proven wrong through the discovery of additional manuscripts revealing a different textual history.

This leads to several additional issues, the first of which is the script in which the autograph was written. As a Turkologist and student of the history of the Golden Horde, I have no doubt that the *Muhabbetname* (1353–4) was originally written in the Arabic script. This would be the same as the *Qisas ul-enbiya’* (1311), the *Mu’in ul-murid* (1313–1314), Qutb’s *Xusrev ü Shirin* (1341–1342), and the *Nehj ul-feradis: Ushtmaxlarnıy achuq yolu* (1358/1360), as well as the outlier *Gulistan bi-t-türki* (1391). There is absolutely no basis in my view for suggesting that this work might have been written in the Uyghur script in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, since we hardly have any Mongolian-script texts from the western territories of the Golden Horde (i.e., the *Aq orda* or ‘White Horde’) in the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries (Poppe 1941).

The second issue is the disruption in the production of literary works. I believe that with the sudden disappearance of acquired literary traditions in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century – including Nestorian Turkic in Syriac script, Volga Bulgharian, the language of the Golden Horde (also known by Turkologists as Khwarezmian Turkic), and Old Anatolian Turkish – we can observe their replacement by new vernacular-based languages (Schamiloglu 1991, 2004, 2008, 2012). As I have argued elsewhere, I believe that this disruption is a direct result of the Black Death of the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century (Schamiloglu 1993, 2017). After the death of the author of the *Nehj ul-feradis: Ushtmaxlarnıy achuq yolu*, there are no new works written in these languages until the beginning of the revival of the Islamic Turkic literary language in Central Asia in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, culminating eventually in ‘Ali Shir Navai’s elevation of this language.

This also explains some of the differences in language between the Arabic-script and Uyghur-script versions. On the use of the Uyghur alphabet in this manuscript see Clauson (1928, 110–112). The linguistic features of the various manuscripts of the work have already been the focus of much attention (Eckmann 1987, 102–103). In some cases, the Uyghur-script version seems to be closer to the pronunciation of the time, with the first word in the title of the poem written as though the form were

[*muhabbät~ muxabbät*] with the first vowel rounded instead of an unrounded vowel closer to the etymologically correct Arabic *maḥabbat*. The Uyghur-script version also has Chaghatayisms (or Uyghurisms?), which is to be expected in a later text (Clauson 1962, 245–246).

A final issue is why we see a revival in the use of the Uyghur alphabet, as evidenced for example by the *yarlıq* of Toqtamış Khan (late 14<sup>th</sup> century), one manuscript of the *Qutadḡu bilig*, the *Miʿrajname*, other works, and yes, the *Muhabbetname* itself. There has been some discussion regarding the ‘renaissance’ of the Uyghur script beginning in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century (Clauson 1962, 243; Peacock 2018). I offer a different explanation: because of the far greater impact of the Black Death and recurring waves of plague on the territories of the ‘White Horde’ versus the eastern territories (*Kök orda* or ‘Blue Horde’) of the Golden Horde, we see the migration of populations from the eastern territories under Toqtamış Khan to the western territories which were no doubt severely depopulated (Schamiloglu 2018a).

In a similar vein, I see the revival of the Uyghur script as a result of the in-migration of scribes trained in writing in the Uyghur script (and/or reading out loud texts written in that script?) from eastern territories, perhaps even from as far away as Eastern Türkistan where the Uyghur script was commonly used for civil documents. That would be proxy evidence for arguing that the further east you go, the less the class of educated people who could serve as scribes was affected, but of course they were literate in Uyghur script rather than in the Arabic script. No doubt they were either attracted by opportunities in the west or pressed into service to fill the void presented by the collapse of the class of educated people who could serve as scribes (and/or reciters?) for Arabic-script texts. As the population in the more westerly territories began to rebound (beginning in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century?), eventually the number of individuals trained in writing and/or reciting texts in Arabic script would become sufficient for the Uyghur script to fall once again into disuse in Central Asia and points further west, including the territories of the successor states to the Golden Horde.

Given all these considerations, British Museum Add. 7914 in Arabic script should be excluded from consideration as the source for British Museum Or. 8193 based upon content and length, including the addition of three Persian-language *names*. The Uyghur-script text, parallel to the case with the *Qutadḡu bilig*, is most likely a later copy based upon an earlier Arabic-script text which also reflects the loss of two original *names* and other damage and subsequent revisions as suggested by Clauson. The circumstances surrounding this also fit neatly within the framework for the understanding of the rise of vernacular languages and the parallel ‘renaissance’ in the use of the Uyghur script in Central Asia in the century following the Black Death of the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century and later.

#### 4. The *Muhabbetname* and the Golden Horde

According to couplet 437 Xorezmi composed this work on the banks of the Sır, but Clauson does not believe that this couplet was included in the autograph (Clauson 1962, 252). Xorezmi did so at the request of his patron, who wished to have Xorezmi's sweet verses available in his own language: *tilār mār kim biziñ til birlā pāyda, kitabı äyläsāñ bu qış qatımda* (couplet 36 in the editions by Gandjei and Nadjip; couplet [C35] in Clauson's revised numbering), see Clauson's translation (below). It was created in the Islamic Turkic literary language of the Golden Horde approximately a dozen years after the creation of Qutb's *Xusrev ü Shirin*.

Xorezmi, the author of the *Muhabbetname*, has already been discussed by the scholars whom I have cited and need not be reviewed here (Gandjei 1957, 135–139; Sertkaya 1972, 188–189). As noted by earlier scholars, Xorezmi's patron is Muhammed Xoja (Bek), who is mentioned in the work itself in couplets 64, 90, 102, 166, 172, 430(U)/428(A); in Clauson's revised numbering couplets 51, 77, [added later], 151, 162, 293; see also couplet 131 (Sertkaya 1972) and couplet 66 (Eckmann 1987). Xorezmi stated explicitly that he expected to be rewarded with a gift, see my translation of [C68] (81).

Two sections in the beginning of the *Muhabbetname* are of special interest with respect to the history of the Golden Horde. The first section is the 'Introduction'. I can do no better than reproduce Clauson's translation of the revised numeration of the 'Introduction', except that I use his revised numbering in [brackets] (his article uses the enumeration found in manuscripts A and U). I have also lightly edited the punctuation and the transcription (Clauson 1962, 249):

##### 'Introduction'

[C19] (20) Yesterday evening when the moon of Bayram appeared,  
Muhammad Xoja Bek, the phoenix of might,

[C20] (21) issued his orders; the royal pavilion and tent were erected, wine  
cups were brought, and the guests were seated.

[C21] (22) A singer, tuning his lute to the *Husaynī* mode, sang the following  
*ğazal*.

[C22-31] (23-32) [Persian *ğazal* (not translated)]

[C32] (33) He [*i.e.*, Muhammad Xoja Bek] smiled and said, "You, whoever  
you are (*ay fulānī*), bring us a suitable gift.

[C33] (34) There are many of your jewels in the sea of the heart, and your  
Persian books are all over the world.

[C34] (35) You have beaten everyone at the game of love and captivated the  
world with your sugared tongue.

[C35] (36) I wish you to compose a book in our language this winter by my  
side,



[C36] (37) for the fleeting days pass like the wind, and I should like a gift from us to remain in the world.”

[C37] (38) I agreed, kissed the ground and said, “Your Majesty, the earth of your threshold is a lordly court.

[C38] (39) I will do you all the service that is in my power and spread your fame throughout the world.”

[C39-47] (51-59) [Turkish *ğazal* (not translated)]

[C48] (60) I have begun my book, may it reach its end, and may the *Muhabbatname* reach Egypt and Syria.

[C49] (61) I have issued a general invitation to my entertainment and composed the *Muhabbatname* in ten *names*.

[C50] (63) But first of all I speak praises of the Bek and begin my words with them.”

Clauson believes that couplet 62 was added only much later to account for the new *names* in Persian, for which reason he did not include it in his translation. It may be translated: ‘I will add two chapters in Persian, since he who knows a lot will get a robe of *atlas* cloth.’

The ‘Description’ (*şifāt*) (U) or ‘Praise’ (*mādḥ*) (A) of Muhammed Xoja Bek is offered in couplets 64–102 (Gandjei and Nadjip’s enumeration). According to Clauson we should read these in the order 64–66, 68, 67, 69–83 (couplets 51–70 in Clauson’s revised numbering), then 84–101 (71–88 in Clauson’s revised numbering). I offer a modest English translation of this section (following Clauson’s revised numbering) on the basis of the Uyghur-script text (U) for the benefit of historians of the Golden Horde:

‘In Praise of Muhammed Xoja Bek’

[C51] (64) Oh lion-hearted one, relative of the khan (*xan uruği*), you have been greatest of the great since a young age!

[C52] (65) Muhammed Xoja Bek, the pride of the world, the source of happiness and the treasure of fortune.

[C53] (66) At first the realm was lifeless without you, you are the son of a female relative of emperor Janı Khan (*\*Janıbek xanga\* yegän siz*).<sup>1</sup>

[C54] (68) You are a Solomon-like padishah, you have the breath of Jesus and the face of Joseph.

[C55] (67) Your troops strengthen the religion, you give the treasury of Feridun to the poor.

[C56] (69) Your horse surpasses the dawn wind when it runs, your name conquers the world like the sun.

1 My translation is based upon an emended reading of the second line in the original text. See the discussion of this problematic couplet below.

[C57] (70) If it takes Hātim-i ṭay a thousand years to revive, he would (leap up and) kiss the earth just upon hearing your name.

[C58] (71) You are a good omen for the state, Jupiter is a slave to your figure.

[C59] (72) You administered (*tuttuṅ*) an entire patrimony (*ulus*) by the strength of your reason, in battle blood drips from the tip of your horsewhip.

[C60] (73) Munificence and generosity are always your habit, bravery is always your way.

[C61] (74) Sometimes Hātim would be ashamed at feast, sometimes Rustem would get tired in battle.

[C62] (75) When two rows face off in battle, know that your troops' arrows roar like the thunder.

[C63] (76) They enter battle like entering a wedding feast, but they attack like a hungry wolf attacking a sheep.

[C64] (77) If were I to call you the Hidden Imam (*māhdi*), you are worthy of it, you mow down the ranks with your sword.

[C65] (78) If a scribe in Heaven were to write your praise, even one-thousandth of it could not be written in one hundred years.

[C66] (79) Eternally over the sky like Mercury in writing and Venus in singing,

[C67] (80) May your power shine like the sun, may the seven climes be your slave.

[C68] (81) Always be generous with your gifts, so that your servant Xorezmi sings your praise.

[C69] (82) Let me weave a special kind of *atlas* cloth so that I may recite spring-like verses in the middle of winter,

[C70] (83) So that the building for your feast is heaven, and the air of your heaven's garden is always spring.

(*gāzal*)

[C71] (84) The cup was passed in this very garden, drink the pleasant wine amidst the fragrance.

[C72] (85) The caretaker of the grass, the dawn breeze, spread the scent of roses in the garden.

[C73] (86) Spring has sprung, and (the time when) the Josephs in the grass [*i.e.*, flowers] were in prison has passed.

[C74] (87) The petals of the flowers have fallen to the ground, like cornelians in a mine.

[C75] (88) Oh flower of heaven, come out in the grass, do not remain inside the palace!

[C76] (89) Hear the words of your servant, oh Bek, even though we are not worthy.

[C77] (90) Muhammed Xoja Bek, who like 'Alī makes great twists and turns in battle.

[C78] (91) When his arrow strikes an anvil, the tip will become even sharper in the anvil.

[C79] (92) Oh Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction, whose enemies swim in blood from your sword!

[C80] (93) May the Creator grant you, my Bek, many years of life to come!

[C81] (94) There is no one else like you, in Iraq, Rum, or Canaan.

[C82] (95) Xorezmi's mind has left his body, all that remains is the image with no life inside.

*(presentation of the poet)*

[C83] (96) Oh youth, drink wine and eat sweetmeats, from this day forward live another one hundred fifty years!

[C84] (97) Live in good cheer, happiness, and revelry, cloud your reason with wine!

[C85] (98) These times are very uncertain, the world is not eternal for anyone.

[C86] (99) Show compassion and concern for your patrimony (*ulus*), always be happy and prosperous!

[C87] (100) Your good name has absolutely conquered the world, may God protect you from the evil eye!

[C88] (101) Your wretched servant has made prayers for your soul with love (*muhabbät*), may (God) grant them! Amen.

Clauson does not believe the final couplet (102) to have been a part of the original autograph of the work, it may be translated: 'I have finished the praise of Muhammed Xoja Bek, I have composed the *Muhabbetname*.'

While there are numerous minor differences between the two manuscripts U and A, I will only treat some of them, including variant readings which have significance from the perspective of the history of the Golden Horde. In comparing my translations with those of earlier scholars, it will become clear in some cases the earlier translations and commentaries of 'In Praise of Muhammed Xoja Bek' would not enable a historian of the Golden Horde to glean much information of significance.

In couplet [C51] (64) in U Muhammed Xoja Bek is simply referred to as being a 'relative of the khan' (*xan uruġı*). This can be translated several different ways, as of the 'seed of the khan' or 'descended from the khan'. The term *uruġ* originally meant 'seed' but also came to be used in medieval sources for 'relative, etc.' (Clauson 1972, 214–215). In modern Kazakh, one speaks of the tribal system of the Kazakhs using the compound *ruw-taypa* (< Arabic *tā'ifa*). It would be a mistake, however, to speak of him as belonging to the 'tribe of the khans' based on the term *xan uruġı*.

In contrast, Muhammed Xoja Bek is called the leader of the Qongrat tribe in the alternate version in A: 'Oh lion-hearted, of the Qongrat tribe (*Qoŋgrat uruġı*), you have been greatest of the great since a young age' (Nadjip 1961, 32). I would very much like for this to be the authentic text in the autograph, but we cannot be sure. Clauson considers that *arslan yüräkkik xan uruġı* in U is "hardly grammatical" and that it was changed later in A to *arslan yüräk Qoŋgrat uruġı*, perhaps because the

memory of his having been a member of the Qongrat tribe was beginning to be forgotten (Clauson, 1928, 115; Clauson 1962, 250).

As I have noted many times, I believe that the Qongrats were one of the four ‘ruling tribes’ in the Golden Horde, each one of which was led by an *ulus bek* (Schamiloglu 2020, 298). In this case Muhammed Xoja Bek, whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa identifies in the 1330s as the governor of Azaq (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb: 476, 479), is likely to have been leader of the Qongrat ‘ruling tribe’ in this period. As such he would have no doubt been married to a female relative of the khan, and probably also been descended himself from the female relative of an earlier khan (Schamiloglu 2020, 301–303). He would not have been the son of a khan, though (cf. Ramzī and Köprülü below). If he were the leader of the four *ulus beks*, then he would have been the *bekleri bek*, perhaps even from a tender age. That would also explain the second line in couplet [C51] (64): ‘you have been greatest of the great since a young age!’.

In couplet [C53] (66) the second line reads *shahanshah Jani xan mülkin yegän siz*. Gandjei translates this as “siete voi che assestate il regno di Ğani Ğan imperatore” [in English: ‘it is you who administered (*yegän*) the reign of emperor Jani khan’]. Gandjei translates *ye-* as ‘assestare’ [in English: ‘to administer, organize, etc.’] (1959, 102), but there does not appear to be any lexical basis for this definition. This definition would, however, be accurate if Muhammed Xoja Bek was indeed the chief of the four *ulus beks*, the *beklileri bek*. In this case he may have been responsible for the installation of Janibek Khan as khan (one possible nuance) and for governing his realm (another possible nuance). In couplet [C53] (66) in **A**, the variant of the second line reads: *shahanshah Janibek xanga yetän siz* ‘you have reached (*yetän*) Emperor Jani Khan’ (Nadjip 1961, 32), which Nadjip translates as “O ti, naxodyashchiysya v rodstve s shaxinshaxom Djanibekom” [in English: ‘Oh you who are related to shahanshah Janibek’], meaning that he is ‘related’ (*yetän*) to the khan (Nadjip 1961, 74). (Is *yetän* here an Oghuzism?) I have already noted above that Muhammed Xoja Bek’s mother was likely to have been the relative of a Chinggisid, but he would not have been the direct descendant of a male Chinggisid through the father’s line (Schamiloglu 2020). In this case **U** would be correct contextually if we were to translate *yegän* as ‘administered’, but there is no basis for such a meaning. The line in **A** is not necessarily incorrect, but it seems to be an awkward reiteration of the earlier ‘relative of khans’ (*xan uruġı*) in couplet [C51] (64).

I would like to propose an alternative solution to reading these two variants of the second line of couplet [C53] (66):

(**U**) *shahanshah Jani xan mülkin yegän siz*.

(**A**) *shahanshah Janibek xanga yetän siz*.

Rather than reading *ye-* as a hapax legomenon, which is apparently what Gandjei is doing, what if the word in the autograph is actually *yegän* ‘the son of a younger sister or daughter’ (Clauson 1972, 912–913)? If the rest of the second line in **A** is correct, this would fit within the system of relations between the khan and the tribal

leaders. In that case Muhammed Xoja Bek is the son of a female relative of the khan married to his father, who was probably tribal leader before him. In that case the emended text would read *\*shahanshah Janibek xanğa yegän siz*. (I cannot offer any other sound philological justification for this emendation, however.) My translation reflects this emended reading, but the resulting translation is more or less the same as Nadjip's translation of this second line of the couplet in **A**. My translation simply goes beyond Nadjip to specify that Muhammed Xoja Bek is related as *yegän* 'the son of a female relative'.

In couplet [C59] (72) the term *ulus* 'patrimony' has been rendered as 'people' in some translations, but since Muhammed Xoja Bek really was one of the four main tribal leaders – even the chief of the four since a young age as stated explicitly in couplet [C51] (64) – it makes sense to translate *ulus* not as 'people', but as 'patrimony', perhaps even the *ulus* of Jöchi (or just the *Aq orda* 'White Horde' of Janibek Khan?) which he 'held' (*tuttuŋ*), see Clauson (1972, 451). I understand the verb *tut-* as meaning that he 'held (power)', 'administered', or 'governed' as *bekleri bek*, or leader of the *ulus beks*. The term *ulus* occurs again later in couplet [C86] (99) when Muhammed Xoja Bek is asked to show compassion and concern for his 'patrimony' (*ulus*).

In couplet [C64] (77) in **U** Muhammed Xoja Bek is called the 'Hidden Imam' (*mähdi*), whereas in **A** he is likened instead to 'Rustem'. There is no way to know which might have been used in the autograph. In couplet [C77] (90) there is a mention of 'Alī, so mention of the *Mahdī* also known for his famous sword *Dū l-faqar* (*Zūlfikar*) is not out of place in this couplet. Even so, references to characters from the *Shāhnāme* are for more frequent throughout the poem, for which reason 'Rustem' in **A** can also have been the original form.

In couplet [C68] (81) in **U** Xorezmi states: 'Always be generous with your gifts, so that your servant Xorezmi sings your praise (*senä*).' In **A** it is so that Xorezmi reads 'prayers' (*du'a*), with the order of the lines reversed as well. There is also quite a divergence in the text couplet [C76] (89) between **U** and **A**. 'Hear the words of your servant, oh Bek, even though we are not worthy' in **U** is replaced by 'Let us drink to the health of our Bek, even though we are not worthy' in **A**. It seems that **U** preserves a better sense of the power differential between the chief of the tribal leaders and a humble yet distinguished poet.

Finally, I believe that the reference in couplet [C85] (98) to the uncertainty of the 'times' (*zamana*, which may also be rendered as 'period, era') can be understood as an oblique reference to the threat posed by disease in this period for Azaq specifically, for it is in spring 1346 that the plague spread from Tana (Azaq) to Kaffa and then on to Constantinople, the Middle East, and Europe (Schamiloglu 2004; Grinsberg 2018; Barker 2021). As noted earlier, Azaq was the territory governed by Muhammed Xoja Bek.

Details surrounding Muhammed Xoja Bek's identity and historical role have been the subject of serious misinterpretations in earlier scholarship, beginning with Rieu's wildly speculative misidentification of him (1884, 290). Köprülü refers to Muhammed

Xoja Bek (basing himself upon Ramzī) as *hanzade* or ‘prince’ as though he were the son of the khan. Ramzī does indeed refer to him as *aḥad min abnā’ al-xawānīn* ‘one from among the sons of the khans’, but he also refers to him as *al-amīr Muḥammad xwāja* ‘the emir Muhammed Xoja’ (Ramzī 1908, i, 555–556; Köprülü 1976, 175n). Gandjei writes, following Köprülü, that Muhammed Xoja Bek was to be identified with the Xan-zade Muhammed Xoja Bek who was sent by Berdibek Khan (1357–1359), son of Janıbek Khan, to Prince Ivan (1353–1359) in Moscow (Köprülü 1976, 175n; Gandjei 1957, 137). (This would be Grand Duke Ivan II ‘the Fair’.) Even Clauson, misquoting Gandjei, describes him as the ambassador of Tınbek Khan (r. 1341–1342) (*sic*) at the court of Ivan the Terrible (*sic*) in Moscow in 1353–1359 (Clauson 1962, 249).

A more accurate account would be that in 1358 ‘an ambassador from the Horde, the son of the khan of the Horde’, Muhammed Xoja (Маматъ Хожа~Мамотъ Хожа~Мамат-Хожки), arrived in Ryazan’ to discuss the partition of territories, with Gorskiy supporting the view that Muhammed Xoja arrived in Ryazan’ without the knowledge of the khan (Gorskiy 2016, 74). It would have been consistent with the role of someone in the role of leader of the *ulus beks*, the *bekleri bek*, to have external relations. As such he would have been a tribal leader rather than the son of the khan, which reflects a misunderstanding of his position by the Russian chronicler. Ramzī adds that after this episode Muhammad Xoja was killed upon his return to the Horde (Ramzī 1908, i, 556).

The final issue I would like to raise is why the creation of this work was requested by Muhammed Xoja Bek. While I have already noted that this work was composed during a time of pandemic, I would hesitate to argue that the *Muhabbetname* was a pious work reflecting increased religiosity in response to the pandemic. That explanation makes sense as the motivation behind the Persian-language *Kalendarnama* or the *Nehj ül-feradis: Ushtmaxlarnıñ achuq yolu*. This motivation also makes sense for works composed elsewhere in the Islamic Turkic world in this period such as the *Vesilet ün-nejat* by Süleyman Chelebi (ca. 1411). The *Muhabbetname* really does seem to be about romantic love, wine, and the beauty of the Beloved, rather than about religious piety or morbidity. It is only through the esoteric approach of Islamic mysticism that one might endeavor to explain the figurative imagery in this work in religious terms.

In conclusion, the *Muhabbetname* reveals intricacies of meaning like pearls of wisdom to the Turkologist when viewed simultaneously through the lens of the history of the Golden Horde.

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## Статус и функции послов Чингис-хана

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Исследователь Марсель Эрдал писал о титулах *el хап* и *elči* (Erdal 1993) как о тюрко-монгольских, связывая их происхождение с термином *el*. Опираясь на исследования Г. Дёрфера, М. Эрдал так объясняет его смыслы: «*el* – сначала означало “friedlich, Friedenszustand” (тюрко-монг. значение), позднее – “Stammesgruppe” (истинно тюркское значение)» (Erdal 1993: 83). И поясняет, что первоначально, как полагал Г. Дёрфер, слово *el* было известно по-тюркски в его первоначальном значении – «мирный, мирное состояние», что и было заимствовано монгольским языком; второе значение (“Stammesgruppe” – род, племя) является результатом вторичного семантического развития, а не представляет собой самостоятельной лексемы (там же).

Уточняя предложенную М. Эрдалем интерпретацию термина *el* как тюрко-монгольского слова, считаю необходимым заметить, что в монгольской среде XII-XIII вв. концепт *el* в значении «мир» упоминается редко.<sup>1</sup> В *Тайной истории монголов* (далее: ТИМ) оно встречается только раз, когда описываются взаимоотношения монголов с кереитами и объясняется, каким образом кереитский Ван-хан и отец Чингис-хана Есугэй стали побратимами. В борьбе за власть Ван-хан убил младших братьев своего отца и вступил в борьбу со своим дядей Гур-ханом, от которого потерпел поражение, после чего он вынужден был скрываться, бежав с сотней людей. В результате Ван-хан появился у Есугэя.

Монгольская фраза, в которой упоминается концепт «мир», в тексте ТИМ записана так: *urida yisügei-qa'an-u čaq-tur sayi-bar el alduqsan-tur* (здесь и ниже выделено мной. – Т.С.) *yisügei-qan-lu'a anda ke'eldüksen aju'u* (Rachewiltz 1972: 69). Игорь де Рахевилц перевел эту фразу так: «As for Ong-Qa'an of the Kereyit, previously – in the time of Yisügei Qa'an – because **they were living together very harmoniously**, he and Yisügei Qan declared themselves sworn friends» (Rachewiltz

1 В ТИМ мы встречаем другое слово для выражения этого понятия (мир) - *eye: ta ene eye-ben bu ebdekiün eye jangg-ben-bu taluiqun* (Rachewiltz 1972: 53). «Мир учредивши взаимный, / Никому не давайте нарушить! / Мира свой узел надежный / Никому не давайте распутать!» (Козин 1941: 111). «Как раз в это время Алтан-хан Китадский, как о том стало известно, приказал Вангин-чинсяну немедленно выступить с войском против Мегучжин-Сеульту с его союзниками за то, что те не соблюдали мирных договоров» (Козин 1941: 113). *eye-dür ülü oroqdarun* (Rachewiltz 1972: 56). Подобных примеров, когда концепт «мир» выражено словом *eye*, в тексте ТИМ множество.

2004: 73), как и Козин до него: «Прежде, во времена Есугай-хана, живя с ним во взаимном мире, Ван-хан побратался с Есугай-ханом, и они стали андами» (Козин 1941: 121). На самом деле речь идет о том, что, находясь во враждебных отношениях со своими родственниками, Ван-хан обратился к Есугэю за помощью через вступление в отношения побратимства: «Прежде, во времена Есугэй-хана, когда [Ван-хан] **лишился доброго мира**, он договорился с Есугэй-ханом стать побратимами», чтобы вернуть себе потерянное. И данным контексте выражение *el alduqsan* означает «лишиться мира», а не «жить в мире».

Поскольку слово *el* в монгольском языке означает «мир», а аффикс *-či* маркирует деятеля, то значение слова *elči* – «тот, кто творит мир». И упоминания о тех, кто несет мир – послы, посланники (*elči*) – в ТИМ мы встречаем более пятидесяти раз. Интересно, что первое упоминание этого концепта мы обнаруживаем при перечислении сыновей Есугэй-багатура, родившихся от его первой жены Оэлун: «§ 60. ...Когда Темучжину было девять лет, то Чжочи-Хасару в это время было семь лет, Хачиун-Эльчию (*elči* в монгольском тексте) – пять лет, Темуге-отчигин был по третьему году, а Темулун – еще в люльке» (Козин 1941: 86). На мой взгляд, этот пассаж демонстрирует уровень иерархии, в которой находится место *elči* – ближний круг людей, преданных Чингис-хану. Конечно, пятилетний Хачиун не мог еще быть посланником, этот титул, возможно, ему был приписан ретроспективно. У нас нет данных, согласно которым Хачиун когда-либо выступал в качестве посланника Чингис-хана. К тому же Рашид-ад-дин сообщает, что, с одной стороны, Хачиун (Качиун у Рашид-ад-дина) «имел много жен и сыновей» (Рашид-ад-дин 1952а: 54), а с другой, «так как ...Качиун умер в молодости, то он не слишком прославился» (Рашид-ад-дин 1952а: 277).

Следующее же упоминание посланника (*elči*) в ТИМ связано с Амбагай-хаганом, который сопровождал свою дочь, чтобы выдать ее замуж за представителя татарского племени айриуд-буйрууд. В пути Амбагай был схвачен татарами другого племени – чжуин – и отправлен хитадскому (чжурчженьскому) Алтан-хану. Амбагай-хаган в качестве посланника отправил бэсудского Балагачи, чтобы он передал претендентам на престол Хутуле и Хадаан-тайчжи его наказ о мести татарам (Козин 1941: 84, § 53).

Кто же такой этот Балагачи? Мне представляется, что персона Балагачи не так проста, как предполагал И. де Рахевилц, и ее анализ позволит пролить свет на статус и функции *elči*. В монгольском тексте он обозначается как *besütei gü'ün balaqači e[ŋ]čün*, что означает «Балагачи-посланник – человек, владеющий кланом бесуд», поскольку аффикс *-mey* – аффикс обладания, а не просто принадлежности к общности. Необходимо также учесть близкородственные связи Амбагай и Балагачи, которые являлись потомками Чарахай-Линху: «Сыновья Чарахай-Линху – Сенгун-Билге, Амбагай и другие – образовали племя Тайчиудов. Потомка Чарахай Линху, происшедшего от его снохи, звали

Бесутай. Отсюда идет род Бэсуд» (Козин 1941: 83–84).<sup>2</sup> Монгольская фраза *besütei neretü büle'e besüt oboqtan tede bol<u>ba*, которой маркируется сын снохи Чарахай-Линху, свидетельствует о его высоком статусе в общности тайджиуд, возглавляемой Амбагаем, который был вторым хаганом, ведающим монголами, после Хабул-хагана. Вероятнее всего, Балагачи,<sup>3</sup> являясь главой клана бесуд, состоял в свите Амбагай-хагана и являлся хранителем ценностей, продовольствия и прочего, что находилось в специальном месте (помещении)? Это могла быть или специальная юрта, или телега). Его высокий статус позволил ему стать человеком, которому доверяли важные поручения, и он выполнял функции посланника, постоянно сохраняя за собой титул *elči*.

Продолжил традицию выполнения функций *elči* другой представитель клана бесуд – Дегей. Когда Темучжин откочевал от Чжамухи, подозревая его в дурных намерениях, то одними из первых к нему прибыли бесудцы Дегей и Хучугур, старший и младший братья (Rachewiltz 1972: 49). При распределении обязанностей Дегею было поручено контролировать выпас овец (*qoni<n>t adu'ulaju* Rachewiltz 1972: 52), а Хучугуру наблюдать за кочевыми колясками (Козин 1941: 109) в ставке Темучжина. Но одновременно Дегей выполнял и другую функцию – выступал в качестве *elči*: именно Дахай и Сюкегай (*daqai sügegei qoyar-i elči ileba*) были посланы к очередному керейтскому правителю – Тоорил-хану (Ван-хану) – с известием об интронизации Темуджина.<sup>4</sup>

А после наречения последнего Чингис-ханом в 1206 г. Дегей в числе первых (при перечислении – одиннадцатым из девяносто пяти) был назначен нойоном-тысячником. И позже (§ 210), вознаграждая заслуги своих приближенных-нукеров, Чингис-хан отметил как равных Хунана с Коко-Цосом и Дегея со старцем Усуном (Козин 1941: 164). Чингис-хан еще раз упомянул этих людей вместе как равных, отмечая их качества не скрывать виденного и услышанного, когда он наделял старца Усуна саном беки (Козин 1941: 166).

Высокий статус Дегея укреплялся и, когда Чингис-хан выделял уделы своим близким, он сказал следующее: «Отдавая в удел матери с Отчигином 10000 юрт, я приставлю к ним четырех нойонов: Гучу, Кокочу, Чжунся и Аргасуна. К Чжочию приставлю троих: Хунана, Мункеура и Кете. К Чаадаю – троих: Харачара, Мунке и Идохудая. ... Чаадай крут и скрытен характером. Пусть же

2 *čaraqai-lingqu-yin kō'ün senggüm-bilge ambaqai-tan taiči'ut oboqtan bol<u>ba čaraqai-lingqu-yin berigen eme-deče töreksen besütei neretü büle'e besüt oboqtan tede bol<u>ba* (Rachewiltz, 1972:21).

3 Balaqaci, here a person's name, actually means 'storeman' (i.e. the person in charge of *balaqat* 'store, granaries') (Rachewiltz, 1972: 302).

4 Не только сам Чингис-хан рассылал послов с известием о своей интронизации. Но и другие правители, услышав об усилении его власти, присылали послов с выражением желания присоединиться к нему. После интронизации Чингис-хана в 1206 г. к нему отправил посланников (*elčin ilējü'ü* (Rachewiltz, 1972: 136]) уйгурский Идуут. Через посланников Атхираха и Дарбая почтительно заявил о своем желании стать пятым сыном Чингис-хана, который одарил Идуута и дал ему в жены свою дочь Ал-Алтуну.

Коко-Цос вместе с ним обсуждает задуманное, постоянно состоя при нем и навещая его и утром, и вечером». К Огодаю он приставив двоих: Илугея и Дегея. К Толую – Чжедая и Бала и к Алчидаю – Чаурхана» (Козин 1941: 176). Из содержания данного отрывка совершенно определенно следует, что знакомые нам персоны, которые вместе с ним создавали Монгольский улус, были назначены Чингис-ханом советниками при его сыновьях. Дегей, который был среди них, назначался к Угедю, ставшим после смерти Чингис-хана правящим хаганом Монгольского улуса.

Как говорилось выше, Дэгэй и Сюкегай выступили в роли посланников и в 1201 г. (предположительно; или в 1196/98), когда Чингис-хан отправил их к керейтскому Ван-хану, бывшему андой Есугей-багатура, чтобы помочь оскудевшему от блужданий по тангутским и уйгурским землям Ван-хану. После чего и сам вышел ему навстречу с истоков Керулена и опекал его. В данном случае посланники выступили не в качестве вестников, а как представители Чингис-хана, которые привели Ван-хана на воссоединение с ним.

В то время как к Тоорил-вану были посланы Дэгэй и Сюкегай, к Чжамухе посланниками с подобным же сообщением были отправлены Архай-Хасар и Чаурхан. Позже, в 1202–1203 г., когда Чингис-хан вступил в конфронтацию с Ван-ханом (Тоорил-ваном), именно Чаурхан был одним из послов, посланных им к последнему. «Калиудар из племени джурьят и Чаурхан из племени урянкат, которые оба были известны как нукеры и как лица, принадлежащие Джочи-Хасару» (Рашид-ад-дин 1952б: 133), были отправлены в Ван-хану, чтобы передать ему дезинформацию о планах Чингис-хана. В результате Ван-хан, ожидавший одного Хасара, семья которого находилась у Ван-хана, был разгромлен неожиданным нападением Чингис-хана с войском. Мы видим, что послами были нукеры Чингис-хана, пользовавшиеся его полным доверием.

Надо сказать, что посланников часто отправляли куда-либо, чтобы они доставили сообщение. Так, например, позже Чингис-хан, предлагая Тоорил-вану выступить с ним вместе против татар, отправил посла: «[Чтобы] доставить это сообщение (досл. 'передать эти слова'), отправили посланца» (перевод мой. – Т.С.) (монг. *ene kelen gürgen elčün ilēba* Rachewiltz 1972: 56). Поддерживать постоянные взаимоотношения с другими сообществами благодаря посланникам было обычным делом у кочевников. Причем, как видим, посольские отношения поддерживались как в мирное время, так и во время конфликтов. Так, желая очернить Чингис-хана в глазах Ван-хана перед их совместной битвой с найманами, Чжамуха говорит: «Известное дело, что анда мой, Темучжин, издавна обменивается послами с Найманом» (Козин 1941: 125) (монг. *temüjin anda minu uridača naiman-tur elčitü büle'e* Rachewiltz 1972: 75). Сражение должно было состояться между найманским Коксеу-Сабрахом и коалицией, состоявшей из войск Чингис-хана и Ван-хана с Чжамухой. Но Ван-хан с Чжамухой отделились от Чингис-хана и в результате были разбиты. Побежденный найманским Коксеу-Сабрахом Ван-хан отправил Чингис-хану посла с просьбой о помощи (Козин 1941: 126).

Эти же слова Чжамуха повторил Сангуму, сыну Ван-хана в 1202 г., желая настроить его против Темучжина, и перешедшим на его сторону Алтану, Хучару, каракиданскому Эбугэчжин-Ноякину, Сюйгеетай-Тоорилу и Хачиунбеки: «Мой анда Темучжин явно и постоянно обменивается послами с Найманским Таян-ханом<sup>5</sup>» (Козин 1941: 127). Точнее в монгольском тексте Чжамуха упоминает посланцев Темучжина к Таян-хану, отправляемых с устными сообщениями – *keletü elčiti*» (Rachewiltz 1972: 77).

На факт обмена посольствами даже в конфликтных ситуациях указывает и история на пиру, когда ранили Бельгута и Чингис-хан и братья, схватившись с чжуркинцами, одолели их и пленили их жен – Хоричжин-хатун и Хуурчин-хатун. После того как послы обеих сторон посетили конфликтующие стороны (*elčileldün* Rachewiltz 1972: 56) и провели переговоры, все помирились и ханш вернули.

Можно вспомнить также историю с послом Темуге-отчигина. Во время конфликта Чингис-хана и Хасара, спровоцированного Теб-Тенгри, к последнему стали переходить подданные других владетелей, в частности, подданные Темуге-отчигина, младшего брата Чингис-хана, бывшего хранителем родового очага. Последний послал к Теб-Тенгри своего посла Сохора с требованием вернуть подданных. В ответ на это Теб-Тенгри сказал: «Будешь послом как раз под пару Отчигину!» (Козин 1941: 177) и отправил обратно пешком, оскорбив через унижение Темуге-отчигина Чингис-хана.

Чингис-хан должен был абсолютно доверять своим нукерам, которых он отправлял к дружественным или враждующим с ним соседям, поскольку послания, часто тайные, были устными, о чем свидетельствует и следующий текст ТИМ: «§ 177. После замирения Унгиратов Чингис-хан ушел и расположился стойбищем по восточному берегу речки Тунге. Здесь он стал готовить нижеследующие посольские речи для послов своих Архай-Хасара и Сукегай-чжеуна» (Козин 1941: 133). Необходимо подчеркнуть, что устный текст послания Ван-хану составлялся самим Чингис-ханом. В нем он напоминал Ван-хану, как когда-то посылал к нему Тахая и Сукегея, которые привели его к Чингис-хану на Керулен. В заключение Чингис-хан потребовал: «Пошли ко мне посла для объяснения твоего неудовольствия. Если пошлешь, то посылай Хулбари-Хури и Идургена. Если нельзя двоих, то посылай последнего» (Козин 1941: 136).

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5 Сотрудничество и конфликты постоянно сопровождали жизнь кочевников, делая непростым их существование. Так, вскоре после отправки послов с предложением о союзе с Чингис-ханом, он пытается договориться о нападении на него. Найманский Таян-хан отправил посла по имени Торби-таш к онгудскому Алагуш-дигит-хури с предложением быть его правой рукой при выступлении против ничтожных монголов (Козин 1941: 143). Но Алагуш-дигин-хури отправил посла по имени Юхунань к Чингис-хану с сообщением о планируемом нападении найманов.

На устный характер посланий указывается в тексте ТИМ неоднократно. Так, посылая послов к Чжамухе, ставшему к тому времени его конкурентом в борьбе за власть, Чингис-хан сказал: «§ 179. Скажите анде Чжамухе» (пер. мой. – Т.С.) (монг. *basa Ćinggis-qahan jamuqa anda-da ügüle ke'en ügüleriin* (Rachewiltz 1972: 90), а также младшему брату Тоорилу (§ 180), анде Сэнгуму (§ 181). Всем им он просил добавить следующее: «§ 181. ...Когда ты, друг Сангум-анда, будешь снаряжать ко мне посольство, то шли двоих: Билге-беки и Тодоена. Итак, пусть шлют ко мне по двое от каждого: Родитель-хан, друг Сангум-анда, Чжамуха, Алтан, Хучар, Ачих-Ширун и Хачиун» (Козин 1941: 138). Подтверждают устный характер посланий и следующие слова: «После того как [устаами] Архай-Хасара и Сукегей-Чжеуна эти слова были переданы, эти слова так были высказаны, Сэнгум сказал» (пер. мой. – Т.С.) (монг. *arqai-qasar sügegei-je'ün qoyar-iyar edüi üges dawu bari'ulju ilēba ede üges eyin ügülekejü senggüm ügüleriin* (Rachewiltz 1972: 92)). Интересно то, что, если верить тексту ТИМ, ответные посольства так и не были отправлены, за исключением двух послов от Сэнгума, упоминаемые Чингис-ханом в первый раз: «[Чингис-хан] потребовал: “Сэнгум, пришли мне посланников, пришли нукеров Билге-беки и Тодоена”. Прислали. Пришлите мне посланников... (перечисляются по два от каждого. – Т.С.)» (пер. мой. – Т.С.).

После побед в Средней Азии Чингис-хан в 1226 г. обратил свой взор на тангутов, желая отомстить им за оскорбление. Но Чингис-хан заболел, а на предложение отступить он ответил: «§ 265. ...”Тангуты чего доброго подумают, что мы ушли из трусости. Поэтому мы, возможно, и отступим, но не ранее, чем пошлем к Тангутам посла и тут же в Цоорхатах дождемся от них ответа и сообразим его”. Тут же он продиктовал послу...» (Козин 1941: 190). Последнее предложение по-монгольски читается так: *tende elčín-e da'u bari'ulju ilēriin* (Rachewiltz 1972: 158–159), что позволяет предположить, что сообщение передавалось на словах – голосом.

Возможно, об этом же свидетельствует и следующий факт. Из кипчакского похода Бату передал Угедей-хагану через посланника о своей ссоре с Бури и Гуюком по поводу их статусов в генеалогии чингисидов, поскольку им показалось неправильным, что Бату выпил чару прежде всех. «Устами посланника передал Угэдэй-хагану почтительно» (монг. *ögödei-qahan-a elčín-eče öčijü ilēriin* (Rachewiltz 1972: 165). И завершается текст послания словами: Все разошлись непримиренными ...*eye ügei tarqaqdaba edö'e qahan abaqa-yin jarliq medetügei ke'en öčijü ilējü'üi* (Rachewiltz 1972: 166)).

Вероятно, передача сообщений послами устно довольно долго сохраняла свою актуальность, что можно предположить из следующего факта. Когда Чингис-хан успешно завоевывал города Средней Азии, он отправил к Толую посланника с приглашением приехать к нему в горы на реку Алтан-горохон. В это время Толуй разрушил города Систен и Чухчерен, когда посол принес это известие (Козин 1941: 188). Выражение *ene kelen gürge'esü* «доставил эту речь» позволяет предположить, что послания по-прежнему передавались устно.



Посланники могли отправляться для передачи какого-либо известия. Например, когда после долгих поисков Хасар, оставивший у Ван-хана жену и трех сыновей – Егу, Есунке и Туху, нашел Чингис-хана, «На радостях, что с ним теперь Хасар, Чингис-хан предложил отправить к Ван-хану посла. И решили они послать Хариудара-Чжауредайца и Чахурхана-Урянхайца, которым поручили сказать хану-отцу от имени Хасара...» (Козин 1941: 139). В ответ Ван-хан посылает Итургена с сообщением, что Хасар может приехать к нему. Хасар изрубил Итургена, передовой отряд Чжарчеудая и Архая окружили Ван-хана и монголы разгромили керейтов, а Ван-хан с Сангумом сбежали. Названный здесь в качестве одного из военачальников Архай, как мы видели выше, уже упоминался как посол Чингис-хана к Чжамухе.

Функцией *elči* могла быть не только передача текста послания. Так, когда Хори-Субэчу<sup>6</sup> – начальник караула найманов – убил Ван-хана, Гурбесу, мать найманского Таян-хана, повелела привезти голову Ван-хана для жертвоприношения ей. К Хори-Субэчу отправили посланника (*qori-sübeči-tür elči ilejü* Rachewiltz 1972: 97) за головой. В данном случае функция элчи – доставить голову.

Если вначале деятельности Чингис-хана по расширению своих владений упоминаются, как правило, два посла как с его стороны, так и со стороны его союзников и противников, то после того как Чингис-хан вступает в отношения с оседлыми странами, численность посольств увеличивается. В 1211 г. Чингис-хан вторично выступил против китадского Алтан-хана, воспрепятствовавшему проходу его посольства во главе с Чжубханом для переговоров с Чжао-Гуанем (Козин 1941: 181). Здесь впервые упоминается многочисленное посольство, которое возглавляется Чжубханом. Также отмечается принадлежность членов посольства Чингис-хану – «его многочисленные посланники во главе с Чжубханом (*jubqan teri'üten olon elčin-iyen* Rachewiltz 1972: 147), как они называются в тексте ТИМ.

Численность посольств увеличивалась с вступлением Чингис-хана в отношения с оседлыми государствами. «§ 254. Затем, когда Сартаульцы задержали и перебили сто человек наших посольских людей, отправленных к ним во главе с Чингис-хановым послом Ухуна, государь Чингис-хан сказал: “Пойду войною на Сартульский народ и законною местию отомщу за сотню своих посольских людей во главе с Ухуна”» (Козин 1941: 182). В переводе С.А. Козина мы читаем: «наших посольских людей». Но в монгольском тексте «Чингис-хан отправляет к сартулам сотню своих послов во главе с Ухуна» (монг. *Činggis-qahan sarta'ul irgen-e uquna teri'üten ja'un elčin-iyen jetgüjü* Rachewiltz 1972: 147).

Возможно, уже появляются люди, которые выполняют поручения по передаче сообщений – безымянные, поскольку в последних случаях имена не упоминаются. Вероятно, это связано с тем, что расстояния, на которые

6 У С.А. Козина Хорису-бечи (Козин 1941: 141).

передаются сообщения, заметно увеличились, уже невозможно было в перерыве между битвами выполнять функции посланников, потребовались специальные люди. И, в отличие от первых, лично преданных Чингис-хану посланников, принадлежавших, как правило, к элите, эти не были достаточно богатыми. Эти два фактора: расстояния, которые покрывали элчи в выполнении своего долга, что требовало времени, и новость могла потерять свою актуальность, и недостаточная личная обеспеченность элчи, – привело к созданию уртонной службы.

«§ 280. Тогда Огодай-хан издал следующий указ: "...об ускорении движения послов, а вместе с тем и облегчении тягот для населения государства посредством установления ямов и выдела ямчинов и улаачинов"» (Козин 1941: 198). Угэдэй распорядился: «Далее, при настоящих способах передвижения наших послов, и послы едут медленно и народ терпит немалое обременение. Не будет ли поэтому целесообразнее раз навсегда установить в этом отношении твердый порядок: повсюду от тысяч выделяются смотрители почтовых станций – ямчины и верховные почтари – улаачины; в определенных местах устанавливаются станции – ямы, и послы впредь обязуются, за исключением чрезвычайных обстоятельств, следовать непременно по станциям, а не разъезжать по улусу» (Козин 1941: 197–198).

Несмотря на огромные размеры Монгольской империи уже при Чингис-хане и безусловную необходимость контактов как ее лидеров внутри империи, так и за ее пределами, у нас нет свидетельств существования определенной административной службы, которая бы концентрировала в своих руках функции связи всех со всеми – структуры типа посольского департамента. Во-первых, необходимо подчеркнуть, что мы никогда не встречаем в тексте ТИМ обозначения *elči* как монгольских послов или послов монгольского улуса, они всегда называются Чингис-хановыми или какого-либо другого правителя. Во-вторых, они – нукеры, то есть ближайшие сподвижники Чингис-хана, как правило, принадлежавшие к элите монгольского общества и отличавшиеся личной преданностью ему.

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# Chuvash Language Relics from the 18<sup>th</sup> Century and the First Chuvash Grammar

Melinda Takács

Recording of the Chuvash language relics started relatively late, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. We do not have at our disposal language relics of interior origin because the Chuvash people did not have their own literacy. The first descriptions of the language come from foreigners visiting their land in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Mainly vocabularies preserved from the first half of the century, later, from the 1770s, when the conversion to Orthodox religion has started, this Turkic people of the Middle Volga Region got more serious attention.

In his studies published in 1949 and 1951, Jegorov made a short introduction into the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Chuvash vocabularies and dictionaries and presented data on their emergence (Jegorov 1949; Jegorov 1951). Later scholarship did not have much information to add to these works. L.P. Sergeev made a short linguistic evaluation of the vocabularies (Sergeev 1969; Sergeev 1972), and we get useful information on their historical background from V. D. Dimitriev (Dimitriev 1960; Dimitriev 1967). Even Hovdhaugen (Hovdhaugen 1975: 276–279) and Klára Agyagási (Agyagási 1982a) published useful data and new assumptions on the emergence of some of these manuscripts – works by Johann Eberhard Fischer and Gerhard Friedrich Müller. By the moment, these sources are not sufficient for making conclusions on language history because their scholarly evaluation, except for the Chuvash lexemes of the Pallas dictionary (Savel'ev 2014) has not been done.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. The 18<sup>th</sup>-century Chuvash vocabularies

In the following, I introduce the earliest relics of the Chuvash language: Chuvash vocabularies and dictionaries emerged in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Through this, we get a thorough picture on the historical and methodological background of the first Chuvash grammar.

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<sup>1</sup> I thank Klára Agyagási from whom I got a continuous inestimable help during my work on the present study. English translation was made by Valéria Kulcsár.

### 1.1. Strahlenberg's vocabulary

The first written source of the Chuvash language is a short list of words made by Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg, published by the author in 1730, in Sweden as a part of the work entitled *Das nord- und ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia*. Strahlenberg was a Swedish military officer who was taken prisoner by the Russians in 1709, released in 1721 (Róna-Tas 1978: 71–73; Sergeev 1972: 49). During his year in prison, he got familiar with several regions of the Russian Empire, permanently taking notes. In his work, he gave the meaning of 60 words in 32 languages. However, his Chuvash list is, unfortunately, deficient, containing only 28 words (Jegorov 1949: 111). I should emphasise that already Strahlenberg assumed that the Chuvash belongs to the Turkic languages. His work and its English and French translations already in the 1730s drew the attention of the West to the existence of the Chuvash people.

### 1.2. Works by Müller and Fischer

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, works by Johann Eberhard Fischer and Gerhard Friedrich Müller emerged. Both researchers took part in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Siberian expedition organised by the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences.<sup>2</sup> They were assigned to collect the language material of the non-Russian population of the Russian Empire. Müller conducted fieldwork between 1733 and 1740 – he must have made his vocabularies already in 1733 (Agyagási 1982a: 9) –, then Fischer followed him, returning to Saint Petersburg in 1747. Their activity resulted in a total of six dictionaries partly containing also Chuvash materials.<sup>3</sup>

Part of the documents made during the expedition lurked until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Göttingen, and also in Petersburg. It seems that the most accurate Chuvash language data were included into Müller's work *Vocabularium harmonicum* published in 1759; probably, the Chuvash vocabulary published in Fischer's *Vocabularium continens...* was collected by him, but in the course of subsequent copying always got a growing number of inaccuracies (Hovdhaugen 1975: 276–279; Agyagási 1982a: 31–32). *Vocabularium harmonicum* preserved a total of 313 Chuvash words, including 38 numerals and six pagan male names (Jegorov 1949: 113). Based on them, Müller concluded that the Chuvash was a Turkic language, more precisely, a language similar to Tatarian. This work became internationally known. Among

2 Russian Academy of Sciences was founded by Peter I (Great) in 1724 in Saint Peterburg. One of the most important goals of the academic research was the geographical, ethnographical, and linguistic examination of the distant regions of the empire. 1<sup>st</sup> Siberian expedition of Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt served this task. Unfortunately, manuscripts made during this work were lost. It was followed by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Siberian expedition (to Kamchatka) between 1733 and 1747 (Agyagási 1982a: 8–9.).

3 Two of them were assigned to arrange and publish the documents made during the expedition. However, personal conflicts between the two researchers set back the common work. This situation, partly, explains why it is so difficult to use their published dictionaries and preserved manuscripts. For a detailed analysis of their story and contents, see Agyagási 1982a.

others, in 1775, György Pray noticed the similarity between certain Hungarian and Chuvash words due to it (Jegorov 1949: 115).

In 1969, Sergeev made basic assumptions on Fischer's work. He pointed out that among the 280 Chuvash lexemes of the *Vocabularum continens...* there are several words (e.g. personal pronouns) that do not occur in Müller's collection. He also emphasised that this list contains only Virjal data, and there is only a single Russian loanword (Sergeev 1969: 234–235).

### 1.3. Dictionaries by Tatiščev

Russian historian Tatiščev, who at that time was the director of the mining department in Ekaterinburg, studying the history and culture of the peoples living nearby, compiled, and sent out questionnaires to the territories under his authority three times (1734, 1737, 1739 – Agyagási 1982a: 10–11). These sheets contained 197 questions among which 107 ones concerned historical, geographical and economical data; questions 108–197 were especially arranged to get familiar with the culture and languages of the Volga and Siberian people.<sup>4</sup> Received answers included several Chuvash vocabularies from which two dictionaries containing Chuvash word material were compiled: the *Russko-tatarsko-čuvaško-mordovskij slovar'* 'Russian-Tatar-Chuvash-Mordovian dictionary' and the *Russko-čuvaško-marijsko-mordovskij slovar'* 'Russian-Chuvash-Mari-Mordovian dictionary'. According to some suggestions, part of Tatiščev's questionnaires could be used also by Fischer (Agyagási 1982a: 11).

The Chuvash related questionnaire answers come from the territory of the Simbirsk district. This administrative unit existed from 1648 to 1780, including around 100 Chuvash villages lying on the southern part of modern Chuvashia and south of the modern border of the republic, in the vicinity of Petrovsk and Samara. According to the first census made in 1722–1723, in the district, there were 12,695 taxpaying Chuvash men and 4,401 ones providing military service (Dimitriev 1960: 271).

From the 1730s, that is to say, from the period when Tatiščev wrote his work, we have detailed data on the operation of the district office that can supply us with important background information on the source value of the questionnaires. There were around 160 people working at that time in the Simbirsk office: a colonel (*vojvoda*), a vice-colonel (*vice-vojvoda*), a secretary, a rapporteur, an office scribe, five clerks, four vice-clerks, eight copyists, six scribes and around 130 couriers. Besides, there was a notary office in the castle where an inspector and a scribe worked together with further ca. 30 office employees (Dimitriev 1960: 272).

Answers received for Tatiščev's questionnaires were compiled by the clerks of the chancellery who, not being specialists, handled the whole thing only as a new task to be solved, which they wanted to get rid off as soon as possible, using the minimum of

<sup>4</sup> Dimitriev 1960: 270. During his work, Tatiščev several times asked for the support of the Academy but did not get any help from Saint Petersburg: Róna-Tas 1978: 74.

energy. The same was the approach of the Chuvash village principals ordered in as respondents. We know the names of some of them: Kizbahta Tojbulatov from village Alšejevo; Makar Armaneev from Bol’šoje Bujanovo; Bagirej Baitov from Išakovo; Jegor Petrov from Muratovo and Antip Tomeneev from Novye Algaši (Dimitriev 1960: 274). The Chuvashes – probably, not without any reason – had no confidence in any state body, so they tried to give short, neutral, sometimes directly false answers.<sup>5</sup> This is especially true about the questions on their religion.

So, from ethnographic aspect, we should handle Tatiščev’s work only with a strong reservation, however, dictionaries based on his vocabularies contain valuable linguistic information. As I have mentioned before, two dictionaries were made from the lexical material of the questionnaires: the *Russko-tatarsko-čuvaško-mordovskij slovar’* and the *Russko-čuvaško-marijsko-mordovskij slovar’*. The first work contains 524, while the other somewhat less Chuvash lexemes. I should emphasise that these dictionaries were the first 18<sup>th</sup>-century Chuvash language relics that were written with Cyrillic letters.

The word material of Tatiščev’s works – similarly to other dictionaries written in this period – was divided into thematic groups including materials coming from both Anatri and Virjal respondents.<sup>6</sup> The reason for the relatively variable dialectal features might be that in this period, the diffusion that went on in the Modern Age, sometimes aggressive resettling of the peoples of the Middle Volga Region has been already in progress, so, part of the Chuvash population of the Simbirsk District moved here from other places which can be detected in the dialectal heterogeneity.<sup>7</sup>

#### 1.4. Word list by Kirak Kondrat’evič

It is worth to say some words about the, today lost, *Čuvaško-russkij leksikon* ‘Chuvash-Russian lexicon’ compiled together with five further dictionaries of the Volga languages between 1737 and 1739, by Kirak Kondrat’evič, a Latin teacher from Ekaterinburg. The most important question considering this work is whether Kondrat’evič used Tatiščev’s questionnaires, and whether he had anything to do with the anonymous author of the *Slovar’ jazyka čuvaškogo* ‘Dictionary of the Chuvash language’. Based on Kondrat’evič’s probable professional skills and his being familiar with the characteristics of the above mentioned two sources, Jegorov concluded that the *Čuvaško-russkij leksikon* could not have relationship with any of these, but was a work completely based on independent research (Jegorov 1949: 135).

5 For examples, see Dimitriev 1960: 275. Answers to questionnaires were published by Dimitriev 1960: 280–286.

6 Sergeev 1969: 232–233. For the comparison of the Chuvash word material coming from the two dictionaries with the answers to the original questionnaires, see Dimitriev 1960: 286–298.

7 Sergeev 1972: 53. Questionnaires containing Chuvash words came from the region of Samara, Petrovsk, and Dmitrievsk (Dimitriev 1960: 276).



### 1.5. The first Chuvash grammar

The first printed Chuvash grammar written in Russian and a supplementing word list including at least 1200 lexemes, the *Sočinenija prinadležaščie k grammatike čuvaškogo jazyka* ‘Writings belonging to the grammar of the Chuvash language’ was compiled on the command of the Kazan-Sviyazhsk bishop Venjamin (Pucek-Grigorovič). It was published in 1769 in Saint Petersburg.<sup>8</sup> Relatively few special studies have been published about this work. Phonetic examination of the word material of the *Sočinenija* was partly conducted in 1981 by Klára Agyagási, however, until now, her dissertation has remained unpublished. Besides, Even Hovdhaugen (Hovdhaugen 1975) and O. A. Mudrak (Mudrak 2011) devoted a short study to the phonetic analysis of the grammar.

### 1.6. Dictionary of Damaskin

Renewed attention arose due to the conversion process, resulted in further scholarly works dealing with the Chuvash people. Publication of a pentalingual dictionary entitled *Slovar’ jazykov raznyh narodov v Nižegorodskoj eparhii* ‘Dictionary of the languages of different peoples belonging to the Nizhnij Novgorod Diocese’ can be put to 1785. It was edited by Damaskin (Dmitrij Semyonov-Rudnev), bishop of Nizhnij Novgorod and contained Russian, Tatar, Mordovian, and Cheremis words. The book counting 519 pages included 11,003 Chuvash expressions (Jegorov 1949: 120). Beside the great number of linguistic data, this work deserves special attention also because this was the first time when Chuvash ecclesiastic intellectuals probably took part in the compilation of a dictionary: Jermej Rožanskij, Grigorij Rožanskij, Ivan Rusanovskij, and Pjotr Taliev.<sup>9</sup>

Despite of it, the quality of the linguistic material of the *Slovar’ jazykov...* is far from excellent, so this work, unfortunately, does not represent good source value. Most part of the Chuvash words, more than half of them, are artificial words that emerged as the translation of Russian expressions not having really good equivalents in Chuvash. Besides, the use of Cyrillic letters that were not able to reflect the phonetical characteristics of the Chuvash language and transcription inaccuracies frequently resulted in phonetically uncertain, sometimes unintelligible words. Here we meet the worst deficiency of the Chuvash vocabularies: Cyrillic writing did not allow the ideal recording of the phonetic form of the Chuvash words. Native speaker compilers of the dictionary in question seemingly could not or did not want to overcome this problem. At the same time, the significance of the *Slovar’ jazykov...* is beyond doubt: there are archaisms and dialectological elements that by now disappeared from the Chuvash language (Jegorov 1949: 122–123).

<sup>8</sup> For the detailed introduction of the grammar, see the next chapter.

<sup>9</sup> Jegorov 1949: 121. As V.G. Rodionov pointed out, the name of the Kazan priest and translator Pjotr Taliev (1778–1832) got among the compilers of the *Slovar’ jazykov...* only due to a contemporary mistake, see Rodionov 1983: 163.

### 1.7. Slovar' jazyka čuvaškogo

In 1785, the *Slovar' jazyka čuvaškogo* 'Dictionary of the Chuvash language' containing 2888 Chuvash words was completed. The typography of the work, the phonetic and dialectological features of its word material suggest that the dictionary could have been printed in Kazan or Simbirsk (Jegorov 1949: 125). Until the present moment, no light was thrown on its author.

### 1.8. The "Catherine-dictionaries"

In 1784, empress Catherine II invited to Saint Petersburg the famous German zoologist and botanist Peter Simon Pallas, charging him with the collection of linguistic data in the hope of a later comparative dictionary. In the two-volume comparative dictionary by Pallas edited between 1787 and 1789 (that got to be known in the scholarship as Catherine-dictionary) a large number of Chuvash words were published (Sergeev 1972: 54–55). The *Sravnitel'nye slovari vseh jazykov i narečij* 'Comparative dictionaries of all the languages and dialects' contains equivalents of 285 words in 200 languages. In the improved, four-volume version of the work edited in 1790–1791, we find the same 285 Chuvash words (Jegorov 1949: 130–131). Sergeev thoroughly examined the circumstances of the compilation of the Catherine-dictionaries. In the archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, five vocabularies including, among others, Chuvash words were preserved about which we know that Pallas used them during his work. Among these, the first two ones also contain Mari, Mordvinian, and Votyak material, the remaining three works are Russian-Chuvash vocabularies. The first and second word list was made by Mendier Bekdorin, the former contains 357, the latter 264 Chuvash expressions. These two lists probably served as drafts of the same work, because their word material completely overlaps each other (Sergeev 1969: 236). The authors of the third dictionary containing 129 words were Ivan Aleksandrov, an interpreter, retired vice-clerk from Kazan, and Vasilij Kostyčov, the president of the higher council of the Kazan lieutenancy. The fourth and fifth word list was also compiled by them, one including 285 and the other 278 words. The five word lists (because of the overlaps) contain a total of 375 – Anatri and Virjal – lexemes, out of which, finally 285 got into the Catherine-dictionaries (Sergeev 1969: 237).

Earlier, Jegorov made critical notes on the linguistic source value of the Chuvash word material of the *Sravnitel'nye slovari*. In his opinion, the large number of variable mistakes found in the work attest to the fact that the compilers were not qualified. Besides, the editing of the dictionary also leave much to be desired (Jegorov 1949: 131–133). At the same time, Savel'ev highlighted that part of lexemes considered by the earlier scholarship mistakenly recorded, is correct from etymological point of view (Savel'ev 2014: 19).

So, Catherine the Great's dictionaries do not represent a really high value as Chuvash linguistic sources, but their international impact is indubitable. It is enough to emphasise here that in 1796, Pál Beregszászi Nagy influenced by these works

recognised common features between certain Hungarian and Chuvash words (Jegorov 1949: 133).

### 1.9. Slova, vzjatye iz francuzskikh razgovorov

In the period between 1789 and 1791, in Saint Petersburg, the work under enigmatic title *Slova, vzjatye iz francuzskih razgovorov rossijskie s čuvaškimi raspoložennye po urokam* ‘Words loaned from French speech Russian and Chuvash arranged by lesson’ was published.<sup>10</sup> This work is a primitive Russian-Chuvash language “coursebook” using the Russian lexeme material of a Russian-French word collection containing 130 lessons and compiled after its system. The *Slova* includes about 1500 Chuvash words (Jegorov 1949: 123), that – obviously following the *ad hoc* structure of the imitated work – are dispersed among the 130 “lessons” missing any logic, completely incidentally. In the “lessons”, beside the word lists, no further auxiliary material can be found that would place the words into context. The main value of the *Slova, vzjatye iz francuzskih...* is that it could have been prepared with the participation of the same ecclesiastic intellectuals – Grigorij Rožanskij and Ivan Rusanovskij – who can be connected also with the compilation of the dictionary published in Nizhnij Novgorod (Jegorov 1949: 124). Due to this, more or less the same transcription methods and same mistakes can be found in the word material of the two works.

### 1.10. Diary of Königsfeld

Tobias Königsfeld’s travel diary was published in 1779, in Amsterdam. He wrote it in 1740 during an astronomical expedition to Berezov. Königsfeld was one of the students of Joseph-Nicolas Delisle (Nikolaj Josif Delil), an astronomer from Saint Petersburg. During the expedition to Berezov – the aim of which was the observation (which was unsuccessful) of the Mercury passing in front of the Sun – they twice crossed the Chuvash lands calling at Kozmodemjansk (Dimitriev 1960: 277). Part of Königsfeld’s and Delisle’s travel diaries translated from the German to French was published in one of the volumes from the series *Histoire générale des voyages* (Róna-Tas 1978: 73–74). Abridged Russian translation of the French manuscript came out in 1849 in Saint Petersburg. In Königsfeld’s diary, we find a short description of the Chuvash folk customs, religion, material culture and some lexical material.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Transcription of the word material of the work has been recently done by Rodionov [w.p.y.]: 90–134.

<sup>11</sup> Relevant part of Königsfeld’s diary was published by Dimitriev 1960: 299–302.

### 1.11. The second Chuvash grammar

Though the second Chuvash grammar was born in the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>12</sup> from the point of my study it seems worthwhile to shortly refer to it.

The second Chuvash grammar was published in 1836, in Kazan, under the title *Načertanie pravil čuvaškogo jazyka i slovar' sostavlennye dlja duhovnyh učilišč Kazanskoj eparhii* 'Drafts of the Chuvash language rules and dictionary compiled for the ecclesiastic schools of the Kazan diocese'. Its author has been unknown for a long time, but today we know that it can be connected to a priest of the Peter-Paul church of Kazan, Viktor Višnevskij. The descriptive grammar part of the *Nachertanie* practically completely is based on the system of the *Sočinenija*, however, its word list includes much more items, a total of 2736 Chuvash lexemes. Beside that, a Chuvash-Tatar-Mari comparative dictionary is also included into the publication.<sup>13</sup>

This second grammar and the four gospels published in 1820, in Chuvash made a fundament for Wilhelm Schott's work *De lingua Tschuwaschorum* that came out in 1841, in Berlin. Due to this work, Schott was elected the member of the Berlin academy of sciences,<sup>14</sup> and starting from this, the Chuvash language became a key topic of the international turcological studies.

## 2. The first Chuvash grammar

### 2.1. Introduction of the work and its relationship with the Mari and Udmurt grammars

The first printed Chuvash grammar, *Sočinenija prinadležaščie k grammatike čuvaškogo jazyka* 'Studies belonging to the grammar of the Chuvash language' was published in 608 copies in May 1769, in Saint Petersburg (Mudrak 2011: III). Today, the book is a real rarity: presently only five copies are known, out of which two can be found in Moscow, two in Saint Petersburg and one in Budapest, in the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Facsimile version of the book – accompanied with relatively few comments – was published in 2011, edited by A. P. Huzangaj in Cheboksary.<sup>15</sup>

12 A short list of the most important 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup>-century Chuvash language relics was published by Agyagási 1978: 17–20; Agyagási 1982b: 14–17.

13 For the detailed introduction into the second Chuvash grammar (focusing mainly on the descriptive grammar part), see Alekseev 1970: 207–215. Višnevskij was also the author of the first Chuvash grammar book: Petrov 1967: 105.

14 For the scholarly activity of Wilhelm Schott, see the online database of the *A Pallas nagy lexikona* (Pallas's great lexicon): <http://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-a-pallas-nagy-lexikona-2/s-16BBE/schott-17312/> (viewed 3 May 2017).

15 During the analysis of the grammar I used this facsimile edition, see *Sočinenija* 2011. Its pdf version is available also on the internet: [http://elbib.nbchr.ru/lib\\_files/0/kpch\\_0\\_0000012.pdf](http://elbib.nbchr.ru/lib_files/0/kpch_0_0000012.pdf) (viewed 3 February 2020).

As mentioned above, the compilation of the *Sočinenija* can be connected to the Orthodox conversions started in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the Middle Volga Region, more concretely to the Kazan-Sviyazhsk bishop Pucek-Grigorovič (his ecclesiastic name: Venjamin). It may be worthwhile to go into details concerning the biography of the bishop playing central role in the emergence of the grammar. His life story represents well the age and the environment in which the work examined in this article came into existence.

Vasilij Grigorjevič Pucek-Grigorovič (ca. 1700–1785) was born in Lohvica (today: Ukraine) as a child of a Ukrainian military officer and a mother of Polish noble origin.<sup>16</sup> Between 1728 and 1732, he was the student of the Kievan Theological Academy, from where, already in the latter year, he moved to Kazan to play an active role in priest training. First, he taught Latin and arithmetic in the Slavic-Latin school of the town, then, from 1739, he became the professor of the Kazan Theological Seminar. In 1740, he took monastic vow under the name Venjamin (Benjamin). He became the prefect of the school, then, from 1744, its rector. Besides, he continued vivid missionary activity, supported the work of the Office of the Newly Baptised founded in Kazan and competent in the territories of the Kazan, Astrakhan, Nizhnij Novgorod and Voronezh governorates. He took part in conversion journeys in Tatar, Chuvash, Mordvinian and Udmurt territories.

Between 1746 and 1748, he officiated masses in the Peter and Paul cathedral of Saint Petersburg. In the period of 1748–1753, he was the bishop of Nizhnij Novgorod and Alatyř. From 1753 until his death, he was the member of the Holy Synod. From 1753 to 1758, he held positions in the Tver and Kashin Bishoprics. Between 1758 and 1761, he was the bishop of Pskov, Narva and Izborsk, then, until 1762, the archbishop of Saint Petersburg. In the same year, he took part in the funeral of Peter III and coronation of Catherine II; he was appointed the bishop of Kazan. From then on, he again put great efforts for the conversion of the surrounding pagan peoples supporting, for example, the operation of a new school founded for the newly baptised. In this school, the students of the clerical seminary and newly baptised local inhabitants took part in the translation of the Bible and other theological texts to the Mari, Tatar, and Chuvash language. (Manuscripts written at this time perished in a fire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.) The first Chuvash grammar introduced below was compiled in this period and milieu.

In 1774, Pugachov's army occupied Kazan. During the siege, bishop Venjamin organised processions, common prayers, and tried to convince the population not to join the revolt. Despite of it, after the fall of Kazan, he was accused with the support of the rebels and sent to jail. In 1775, he succeeded in clearing himself from the charges and got free. After that, Catherine II sent him a gift: a white headcover and a cross decorated with diamonds. (The story was later worked up by Pushkin.)

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<sup>16</sup> For bishop Venjamin's biographical data, see the online platform of the *Pravoslavnaia Enciklopedija* 'Orthodox Encyclopaedia' with further scholarship on archives and ecclesiastic history: <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/150309.html> (viewed 30 January 2020).

In 1782, Venjamin resigned from his office, and, until his death in 1785, lived in a monastery near Kazan.

So, from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a serious conversion activity was going on in the Kazan diocese.<sup>17</sup> In the framework of this process, on bishop Venjamin's command, the first Chuvash grammar was compiled in 1769. In 1770, it was followed by the Udmurt,<sup>18</sup> and in 1775, by the Mari grammar.<sup>19</sup> These three works were prepared based mostly on the same scheme, in all probability, as a part of the same plan. Beside the identical typography, structure, and the word material that partly overlapped each other in the three grammars, an obvious evidence for that is their common title: *Sočinenija prinadležaščie k grammatike čuvaškogo/čeremisskogo/votskogo jazyka* 'Studies belonging to the grammar of the Chuvash/Cheremis/Vot language'. At the same time, certain structural differences between the three works make it probable that their authors must have been different (Jegorov 1951: 86).

We do not know any of the authors of the grammars. Opposite to the other works, the *Sočinenija* does not indicate either the place of edition, or its year, so the scholarship has not had any information on these data for a long time. As to the year of edition, several authors suggested that it was published only in 1775, or may be, it was edited twice: in 1769 and 1775. Some scholars indicated Moscow as the place of edition, others – Saint Petersburg.<sup>20</sup> Finally, in 1959, V. T Terent'ev, then in 1967, V. D. Dimitriev found archive materials with the help of which they were able to answer these questions. So, today we already know that the grammar got to printing house in Saint Petersburg in January 1769, by direct order of bishop Pucek-Grigorovič, and the book was put to market from 23 May costing 23 kopeks (Terent'ev 1959: 139–140; Dimitriev 1967: 156).<sup>21</sup>

It is of special interest, that out of the three grammars, only the Chuvash one contains a preface which I consider important to cite completely for a better understanding of the questions discussed below: "When many, for different reasons, wish to learn the languages of not only close but also distant, not only of contemporary but also formerly existed peoples, then you should try to learn the languages of those people who live inside our home country among us and make the part of our society.

17 From 1731, a committee situated in Sviyazhsk was responsible for the conversion to Christianity in the Middle Volga Region. In 1740, it was transformed into the Office of New Christians' Affairs. The first serious conversion wave went on between 1743 and 1747. Its spectacular success was due, on the first hand, to the military aggression against the pagan population of the area and secondly, to the financial in-kind contributions. In Civilsk and Sviyazhsk, schools were founded for "newly baptised" children, then, from 1756, this education role was overtaken by Kazan. After the liquidation of the Office of New Christians' Affairs in 1767, the issue of education of newly baptised children was relocated to the authority of the Kazan and Nizhnij Novgorod dioceses (Komissarov 1992: 85–86).

18 For critical edition, see Décsy 1967.

19 For critical edition, see Sebeok 1956.

20 For scholarly debates on the place and time of the grammar's edition, see in detail, Dimitriev 1967: 154–156.

21 Archive documents connected with this question were published by Dimitriev 1967: 160–162.

Not only the curiosity but also the usefulness should inspire us which is evident for everybody who is involved. The author of the book deserves compliments indeed because he is the first to set an example. There is no doubt that there will be others to follow him in this matter. Those who take this assignment will get a vast field never ploughed before. And if we cannot expect any other use of it, then it would be enough to show them and make them realise that they are the parts of our body, they are our fellow-citizens and this is the way we consider them. Every beginning is frequently liable to mistakes, however, we should not fear that in some time they will not be corrected. So, we wish that we would reach the perfection which is necessary for rational people when starting any kind of work.<sup>22</sup>

## 2.2. Research history of the first Chuvash grammar

The *Sočinenija* got into the focus of the Russian linguistic scholarship in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>23</sup> but up to now, no comprehensive analysis has been made despite of the fact that this was the very first Turcological work published in Russia. The method of linguistic description used by the authors followed the system of classical languages, mainly of the Latin grammars: eight parts of speech, five declension cases, designation of first-person singular of present tense forms of the verbs, and further numerous examples<sup>24</sup> show that though already Russian grammars were at disposal in the age, the compilers of the *Sočinenija* started off mainly from their own classical education.

22 „Когда многие для разных причин желают знать языки не только ближних, но и отдаленных, не только нынешних, но и прежде бывших народов; то кольми паче надлежит вам стараться довольно узнать языки тех народов, которые между нами внутри пределов единого отечества обитают и составляют часть общества нашего. Не одно нас любопытство, но и польза к тому поощрять должна, которая очевидна всякому, кто с ними обращается. Сочинитель книги сея похвалу заслуживает тем больше, что он первый подает пример. Нет сомнения, что и другие ему станут в сем деле последовать. Желающим труд сей на себя принять предлежит пространное поле, так сказать, никем от века еще неоранное. Есть ли же бы никакой другой оттуда пользы мы не могли ожидать; то не довольно ли и той одной только, чтобы сим способом показать им и вперить в них мысли, что они суть члены тела нашего, что они наши сограждане и что мы их иначе и не почитаем. Начало часто подвержено недостаткам; однако при сем нет той опасности, чтобы оные со временем не были исправлены без всякого ущерба. Желать остается, чтобы достигли мы в сем через сие до того совершенства, которое потребуетя от людей благоразумных при начинании всякого труда.” *Sočinenija* 2011: 2–3. In this preface, beside the probably really enlightened attitude of Pucek-Grigorič, we see the reflection of the thinking of the Catherine Age.

23 It was Jegorov’s work that drew attention to the grammar (Jegorov 1949); he was followed by the studies of D. D. Šamraj (Šamraj 1955), Terent’ev (Terent’ev 1959), Dimitriev (Dimitriev 1967), and Sergeev (Sergeev 1969).

24 For the descriptive linguistic method of the *Sočinenija*, see Jegorov 1951: 87–89, and Alekseev 1970: 204–206.

The work counting 68 pages, after the introduction introduces the system of the Chuvash language according to the parts of speech, in the form of tables. In the grammar, we find the following chapters: nouns (682), adjectives (158), numerals (23), pronouns (150), verbs (350), conjunctions, interjections and other frequently used expressions (23). Each grammatical unit is followed by a thematically arranged word list: the *Sočinenija* contains a total of 1368 Chuvash lexemes (Huzangaj 2011: VIII), out of which only relatively few (25–30) are Russian loanwords (Jegorov 1951: 91).<sup>25</sup>

Scientific value of the *Sočinenija* is further enhanced by the fact that its word material was recorded surprisingly uniformly, and, in addition – according to the scholarship – suitably to the Virjal, that is to say, the archaic dialect of the Chuvash language (Jegorov 1951: 90; Huzangaj 2011: IV–V; Mudrak 2011: II). Jegorov who was the first dealing with the grammar, concluded that the lexical material of the word lists suggest that they were recorded in the dialect of the Krasnye Četai district (NW part of Chuvashia) (Jegorov 1949: 117; Jegorov 1951: 90). Sergeev approached the question in a more delicate way. In his opinion, the dominance of the Virjal word material can be caught on phonetic, lexical, and grammatical level, but at the same time, he highlighted that the 20<sup>th</sup>-century dialectical borders cannot be, in all cases, projected back to 200 years (Sergeev 1969: 229). Starting from some characteristic phonetical examples, he suggested among the respondents of the grammar, speakers of further Virjal dialects who used the dialects of Šundir, Morgauš, Jadrin and Urmar areas (Sergeev 1969: 230–231).<sup>26</sup> He also brought further parallels from Chuvash “diasporas” around Uljanovsk, Samara and Saratov. In his opinion, Anatri elements can be found in the vocabularies of the grammar only sporadically concerning almost exclusively the lexical material (Sergeev 1969: 231).

### 2.3. Hypotheses on the authors of the first Chuvash grammar

From time to time, the question who and how wrote/compiled the first Chuvash grammar emerges in the scholarship. In Jegorov’s studies who was the first to form an opinion, we find heavy self-contradictions. According to him, we should count with a Virjal recorder and Anatri editor (Jegorov 1949: 117; Jegorov 1951: 90),<sup>27</sup> but at the same time, he himself pointed out several mistakes that refer to the fact that people playing determining role in the compilation of the work could not be Chuvash native speakers (Jegorov 1949: 117; Jegorov 1951: 89). On phonetical, morphological, and lexical level the word material of the *Sočinenija* contains many mistakes and inaccuracies evidencing that the compiler or compilers of the work, though trying to get profound knowledge in Chuvash language, were presumably Russian native

25 This is a fact well representing the not really significant Russian influence concerning the Chuvash language at that time.

26 These areas lie at the northernmost part of Chuvashia, by the Volga.

27 Almost the same opinion was repeated by L.P. Sergeev in 1969 (Sergeev 1969: 232).



speakers.<sup>28</sup> Without getting into details, it is to be emphasised that during the recording of the words, the most difficulties emerged because Cyrillic set of letters did not allow the recording of phonetical characteristics of the Chuvash language. The compilers of the vocabularies, though they tried to be consequent, did not make any attempt to solve this situation.<sup>29</sup>

There are further arguments for the Russian native language of the *Sočinenija*'s compilers. It is improbable that Chuvash recorders would make basic grammar mistakes when describing the grammatical system of the grammar, mainly in the case of conjugation (Jegorov 1949: 117). The same is the situation with the Chuvash equivalents of some Russian words where, in many cases, we meet misunderstandings, inaccurate, only approximate meanings, confusion of parts of speech.<sup>30</sup>

In 1967, Dimitriev made low-key and time-proven conclusions on the circumstances of the compilation of the first Chuvash grammar. The most important was the examination of the questions connected with the author of the *Sočinenija*. In his opinion, there are no data showing that Pucek-Grigorovič personally wrote any of the three grammars (on this matter, the biographers of the bishop do not say anything).<sup>31</sup> It is much more probable that he took part in the coordination of these activities. To support this assumption Dimitriev brought the example of the process of editing of the *Slovar' jazykov raznyh narodov v Nižegorodskoj eparhii* 'Dictionary of the languages of different peoples belonging to the Nizhnij Novgorod Diocese' published in 1785: from the preface of this work, we learn that it was compiled by the priest professors and students of the Nizhnij Novgorod theological seminar, under the supervision of bishop Damaskin (Dimitriev 1967: 157). If the efforts of several people were necessary for the compilation of one dictionary, this is especially true for one – and more than that: three – grammars, the creation of which is a much more complicated task than the editing work of a dictionary.

So, it is probable that the *Sočinenija* emerged as a result of the work of several writers, consultants, and respondents. Most of the contributors must have been teachers and students of the Kazan theological seminar and of the school founded for the newly baptised, among whom there could have already been many Chuvash native

28 For details, see Takács 2020: 204–218.

29 Of course, this is a question, what can be expected from a, though educated, but not native speaker recorder who is charged with an unexperienced task, unsupported by earlier examples. Was he able to provide a relevant solution for the accurate description of the phonetics of a language earlier unknown for him? Especially, if we take into consideration that other evidently Chuvash native speakers could not resolve this problem either.

30 For these, with concrete examples, see Jegorov 1951: 88–90.

31 Researchers of all the three grammars mostly agree on this matter: Jegorov 1951: 86; Sebeok 1956: 13; Galkin 1991: 11. As an exception, we can refer to the opinion of the Votyak grammar's publisher, Gyula Décsy according to which the work went on this way: Pucek-Grigorovič "sat down with his Votyak students", and after their long interrogation prepared the work. According to Décsy, the bishop could have followed the same method when writing the Mari and Chuvash grammar, and because of the "teamwork" character of the task, did not indicate either his or his respondents' names (Décsy 1976: 3).

speakers. According to the sources, already from the 1730s, Chuvash students were admitted to the Kazan clerical seminary. Judging from the records made between 1765–1769, in the school for newly baptised, 40–45% (!) of several classes came out of Chuvash students meaning 44–58 graduates yearly. The most talented of them continued their studies in the theological seminary and many took clerical service: e.g. in 1767, 10 persons, in 1770, 9, in 1772, 13, and in 1773, 11 (Dimitriev 1967: 159). In the time of the emergence of the *Sočinenija*, all of the teachers working in the school for newly baptised spoke one or more languages of the Middle Volga Region. So, most of the professors and students of the school and of the clerical seminaries had the efficiency necessary for certain work phases of compilation of the three grammars.

Rodionov, in his study published in 1983, formulated a viewpoint completely different from the previous ones. According to him, the writer of the first Chuvash grammar was the Chuvash priest, translator, and poet Jermej Rožanskij who took part also in the compilation of the *Slovar' jazykov raznyh narodov v Nižegorodskoj eparhii*.

Jermej Ivanov (he took the name Rožanskij during his theological studies) was born in 1741, in a little village near Kurmyš (Northern Chuvashia).<sup>32</sup> Already his father was a priest taking active role in the conversion of the local population.<sup>33</sup> Rožanskij studied in the theological seminary of Nizhnij Novgorod between 1751 and 1758. In 1765, Christian Chuvashes from the Kurmyš and Jadrin district asked Feofan, the bishop of Nizhnij Novgorod for a permission to appoint a local, Chuvash native speaking preacher: Jermej Rožanskij, a local Chuvash native speaker. After the bishop's permission, Rožanskij settled in Kumyš and lived there until his death at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Beside his conversion work, he actively translated, dealing also with literature and poetry. In 1785, together with his son Grigorij, he took part in the works of the *Slovar' jazykov raznyh narodov...* He was the first to publish a book in the Chuvash language, the *Kratkij katehizis, perevedennyj na čuvaškij jazyk* 'Short catechesis translated to the Chuvash language' printed in 1800, in Saint Petersburg (Rodionov 1983: 158).

In Rodionov's opinion, the dictionary part of the *Sočinenija* must have been compiled by several people, but for the descriptive grammar chapters, one person's work was enough. This person should not be necessarily identified with bishop Pucek-Grigorovič. According to Rodionov, the identity of the grammar's author can be ascertained judging from four parameters: 1. the author was knowledgeable in the dialect of Krasnye Četai district; 2. he was a Chuvash native speaker; 3. he knew well Latin, so he presumably learned in a clerical seminary; 4. after graduation, he must

<sup>32</sup> For data on Jermej Rožanskij, see Rodionov 1983: 160–162.

<sup>33</sup> This was a difficult task: there were several cases of armed resistance against the newly converted Christians. Conversion must have been eased when in 1764, it was promised to the inhabitants of Kozmodemiansk, Cheboksary and Kazan districts that their children would not be enlisted if they get baptised and attend school (Rodionov 1983: 158, 161).

have had enough experience for writing a scholarly work. Rodionov thought that all these statements without exception were true about Jermej Rožanskij, who can be firmly identified with the author of the *Sočinenija* (Rodionov 1983: 168).

Rodionov tried to support his assumption also with more sophisticated arguments. Among them, he argued that Rožanskij, as the native of the Kurmyš district, spoke the dialect of Krasnye Četai, besides, he received high level theological education, that is to say, he possessed the classical knowledge necessary for the writing of the grammar. Rodionov noted, though without supporting this with facts, that we do not know any Chuvash student from Kazan in the period of the emergence of the *Sočinenija*, who knew the dialect of Krasnye Četai (Rodionov 1983: 170). He highlighted that there are similarities in the character of word recording between the *Sočinenija* and *Slovar' jazykov raznyh narodov...* in the compilation of which Jermej Rožanskij demonstrably took part. A piece of further evidence by Rodionov is that out of 33 randomly chosen words of the Chuvash grammar starting with letter *b*, 12 ones completely correspond from a formal point of view to their equivalents recorded in 1785,<sup>34</sup> besides, there are overlappings between artificial words appearing in both works.<sup>35</sup> As a clincher, he noted that in the two dictionaries in question, the recorder of the words, denotes the *g* voiced velar plosive not with its Cyrillic equivalent but with Latin letter *g*.<sup>36</sup> According to him, this writing technique cannot be detected in the works written in the Kazan seminary.

Rodionov's set of arguments is objectionable in several points. He completely ignored the assumptions of the earlier scholarship, so he did not attend to introduce the facts contradicting his theory, neither did he disconfirm the evidence concluded from these facts. The worse deficiency of his work is that he does not explain why the author of the grammar should be accepted as a Chuvash native speaker, while in the work, there is a great number of mistakes that strongly question whether it was written, edited or at least proofread by a Chuvash person. It is enough to mention, it is highly improbable that Jermej Rožanskij, or any other Chuvash native editor, would have made systematic mistakes in conjugation, add Russian adjectival suffixes to Chuvash adjectives, or was not able to determine which part of speech some Chuvash words belonged to.

Rodionov's efforts for the comparison of the lexical material of the *Sočinenija* and the *Slovar' jazykov raznyh narodov...* can be only praised. At the same time, it should be emphasised that less than 40 words chosen from the lists of the grammar *ad hoc*, are not suitable for any conclusions, taking into consideration that the *Slovar' jazykov raznyh narodov...* contains 11,000 (eleven thousand) Chuvash lexemes, half of which is a technical term. However, the "analytical effort" of the author draws our attention

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34 For examples, see Rodionov 1983: 168–169.

35 For examples, see Rodionov 1983: 170–171.

36 For examples, see Rodionov 1983: 169.

to a sad fact: the neglected situation of the comparative linguistic examination of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Chuvash language relics.<sup>37</sup>

The author's system of arguments concerning the use of Latin letter *g* remains incomplete for similar reasons. In connection with the Pallas dictionaries, already Jegorov proved in 1949, that not only Rožanskij used this letter (Jegorov 1949, 132). Moreover, we know by name the compilers of these dictionaries: Vasilij Kostyčov and Ivan Aleksandrov; and it is also known that they came from Kazan (Sergeev 1969, 237). So, opposite of Rodionov's assumption, the use of letter *g* was also known in Kazan, we meet it also in the Mari and Votyak editions of the *Sočinenija*. And even Rodionov does not suggest that the latter two works had been written by Rožanskij.

Assumption according to which in the 1760s, there was not a single student speaking the Krasnye Četai dialect, is included into Rodionov's argumentation in a somewhat incoherent way. This statement cannot be considered serious in the light of Dimitriev's studies, who pointed out that already dozens of Chuvash native speakers studied in this time in different Kazan schools or took clerical service. Between 1756 and 1767, by the way, in the Middle Volga region, only in Kazan operated a school for newly baptised students (Komissarov 1992: 86),<sup>38</sup> so Chuvash children entering the Russian system of education must have started their studies in Kazan. According to Sergeev's research, there were many of them who spoke different Virjal dialects, because the *Sočinenija* – opposite of Rodionov's assumption – preserved lexical elements of several Virjal (and at least one Anatri) dialects (Sergeev 1969: 230–231).

Rodionov's last argument supporting the authorship of Rožanskij, is the assumption that the writer of the grammar, probably, was a priest with classical education and good knowledge of Latin; no other person except for Rožanskij had all these characteristics. Concluding from only a basic knowledge of the clerical history of the age and region, we can state, that these qualities made a part of the cultural basis gained as a result of the clerical education. A lot of people, the name of whom has not remained for the posterity, possessed these.

In his study published in 1999 and republished in 2009, N. P. Petrov considered Rodionov's results as accepted ones despite their doubtful scholarly value. According to him, the first and second known poem in Chuvash, published in Kazan without author also can be connected to Jermej Rožanskij, because words *ання* 'mother', *парня* 'present' and *хубер* 'happiness' were written with the same writing mood as in the first Chuvash grammar (Petrov 1999: 112). Moreover, going further with all these, he assumed that the compiler of the *Slovar' jazyka čuvaškogo* was also Rožanskij, because the word *хубер* was as well included into this work (Petrov 1999: 113). (True,

37 In the scholarship, assumptions on the dialectal origin of the word material of the first Chuvash grammar, and comparisons with further 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammars were made by Jegorov 1949; Sergeev 1969; Hovdhaugen 1975; Róna-Tas 1978; Agyagási 1982a; Agyagási 1982b.

38 From this period, we have data on 320 "newly baptised" students learning in Kazan, out of which more than 200 graduated. This number seems to be explicitly high and, at the same time, shows a sad picture of the age taking into consideration that more than 60 students passed away before graduation: Kappeler 2016: 76.

that in the form *хуберниѹ*, that is to say, supplied with a Russian adjectival suffix, in other words, in a basically mistaken form, which was pointed out by the author himself, though, he did not draw the adequate conclusion: the person recording the word probably was not a Chuvash native speaker.)

To-date, connecting printed Chuvash language relics multiplying at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, to Jermej Rožanskij became part of the “mainstream” of the Chuvash scholarship. It is well symbolised by the fact that the entry on Rožanskij in the four-volume *Čuvaškaja enciklopedija* ‘Chuvash Encyclopaedia’ published in 2006, was written by Rodionov, in which he assumed that Rožanskij and Pucek-Grigorovič wrote together the first grammar (Grigor’ev 2006: 576). Huzangaj’s preface to the facsimile edition of the *Sočinenija* published in 2011, though in a low key, mainly echoes Rodionov’s arguments (Huzangaj 2011: VI–VII). Rodionov’s recently published online writing contains a short 18<sup>th</sup>-century collection of sources on Rožanskij’s activity (Rodionov [w.p.y.]: 136–151), unfortunately not supplied with comments. At the same time, it can be assumed from the study that there is no even indirect information showing that the priest of Kurmyš had anything to do with the first Chuvash grammar or that he at least was personally acquainted with Pucek-Grigorovič.

We might not be mistaken suggesting that the “Rožanskij fashion” recently taken its flight in Chuvashia is rather one of the symptoms of the Chuvash identity seeking, than a real scholarly leap forward.

In all likelihood, the identity of the person or persons finalising the *Sočinenija* never will be cleared with complete certainty. However, it is worthwhile to go back for a moment to the only primary source connected with it, the preface of the work cited above. It suggests that the contemporaries connected the emergence of the work to an anonymous author who, on the basis of the context of the text, was not a Chuvash native speaker. It is less than likely that it was Pucek-Grigorovič, however, it might not be a groundless presumption that the also anonymous author of the preface of the grammar was the spiritual father of the work, and the indirect supervisor of the edition.

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# Finite Verb Forms in a 17<sup>th</sup> Century Turkic Historical Text: Qādir ‘Ali beg’s ‘Compendium of Chronicles’\*

Guldana Togabayeva

## Introduction

The *Jāmi‘ at-Tawārīḥ* ‘Compendium of Chronicles’ was written by Qādir ‘Ali beg bin Hošum beg Jālāyirī in 1602, probably in the Kasim Khanate (1452–1681), vassal state of the Russian Tsardom during the rule of Uraz-Muhammed khan. The text is written in Turkī or Chagatay<sup>1</sup> literary language with Arabic script and is dedicated to the Russian tsar Boris Fyodorovich Godunov. In the following, I will refer to *Jāmi‘ at-Tawārīḥ* ‘Compendium of Chronicles’ shortly as ‘Compendium’ and Qādir ‘Ali beg bin Hošum beg Jālāyirī as QAB.

QAB’s manuscript was first published by Ilya Nikolayevich Berezin. It has an identical title with the work *Jāmi‘ at-Tawārīḥ* ‘Compendium of Chronicles’ written by the Persian historian Rašīd ad-Dīn (in the following, RAD) (1247-1318). The reason for this was that the main part of QAB’s work contained a translation of RAD’s work.

There are two known manuscripts and three fragments of QAB’s ‘Compendium’. Both of the manuscripts supposed to be later copies of the one written in 1602. Both of the manuscripts are incomplete, however, they complement each other.

The first copy was discovered by Ibrahim Khalfin, a lecturer of the Tatar language of the Kazan University. The circumstances of his discovery are unclear. The manuscript was preserved in the library of Kazan University under №10422. After the closure of the Eastern Faculty of Kazan University in 1854, the manuscript was taken

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1 The term *Čagatay* ‘Chagatay’ is traditionally used to define the literary written language of the Turks of Central Asia in the 15<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Benedek Péri reviewed the sources that are called *Čagatay* and paid attention that authors of those works’ languages called them *Türkī*, *Türkçe*, *Türk dili*, *Türk elfāzi*. Even Abūl al-Ġāzī – whose works traditionally considered *Čagatay* – called the language *Türkī/ Turkī*. According to Péri’s investigation, the term *Čagatay* authors usually used for the exalted literary style (Péri 2002: 250–254). It was not merely written language by peoples who spoke very different Turkic languages and dialects, but was a *lingua franca*. There is a strong influence of local languages on *Čagatay* from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Several modern Turkic languages consider *Čagatay* as their predecessor (Kincses-Nagy 2018). The question of naming the written Turkic manuscripts is still open nowadays.

to St. Petersburg (Rahim 2008: 195). It is preserved nowadays in the library of the Department of Oriental Studies of St. Petersburg University (MsO. 59), and is called St. Petersburg's manuscript. It contains 157 folios with 11 lines on each page. The date of compilation is 1051 by Hijra (1641–1642). The chapter titles are written with red ink. The proper names are also underlined with red.

The second copy was discovered by Muhammetgali Gabderahimov, more known as Gali or Ali Rahim in 1922 among the books bequeathed by the Kazan mullah Galeev-Barudi to the Central Eastern Library in Kazan. This manuscript likely belonged to the Shakulovs – an aristocratic family from the Kasim Khanate – and was brought from the city of Kasimov (Rahim 2008: 196–197). The manuscript consists of 81 folios with 17 lines on each page. The headings and some important proper names are written with red ink. The date of its compilation is 1144 by Hijra (1732). This manuscript is preserved in the Kazan library of Oriental books (T. 40). It is called Kazan manuscript. The last 20 folios of the Kazan manuscript are titled *Dāftār-i Čingiz-nāmā* (Rahim 2008: 199–200).

One fragment of 'Compendium' was found by Rahim in the Tatar village of Kyskary (Rahim 2008: 212–213). This folio contains a fragment about the life of Haji Giray (1397–1466), the first Crimean khan (1441–1466). Two other fragments are preserved in the British library. Charles Rieu – the compiler of the catalogue of British Library – mentions only about one fragment in British library under inventory number 11, 726 (Rieu 1888: 182–183). However, Rieu described another manuscript under the inventory number 11, 725 (Rieu 1888: 181–182), which is also a fragment of the translation of Rašid ad-Dīn's *Jāmi' at-Tawārīḥ* by QAB.

There are two more manuscripts registered under the authorship of Qādir 'Ali beg:

(1) A manuscript in Berlin (Hofman 1969: 115). The number of this manuscript was not indicated by Hoffman. After him researchers found it difficult to confirm its existence due to the lack of a manuscript's number. It is likely that Hoffman wrote about the manuscript, which is currently kept in Berlin State Library as *Historia Dschingischani* (Web1).

(2) A manuscript in Paris. This manuscript is preserved under Suppl. Turc 758 in the National Library of France (Hofman 1969: 115). Edgar Blochet – the compiler of the catalogue of oriental manuscripts at the National Library of France – attributes that manuscript to QAB (Blochet 1933: 57–58), however, it is more likely that it belongs to another author (Alimov 2018: 256; Nagamine 2019: 119).

The high-resolution colored photographs of the St. Petersburg's manuscript I used for the present paper, are accessible in the Research Repository of St. Petersburg State University (Web2). The text of that manuscript can be divided into the following parts:

I. The introduction and dedication to Boris Godunov (1598-1605) (f.1r–6r).

II. An abridged Turkic translation of the Persian chronicle of the same title *Jāmi' at-Tawārīḥ*, written by and concentrated on the genealogy of Oghuz khan, ancestors of Chinggis khan, Chinggis khan himself and his descendants (f.6r–142r).

III. The last part of QAB's 'Compendium' consists of 9 autographic chapters, ranging from Urus khan to his descendant Uraz Muhammed khan (f.142r–157v). The folios of the third part are in the wrong order starting at a folio 148. These last nine chapters are based on the steppe oral historical tradition (Ivanics 2017: 43).

The text of St. Petersburg's manuscript was investigated better than Kazan's. The descriptions of these two works were made by Usmanov (1972). Another edition was published by Syzdykova (1989) with Cyrillic transcription. This work includes the description of historical and linguistic features of the text in Russian. Two years later one more edition was made by Syzdykova and Kojgeldiev (1991) in Kazakh. This latter includes a Kazakh translation of the first and third parts of the text. The most recent full translation into Kazakh is made by Mingulov, Komekov, Oteniyazov (1997).

There are several partial and a full translation of 'Compendium' into Kazakh, and a partial translation of several chapters into Russian. Since some parts of the text are difficult to understand, the translations are far from being accurate and more or less differ from each other. A detailed grammatical analysis is needed. As a first step, I will investigate viewpoint operators on finite verbal predicates which are presented in the past and non-past temporal strata in narration of the 'Compendium'. A similar investigation was carried out by Balázs Danka on – *The 'Pagan' Oguz-nāmā* (Danka 2019) – a text which represents an earlier variety of the language in 'Compendium'. In this paper, the finite verb forms will be used from the St. Petersburg's manuscript. The base of comparison for the corpus will be Eckmann's (Eckmann 1966) and Bodrogligeti's (Bodrogligeti 2001) grammars.

## 1. Theoretical framework

Finite verbal predicates are analyzed in the theoretical framework based on the works of Johanson (1971, 1999, 2000), Csató-Johanson (2020), Nevskaya (2005) and Danka (2019) in Turkic languages. The methodology is data-oriented. Lars Johanson's framework classifies viewpoint operators which are based on aspect and focality.

Aspect is a grammatical category of verbs displaying the internal temporal constitution of a situation in a different way (Comrie 1989: 3). Aspect characterizes the action itself or the state from the point of view of its course in time by regardless of the moment of speech. In Turkic languages aspect is expressed by analytic forms. It means that they are based on non-finite verbs and finite auxiliary verbs. Aspect in the 'Compendium' can be classified in the following:

### **Postterminality (±POST)**

Postterminality "focuses the attention on a situation obtaining beyond the relevant limit, where the event, whether totally or partially past, is still relevant in one way or another..." (Johanson 2000: 103). It means that the event is entirely or partly already out of sight, but have left traces observable in the moment of speech.

**Intraterminality (±INTRA)**

Intraterminality describes the event from the internal point of view, after its beginning and before its end. Nonintraterminality as opposed to intraterminality does not present the event from the inside point of view, but rather present it from outside, without special regard to its limits. Intraterminality signs an orientation interval for the event, while nonintraterminality denotes the very event (Johanson 2000: 76–77).

**Prospectivity (±PRO)**

‘Prospective’ is understood as a future action which is already presented in the moment of speaking before its occurrence. According to Nevskaya, “In modern linguistic literature, the term ‘prospective’ is met alongside the terms ‘immediate/imminent future’, ‘near/nearest future’ or ‘proximative’ referring to this category.” (Nevskaya 2005: 112).

**Focality (HF, LF and NF)**

Focality implies the state of being located around a focus and showing lower or higher degrees of inner notion of verb. Focality demonstrates the narrowness of the speaker’s viewpoint on the event. Focality may have Focal, i.e. High Focal (HF) and Low Focal (LF) as well as Non-Focal (NF) values (Johanson 2000: 38).

Several discourse types are found in the manuscript with respect to temporal strata oppositions (Johanson 1971: 76–87). One of the main concepts observed by the discourse types in ‘Compendium’ is a minimal pair.<sup>2</sup>

**2. Preliminary notes**

The predicate is usually found at the end of the indicative sentence in Turkic languages. Nominal predicates are always provided with copula verb *ēr-di* in the past (ex.1). *-DI* is the base for narrative discourse type and is limited to a single event. The finite verb forms of nominal predicates are almost always provided by the copula *dur/turur* (ex.2-3) or on a similar form of *ēr-ür* ‘to be’ (ex.4) in the non-past. The former goes back to *tur-ur* ‘to stand, to stop’. According to Baskakov, the copulas *turur* and *ērür* can be synonymously interchangeable (Baskakov 1971: 49).

(1) f.143r/7 *musa begniñ oğli **ērdi***<sup>3</sup>  
 ‘[He] **was** the son of Musa beg.’  
*ēr[di]*  
*be[PAST]*

2 Traditionally, a minimal pair is a concept used in phonology (Crystal 2008: 307). In this paper the term ‘minimal pair’ will be used to two finite verbal constructions where there is only one morphosyntactic and semantic difference between two forms.

3 The predicates will be highlighted with bold letters in the example sentences and the translation to clarify which parts correspond to the parts.

(2) f.1r/6–7 *jümlet al-kristiān pādišāh hazretleri barış fyodorāvič uluğ beg aq hān d<sup>o</sup>r<sup>4</sup>*  
 ‘The majestic ruler of all Christians Boris Fyodorovich **is** the great lord and white  
 khan.’

*d<sup>o</sup>r*  
*stand[Ø]*

(3) f.144v/5–6 *šāh butaq sultānniñ oğli šeybaq hān turur*  
 ‘The son of Shah Butaq **is** Sheybaq khan.’

*tur[ur]*  
*stand[PRS]*

(4) f.157v/6–7 *aniñ oğli jalayir saba erür*  
 ‘His son **is** Jalayir Saba.’

*er[ür]*  
*be[PRS]*

Sometimes the copula can be dropped in the non-past. Although a nominal predicate is usually represented by copulas, zero copula construction is typical for most modern Turkic languages (Baskakov 1971: 49), e.g. in modern Kazakh, nominal predicates do not require a copula in the non-past (Balakayev 1954: 425). A nominal predicate in third person singular usually has a copula, in *Jāmi* ‘*at-Tawārīḥ*’s corpus, but can also be omitted:

(5) f.144v/6 *aniñ oğli tēmür*  
 ‘His son **is** Timur.’

Ø

The past tense expresses a completed action in the past which certainly happened. The grammatical marker of past is *-DI* (ex.6). The negation of past is expressed by marker *-MA-* before past tense marker *-DI* (ex.7) (Bodrogligeti 2001:186).

(6) f.144r/3 *hajī muḥammed ulanni manşur beg hānladı*  
 ‘Mansur Beg **enthroned** Hajī Muhammed Ulan.’

*hānla[dī]*  
*enthroned[PAST]*

(7) f.142v/11 *aniñ neslidin hiç kim qalmadı*  
 ‘**None** of his descendant **remained**.’

*qal[ma][dī]*  
*remain[NEG][PAST]*

Non-past in Turkic languages is expressed by the Aorist. Aorist describes an action or a state which is not bound to a specific time or to a concrete location. This permits the speaker or the writer to use the Aorist in a great variety of functions. The Aorist is formed from verbal nouns in *-(<sup>o</sup>)r* and negation in *-mAs* (Bodrogligeti 2001: 203). Example (8) indicates present simple, while example (9) in negation indicates future:

4 I used the sign <sup>o</sup> for an unwritten vowel.

(8) f.143v/1–2 *andin üj börte çıqar*  
 ‘Three beams<sup>5</sup> **go out** from it (river).’  
*çıq[ar]*  
*go out[AOR]*

(9) f.5r/11–5v/1 *hazīneñde hiç mālīñ tügenmes*  
 ‘Your wealth **will not be depleted** in your treasury.’  
*tügen[mes]*  
*deplete[AOR NEG]*

### 3. Aspect

Tense combined with viewpoint operators create the finite verb forms. ‘Compendium’ is written predominantly in a narrative discourse type. The corpus is mostly presented in the past, usually based on the suffix *-DI*. Non-past is found in a smaller proportion. It expresses anything but past by the basic morpheme *-(<sup>o</sup>)r* and copula *-tur/ turur*. Past *-DI* and non-past *-(<sup>o</sup>)r* complement each other. These two together cover all the possible tense options, e.g. anteriority can be marked by past and/or postterminal aspect and non-past together with aspect can provide continuous or future meaning by intraterminality and prospectivity, respectively.

#### 3.1 Intraterminality

The intraterminal viewpoint operators in ‘Compendium’ are based on the participle form (Aorist) of the Turkic verb and its negation.

##### 3.1.1 Intraterminality in the past +PAST(+INTRA)

Intraterminality is very commonly represented in ‘Compendium’. Intraterminal items may present different events in text. The most important event in the narrative discourse are used to describe overlapping events, denoting an event that has already begun and is taking place when another event begins (Johanson 2000: 80). Such verbal constructions are translated with English ‘Past continuous’. See examples (10, 12):

(10) f.142v/8–9 *toqtayğa alīb kèle turur érđi yolda oq öldi*  
 ‘While (he) **was just bringing** (him) to Tokhtay, (he) suddenly died on the way.’  
*alīb kél<sup>6</sup>[e tur][ur ér][di]*  
*bring[CONV.INTRA COP.PRS][AOR COP.][PAST]*

There are numerous number of actional meanings in Kipchak Turkic languages, which are expressed by converb markers and auxiliary verbs. In these languages the creation of viewpoint operators from the actional are observed, e.g. actional marker

5 Beam (geographical) is a dry valley with soddy slopes which form dry waterbeds.

6 Here *alīb kél-* is lexicalized construction: lit. ‘to take and come’ > ‘to bring’.

of continuation, constancy and durativity *-A tur/ -A turur* can be generalized to the intraterminality. Here is HF past intraterminal in *-A turur êrdi* ‘was just X-ing’ in the example (10) which corresponds to NF past intraterminals in *-A êrdi* (Johanson 1999: 173–177) and opposes to an assumed LF construction *-(°)r êrdi* as shown in the example below (ex.11).

(11) f.144v/3 *keseniñ bir yağidin bir[i] ‘eselni içer êrdi*  
 ‘One [of them] **drank** the honey from one side of cup.’  
*iç[êr êr][di]*  
*drink[AOR COP.][PAST]*

The negative counterpart of intraterminal viewpoint operator is *-mA-s êrdi*:

(12) f.156r/10–11 *dâyim keçe kündüz bir kese mey içse anı yād qılmay içmes êrdi*  
 ‘When(ever he) drank a cup of wine during the long days and nights, (he) **was not drinking** without remembering him (i.e. Godunov).’  
*iç[mes êr][di]*  
*drink[NEG. AOR COP.][PAST]*

### 3.1.2 Intraterminality in the non-past *-PAST(+INTRA)*

Intraterminality in the non-past describes the event’s internal point of view in the present and future tenses. The examples below (ex.13-14) are expressed by a simple *-(°)r*. But they are not just present simples, otherwise examples could not be intraterminal. So here verbs display focality degrees along with intraterminality. Examples are based on non-focal intraterminals in the non-past and are translated – among others – with English ‘Present simple’ (i.e. but not necessarily, because *tügenmes* for example, is translated with future (ex.9)).

(13) f.146r/7–8 *anıñ hikāyetleri öz dāstānıda her yerde kēlür*  
 ‘His stories **come** in every place in his own dastan.’  
*kēl[ür]*  
*come[AOR]*

In Qādir ‘Ali beg’s *Jāmi‘ at-Tawārīḥ* ‘Compendium’ the negative *-mA-s* marker was attested in third person singular.

- (14) f.4v/10 *kim seni köre almas*<sup>7</sup>  
 ‘Those who **envy** you.’  
*kör[e al][mas]*  
*see[CONV.INTRA AUX.al-][AOR NEG]*  
*envy[AOR NEG]*

### 3.2 Postterminality

Postterminality is widely used in the ‘Compendium’. It shows events in the past that were completed up to a certain time in the past, while in the non-past, shows the relevant limit of the event before the time of speech. The minimal pairs of postterminality in ‘Compendium’ indicate Past perfect and Present Perfect, respectively.

#### 3.2.1 Postterminality in the past +PAST(+POST)

Postterminality in the past can be divided into two groups. The first one is based on the converb *-(l)p* and the past tense copula *érdi* (ex.15–16). The second group is based on past participle *-GAn* and the copula *érdi* (ex.17–18).

- (15) f.145r/3–4 *özleri bir neçe nökerleri bilen yafüb érdi*  
 ‘They (themselves) **had layed** with some companions’  
*yat[üb ér][di]*  
*lay[CONV.POST COP ér-][PAST]*

- (16) f.157v/2 *jeñgizdin bu zamānga dēg[g]eǰ ne jaqlı pādışāhlar hānlar ötüb érdi*  
 ‘Different padishahs and khans **had passed** from Genghis to this day.’  
*öt[üb ér][di]*  
*pass[CONV.POST COP.ér-][PAST]*

- (17) f.143r/1–2 *musa bile yamğurǰı bir anadın tuğ[ğ]an érdi*  
 ‘Musa and Yamğurǰı **was born** from one mother’  
*tuğ[ğan ér][di]*  
*born[PART.POST COP ér-][PAST]*

- (18) f.144v/4–5 *Bir vaqıt[da] biri hān biri beg bolub yürügen érdi*  
 ‘One of them **had been** a khan, the other one a beg in the same time.’  
*bol[ub yürü][gen ér][di]*  
*be[CONV.POST AUX. yürü-][PART.POST COP ér-][PAST]*

7 The predicate in the sentence is built by construction *-A al-* which belongs to modality and expresses possibility (Rentzsch 2015: 92). It is a language specific thing how the verb *köre almas* is expressed. In Kazakh it means ‘to envy’ (KED 2008: 416), therefore I use this translation for this verb. It is the combination *kör-* ‘to see’ and operator of modality, literally ‘cannot see’. This meaning is secondary in Turkic, and structurally it is a negative construction. However, according to Abish, the form based on a converb in *-A* and postverb *al-* ‘to take’ is an inherent property and expresses not only possibility but also ability in non-modal expressions, as it “does not correspond to the strict definition of modality used so far” (Abish 2016: 139).



### 3.2.2 Postterminality in the non-past -PAST(+POST)

Postterminality in the non-past can also be divided into two groups. The first group is expressed by the converb *-(I)p* with non-past copula *dur/turur* (ex.19). The second group is expressed by the past participle *-GAN* with non-past constructions of *dur/êrür* (ex.20–21).

(19) f.149v/4–5 *uzak çoranî ka 'ba-i šerîfge yiberib dūr*  
 'He **has sent** Uzak Chora to the holy Kaaba'  
*yiber[ib][dūr]*  
*send[CONV.POST][COP]*

(20) f.147r/6 *hajî girey sulţān kičig êkendūr*  
 'Haji Giray sultan **has been** young'  
*ê[ken][dūr]*  
*be[PART.POST][COP]*

(21) f.152v/4–5 *jağan begimdin tuğ[ğ]an êrür*  
 '[He] **was born** from Jağan begim<sup>8</sup>'  
*tuğ[ğan êr][ür]*  
*born[PART.POST COP êr-][AOR]*

### 3.2.3 Four forms of past: *-Gan êrdi*, *-Ip êrdi*, *-DI êrdi* and *-mİş êrdi*

The forms *-GAN êrdi* and *-(I)p êrdi* seem to belong to the same semantic domain, therefore may be competing forms. In the vast majority of cases *-GAN êrdi* and *-(I)p êrdi* are translated by English Past Perfect, however, there are nuances in the meaning of these constructions in Chagatay and, particular, in 'Compendium'.

The form in *-GAN êrdi* is one of the most common past tense forms in many Turkic languages. There are several definitions of this form. According to the most popular one, the form in *-GAN êrdi* is mainly used in combination with the form of the past categorical tense *-DI* and usually expresses precedence. This is basically called 'plusquamperfect' where something happened in the past, but the one in *-GAN êrdi* happened first. According to Yuldashev (1965: 168), the form in *-GAN êrdi* expresses any anteriority and refers to a completely expired action. In this case *-GAN êrdi* cannot interchange with any other forms in the past, e.g. *-(I)p êrdi*. Construction *-(I)p êrdi* itself denotes a typical single action (both one-time and repeated) (Yuldashev 1965: 188). Yuldashev also expresses some more ideas about the meaning of *-(I)p êrdi* constructions. According to his point of view, the form in *-(I)p êrdi* is a completed action by the time another action is performed, which does not necessarily indicate that the second action immediately proceeds after the first one. The form in *-(I)p êrdi* expresses the action which was happening before the eyes of the speaker (writer),

8 Begim is a title coming together with the names of sovereigns' daughters and wives (Syzdykova 1989: 75).

therefore cannot point on the long past event. In addition, *-(I)p érđi* may indicate an action that occurred literally just now (Yuldashev 1965: 191-193).

The aspect-temporal construction of (ex.18) is *bol[ub yürü][gen ér][đi]*. There is one more *[ub yürü]* unit compared to (ex.17). *Yürü-* expresses ongoing actionality (Erdal 2004: 252). So, the durative actionality in the postterminality in the past indicates continuousness together with completeness of action.

In Németh's investigation of Western Karaim language, *-(I)p edi-* was semantically very close to the pluperfect *-GAn edi-*, and to a lesser degree to the imperfect *-(<sup>o</sup>)r edi-*. Therefore, he suggested that the grammatical category in *-(I)p edi-* became redundant because of this semantic closeness of tenses and finally rarely used in Karaim (Németh 2015: 224). In our corpus *-(I)p érđi* is used much more often than *-GAn érđi*.

Lars Johanson points out that Postterminals may form language-specific oppositions with respect to the degree of focality and may be more or less focal (Johanson 2000: 120–121). Posttransformative state in *-(I)p érđi* is still prevailing at the moment of speech. That's why *-(I)p érđi* is often corresponded HF postterminality of the structure 'was in the state of having done' (Johanson 1999: 180), e.g. (ex.15) *yatib érđi* 'had layed, were layed' (initiontrasformativity) or (ex.16) *ötüb érđi* 'had passed (died), were passed (died)' (initiotransformative). While the postterminality in *-GAn érđi* is focal opposed to the construction *-(I)p érđi* representing nontransformative phase structure and LF postterminality in Kipchak languages (Johanson 1999: 178. See ex.17).

Among the viewpoint operators in 'Compendium', we can also find competing forms based on *-DI érđi* (ex.22) and *-mİš érđi* (ex.23). They correspond to the form *-GAn érđi*. These two forms are represented only in the second part, which is translated from Persian.<sup>9</sup> The forms *-DI érđi* and *-mİš érđi* are rooted into ancient forms of past tense and are not preserved in many modern languages. *-DI érđi* exists only in such modern Turkic languages as Gagauz, Turkish (Oghuz), Kyrgyz languages and in some dialects of the Tatar language (Kipchak) and *-mİš érđi* is exists only in modern Turkish and Azerbaijanian languages (Oghuz) (Yuldashev 1965: 184, 198).

(22) f.63v/2–3 *mundin ilgeri ol vaqıtta kim ođlanlarığa vaşıyyet qıldı érđi*

'Before that time [he] **had remembered** his sons in [his] will'

*[N] qıl[đi ér][đi]*

*remember in will[PART.POST COP ér][PAST]*

(23) f.122v/10–11 *toqtay oljay hātundin tuđmuš érđi*

'Toqtay **was born** from Oljay khatun'

*tuđ[muš ér][đi]*

*born[PART.POST COP ér-][PAST]*

<sup>9</sup> The Russian translation of RAD's 'Compendium of Chronicles' was used for comparing it with QAB's second, so-called translated, part of his 'Compendium'. That part which we call translated in QAB's 'Chronicle' is actually a summary of RAD's work.

### 3.3 Prospectivity

The corpus of ‘Compendium’ demonstrates prospectivity only in non-past stratum. The prospective in the past wasn’t attested in the examined corpus. But, theoretically, it is possible that such a form existed in the language in which the ‘Compendium’ is written and could express an action that was planned in the past to be accomplished for sure at a later date.

The corpus demonstrates the prospectivity by construction of verbal noun formant *-GU*, the possessive suffix, and the copula *turur*. Here the prospectivity is used to express an imminent prospective that will definitely and unconditionally take place:

(24) f.1r/2–3 *inšā allāh ta ‘ālā her qaysisīni birer faşil beyān qilgum<sup>o</sup>z turur*  
 ‘According to the God’s will, we **are about to describe** every section one by one.’  
 [N] qil[gu][m<sup>o</sup>z][turur]  
 describe[VN][POSS IPL][COP]

Another form of prospectivity is expressed by the morpheme *-Gay*. The *-Gay* marker usually matches third person optative in Turkic languages but also presents the prospective meaning. According to Bodrogligeti, “The optative forms express an action or a state the occurrence of which is desired, expected, guessed, suggested or ordered. They fall in two full paradigms with a variety of alternate forms and are very frequent. They have two tenses, the future and the past” (Bodrogligeti 2001: 196). Eckmann provides four different meaning of future-optative: 1. future, 2. wish, require or command, 3. a gnomic future-optative usually translated by English present, and 4. guess (Eckmann 1966: 160–161). Rentzsch explains that an optative in *-Gay* has developed from the old prospective and in the early Middle Turkic era the meaning of the prospective shifted to emotive (Rentzsch 2015: 188).

In the corpus of ‘Compendium’ we found two meanings of morpheme *-Gay* given by Eckmann. The first form in *-Gay* expresses the gnomic future-optative in the example (25) but not related to prospectivity. The second one in the example (26) is under our consideration.

(25) f.146r/7 *edil haddında memlük-i hājī tarhānda bolgay*  
 ‘[He] **is** [khan] on the edge of the Volga in the state of Haji Tarhan.’  
 bol[gay]  
 be[OPT][3SG]

(26) f.122v/2–3 *anīj oğlanlarin soj ayğaymiz*  
 ‘We **will say (Let us talk)** [about] his sons later.’  
 ay[gay][miz]  
 say[OPT][IPL]

Another element can be interpreted as prospective: *-(<sup>o</sup>)r bol-*. Old Turkic *-(<sup>o</sup>)r bol-* ‘become doing’ signals the transition to an intraterminal state in focus and interprets as prospectivity (Johanson 1998: 42; Danko 2019: 242). In Bodrogligeti’s

terminology, it is the optative of Aorist which expresses anticipated future (Bodrogligeti 2001: 213).

(27) 4r/2 *fath ve nuşret bilen yeter bolğay*  
 ‘It is going to be enough about the victory’  
*yet[er bol][ğay]*  
*be enough[AOR become][ OPT][3SG]*

Prospectivity can also be expressed by the simple Aorist marker  $-(^{\circ})r$  (Danka 2019: 242). According to Abish, the Aorist marker  $-(^{\circ})r$  indicates prospectivity with a meaning of epistemic possibility (Abish 2016: 59). Thus, (ex.28) containing the Aorist  $-(^{\circ})r$  expresses the prospectivity:

(28) 146r/7–8 *anıñ hikāyetleri öz dāstānıda her yerde kélür*  
 ‘His stories might come in every place in his own dastan.’  
*kél[ür]*  
*come[AOR]*

## Conclusion

This paper is an attempt to give a grammatical analysis of viewpoint operators. According to all above-mentioned, we can conclude that the finite verb forms in Qādir ‘Ali beg’s ‘Compendium of Chronicles’ is written in a narrative discourse type predominantly in the past. The non-past finite forms are more limited. The competing forms of postterminality  $-(I)p\ \text{êrdi}$  and  $-GAn\ \text{êrdi}$  are extended by  $-DI\ \text{êrdi}$  and  $-mİş\ \text{êrdi}$  which correspond to the form  $-GAn\ \text{êrdi}$ . The inventory of finite verb forms can be considered as complete, except prospective in the past, which is not attested in the corpus.

The difference between postterminal constructions in the past, the focality degrees at the time of speech, aspectual and actional meanings are the most problematic in the corpus of finite verbal constructions and they need a more detailed and careful investigation, which will be the next step for the future research. It is also necessary to extend the investigation to the non-finite verbal constructions in Qādir ‘Ali beg’s ‘Compendium of Chronicles’.

## Abbreviations

1PL	first person plural
3SG	third person singular
AOR	aorist
AUX	auxiliary verb
CONV.INTRA	intraterminal converb

CONV.POST	postterminal converb
COP	copula
INTRA	intraterminal
N	noun
NEG	negation
OPT	optative
PART	participle
PAST	past tense
POSS	possessive
POST	postterminal
PRO	prospective
PRS	present tense
VN	deverbal noun

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„Se<sup>c</sup>ādetlü mekremetlü meveddetlü dōstum” –  
Anredeformeln der christlich–osmanischen Korrespondenz  
vom Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts

Hajnalka Tóth

Die Diplomatiegeschichte steht heutzutage im Mittelpunkt des geschichtlichen Interesses, wobei bezüglich der Frühneuzeit die Untersuchungen der diplomatischen Beziehungen mit dem Osmanischen Reich – sowohl in der türkischen als auch in der internationalen Historiografie eine überragende Rolle spielen. Die Erforschung der habsburgisch–osmanischen und ungarisch–osmanischen diplomatischen Beziehungen nimmt einen bedeutenden Platz auch in der zeitgenössischen ungarischen Geschichtsschreibung ein. Ihre Hauptsegmente sind einerseits die Geschichte der ungarisch–osmanischen und habsburgisch–osmanischen Friedensschlüssen, die Erforschung und Veröffentlichung ihrer Dokumente;<sup>1</sup> andererseits die Untersuchung der Aktivität verschiedener Gesandtschaften, Botschafter, Dolmetscher und die Darstellung des institutionellen Systems.

Auf der osmanischen Seite ist Osman Aga aus Temeschwar (ung. Temesvár, rum. Timișoara, ROM) heute der einzige bekannte Dolmetscher, der gewiss türkischer Abstammung war. Der Aga, der sich im ersten Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts betätigte, überlieferte wertvolle schriftliche Quellen der Nachwelt. Von seinen Werken ist seine Autobiografie das bekannteste, die in mehrere Sprachen übersetzt wurde. Dieses autografische Manuskript, das sich heute im British Museum in London befindet (MS. Or. 3213), wurde in den Werken über osmanische Geschichtsschreiber erwähnt,<sup>2</sup> aber es wurde tatsächlich während der europäischen osmanistischen Forschungen des 20. Jahrhunderts entdeckt. Die Autobiografie wurde im Jahre 1954 von Richard Franz Kreutel und Otto Spies in deutscher Übersetzung,<sup>3</sup> dann später mit ausführlicherem Anmerkungsapparat im Jahre 1962 herausgegeben.<sup>4</sup> Die deutschen Ausgaben veran-

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1 Die Mitglieder der Forschungsgruppe für Osmanischen Zeitalter der Ungarischen Akademie der ELKH (Loránd-Eötvös-Forschungsnetzwerk) – SZTE (Universität Szeged) beschäftigen sich unter der Leitung des Professors Sándor Papp mit der ungarisch–osmanischen und habsburgisch–osmanischen Friedensschlüssen bis 1739. (<http://hist.bibl.u-szeged.hu/mta-szte/kutatocsoport/>)

2 Rieu 1888, 73–74; Babinger 1927, 249. Vgl. Kreutel 1980, vii–viii, xi–xii. – Das Manuskript ist auch heute im British Museum zu finden.

3 Kreutel–Spies 1954.

4 Kreutel–Spies 1962. Vgl. Kreutel 1980, xii; Tolasa 1986, 2.

lassten einen auch zum Übersetzen der Autobiografie ins Türkische: sie wurde im Jahre 1961 von Mehmet Şevki Yazman auf Türkisch als eine Übersetzung des deutschen Werks vom 1954 herausgegeben.<sup>5</sup> Die deutsche Ausgabe vom 1962 wurde 1971 von Esat Nermi auf Türkisch abgedruckt.<sup>6</sup> Ebenfalls wurden Auszüge/Ausschnitte der deutschen Ausgabe vom 1962 im Jahre 1983 ins Rumänisch,<sup>7</sup> und das ganze Werk 1996 ins Ungarische übersetzt.<sup>8</sup>

Kreutel gab die Autobiografie im Jahr 1980 in arabischer Schrift und in Standardschreibweise mit wissenschaftlichem Apparat heraus<sup>9</sup> und im Einleitungsaufsatz analysierte er zudem ausführlich die paläographischen und sprachlichen Besonderheiten des Manuskripts.<sup>10</sup> Fast gleichzeitig zu diesem Werk, jedoch unabhängig davon, wurde die türkische Ausgabe von Harun Tolasa fertiggestellt, in der Tolasa die deutschen und türkischen Ausgaben mit dem originalen osmanischen Text verglich. Dieses vielleicht unbeendete Buch wurde drei Jahre nach dem Tod Tolasas, im Jahre 1986, herausgegeben.<sup>11</sup> Sein Wert wird durch die Tatsache erhöht, dass die französische Übersetzung aus diesem Werk angefertigt wurde.<sup>12</sup>

Osman Aga fertigte auch ein anderes ähnliches, titelloses Prosawerk an, in dem es von seiner Arbeit als Diwandolmetscher und Diplomat im habsburgisch-ungarisch-osmanischen Grenzgebiet handelt. Sein originales Manuskript befindet sich heute in der Handschriftensammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (im Folgenden: ÖNB, Cod. Mixt. 657.), das ebenfalls von Kreutel und seinem Kollegen, Friedrich Kornuth, im Jahre 1966 auf Deutsch herausgegeben wurde.<sup>13</sup> Von dieser Ausgabe wurde auch die ungarische Übersetzung im Jahre 1996 gemacht.<sup>14</sup> Wegen seiner sehr speziellen und lokalen Thematik ist dieses Werk bis heute weder auf Türkisch noch auf anderen Sprachen erschienen.

Für die Experten ist auch ein unvollendetes Manuskript von Osman Aga unter dem Titel *Tārīḥ-i Nemçe* bekannt, das er über die Geschichte der Deutschen schrieb, und das sich heute in Istanbul befindet.<sup>15</sup> Kreutel schrieb Osman Aga sogar eine titellose

5 Yazman 1961; Yazman 1962. – Das Werk wurde 1963 von Yazman in der Zeitschrift *Hayat* unter dem Titel *Bir Yeniçerin Hatıraları* veröffentlicht. Vgl. Kreutel 1980, xii; Tolasa 1986, 2.

6 Nermi 1971. Von dieser Übersetzung existieren noch mehr Auflagen.

7 Holban–Alexandrescu–Dersca Bulgaru–Cernovodeanu 1983, 67–73.

8 Oszmán aga 1996, 23–150.

9 Kreutel 1980.

10 Die Analyse siehe: Kreutel 1980, xi–xxviii. – Neulich wurde die sprachliche Analyse von Ekrem Čaušević durchgeführt, um bezüglich der ethnischen Wurzeln des Agas Behauptungen formulieren zu können. Aus seiner Untersuchungen schloss er, dass der Aga bosnischer und/oder kroatischer Abstammung sei (Čaušević 2018).

11 Tolasa 1986, Vorderseite.

12 Hitzel 2001.

13 Kreutel–Kornauth 1966. Vgl. Tolasa 1986, 22; Hitzel 2001, 210.

14 Oszmán aga 1996, 151–225.

15 Kreutel 1980, xi. Vgl. Bánkúti 1996, 19; Hitzel 2001, 210. – Arzu Meral schrieb darüber, dass es ein deutschsprachiges Werk über die Geschichte Österreichs zwischen 800 und 1600 sei (Meral 2013, 123.) Vgl. Tolasa 1986, 22. Fußnote 22). Dieses Werk wurde von Özgür Gürlek

Schrift zu, die von der Lebensgeschichte der osmanischen Sultane und Großwesire der Zeitspanne zwischen 1699 und 1718 erzählt.<sup>16</sup> Sowie tauchte die Autorschaft von Osman Aga auch bezüglich einer Briefsammlung Namens *Münşe'ât* (ÖNB Cod. Mixt. 174.) auf, die sich in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien befindet,<sup>17</sup> und die Kopien des diplomatischen Briefwechsels in Bezug auf die Ereignisse der Jahre 1644 und 1645 enthält.

Ein Manuskript befindet sich in der Orientalischen Handschriftsammlung des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs, das nach seiner ersten Zeile (*Hezā kitāb-i inšādur-ki*) *Kitāb-i İnşā* bezeichnet ist (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Orientalische Handschriften (im Folgenden: ÖStA HHStA OHSch), Kt. 9. Nr. 125., im Folgenden: *İnşāA*). Dieses Manuskript enthält diplomatische Briefwechsel und Relationen vom Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts, das die Historiker nach Kreutel als ein Werk von Osman Aga erachten. Dieses Manuskript gehörte zu der ehemaligen Handschriftsammlung der Konsularakademie, worauf auch der Eintrag auf der Innenseite des Umschlags des Manuskripts hindeutet.<sup>18</sup> Tolasa zählte sogar eine andere titellose Schrift zu den Werken von Osman Aga, die zu den oben erwähnten Schriften sehr ähnlich ist und mit dem gleichen Satz anfängt (*Hezā kitāb-i inšādur-ki*). Diese Schrift befindet sich heute in der Handschriftsammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB Cod. Mixt. 175., im Folgenden: *İnşāB*).<sup>19</sup> Kreutel und Spies erwähnten auch dieses Manuskript im Jahre 1962,<sup>20</sup> aber Kreutel schrieb darüber im Jahr 1980 nicht mehr. Im Rahmen eines größeren Projekts befasste ich mich mit dem Verhältnis der beiden *İnşā* zueinander, mit ihrer Transliteration und mit der Verarbeitung ihres Inhalts als historische Quellen.<sup>21</sup> Anhand der Untersuchung beider *İnşā* stellte sich heraus – obwohl *İnşāB* kein Autograf, sondern eine zeitgenössische Kopie ist –, dass beide Manuskripte auf derselben Schriftsammlung basierten, welche Osman Aga aus Temeschwar besessen oder aber auf welche er zugegriffen konnte. Die Dokumente beider *İnşā* können nicht bloß für Schemabriefe/Musterbriefe gehalten werden, weil die im Text vorgekommenen namhaften Offiziere/Würdenträger und die verschiedenen Angelegenheiten wohl in den geschichtlichen Kontext eingebettet werden können. Osman Agas andere Prosawerke, die Kopien von Briefen enthalten,

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transkribiert und er hat auch seine Diplomarbeit darüber angefertigt, siehe: Gürlek 2018.

16 Kreutel 1980, xi.

17 Tolasa 1986, 22. Fußnote 22; Bánkúti 1996, 19. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass die Signatur der Briefsammlung in beiden Stellen falsch angegeben ist. – Über die Manuskripte *Münşe'ât* und *İnşā* siehe: Papp 2017.

18 Kreutel–Spies 1961, 14; Kreutel 1980, xi; Tolasa 1986, 22. Fußnote 22; Bánkúti 1996, 19. Vgl. F. Molnár 2008, 111. Fußnote 345: „Eine Sammlung von Briefen, Relationen und andere Dokumenten, welche sich sämtlich auf Grenzangelegenheiten zwischen Österreich und der Türkei beziehen, von den Jahren 1112 (1700), 1113 (1701) bis 1136 (1723)“. Vgl. Krafft 1842, 37.

19 Tolasa 1986, 22. Fußnote 22.

20 Kreutel–Spies 1962, 14. Die Autoren behaupteten, falls dieses Manuskript nicht von Osman Aga selbst zusammengestellt wurde, könnte es in seinem Besitz gewesen sein, „woraus einer Namenseintragung auf dem letzten Vorsatzblatt schließen läßt“.

21 Über dieses Thema siehe noch: Tóth 2021, passim.

können auch diesen Standpunkt bestätigen. Die vom Ordner der Bibliothek im 18. Jahrhundert auf den inneren Umschlag eingetragene Notiz des Manuskripts *İnşāA*, deutet darauf hin, dass die Dokumente der habsburgisch–osmanischen und ungarisch–osmanischen Beziehungen damals Interesse beanspruchten: „Sammlung von Dokumenten auf Österreich–türk. Grenzangelegenheiten bezüglich“. Diese Manuskripte wurden jedoch bisher als historische Quellen nicht benutzt.

Die Frage der Autorschaft Osman Agas stellte sich unter einigen Forschern bezüglich einer Schrift, nämlich *Tercümānlara lāzım baʿz-ı mükāmeler*, welche eigentlich als eine „Gesprächsanleitung“ für Dolmetscher diente, und eine Abschrift davon befindet sich heute in British Library (Ms. Or. 7294.). Es kann auch die Autorschaft des Agas unterstützen, dass das vorbenannte autobiografische *İnşāA* ebenso diese Zusammenstellung für Dolmetscher beinhaltet (ÖStA HHStA OHSch, Kt. 9. Nr. 125. fol. 72r–96v).<sup>22</sup> Das Manuskript *İnşāA* geriet gemäß der Inschrift auf dem äußeren Umschlag im Jahre 1756 in die Sammlung der Kaiserlich–königliche Akademie für Orientalische Sprachen: „A. d. C. R. Academiam Ling. Orient. 1756“. Die Akademie wurde von der Königin Maria Theresia (1740–1780) gegründet,<sup>23</sup> so wurde das Werk relativ früh ein Teil der Sammlung. Es ist bekannt, dass sich der Aga irgendwann als Dolmetscher neben dem kaiserlichen Residenten in Konstantinopel betätigte. Das dem Aga zugeschriebene Manuskript konnte aus zweierlei Aspekten interessant und nützlich für die habsburgische Diplomatie gewesen sein: einerseits wegen der Dokumente der Angelegenheiten und Verwaltung am Grenzgebiet, andererseits konnte man die „Gesprächsanleitung“ bei der Dolmetscherausbildung der Akademie benutzen. Der erste und größere Teil der „Gesprächsanleitung“ wurde in einer dialogischen Form geschrieben, am Ende kann man zwölf Beispiele dafür finden, welche Anredeformeln (*Elkab*) die osmanische beziehungsweise kaiserliche Offiziere im diplomatischen Schriftverkehr gebührten.

Das von Tolasa erwähnte Manuskript *İnşāB* folgt der Struktur des Manuskripts *İnşāA*:<sup>24</sup> sein erster Teil ist eine Briefsammlung, die größtenteils mit dem autographischen *İnşāA* übereinstimmt;<sup>25</sup> der zweite Teil hat keinen eigenen Titel und besteht aus 16 Seiten (ÖNB Cod. Mixt. 175. fol. 27v–30v, 51r–55r), und es ist dort vom Zusammensteller die im damaligen diplomatischen Schriftverkehr verwendeten Anreden und Titel (insgesamt 32 *Elkab*) aufgezählt. Hier befinden sich auch drei undatierte Briefe, welche eindeutig als Musterbriefe betrachtet werden können.

Im Folgenden werden die Entstehungsumstände der im Manuskript *İnşāB* befindlichen *Elkab*formeln untersucht und ihre Transkription in lateinischer Schrift veröffentlicht. Dank Lajos Fekete verfügt die internationale Osmanistik seit Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts über ein Handbuch, in dem vom Autor die wichtigsten Merkmale

22 Die Vergleichung beider Texte wurde von G. Meredith-Owens durchgeführt (Kreutel 1980, vii, xi).

23 Über die Vorgeschichte der Dolmetscherausbildung siehe: Kerekes 2010b, 91; Kerekes 2010a, 103. und 103. Fußnote 40.

24 Das Manuskript ist schlecht gebunden.

25 Darüber ausführlich siehe: Tóth 2021, passim.

der osmanischen diplomatischen Schriften mit zahlreichen Beispielen zusammengefasst wurden.<sup>26</sup> Auf den Spuren von Fekete wurden schon bedeutende Werke auch in der türkischen Geschichtsschreibung zum Thema publiziert.<sup>27</sup> Die Anrede, d. h. *Inscriptio* oder *Laqab* (Plural *Elkab*), ist ein bedeutender Bestandteil der osmanischen Urkunden. Es hängt davon ab, dass der Ausfertiger der Urkunden der Sultan selbst, oder ein zentraler Würdenträger war, beziehungsweise der Adressat ein muslimischer Würdenträger höheren oder niedrigeren Rangs oder aber ein christlicher Herrscher war, konnten die Anredeformeln sehr vielfältig sein. Die *Elkab*formeln im Fall von muslimischen Untertanen wurden zur Zeit des Sultans Mehmed II. (1451–1481) in seinem Gesetzbuch festgelegt.<sup>28</sup> Trotzdem fand auch Fekete zahlreiche Modifikationen und Änderungen der Phrasen oder Glieder der *Elkab*formeln auf, *Elkab* für christliche Herrscher waren ebenso Ergebnisse neuer Entwicklung.<sup>29</sup> Je höher das Amt des Adressaten war, desto mehr Glieder hatten *Elkab*, und in den *Elkab* für höhere Beamte benutzte man zudem arabische und persische Formeln. Im offiziellen Briefverkehr der zentralen Würdenträger sahen die Anredeformeln oft ähnlich aus, die in den sultanischen Urkunden vorkamen, aber sie waren kürzer.<sup>30</sup> In den offiziellen Briefen der „Beamten mit außerordentlichen Befugnissen“ (zum Beispiel ein Pascha im Rang eines Wesirs) befinden sich auch die für Akten/Dokumente der Zentralstellen charakteristische Formeln, und ebenso deren vereinfachte und kürzere türkische Varianten.<sup>31</sup> Im letzten Teil einer Anrede stand der Name und Rang oder das Amt des Adressaten.<sup>32</sup>

Nachstehende *Elkab* des Manuskripts *İnşāB* fangen ohne Titel oder Einführung an, es steht lediglich eine Spezifizierung vor den Anreden darüber, wann und unter welchen Personen sie benutzt wurden. Dagegen kann man im *Elkab* enthaltenden Teil des Manuskripts *İnşāA* den folgenden Satz lesen: *iki devlet beyninde birbirlerine mektüblar yazduqlarında | üzerelerine yazıla[n] pāyelerdür beyān eder*.<sup>33</sup> Der Zusammensteller des *İnşāB* sonderte die Anreden von anderen Texteinheiten nicht ab, sie bilden trotzdem eine selbständige Einheit. Am Anfang kann man etliche Anreden aus der Korrespondenz zwischen dem heiligen römischen Kaiser (*nemçe çāsārı*) und der Hohen Pforte lesen: die Anredeformel des Briefs vom Kaiser an den Sultan – im Beispiel an Sultan Mehmed (*Mehemmed*, 27v–28r) –, dann kommt die Anrede des an den Kaiser (*Liyöpöldūs*)<sup>34</sup> abgesandten Majestätsbriefs (*nāme-yi hümāyūn*, 28r–28v), und dann die Anrede des Briefs vom Kaiser an einen unbenannten Großwesir (28v).

26 Fekete 1926.

27 Siehe: Gökbilgin 1992; Kütükoğlu 1994.

28 Fekete 1926, XXIX–XXXI. Vgl. Gökbilgin 1992, 59; Kütükoğlu 1994, 101.

29 Fekete 1926, XXXII.

30 Fekete 1926, XLIII.

31 Fekete 1926, XLVII.

32 Im Fall der untätigen Würdenträger wurde der Name des Begs oder Kadis nicht mehr angegeben. Fekete 1926, XXXIII.

33 ÖStA HHStA OHSch Kt. 9. No. 125. fol 94v.

34 Leopold I (1658–1705)

Darauf folgt die Anrede des Briefs von einem höheren kaiserlichen Beamten an den Großwesir Ahmed Pascha (28v),<sup>35</sup> danach kommt die Anredeformel eines Briefs vom Großwesir an einen kaiserlichen Kommandanten (*ğenerāl*, 29r). Das heißt, dass es sich um die höchste Stufe des diplomatischen Schriftverkehrs handelt. Im Vergleich zum Werk von Fekete über Diplomatie kann man beobachten, dass es hier konventionelle – bisweilen einfachere und türkische – Anredeformeln gibt. Auch in den Anreden in *İnşāA* kommt diese höhere Stufe vor, aber dort stehen Beispiele nur für die schriftliche Kommunikation zwischen dem Großwesir und dem kaiserlichen Kommandanten zur Verfügung.<sup>36</sup>

Der Verfasser nahm die Beispiele der nächsten Einheit aus der Korrespondenz zwischen Beamten im habsburgisch-osmanischen Grenzgebiet. Hier sind die ersten zwei *Elkab* die Anrede des Briefs vom Pascha in Niš an den kaiserlichen Kommandanten in Belgrad (29r) und die von dessen Beantwortung (29r–v). In diesem Manuskript – unter den Musterbriefen nach der *Elkab* – befinden sich auch zweimalige Briefwechsel zwischen dem Pascha in Niš und dem Kommandanten in Belgrad (54r–56r), in denen der Pascha „Hağgi Mustafa“ heißt, der mit Topal Mustafa Pascha identifiziert werden kann.<sup>37</sup> Die *Elkab*formeln müssen aus der Korrespondenz des Paschas herausgenommen worden sein. Ihre Inhalte sind zwar sehr ähnlich, aber es handelt sich nicht gerade um die Anreden jener Briefe. Unter den *Elkab* des Manuskripts *İnşāA* findet man auch Anreden aus dem Briefwechsel zwischen dem Pascha in Niš und dem Kommandanten in Belgrad,<sup>38</sup> aber diese sind nicht dieselben Dokumente, sondern nur sehr ähnlich denen. Meiner Meinung nach könnte die interessanteste Frage sein, warum die Beispiele aus der Korrespondenz des Paschas in Niš mit dem Kommandanten in Belgrad stammen.

Die folgenden *Elkab* knüpfen sich ebenfalls an das Grenzgebiet: die Anrede des Briefs von Pascha in Vidin an den Kommandanten in Siebenbürgen (29v), die Anrede des Antwortbriefs vom Kommandanten in Siebenbürgen an den Pascha in Vidin (29v–30r), (30r) *Elkab* des Briefwechsels zwischen dem Pascha in Vidin und dem Kommandanten in Orschowa (30r). Unter den Dokumenten von *İnşāA* befindet sich die Kopie eines Briefs von dem Kommandanten in Siebenbürgen an den Pascha in Vidin, der vom 21. April 1723 datiert wurde. Anhand der Datierung (falls sie richtig ist), war der Kommandant in Siebenbürgen zu dieser Zeit Joseph Dominik Lothar Graf von Königsegg-Rothenfels, und der Pascha in Vidin war damals Mustafa Pascha.<sup>39</sup> Ebenda gibt es zweimaligen Briefwechsel zwischen dem Pascha in Vidin und zwei

35 Ahmed Pascha ist nicht identifizierbar.

36 ÖStA HHStA OHSch Kt. 9. No. 125. fol. 94v–95r.

37 Über Topal Pascha siehe: Özcan 2012a. – Der Kommandant von Belgrad kann zur Zeit nicht identifiziert werden.

38 ÖStA HHStA OHSch Kt. 9. No. 125. fol. 95r–v.

39 ÖStA HHStA OHSch No. 125. fol. 71r–v. Über Joseph Dominik Lothar Graf von Königsegg-Rothenfels siehe: Seewann 1972. Über Mustafa Pascha siehe: Kılıç 2017, 73.

verschiedenen Kommandanten in Orschowa.<sup>40</sup> Auch unter den im Mansukript *İnşāA* aufbewahrten Anredeformeln gibt es einige, die zum Schriftverkehr zwischen Vidin und Orschowa gehören, obwohl dort nicht der Pascha in Vidin, sondern ein Aga der Janitscharen und ein *Turnacıbaşı* ‘Kranichwärter-Oberst’<sup>41</sup> erwähnt wurden.<sup>42</sup> Die *Elkab* stimmen miteinander nicht ganz überein, aber es ist offensichtlich, dass diese Exempel aus derselben Quelle stammen.

Im Folgenden kommen einige sich ebenso an die Grenze knüpfenden *Elkab*: die Anreden des Briefwechsels zwischen dem Pascha in Bosnien und dem Kommandanten in Esseg (Osijek, 30r–v, 30v), die Anrede des Briefs von Pascha in Bosnien an den Ban von Kroatien (30v, 51r). Auch in der Briefsammlung des Manuskripts *İnşāB* sind Briefwechsel zwischen den vorbenannten Beamten von 1722 und 1724, in diesen Jahren war der Pascha in Bosnien der spätere Großwesir, Muhsinzade Abdullah Pascha, und der Ban von Kroatien war damals János Pálffy.<sup>43</sup> Obwohl der Verfasser in diesem Fall sinnverwandte Formeln benutzte, wiederholte er nicht die Anreden der ursprünglichen Briefe bei der Veröffentlichung. Der größte Unterschied ist im Fall der Anrede des Bans von Kroatien zu beobachten. Im originellen Brief steht: *qidvetü l-ümerā’i l-milleti l-mesîhiye ümdetü l-küberā’i t-tā’ifeti | n-naşrāniye hālā Hırvāt bāni olan hürmetlü ri’āyetlü | dōstumuz hutimet °avāqibuhu bi-l-ḥayr qıblına* (48v–49r), und in der *Elkabsammlung* kann man das Folgende lesen: *hālā Rōmā imparāṭōri çāsār bā-veqār ḥazretlerinüñ | ḡāniblerinden Hırvāt vilāyetinüñ ḥākimi ve bāni olan | [51r] şadāqatlu meveddetlü ri’āyetlü qoñşu ve dōstumuz bān hutimet | °avāqibuhu bi-l-ḥayr qıblına* (30v, 51r). Das erste Zitat enthält konventionelle persische Formeln und im zweiten Text wird türkische Formulierung benutzt. Das Manuskript *İnşāA* beinhaltet keine hinsichtlich dieses Themas relevanten Anreden und Briefe.

In der folgenden größeren Einheit sind die in der Korrespondenz zwischen den osmanischen Beamten und den europäischen Residenten oder Ambassadeure an der Pforte benutzte *Elkab* zu finden: die Anreden des Briefwechsels zwischen dem Pascha in Niš (Topal Osman Pascha) und dem kaiserlichen Residenten, Josef Dirling<sup>44</sup> (51r, 51r–v); vom Residenten angewendete Anreden an den Reis-ül Küttab (*re’isü l-küttāb*, 51v), an den Hauptdefterdar (*baş defterdār*, 51v), an den Hauptdolmetscher der Pforte

40 ÖStA HHStA OHSch No. 125. fol. 65v–66v, 67r–68r; 69r–70r, 70r–71r. Die Datierungen dieser Briefe (falls sie richtig sind) sind aus dem Jahre 1723 und 1724. Aufgrund dessen musste der Pascha von Vidin ebenso Mustafa gewesen sein, aber die Kommandanten von Vidin sind derzeit nicht identifizierbar.

41 Über die *Turnacıbaşı* siehe: Özcan 2012b, 428; Fodor 1989, 74.

42 ÖStA HHStA OHSch Kt. 9. No. 125. fol. 96r–v.

43 Den Briefwechsel zwischen dem Pascha in Bosnien und dem General von Esseg siehe: fol. 21v–23r, 23r–25v; 25v–26v, 26v–27v. Über Muhsinzade Abdullah Pascha siehe: Feridun Emecen: Abdullah Paşa, Muhsinzâde. TDV İA Cilt Ek 1. 8–10. Über Maximilian Ernst Anton Freiherr von Petrasch siehe: Wurtzbach 1870, 105–106; Schmidt-Brentano 2006, 75. – Den Briefwechsel zwischen dem Pascha in Bosnien und dem kroatischen Ban siehe: fol. 48v–50r, 50v, 21r–v. Über János Pálffy (1704–1731) siehe: Horváth 2018, 119.

44 Über Josef Dirling Habsbrug-Resident (1719–1728) siehe: Spuler 1935, 341.

(*qapu terğümāni*, 51v–52r), an den Kul Kethüdası<sup>45</sup> (52r), und die Anrede vom Kul Kethüdası an den kaiserlichen Residenten (52r), die Anrede vom Hauptdolmetscher an den kaiserlichen Residenten (52v); die Anreden vom Residenten an den Mautner (52v) und den Woiwode von Galata (52v–53r). Mit diesen verknüpfen sich noch drei Beispiele aus der Korrespondenz an der Grenze: die Anreden des Briefwechsels zwischen dem Dolmetscher in Vidin und dem Dolmetscher in Siebenbürgen, Alvis Wolde,<sup>46</sup> (53r), und die Anrede vom Mautner in Vidin an den Mautner in Orschowa (53r–v). Es sind keine sich mit ihnen verknüpfenden Briefe in beiden *İnşā* aufzufinden. Aber Beispiele für Anrede zwischen dem Dolmetscher in Vidin und dem Dolmetscher in Siebenbürgen befinden sich auch unter den *Elkab* des Manuskripts *İnşāA*.<sup>47</sup>

In der letzten Einheit folgen die *Elkab* der Briefe vom Wesir Kethüdası (*vezīr kethüdāsı*, ‘Geschäftsträger des Großwesirs’) an die diplomatischen Vertreter Englands, Moskau, Venedig und von den Niederlanden: die Anrede für den englischen (53v), den französischen (53v) und den niederländischen Residenten (53v–54r), den venezianischen Bailo (54r–v) und den moskowitzischen Residenten (54v).<sup>48</sup> Dieser Teil verknüpft sich offensichtlich mit dem alltäglichen diplomatischen Verkehr an der Pforte, und die Beispiele unterstützten natürlich die Arbeit der Dolmetscher. Da konkrete Namen keines der Beispiele enthalten sind, kann der Entstehungsdatum dieser *Elkab* nicht festgestellt werden.

Die *Elkab*formeln der beiden *İnşā* betreffen verschiedene Stufen des diplomatischen Verkehrs zwischen der christlichen und osmanischen Seite. Im Manuskript *İnşāB* sieht man wesentlich mehrere Beispiele und auch die Anzahl der hierarchischen Stufen und geografischen Orten erweiterten sich. Die *Elkab*formeln der Herrscher zeigen, dass der Verfasser nicht nur in der Korrespondenz des Grenzgebiets, sondern auch in der an der Pforte erfahren war – er musste sich also auch in Konstantinopel betätigt haben. Mit diesem Zeitraum verknüpfen sich die *Elkab* aus der Korrespondenz des kaiserlichen Residenten und die vom Wesir Kapukethüdası benutzten Anreden im Fall der ausländischen diplomatischen Vertreter. Aber der erhebliche Teil der Exempel kommt aus der habsburgisch-osmanischen Grenze und er ist sehr spezifisch.

Wie es oben erwähnt wurde, halten die Historiker das Manuskript *İnşāA* für eine autografische Handschrift Osman Agas aus Temeschwar, so kann auch die mit derselben handgeschriebenen „Gesprächsanleitung“ als sein Werk betrachtet werden. Obwohl das *İnşāB* kein autografisches Werk ist, kann anhand seines Inhalts, wie auch die *Elkabsammlung* mit dem Aga verbunden werden. Es scheint logisch zu sein, dass

45 Der Kul Kethüdası gehörte zum Janitscharenkorps und er war im 17. Jahrhundert im gleichen Rang als Janitscharen-Aga an der Pforte, darüber siehe: Özcan 2019.

46 Über Alvis Wolde siehe: Kerekes 2004, 1225–1226.

47 ÖStA HHStA OHSch Kt. 9. No. 125. fol. 96v.

48 Die Erwähnung des französischen Residenten fehlt im Satz vor dem Anreden, aber es befindet sich unter den Beispielen.



die Beispiele aus der Korrespondenz der in denjenigen Grenzgebieten agierende Beamten stammen, welche Grenzgebiete zur Kompetenz Osman Agas gehörten. Er sammelte sie anhand eigener Erfahrung, Kenntnisse und Dokumente zusammen, in denen er selbst beteiligt gewesen war.

Es wurde in der Fachliteratur akzeptiert, dass Osman Aga, nachdem das kaiserliche Heer Temeschwar und Belgrad besetzt hatte (1717), für eine Weile in Vidin Dienst leistete, dann zog er nach Konstantinopel und schon am 18. Mai 1724 wohnte er im Bezirk Tophane.<sup>49</sup> Dies kann durch die Tatsache unterstützt werden, dass der letzte Brief in der Schriftsammlung des Manuskripts *İnşāA* vom 9. Mai 1724 datiert wurde (fol. 71r–v). Im Gegensatz dazu schrieb Christoph von Penkler (1700–1774) – kaiserlicher Dolmetscher und Diplomat – in seiner Finalrelation vom Jahre 1761 über Osman Aga (*Osman Efendi*), dass er „in der Zeit von 1720 bis 1726 in Konstantinopel mein Lehrer in den orientalischen Sprachen gewesen war“.<sup>50</sup> Das bedeutet, dass der Aga schon vor 1724 in Konstantinopel verweilte. Aber sowohl das autographische *İnşāA* als auch *İnşāB* enthalten Briefwechsel vom Jahre 1722,<sup>51</sup> 1723<sup>52</sup> und auch vom Jahre 1724.<sup>53</sup> Laut dieser Daten ergeben sich die folgenden Fragen: Mochte Osman Aga mit diesen Briefen überhaupt etwas zu tun gehabt, oder aber mochte er vielleicht später Zugang zu ihnen gehabt? Stimmt vielleicht die Datierung der Briefe nicht? Bei den früher datierten Briefen kommen auch unrichtige Daten vor – aber es kann daraus folgen, dass die Dokumente nachträglich kompiliert wurden. Penklers Relation wurde ebenso Jahrzehnte nach den Geschehnissen geschrieben. Zurzeit ist es nur anhand Penklers Gedächtnis bekannt, dass Osman Aga zwischen 1720 und 1726 sein Lehrer war, er hätte inzwischen an das Grenzgebiet zurückkommen können. Um diese Frage klären zu können, wären weitere Angaben notwendig. Der in beiden *İnşā* erwähnte Dolmetscher in Vidin, wessen Briefwechsel mit dem Kommandanten in Orschowa sich erhalten blieb, muss Osman Aga gewesen sein.<sup>54</sup>

Ebenfalls kann man in der Finalrelation von Penkler lesen, dass sich Osman Aga seit 1726 als Dolmetscher des Schachbenders Ömer Aga in Wien betätigte, aber er verließ die Stadt irgendwann nach 1727, und er zog nach Vidin „zum dortigen Gouverneur Topal ‘Osman Paşa, der sein guter Patron war“.<sup>55</sup> Dem Aga war es nur in dem Fall möglich, den Pascha als sein Patron betrachten zu können, indem sie sich vorher gekannt hatten. Topal Osman Pascha wurde Pascha von Bosnien im Jahre 1720, danach war er von 1721 bis 1727 Beylerbey ‘Statthalter’ von Rumelien und

49 Kreutel–Spies 1962, 13; Kreutel 1980, 98; Tolasa 1986, 227.

50 Wurm 1992, 168. Vgl. Gezer 2018, 82. Über Penkler siehe: Wurm 1992, 155–158.

51 ÖNB Cod. Mixt. 175. fol. 48v–50v, 21r–v.

52 ÖStA HHStA OHSch Kt. 9. No. 125. fol. 65v–69r.

53 ÖStA HHStA OHSch Kt. 9. No. 125. fol. 69r–71v; ÖNB Cod. Mixt. 175. fol. 21v–25v. (Es wird die undatierte Musterbrief nicht erwähnt.)

54 Elkab im *İnşāA* siehe: ÖStA HHStA OHSch Kt. 9. No. 125. fol. 96v. Den Briefwechsel siehe: Ebd. fol. 66v–67r, 68r–69r.

55 Wurm 1992, 171.

Pascha von Niš, später wurde er zum Gouvernement in Bosnien, bald zur Leitung des Sandschaks Nikopol und dann im Oktober 1728 zum Pascha von Vidin ernannt, und er wurde in 1729 wieder Beylerbey von Rumelien und Bosnien. Der Pascha erhielt im September 1731 den Posten des Großwesirs.<sup>56</sup> Anhand der Dienstorten des Paschas scheint es, als gäbe es Überlappungen mit den in der *Elkab* befindlichen Dienstorten der dort erwähnten Beamten, die sich in den Grenzgebieten aufhielten. Im Fall des Paschas von Niš, wie es erwähnt wurde, kennt man auch den Namen (fol. 29v).<sup>57</sup> Der Dienstzeit des Paschas in Niš und Rumelien fiel aber zwischen 1721 und 1727, in welcher Zeitspanne der Aga sich laut Penkler in Konstantinopel aufhielt. Er wurde im Oktober 1728 Statthalter von Vidin ernannt, was mit dem Datum von Verlassen Wiens übereinstimmt. Die sich im Manuskript *İnşā* befindenden Briefe vom Pascha in Vidin wurden in 1723 und 1724 datiert, in welchen Jahren Mustafa Pascha den Posten des Paschas von Vidin bekleidete.<sup>58</sup> Es konnte gewesen sein, dass sich der Aga auch in 1723 und 1724 in Vidin betätigen konnte, und weil Vidin zum Vilayet Rumelien gehörte, konnte er in Verbindung mit Topal Osman Pascha getreten haben. Unter den *Elkab* des Manuskripts *İnşā* befindet sich eine Anrede für den Aga in Nikopol,<sup>59</sup> welche Stadt auch im demselben Gebiet liegt. In Bezug auf die Beispiele aus der Korrespondenz vom Pascha in Bosnien gab es bisher keine Ergebnisse. Die Dienstorte des Agas betreffend kann man anhand derzeitigen Angaben keine exakte chronologische Reihenfolge zusammenstellen, aber seine Bekanntschaft mit Topal Osman Pascha ist offenbar. Laut Penklers Finalrelation blieb der Aga im Dienst des Paschas auch nach dem Jahre 1728, in welchem Jahr der Pascha zum Großwesir ernannt wurde. Der Aga folgte ihm nach Konstantinopel, obwohl er die Stelle des Schachbenders in Wien erlangen können hätte.<sup>60</sup> Die letzte Angabe über den Aga ist sein im Juli 1732 wieder von Vidin an Penkler geschriebener Brief<sup>61</sup> – er kehrte nämlich an das habsburgisch–osmanische Grenzgebiet zurück.

Bezüglich des Agas Aufenthaltes in Konstantinopel ist es festzustellen, dass er sich entweder zwischen 1720 und 1726 (obwohl es wegen Mangel an weiteren Angaben ungewiss ist), oder zwischen 1724 und 1726 an der Pforte aufhalten konnte, aber er war dort sicherlich. (Ob er auch zwischen 1717 und 1722 dort war, ist es jedoch fraglich. Warum gibt es eigentlich keinen Brief in beiden *İnşā* aus dieser Zeit aufzufinden?) Der Aga hatte die Möglichkeit, auch eine Einsicht in die Praktik der Korrespondenz an der Pforte zu nehmen. Die Wirkung seiner neben dem kaiserlichen Residenten leisteten Arbeit wird dadurch sichtbar, dass sich die Anreden aus der

<sup>56</sup> Özcan 2012, 244–245.

<sup>57</sup> Vö. ÖStA HHStA OHSch Kt. 9. No. 125. fol. 95r.

<sup>58</sup> ÖStA HHStA OHSch Kt. 9. No. 125. fol. – In der türkischen Historiografie wird ein Mustafa Pascha 1723 erwähnt, der zum Sandschakbey von Vidin ernannt wurde, aber es gibt keine andere Angabe über ihn. İnbaşı 2015, 57.

<sup>59</sup> Die Anrede für den Aga von Nikopol befindet sich unter der *Elkab* des Manuskripts *İnşā*, siehe: ÖStA HHStA OHSch Kt. 9. No. 125. fol. 95v.

<sup>60</sup> Wurm 1992, 172, 176–177.

<sup>61</sup> Wurm 1992, 184.

Korrespondenz des Residenten unter den *Elkab* des Manuskripts *ĪnšāB* einen bedeutenden Platz einnehmen. Während der Aga die Sprachknaben lehrte, wie Penkler schrieb, hätte er mit der Zeit selbstverständlich das Zusammensammeln und Veröffentlichung der *Elkab*formeln betrachtet. Es ist auch vorstellbar, dass er mit der Anfertigung der untersuchten Manuskripte offiziell (für Geld) beauftragt wurde. Es scheint auf jeden Fall, als wäre *ĪnšāB* die spätere Kompilation.

Die *Elkab* und ihre Benutzung können nicht nur mit vielen Informationen über die Praxis des habsburgisch–osmanischen schriftlichen Verkehrs beitragen, sondern sie können auch zur Erkenntnis des Lebenswegs vom Verfasser und zum Verstehen des Verhältnisses der zwei *Īnšā* zueinander näherbringen. Aber natürlich viele Fragen warten noch darauf, im Weiteren beantwortet zu werden.

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## Appendix

Kitāb-i İnşā (Ausschnitt)  
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Mixt. 175. fol. 27v–30v, 51r–54r.

- [27v] **devlet-i ʿosmāniyye ile nemçe çāsarı beylerinde baʿz-ı pāye | ve mektüb üsti ne yüzden tahrīr olunur zikr olunur** | evvelā Rōmā imparātōri tarafından pādīšāh-ı ālī | ʿOsmān ḥalladallāhu<sup>62</sup> ebbeduhu devletuhu ḥazretleri tarafına yazıldığı | vaqitlerde ekseriyyā lisān-ı laṭīn üzere tahrīr olunur | [28r] ammā yine bu minvāl üzere gelür ḥālā selāṭīn zemān | ve ekrām ve ḥavāqīn-ı devrān Mekka ve Medīne ve quds-i šerīf | ve Aq ve Qara deñiz ve Rūmeli ve Anaṭōli velāyetlerinde vāqʿi | memālikü l-mesālikūn pādīšāhi olan ševketlü | ʿazīmetlü qudretlü dōstumuz sulṭān Meḥmed ḥān<sup>63</sup> | ḥazretlerinüñ ḥuzūr-i seʿādet-meʿālā mevfūrlarına vuşul | bi-l-ḥayr
- devlet-i ʿāliyyeden Rōmā imparātōri tarafına giden nāme-i | ḥümāyūnlaruñ üzerinde yazılan payedür zikr olunur** | iftiḥārü l-ümerāʿi l- ʿazimi l-ʿiseviye | muḥṭārü l-qüberāʿi l-fihām | min el-milleti l-mesīhiye muşliḥu meşāliḥi ḡemāhīrū ṭ-ṭāʿifeti | n-nāsrāniyye şāḥib ü ezyāʿil el-ḥaşmet ve-l-veqār şāḥibü | delāʿil elmeḡd ve-l-iftihār ḥālā Rōmā imparātōri Liyōpöldüs<sup>64</sup> | [28v] birinḡi ḥatemellāhu<sup>65</sup> teʿālā ʿavāqibuhu bi-l-ḥayr qıblına vuşul bula
- Rōmā imparātōri tarafından devlet-i ʿāliyyenüñ şadr-nişīn-i | vezīr-i ʿāzama yazılan nāmenüñ pāyesi ve üsti böyle yazılır** | ḥālā devlet-i ʿosmāniyyenüñ şadr-nişīn ve destūr-ü | mükerremi ve serdār-ü müḥeddemi<sup>66</sup> müşīrūn mufahḥamı olan ʿizzetlü | ve seʿādetlü muḥibb-i dōstumuz filān pāşā ḥazretlerinüñ | ḥuzūr-i seʿādet-mevfūrlarına vuşul bula
- devlet-i çāsariyyenüñ baş vekili tarafındañ devlet-i ʿāliyede | vezīr-i ʿāzama yazdıqları vaqit mektüb yāḥūd nāme üzerine | böyle yazarlar ḥālā devlet-i ʿāliyyenüñ şadr-ı ʿāzamı | ve serdār-i ekremi ve müşīr-i efḥemi olan şāḥib-i devlet | ʿizzetlü ve seʿādetlü ḥürmetlü dōstumuz şadr-ı ʿāzam Aḥmed pāşā<sup>67</sup> | ḥazretlerinüñ ḥuzūr-i seʿādet-mevfūrlarına vuşul bula**
- [29r] **şāḥib-i devlet<sup>68</sup> ḡānibinden Rōmā imparātōrünüñ baş vekili olan | ḡenerāle yazılan nāme üzerine pāyeleri böyle yazılır** | qidvetü ümerāʿi l-milleti l-mesīhiye ʿümdetü l-küberāʿi ṭ-ṭāʿifeti l-ʿiseviye | ḥālā Rōmā imparātōrünüñ serdār-i ekremi ve müşīr-i efḥemi ḥürmetlü | riʿāyetlü meveddetlü filān ḡenerāl ḥutimet ʿavāqibuhu bi-l-ḥayr qıblına | vuşul bula

62 Im Manuskript steht der Buchstabe ʿ (h) anstatt des Buchstaben ḥ (h).

63 Das heißt vielleicht: Mehmed IV (1648–1687).

64 Leopold I. (1658–1705)

65 Im Manuskript steht der Buchstabe ʿ (h) anstatt des Buchstaben ḥ (h).

66 Es ist eine unsichere Lesart.

67 Ahmed Pascha kann nicht identifiziert werden.

68 Das bedeutet: der Großwesir.

- Niř muhāfızı tarafından Belgrād ğenerāline yazılan nāmenüñ üzerine | böyle yazılır** | hālā Rōmā imparātōri tarafından Belgrād qal°esi muhāfazasına | me'mūr olan hürmetlü şadāqatlu ri°āyetlü dōstumuz filāñ | ğenerāl hutimet °avāqibuhu bi-l-ḥayr qıblına vuşul bula
- Belgrād muhāfızı ğenerāli tarafından Niř pāşasına yazılan | mektūblaruñ üzerine böyle yazılır** | [29v] hālā devlet-i °ālīyeden Niř muhāfazasına me'mūr olan vezir-i | rüßen hürmetlü şadāqatlu haqıqatlu dōstumuz °Osmān pāşā | ḥazretlerinüñ ḥuzūr-i mevfurlarına vuşul bula
- Vidīn muhāfızı [...] pāşā tarafından Erdel ğenerāline yazılan | mektūbları pāyesidür** | hālā Rōmā imparātōri ğenerāllerinden Erdel muhāfızı olan | hürmetlü ri°āyetlü rağbetlü dōstumuz filān ğenerāl | hutimet °avāqibuhu bi-l-ḥayr qıblına vuşul bula
- Erdel ğenerāli tarafından Vidīn pāşasına yazılan | mektüb üstidür** | hālā devlet-i °ālīyenüñ intihā-i ḥudūdı olan Vidīn | qal°esi muhāfızı hürmetlü şadāqatlu meveddetlü qadīm dōstumuz | pāşā-yi ğelilü ş-şān ḥazretlerinüñ ḥuzūr-i | [30r] °ālilerine vuşul bula
- Vidīn muhāfızı tarafından İrşova qomandāni ğānibe yazılan mektüb pāyesidür** | hālā intihā-i ḥudūd-i çāsārīye olan İrşova qal°esi | qomandāni olan şadāqatlu meveddetlü ri°āyetlü dōstumuz filān | oberst qıblına vuşul bula
- İrşova qomandāni tarafından Vidīn pāşasına giden mektüb | üsti ve pāyesidür** | hālā Vidīn qal°esi muhāfızı olan hürmetlü rağbetlü meveddetlü | qoñşu dōstumuz pāşā-yi ğelilü ş-şān ḥazretlerinüñ | ḥuzūr-i °ālilerine vuşul bula
- Bōsna muhāfızı tarafından Ösek ğenerāline yazılan | mektüb pāyesi yāḥūd üstidür** | hālā çāsārī bā-veqār ḥazretleri tarafından Ösek | [30v] qal°esi muhāfazasına me'mūr olan haqıqatlu meveddetlü | ri°āyetlü qoñşu dōstumuz ğenerāl Petrāş<sup>69</sup> hutimet °avāqibuhu | bi-l-ḥayr qıblına vuşul bula
- Ösek ğenerāli tarafından Bōsna muhāfızı pāşāya | yazılan mektūbuñ üstidür** | hālā devlet-i °ālīyenüñ Bōsna muhāfazasına me'mūr | olan muḥabbetlü hürmetlü ri°āyetlü qoñşu dōstumuz | pāşā-yi °ālīşāñ ḥazretlerinüñ ḥuzūr-i mevfurlarına | vuşul bula
- Bōsna muhāfızından Ḥırvāt bāni tarafından yazılan | mektūbuñ pāyesidür** | hālā Rōmā imparātōri çāsārī bā-veqār ḥazretlerinüñ | ğāniblerinden Ḥırvāt vilāyetinüñ ḥākimi ve bāni olan<sup>70</sup> | [51r] şadāqatlu meveddetlü ri°āyetlü qoñşu ve dōstumuz bān hutimet | °avāqibuhu bi-l-ḥayr qıblına vuşul bula
- Niř muhāfazasında<sup>71</sup> olan pāşādan āsitāne-yi | sa°ādetde olan çāsār qapu kethüdāsına yazılan | mektüb pāyesidür** | hālā āsitāne-yi se°ādetdeñ muqīm çāsārī bā-veqār | ḥazretlerinüñ qapu kethüdāsı muḥabbetlü ri°āyetlü meveddetlü dōstumuz | d'Dirlīng<sup>72</sup> qıblına vuşul bula

69 Maximilian von Petrasch, der Kommandant von Esseg

70 Das Manuskript ist schlecht gebunden, der Text wird auf dem Folio 51r fortgesetzt.

71 Topla Osman Pascha

72 Josef Dirling

**āsītāne-i se'ādetde olan nemçe qapu kethüdāsı tarafından | Nîş muhâfızı tarafına yazıldığı vaqitlerde mektüb üsti | böyle yazılır** | hâlâ intihâ-i serhadd olan Nîş muhâfazasına me'mûr | Rûmeli vâlisi vezîr-i rûşen-zamîr devletlü sa'âdetlü | [51v] mekremetlü döstumuz pâşâ-yi ğelîü ş-şân hazretlerinüñ | hużûr-i sa'âdet-mevfûrlarına vuşûl bula

**časâr qapu kethüdāsı tarafındañ devlet-i 'āliyyede | re'is efendiye taħrîr olunduğı zamân böyle yazılır** | hâlâ devlet-i 'āliyenüñ re'isü l-küttâbı olan sa'âdetlü | fazîletlü mekremetlü efendi hazretlerinüñ hużûr-i me'āla- | mevfûrlarına vuşûl bula

**časâr qapu kethüdāsı tarafındañ devlet-i 'āliyyede | baş defterdāra yazıldığı vaqitde böyle yazılır** | hâlâ devlet-i 'āliyenüñ şıqq-i evvel defterdārı | olan sa'âdetlü mekremetlü fazîletlü sulţānım efendi | hazretlerinüñ hużûr-i sa'âdet-i mevfûrlarına vuşûl bula

**časâr qapu kethüdāsı tarafındañ devlet-i 'āliyyede | [52r] qapu terğümānına böyle yazılır** hâlâ devlet-i 'āliyye | dīvān terğümānı olan hürmetlü ri'āyetlü meveddetlü döstumuz | [...] beg hużûrlarına vuşûl bula

**časâr qapu kethüdāsı tarafındañ qul kethüdāsına | yazıldığı eşnâlarda bu minvâl üzere taħrîr olunur** | hâlâ devlet-i 'āliyyede dergâh-i mu'allâ yeniçeri oğagınuñ qul | kethüdāsı olan sa'âdetlü mekremetlü meveddetlü döstumuz | aġa-yi 'ālîşān hazretlerinüñ hużûr-i mevfûrlar şoyuna | vuşûl bula

**qul kethüdāsı tarafındañ časâr | qapu kethüdāsına yazıldığı vaqit böyle yazılır** | hâlâ āsītāne-i sa'âdetde muqîm Rômā imparātōrı | qapu kethüdāları muhâbbetlü ri'āyetlü döstumuz filān hutimet | 'avāqibuhu bi-l-hayr qıblına vuşûl bula

[52v] **hâlâ devlet-i 'āliyye qapu terğümānı tarafından časâr qapu kethüdāsına | yazıldığı vaqit bu resmî pāye verirler** | hâlâ devlet-i 'āliyyede yahūd āsītāne-yi se'âdetde muqîm | časâr qapu kethüdāsı 'izzetlü raġbetlü ri'āyetlü | döstumuz sınırda filān hużûrlarına vuşûl | bula

**časâr qapu kethüdāsı tarafındañ | gümrük emînine yazıldığı vaqit böyle yazılır** | hâlâ āsītāne-i sa'âdetde gümrük emîni olan | 'izzetlü sa'âdetlü mekremetlü aġa-yi zîşān hużûrlarına | vāşıl ola

**časâr qapu kethüdā[sı] tarafındañ | Ğalaġa voyvodası aġaya yazıldığı vaqitde böyle yazılır** | hâlâ āsītāne-i sa'âdetde Ğalaġa voyvodası | olan 'izzetlü refā'atlu meveddetlü döstumuz aġa-yi muħterem | [53r] hazretleriniñ hużûr-i mevfûrlarına vāşıl ola

**Vidîn terğümānı Erdel terğümānına yazdığı zamân böyle yazır** | hâlâ Rômā imparātōrı časâr bā-veqār hazretlerinüñ | terğümānlarından Erdel diyārında terğümān olan hürmetlü | şadāqatlu meveddetlü döstumuz Alîvîzü Volde<sup>73</sup> hutimet | 'avāqibuhu bi-l-hayr qıblına vuşûl bula

**Erdel terğümānından Vidîn terğümānına yazılır** | hâlâ Vidîn qal'esinüñ terğümān-i dīvāñ olan | hürmetlü haqıqatlu ri'āyetlü qadîm döstum filān | aġa hużûrlarına vāşıl ola



- Vidīn gümrükçisinden İrşova gümrükçisine yazılır** | hālā Irşova qal'esinde çāsār gümrükçisi | olan muhābbetlü ri'āyetlü dōstumuz filān qıblına | [53v] vāşıl ola
- pāye-yi diğēr İngilīz ve Felemenk ve Mosqov | ve Venedik taraflarına yazıldığı zemān yine bu güne yazılır** | zikr olunur vezīr kethüdāsı tarafından İngilīz elçisine | yazıldığıda verilen payedür hālā āsitāne-yi se'ādetde | mekş üzere olan İngiltere qrālī elçisi ri'āyetlü | meveddetlü dōstumuz fālan ve filān hutimet 'avāqıbuhu | bi-l-hayr qıblına vāşıl ola
- Frānsız elçisine yazıldığı zamān** | hālā āsitāne-yi devlet-i 'āliyede mekş üzere | olan Frānça pādīşāhı elçisi hürmetlü | rağbetlü dōstumuz mārķis filān yaħūd qōnde | filān qıblına vuşul bula
- Felemenk elçisi | tarafındañ yazıldığı vaqitte böyle yazılır** | [54r] hālā Niderlānda işteti ğenerālleri ve ğumhūrları tarafından āsitāne-yi | se'ādetde olan maħşūş elçileri muhābbetlü ri'āyetlü dōstumuz | filāñ ve falāñ hutimet 'avāqıbuhu bī-l-hayr qıblına vuşul bula
- Venedik bālyosuna yazıldığı vaqit böyle taħrīr olunur** | hālā āsitāne-i se'ādetde muqīm Venedik ğumhūrı bāylosı | [54v] muhābbetlü meveddetlü dōstumuz filāñ qavalīr qıblına vuşul bula
- Mosqov qapu kethüdāsı tarafına yazıldığı vaqit böyle yazılır** | hālā āsitāne-yi se'ādetde muqīm Mosqov çārı qapu kethüdāları | muhābbetlü ri'āyetlü dōstumuz filāñ qıblına vāşıl ola



## Insights from the Inside: An Old Uyghur Register and the Administration of the Mongol Empire\*

Márton Vér

The Old Uyghur documents offer insights into daily life along the eastern Silk Roads and the administrative structures of both the West Uyghur State (mid-9<sup>th</sup> to mid-12<sup>th</sup> centuries) and the Mongol Empire (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries). Since they are quite difficult to read because of the cursive style of writing used in them and since they have only been preserved in fragments, publishing these documents has been a rather slow and incomplete process – particularly in comparison to the Old Uyghur religious texts, which are more numerous, although also easier to read. Fortunately, publications in recent decades (SUK) along with some recent (Moriyasu 2019; Vér 2019a) and forthcoming (Matsui) editions will have made some of the important Old Uyghur documents accessible for the broader academic community. However, not many pieces of the numerous Old Uyghur lists and registers have been published so far, even though they are very important. The catalogues in the Berlin Turfan Collection, which are available online as well, offer a fine example (Raschmann 2007, 2009).<sup>1</sup> If we also take into account the Arat Estate materials (Raschmann & Sertkaya 2016), we arrive at the following numbers: only eight of the 38 official registers (ca. 21%) had been published by 2019, while only 27 of the 142 private lists (ca. 16.9%) were in

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\* I have chosen this topic for the present paper for two reasons. One, I was a student at the Department of Altaic Studies, University of Szeged, where Éva taught us some of the most complicated subjects, such as Altaic historical linguistics. The way she presented these challenging topics, which were indeed the backbone of the curriculum, seemed somehow enjoyable and easy to learn. To be honest, I continue using her examples from these classes in my seminars even today. The topic of this study is quite similar to the complicated subjects Éva used to teach us: it deals with highly fragmented sources that are difficult to read. Still, it is worth pursuing because of the sense of reward felt when reaching the potential outcome of the research. Two, the first version of this paper was presented at the Sixth International Conference on the Mediaeval History of the Eurasian Steppe held in Szeged in 2016. Éva's feedback and encouragement at the time greatly helped me to further my research on the topic. Now I would like to present the outcome of these efforts in her *Festschrift* with heartfelt thanks and in the hope that she will like the result.

1 Both catalogues are available for download in PDF format at: <https://doi.org/10.26015/adwdocs-682> and <https://doi.org/10.26015/adwdocs-590> (last access: 25 Feb. 2021).

print by that year.<sup>2</sup> With the publication of the critical edition of two official and seventeen private lists tied to the Mongol imperial postal system (Vér 2019a: 145–197), the situation has changed somewhat, but there is still a considerable number of registers waiting to be published.<sup>3</sup> A seminal article by Sir Gerald Clauson (1971) demonstrated long ago how greatly an in-depth analysis of a single list can contribute to our historical knowledge. Furthermore, the example of the Ottoman *Defter* Studies demonstrates how a systematic analysis of official registers can contribute to the flourishing of an entire field of research. The present paper aims to show the significance of research into Old Uyghur lists through a philological and historical analysis of a register.

This recently published register (Vér 2019a: 145–154, OReg01) was recorded within the postal relay system of the Chinggisid Empire (Turk.: *yam*; Mong.: *jam*) and contains a list of the so-called short-distance horses (*kusga at ötiği*).<sup>4</sup> The present analysis will shed new light on the lowest administrative level of the *jam* system in the Chaghadaid *ulus* and the daily practices related to the functions of the postal system.

### Description of the manuscript<sup>5</sup>

The manuscript in question forms part of the Depositum of the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften) in the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin). The text is written in a cursive form of the Uyghur script which is difficult to read, and it is preserved on two separately glazed fragments: the first 36 lines are on Ch/U 8175 v, and the last 16 lines are on Ch/U 6512 v.<sup>6</sup> The quality of the paper is semi-coarse, and its colour is middle brown. Ch/U 8175 v is 13.7 cm long and 22.5 cm wide, while Ch/U 6512 v is 13.5 cm long and 11.8 cm wide. The recto side of the manuscript contains a Chinese Buddhist text and a list of different quantities of *böz* (i.e. a piece

2 Before World War II, Reşid Rahmeti Arat studied and worked in Berlin, including at the Berlin Turfan collection, where he took numerous photographs of the documents preserved there. Moving back to Turkey before the war broke out to take a position at Istanbul University, he took his photo collection with him. The destruction or loss of so many pieces in the collection during the conflict left the Arat Estate the only source of these unique documents.

3 This marked the very first time one of the official registers and twelve of the private ones were published. For a classification of Old Uyghur documents, see Vér 2019a: 47–53.

4 Previously, the difference between the forms *ötüg* ‘request, memorial to a superior’ and *ötig/ödüg* ‘register’ was not always considered in the scholarly literature (cf. Clauson 1972: 51a), but recently the different meanings have been recognised (Moriyasu 2004a: 100, 103 fn. 132).

5 See, also Raschmann 2007: 205–206, No. 202.

6 The facsimiles of the manuscripts are available via the Digital Turfan Archive (<http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/>) at [http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/ch\\_u/images/chu8175verso.jpg](http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/ch_u/images/chu8175verso.jpg) and at [http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/ch\\_u/images/chu6512versototal.jpg](http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/ch_u/images/chu6512versototal.jpg) (last access: 28 Feb. 2021)

of cotton cloth also used as a currency) written between the lines of the Chinese text.<sup>7</sup> The register under discussion has been preserved on the verso side of the manuscript.

Based on the features and circumstances described above, we can draw two conclusions. One, that the paper for the manuscript was re-used suggests that paper was a precious material that was scarce in the region. This claim is substantiated by the fact that numerous other manuscripts currently in the Turfan Collection had been similarly re-used: they have a Chinese (usually Buddhist) text on one side and an Uyghur text on the other or in between the lines of the Chinese text.<sup>8</sup> Two, it can be assumed that our register of short-distance horses on the verso side was written later than the Chinese Buddhist text on the recto side, but earlier than the Uyghur list of *bōz* which is preserved between the lines of the Chinese text.

The text lists horses provided for different people, also enumerating the names of those who supplied them. The beginning of the document is unfortunately missing, but the dating (which is provided in day and month format) is continuous throughout the text. Based on the dates and writing styles used, the manuscript can be divided into two parts: part one (from line 1 to the first quarter of line 4; from the second word of line 10 to the middle of line 12; and lines 19 to 52) was written between day 21 of the 6<sup>th</sup> month and day 4 of the 7<sup>th</sup> month, while part two (from the second quarter of line 4 to the first word in line 10; and from the middle of line 12 to line 18) was added in smaller letters on or around the first two days of the 8<sup>th</sup> month. Judging by the difference in writing styles, the two parts were either written by different hands or by the same hand with different writing implements. It must also be noted that a slight difference in writing style can be detected in the last section of the manuscript as well, between lines 19 and 33 and lines 34 and 52: while the handwriting continues to remain the same, the style of the script changes as of line 34. Ultimately, this survey of the dates and writing styles may thus provide an explanation for the unchronological order of the lines (Matsui 2012: 122 n. 1) and help us to reconstruct the text as it was written in the original time sequence.

There is a ca. 0.4–0.5 cm wide margin at the top of each page. There is only one exception to this (line 31), where the title of the Uyghur ruler *idok kut* (Arat 1964) begins immediately at the top of the page without a margin, while the following two lines (32–33) were indented below the margin by the scribe.<sup>9</sup> A special feature of the script is that the strokes of the last words in the lines are usually quite long, possibly to fill in the line and thus prevent later additions.

7 On the varying usage of *bōz* in the Old Uyghur documents, see Raschmann 1995.

8 The proportion of Chinese and Uyghur texts is significant within the Old Uyghur documents. 249 of the 686 catalogued documents at the Berlin Turfan Collection have Ch/U signatures. Only 13 of these texts are official documents, suggesting that even though paper was a precious material which was sometimes difficult to obtain, the administrative system was usually supplied with it. Most of the private documents fall within the group of miscellanea (72) and of lists and registers (42) (Raschmann 2009: 319–341).

9 This feature is called an “honorific lift” by Clark and was intended to express respect for members of the Uyghur ruling family or the Chinggisid lineage (1975: 435).

The translation of the register<sup>10</sup>

“[...] 2-3Of the two[hor]ses for [...]TW, to go to Kočo, Čapat (provided) one horse and Tükälä (provided) on[e] 4horse.

10-11[The hor]se for Altmış, which was taken into account as a part of the *ulag* tax, (was) p(rovided) in accordance with the practice of/from Yohanan.<sup>11</sup> Second new day. For T// 12*Kitay* (provided) one horse.

19On the 21<sup>st</sup> day of the sixth month. Register of the short-distance horses: 20For Uladay, Bačak (provided) one horse; for Ali, Sävinč 21Toyın (provided) one horse; for Korči *daruga* [...] (provided) 22-23one horse.

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> day. For Korč[1 *daruga*], Atay Ky-a (provided) one (horse).

On the [2]4<sup>th</sup> day. [Of the] 24three [horses] for [...] *elči* to go to Yemši 25Kudık-a (provided) one, Sävig one and Eš T[ämır one] 26-27horse each.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> day. Of the three horses [for] Sombuz *elči* to go to Yemši, T[...] (provided) 28one, Altmış one and Sävinč Toyın [one horse]. 29For Bay Buka, Tayšeŋ (provided) o[ne horse]. 30For Käräy, Atay Ky-a (provided) one (horse).

On the [2]7<sup>th</sup> day. 31For the *ıdok kut* Kudık-a (provided) one, Sävig o[ne...] 32horse p(rovided). Eš Tämir (provided) one horse. *Saduk* / [...], 33Toyın-a one horse, Bačak one [horse.] 34-35For Käräy Sävinč Toyın (provided) one horse.

On the 2[8<sup>th</sup> day]. For *Buyan-a* Ky-a Tayšeŋ (provided) one [...], 36and Atay Ky-a one horse.

[On the] 29<sup>th</sup> day[...] 37to [...] /W [...] 38horse. For Togugan [...] 39one horse. For Taŋuday / [...] 40Tayšeŋ (provided) one horse, At[ay Ky-a...]

<sup>10</sup> Since the critical edition of the manuscript was recently published and the length of the contributions for this volume was strictly enforced, this study only includes the English translation of the text, albeit with some revisions (cf. Matsui 2021), and comments to facilitate a proper understanding. For the transcription and a detailed commentary, see Vér 2019a: 145–154. The translation is a reconstruction that reflects the chronological order in which the lines were written, based on the writing styles and dates presented in the document. The numbers in the subscript refer to the numbers of the lines as they appear in the manuscript.

<sup>11</sup> *at altmışka ulagka tutup yohanan yaŋınča b* This sentence is peculiar and differs from the otherwise unified structure of and formulas in the document. It probably concerns the first four lines of the text and the ones that may have preceded them but unfortunately have not been preserved. Most probably, it is a kind of summary or explanation of the conditions for the payment of tax. In the Uyghur documents from the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries, the word *ulag* referred to any kind of livestock that was either used by or the property of the Mongol imperial postal system, but in this case it most probably refers to a type of tax. Either way, the use of *ulag* seems to confirm that this register was written in connection with the imperial postal system. The expression *el yaŋınča asıǵı birlä* ‘according to the custom of the country together with interests’ appears numerous times as a formula in Uyghur loan contracts (cf. SUK II: Lo12, Lo13, Lo14 and Lo29). According to SUK, the word *yaŋ* ‘custom, manner, method’ derives from the Chinese *yang* 樣 (SUK II: 300). Both people here (Altmış and Yohanan) are identified as taxpayers later in this text. Their mention in this sentence might refer to a special status they maintained among taxpayers.

<sup>41</sup>On the 30<sup>th</sup> day. For Togugan KW[...] (provided) one, and <sup>42</sup>[Sä]vig one horse. For Tanjuday Eš <sup>43</sup>Tämir (provided) one, and Toyin-a one horse. For Töläk <sup>44-45</sup>(to go) to Yar, Bačak (provided) one horse.

On the first new day of the seventh month. For Togugan Sävinč Toyin (provided) on[e], <sup>46</sup>and Tayšeñ one horse. For Soñday, Atay Ky-a (provided) [one.]

<sup>47</sup>The second new day. For Togugan Bagluz (provided) one, <sup>48</sup>and Sävig one horse. For Soñd[ay] Čapat <sup>49</sup>(provided) one (horse).

The third new day. [For] Toug[gan...]WN Tükälä (provided) <sup>50</sup>one, and Intu one. For Soñday Kulunči (provided) on[e.]

<sup>51</sup>The fourth new day. For Togugan Kitay (provided) one, and Bag[luz] <sup>52</sup>one (horse). For Soñday Sävig (provided) one horse.

<sup>4</sup>[Of the] six hor[ses] for Kıdatay *elči* to go to Kočo, <sup>5</sup>Intu (provided) one, Kulunči one, Kitay one, Kasar o[ne...] <sup>6</sup>Amrak Ky-a one and Eš Tämir one horse.

<sup>7</sup>On the 29<sup>th</sup> day. For Sadı, Čapat (provided) one horse.

<sup>8-9</sup>On the first new day of the eighth month. Of the two horses for Torči to go to Kočo, Tükälä (provided) one and Intu o[ne horse.]

<sup>12</sup>On the second [new day]. For *Tarıgči* <sup>13</sup>[...]Amrak Ky-a (provided) [...], Kitä one horse. <sup>14</sup>For [ ]Y Čapat (provided) one, [Tükä]lä one and Intu <sup>15</sup>[o]ne horse. For the document creator [...], *Oros* (provided) one <sup>16</sup>*ulag*-horse. (From the) four (horses for) the thousand chiefs and for the *bägs* to go (to) Kočo /// <sup>17</sup>Yohanan (provided) one, Bagluz one, Sävig one, Takıčuk one, <sup>18</sup>Mısır one.”

## The textual analysis of the document

Line 19 of the register provides the clue for the interpretation of the document: *altınč ay bir otuz-ka kısğa at ötig[i]* ‘‘Register of the short-distance horses up to the 21<sup>st</sup> (day of) the 6<sup>th</sup> month’’. In the Uyghur documents, both *uzun* ‘long’ and *kısğa* ‘short’ horses are mentioned. These adjectives refer to the distances the horses could reach; thus, an *uzun at* was a horse for long-distance travel, while a *kısğa at* could be used for short-distance journeys. One more expression falls within this group of phrases, namely *tüli at* ‘middle(-distance) horse’, which appears in a text that is among the five administrative orders in the Mongol period (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries), unearthed at the Bezeklik Caves near Turfan (Matsui 2009: 340–341; Vér 2019a: 84–90 [PO13–17]; Vér 2019b: 192–202).<sup>12</sup> Based on this, a three-tier classification of the horses within the postal system can be reconstructed on the basis of the distance they were able to travel. Relying on the available data and toponyms found in the documents, I attempted to calculate the approximate distance of the range of the *kısğa ats* in my PhD dissertation. I have found that it was ca. 27.5 kilometres, which corresponds to

<sup>12</sup> The documents were unearthed in October 1974 and are held in the Turfan Museum under museum number 74TB60–3-6. For further information on the manuscripts, see Li & Matsui 2016: 68–69.

information found in various narrative sources, as they usually state that the average distance between two postal stations was around 30 kilometres (Vér 2016: 82–83).<sup>13</sup>

The next problem associated with the text concerns the practice of dating. Some phrases in the text are helpful in determining the date of the manuscript. The cursive style of the script and the term *daruga* (line 21) allow us to place the text in the Mongol period (Moriyasu 2004b: 228–229). Furthermore, the appearance of the title *idok kut* may help us to determine a more precise time frame. In the second half of the 1270s, the Uyghur ruler, Kočkar *idok kut*, moved his court from Bešbalık to Kočo (Chin. Gaochang 高昌) and then to Kamıl (modern Komul, Chin. Hami 哈密); soon afterward, his successor Ne'üril was moved by Qubilai to Yongchang 永昌 in Gansu (see Map). From then on, the ruling family of the Uyghurs was in exile and thus practically unable to affect the fate of their homeland. There was only one interlude, as, shortly before his death (1318?), Ne'üril re-captured Kočo for a short period (Allsen 1983: 254–255, 259–260). A Mongol document (G 120) in the St. Petersburg Collection from 1339 (Clark 1975b), issued in the name of Yisün Temür (1338–1339), also mentions the *idok kut* of Kočo (*zqočo-yin iduqud-ta*), but this time he seems to have been appointed by the Chaghadaid ruler (Kara 2003: 28–30). These data and the mention of the title *idok kut* suggest three possible dates for the manuscript: the 1270s or a bit later, around 1318 or around 1339.

The next question is the place where the manuscript was prepared. Only three toponyms occur in the document as possible destinations for people who used the postal relay service. These localities are Kočo (mentioned four times), Yemši (two times) and Yar, i.e. Yarkhoto (once). Yemši has recently been identified as Chin. Yancheng 鹽城 (Matsui 2015: 292). All three localities were situated in the vicinity of Turfan, i.e. modern Turfan. Yar was situated about ten kilometres to the west of Turfan. Kočo and Yemši lay to the southeast and southwest of Turfan, respectively, along the main east-west road. The distance between the two latter towns was around 60 kilometres by road. Based on the average distance between the postal stations in the *yam* system (ca. 30 kilometres), the estimated range of the *kusga ats* and the locations of Kočo and Yemši, I assume that the postal station where this register was written was situated somewhere midway between these two localities, probably in the immediate vicinity of Turfan.

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13 On the various pieces of information gained from narrative sources on the distances between the postal relay stations and the pace of travel within the *yam* system, see Vér 2016: 45–46.





A brief survey of the beneficiaries (i.e. the people who received the horses) and the number of horses provided yields some further information that is of interest (see Table). In general, when the beneficiaries are identifiable, they are either officials – such as *elči* ‘envoy, official’ or *bitig etgüči* ‘document creator’, which probably refers to some kind of administrator – or dignitaries, for example, *daruga* (Vásáry 2015: 255–256), thousand chiefs (*mıñlar*), members of the nobility (*bäglär*) and even the Uyghur ruler, *idok kut*, mentioned above. He was reported to have received six horses at the station, which was the highest number of horses any one person received according to the document. Only one other person was granted so many horses, a certain Kıdatay *elči*, who travelled to Kočo (*akıdatay elči-kä kočo-ka bargu altı a[t-ta]*). The thousand chiefs and the *bägs* only received five horses altogether.<sup>14</sup> These numbers suggest that Kıdatay *elči* (who is not mentioned in other sources) must have been a high-ranking officer or he was on a highly important mission, probably together with a small retinue.

Another interesting group of travellers is one that contains the returning guests at the postal station. The traveller who appears most frequently is a person by the name of Togugan, who came to the station every day between the 29<sup>th</sup> day of month 6 and the 4<sup>th</sup> day of month 7 (which was the last day for the particular month that a record was added to the list). During each of the last four days, another traveller named Sonday also figured in the record, but he was only supplied one horse every day, while

<sup>14</sup> The text says four (*tört*), but according to the enumeration thereafter, five horses were supplied to them altogether: <sub>16</sub>*mıñ-lar bäg-lär kočo[-ka] bargu tört* /// <sub>17</sub>*yoh(a)nan bir bagluz bir sävig bir takičuk bir* <sub>18</sub>*mısır bir*.

Togugan usually received two. These people might have been officers serving in the region or people in other privileged positions who were thus entitled to use the services of the relay system regularly. Other beneficiaries seem to have appeared no more than two times on the list, typically on consecutive days, which may indicate that they travelled back and forth from one of the adjacent towns, such as Yemši, Kočo or Turpan. These returning postal station guests typically received one horse per occasion, except for a certain Tañuday, who took possession of two horses two times, and Sombouz *elči*, who might have been supplied three horses twice.

The people on the other side of the relay connection, namely those who provided the horses, were equally interesting. Most notably, it is absolutely clear that even if one traveller went away with several horses, he was always only supplied one horse by the same person. For example, when the *ıdok kut* received six horses, he did so from six different people.<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile, some of the providers are mentioned several times: a person by the name of Sävig appears most frequently, six times in total. There are 15 people whose names figure at least two times in the list and only seven who supplied horses only once according to our document. In five cases, the providers of the horses cannot be identified due to damage to the manuscript. These people were likely to have been either heads or representatives of local postal households (Olbricht 1954: 71–72).<sup>16</sup>

The Chinese sources clarify that the postal station masters were responsible for the assets and animals belonging to the station under their jurisdiction. The postal households had to provide the horses, and the postmasters were required to keep a record in a register that was to be checked each month by their superiors. The horses were expected to be healthy and well-fed, and they had to be evenly used so they would not be exhausted (Olbricht 1954: 65–66, 69–70). This may explain why only one horse was supplied at a time; however, if we also take into account the value of a horse, it seems conceivable that this practice was also meant to prevent the postal households from being overburdened. Another interesting addendum to the practice of taxation is that, if the text is read in the original chronological order (as represented by the translation above), one observes that the names of the taxpayers appeared with some regularity, implying that they paid their dues at regular intervals.

15 <sup>31</sup>*ıdok kut -ka kudık-a bir sävig b[ir]* <sup>32</sup>*b at eš tämir bir at saduk /[ ]* <sup>33</sup>*toyın-a bir at bačak bir [at]*

16 Mongol rulers registered the entire population under their rule and classified households into different categories according to their contribution to the maintenance of the state: military, peasant, artisan, mining, postal and several other kinds of registered households existed. Most of our knowledge of this practice comes from Chinese sources; we thus have detailed information from this part of the empire (Allsen 2009: 147). The members of the households were assigned to aid in the upkeep of the *yam* system with their taxes and labour. Meanwhile, they were exempted from other duties. Nevertheless, due to abuses, postal households were still exploited. In China, under Yuan rule, the estimated number of postal households was 750 000, which represented ca. 6% of the entire population (Kim 2009: 37 n. 19).

Date	Lines	Name of the beneficiary (total number of horses)	Destination	Names of the taxpayers
?	2–4	[ ]/ TW	Kočo	Čapat, Tükälä
?	10–11	Altmiš		
2 <sup>nd</sup>	11–12	T//		Kıtay
	19			
21 <sup>st</sup> of the 6 <sup>th</sup> month	20	Uladay		Bačak
	20–21	Ali		Sävinč Toyın
	21–22	Korči <i>daruga</i>		
22 <sup>nd</sup>	22–23	Korči [ <i>daruga</i> ]		Atay Ky-a
24 <sup>th</sup>	23–26	[ ] <i>elči</i> (3)	Yemši	Kudık-a, Sävig, Eš Tämır
26 <sup>th</sup>	26–28	Sombuz <i>elči</i> (3)	Yemši	T[ ], Altmiš, Sävinč Toyın
	29	Bay Buka		Tayšeñ
	30	Käräy		Atay Ky-a
27 <sup>th</sup>	30–33	<i>ıdok kut</i> (6)		Kudık-a, Sävig, Eš Tämır, Saduk, Toyın-a, Bačak
	34	Käräy		Sävinč Toyın
28 <sup>th</sup>	34–36	Buyan-a Ky-a (2)		Tayšeñ, Atay Ky-a
29 <sup>th</sup>	38–39	Togugan		
	39–40	Taıuday		Tayšeñ, At[ay Ky-a]
30 <sup>th</sup>	41–42	Togugan (2)		KW[ ], Sävig
	42–43	Taıuday (2)		Eš Tämır, Toyın-a
	43–44	Töläk	Yar	Bačak
1 <sup>st</sup> of the 7 <sup>th</sup> month	45–46	Togugan (2)		Sävinč Toyın, Tayšeñ
	46	Soıday		Atay Ky-a
2 <sup>nd</sup>	47–48	Togugan (2)		Bagluz, Sävig
	48–49	Soıday		Čapat
3 <sup>rd</sup>	49–50	Togugan (2)		Tükälä, Intu
	50	Soıday		Kulunči
4 <sup>th</sup>	51	Togugan (2)		Kıtay, Bagluz
	52	Soıday		Sävig
?	4–6	Kıdatay <i>elči</i> (6)	Kočo	Intu, Kulunči, Kıtay, Kasar, Amrak Ky-a, Eš Tämır,
29 <sup>th</sup>	7	Sadı		Čapat
1 <sup>st</sup> day of the 8 <sup>th</sup> month	8–10	Torči (2)	Kočo	Tükälä, Intu
2 <sup>nd</sup>	12–13	Tarıgči		Amrak Ky-a, Kitä
	14–15	[ ]Y (3)		Čapat, Tükälä, Intu
	15–16	document creator ( <i>bitig etgüči</i> )		Oros
	16–18	thousand chiefs ( <i>miñ-lar</i> ) and <i>bägs</i> (5)	Kočo	Yohanan, Bagluz, Sävig, Takičuk, Mısır

On the basis of the formal features of this document, the secondary use of the paper and the unchronological order of the text, I can confirm that this manuscript must be a rough draft of a register kept by a postal station master on the volume and composition of traffic at his postal station located in the vicinity of Turpan, along with the obligations of the postal households assigned to him, which were to be checked monthly by the authorities.

Due to the lack of any comprehensive edition of either private or official Old Uyghur lists or registers, the general features of the form and content of this type of historical source have not yet been investigated and described at the level of precision we see with other types of documents.<sup>17</sup> In an earlier study, I suggested that this manuscript is a kind of official document because of the supposed circumstances under which the text was produced, but argued for a rather semi-official status because of its format (primarily the lack of authentication) and aim (internal use) (Vér 2019a: 36). However, if we also consider the major characteristics of official lists already catalogued,<sup>18</sup> the majority of these documents, much like the register currently under investigation, have no authentication either, i.e. no seal has been affixed to them.<sup>19</sup> In the light of this, I would reconsider my position and stress the official nature of this document.

### The register and the lower levels of the administrative system: A reconsideration

In the introduction to the edition of the Old Uyghur documents concerning the postal system of the Mongol Empire, I attempted to reconstruct the levels of administration in the Turfan region. I concluded that, the register under discussion and five other documents were issued on the lowest administrative level, i.e. they are among the archives of single postal stations. I defined the above mentioned five other documents

17 See, for example, Matsui 2014: 611–616; Moriyasu 2019: 11–13 and Vér 2019a: 23–35. I described some special groups of lists (including the register under discussion) in connection with the postal system recently (Vér 2019a: 35–40). I would like to carry on this discussion here.

18 Cf. Raschmann 2007: 70–75 (Nos. 53–58); Raschmann 2009: 40–49 (Nos. 294–307); Raschmann & Sertkaya 2016: 96 (\*U 9284 I, No. 059), 134–135 (\*U 9338, No. 105).

19 According to the Catalogues of the Belin Collection three registers affixed with a seal or *tamga* (\*U 9388, U 5894 [No. 298] and U 5312 [No. 56]). Of these, the latter may be dated to the West Uyghur period (9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries). An interesting common feature of the former two is that according to their finding signature (T III Hassa Šahri), both of them were unearthed during the third Turfan expedition in the vicinity of Turfan in a monastery complex between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> of December, 1916 (cf. [https://orient-mss.kohd.adw-goe.de/receive/KOHDOldUyghurMSBook\\_islamhs\\_00000472](https://orient-mss.kohd.adw-goe.de/receive/KOHDOldUyghurMSBook_islamhs_00000472) (last access: 21 Feb. 2021)).

as official accounts (OAcc) on the basis of their main purpose, which was to keep an account of the finances of a single postal station (Vér 2019a: 43–44).<sup>20</sup>

As has been recently pointed out, Chinese tax receipt documents of the Tang period (from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries) from the Tarim Basin usually include similar information and even offer examples of the administrative requisition order being pasted together with the receipt of fulfilment, as was also the case with three documents concerning relay in the postal system.<sup>21</sup> As has been proposed, these data may indicate the continuation of the administrative traditions of the region implemented in the Tang period (Matsui 2021: 164–165).

Without questioning the validity of these persuasive arguments and the considerable influence that the Chinese administrative tradition in use during the Tang period must have had on the Uyghur administrative system later, I would like to call attention to some crucial contemporaneous (i.e. 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> cc.) changes that might have affected the use of the types of documents in question. In other words, besides the diachronic influences, I would also consider some synchronic factors.

One of these was the introduction of the institution of the postal system inspectors (Mong.: *\*todqosun/todqayul*) no later than in 1260. Their duty was to perform regular checks on the conditions of the postal stations and the traffic within the *yam* system. An office of this type was not known to have existed under the Chinese dynasties prior to Mongol rule (Olbricht 1954: 80). Furthermore, we also know that not only were the assets of the postal stations regularly checked, but also their finances. Moreover, in the border provinces of the Yuan dynasty, such as Gansu, which neighboured the Turfan region, the inspectors were granted extensive powers and were responsible for monitoring the financial situation of the postal households and thus the operation of the relay system as well (Olbricht 1954: 69–70, 84–85). Based on these, it seems conceivable that the traditional practices (i.e. those reaching back to the Tang period) were employed under the new circumstances in a slightly modified manner.

We know several examples from the Mongol period of how imperial practices promoted the exchange and evolution of different administrative traditions. A remarkable example that influenced the postal system as well is the unification of weights and measures (Matsui 2004), while the introduction of runners in the postal service in Iran due to the reforms of Ghazan Ilkhan (r. 1295–1304) is another fine illustration of the phenomenon in question (Silverstein 2007: 160–161). The administration of the Mongol Empire in general and its postal system in particular resulted from a centuries-long exchange between various sedentary states and the nomadic peoples around them (Allsen 2010). Taking into account that the Tarim Basin

20 The shelf marks of the five documents are: \*U 9180\_Side 2/b; \*U 9255; \*U9256; \*U9258; and \*U9259. The formula in the documents can be schematized as follows (with brackets used to signify elements not attested in every document): (1) date; (2) (name of taxpayer); (3) (amount of tax paid); (4) name of tax; (5) (recipient of tax); (6) purpose of tax paid; (7) closing.

21 These documents are \*U 9180\_Side 2 / a-c. The first and last are categorized as provision orders, while the one in the middle is classified as an official account (Vér 2019a: 27, 33–35).

was always an important intercultural contact zone, I consider it conceivable that an administrative formula originating from the Tang period (i.e. issuing official receipts) was employed by the Uyghurs later on and then continued to be in use albeit in a slightly different manner even under Mongol rule. Without the aid of archaeology, it is very difficult to determine whether such documents have been preserved in private or official archives, but from our perspective the most important point to make is that the register discussed in this article, along with some other documents (whether they are identified as receipts or accounts), fell within the lowest administrative level of the postal system in the Turfan region.

## Conclusion

Based on the findings presented in the current study, it seems highly probable that the register under investigation was written as a rough draft for a report on the volume at a postal station that focused on the obligations placed on the postal households assigned to the station in the form of horses to be provided for travellers. The place of issue could be midway between Kočo and Yemši, somewhere around Turpan. The exact date of production cannot be determined, but it is probably one of the following three periods: the 1270s or earlier, around 1318 and around 1339. Based on the circumstances under which the document was supposedly prepared and the purpose it supposedly served, I suggest that it is a type of official document made for internal administrative use. Along with five other documents mentioned in the last section of this paper, this register was prepared on the lowest administrative level of the postal system. It represents an outstanding example of intercultural exchange on the administrative level within Mongol Eurasia. The identification and study of similar documents would assist us in gaining a more elaborate understanding of the history and operation of Mongol imperial administration in general.

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# Postmodern Functions of the Mirror in Hungarian and Turkish Literatures

Bariş Yılmaz

*“The inventor of the mirror poisoned the human heart.”*  
(Fernando Pessoa, *The Book of Disquietude*)

## 1. Introduction

Me and Dr. Kincses-Nagy, or ‘Eva Hoca’, as she is known among her Turkish pupils, go back many years, when we were both living in Ankara. Although at that time there was no teacher-student relationship between us, getting to know her led me to be more interested in Hungarian culture. The idea of doing a Ph.D. in Hungary, at the University of Szeged, where the great scholars of Turkology studied and taught, and the actualization of this idea, were all thanks to her. She supported me tremendously from the first day I set foot in Hungary and taught me Hungarian. Thanks to those lessons, my Hungarian has advanced enough to read Hungarian literature, teach in Hungarian, and even translate from Hungarian to Turkish. Taking these into account, I think it would be adequate to make a comparison between Hungarian and Turkish literatures in this volume prepared in honor of Eva Hoca.

In this study, I would like to scrutinize the mirror motif in some works of Hungarian and Turkish literature, particularly in the postmodern context. In view of the connotations of the mirror image associated with self, identity, subjectivism and reflective practice, I think that the analysis of this image in the shared Turkish-Hungarian framework would yield interesting results. Viktor Horvath’s novel *Török tükör* ‘Turkish Mirror’ published in 2009 and Orhan Pamuk’s *Kara Kitap* ‘The Black Book’ (1990) will be at the core of my research, but other literary texts containing the mirror image will also be discussed where necessary.

## 2. Mirror Motif in Culture, Arts, and Literature

First of all, let us start by stressing that the mirror has different connotations in Eastern and Western cultures, literatures and philosophies. In Western culture, the mirror is evaluated on the basis of its complex interplay with the ego, while in Eastern culture, the enigmatic realm that it conceals or opens into is foregrounded.

In the West, many observations have been made on the mirror and its relationship with humans, apart from the rhetorical features of the mirror in the literature. In particular, the view that art or literature is a mirror reflecting human nature was widespread. Irish playwright and critic George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950) explicitly articulated this view in *Back to Methuselah*: “Yes, child: art is the magic mirror you make to reflect your invisible dreams in visible pictures. You use a glass mirror to see your face: you use works of art to see your soul.” (1921:286). While Shaw pictured the mirror as a means of reflecting the human soul, in the widely known realistic novel by French novelist Stendhal (1783–1842), *The Red and the Black*, the novel was not only likened to a mirror, but it was implied that the novel must represent what is happening around the individual like a mirror, as Stendhal himself does: “Ah, my dear sir: a novel is a mirror, taking a walk down a big road. Sometimes you’ll see nothing but blue skies; sometimes you’ll see the muck in the mud piles along the road. And you’ll accuse the man carrying the mirror in his basket of being immoral! His mirror reflects muck, so you’ll accuse the mirror, too! Why not also accuse the highway where the mud is piled, or, more strongly still, the street inspector who leaves water wallowing in the roads, so the mud piles can come into being.” (Stendhal 1830: chap. 19 – Comic Opera)

In this way, Stendhal tried to prevent the criticism aimed towards him for depicting society in its most transparent state. If the image he gave the audience was bleak, it was because the reality was like that, but, ultimately, he did nothing but hold the mirror. Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956) also argued that choreography is indeed related to a realistic representation of people, saying that “If art reflects life it does so with special mirrors. Art does not become unrealistic by changing the proportions but by changing them in such a way that if the audience took its representations as a practical guide to insights and impulses it would go astray in real life.” (1974: 203–204)

In literature, the mirror has been used for centuries to express inexplicable circumstances related to the self in Judeo-Christian tradition. According to Weidhorn, the mirrors were put into motion to raise questions about the objects they were projecting, covering or unmasking, as well as the universal literary theme, the incompatibility between reality and appearance (Weidhorn 1988: 850). It is used as a direct source of self-knowledge, although it has induced apprehension and fear over ages in its capacity to replicate the real. The mirror concealed and maintained the essential self; it was a mental challenge to look into it, while smashing it was a sign of a bad omen (Weidhorn 1988: 851). In antiquity, the mirror was seriously debated in terms of its capacity to capture the real and irresistibly reflect it, whether as a

blessing or a curse. One of the most typical ingenious manifestations of the cynical idea that the mirror is a catalyst for the worst instincts of people, such as self-adoration and arrogance, is the Narcissus myth in Greek mythology (852). As recorded in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Conon's *Narrations*, Narcissus, after he scorns Echo and offends the Nymphs, goes by a pool of water after a tiring hunt, where he falls in love with the image he saw on the top of the water without realizing that it was merely his own reflection: "While he drinks he is seized by the vision of his reflected form. He loves a bodiless dream. He thinks that a body, that is only a shadow. He is astonished by himself, and hangs there motionless, [...] Unknowingly he desires himself, and the one who praises is himself praised, and, while he courts, is courted, so that, equally, he inflames and burns." (Ovid 2000: 402–436). He is scorched by the fire of passion in him, and finally transforms into a white flower as he understands that this love will not come true. Sir James George Frazer suggests that the Greeks believed that it was a sign of death to see one's reflection in the water, and that the water spirits would draw the reflection or soul of the person under water and leave him soulless. Myth of Narcissus points out that the origin of the myth may lie in this belief (Frazer 2009: 458).

It was Lewis Carroll (1832–1898) who had invested a different faculty in the mirror. Carroll's treatment of the mirror as a spatial layer that produces an alternate universe in *Through the Looking Glass* (1872) is inarguably exceptional. The mirror that Alice stares into is no longer a mere reflection suggesting vanity or self-adoration, but a doorway through which the spectator can pass. The realm she enters is an undiscovered alternate universe where "things go the other way", rather than possessing a metaphysical attribute embedded in theologies. Weidhorn thinks that "such a world resembles ours is hardly surprising in a culture in which biologists speak of symmetries (e.g., of the human body), astronomers of twin stars, physicists of antimatter, literary men of doppelgänger, psychologists of repetition" (Weidhorn 1988: 855). It is fair to say that Carroll was the first to try to find out what could be behind the mirror, at least in Western literature, by imagining it beyond its reflective capacities, as it entails an eerie counterpart to our world's reality.

In addition to these, Borges also refers every now and then to the mirror in his short stories. At the beginning of his famous short story, "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius", in which he imagined a universe parallel to this one, he says that he discovered the land of Uqbar at the intersection of mirrors and encyclopedias. When chattering with his friend, author Adolfo Bioy Casares, the mirror at the end of the corridor "hovers" and they notice that there is something monstrous about the mirrors that day. Bioy then quotes one of the most famous aphorisms of Uqbar related to the mirror: "Mirrors and copulation are abominable, for they multiply the number of mankind." Borges asks his friend where he encountered this "memorable epigram" and Bioy responds that it was in Uqbar entry of "The Anglo-American Cyclopedia". (Borges 1960a: "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius"). But, in fact, this epigram takes place in another story by Borges himself, entitled "Hakim, the Masked Dyer of Merv". In this story regarding a false prophet called Al-Moqanna, "The Veiled One", the same sentence

is repeated not word-by-word, but in the same vein: “The earth we inhabit is an error, an incompetent parody. Mirrors and paternity are abominable because they multiply and affirm.” (Borges 1960b: “Hakim, the Masked Dyer of Merv”). From this point of view, it can be seen that Borges utilizes the mirror as a tool for his self-reflective image. His reference to pseudo-sources, such as “Anglo-American Cyclopaedia”—not ‘encyclopaedia’, of which, it appears, that he is the author, reveals the hyper-diegetic structure of Borges’ work. Thus, the land of Uqbar, as well as the story of “Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius”, comes alive at the intersection of the self-reflective mirror and the not yet published encyclopedias. In this aspect, Orhan Pamuk’s use of the mirror is very close to that of Borges, since the mirror is often crystallized in Pamuk’s fiction for self-reflective purposes.

Apart from literature, the mirror is also seen as a vivid variable in psychoanalysis, painting or cinema. It is used as a medium to explore the depths of human subjectivity, not only with its symbolic implications, but also with its physical properties and capabilities.

French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan’s (1901–1981) one of the most famous contributions to the field is his theory of self-recognition called “the mirror stage”. According to this theory, a human child can perceive his own reflection as such in a mirror for a short amount of time, at an age where he is outwitted by the chimpanzee in functional intelligence (Lacan 2007: 94). We can consider the mirror stage in this context as an “identification”, that is, “the transformation that takes place in the subject when he assumes [assume] an image” (Lacan 2007: 95). There can also be found a link between the mirror stage of Lacan and the myth of Narcissus, as Lacan “pinpoints primary narcissism as starting in the mirror phase of the three stages of psychosexual development, where the subject becomes erotically attracted to the misrecognized perfect image” (Goscilo 2010: 288).

We may also observe how artists have used mirrors in Western painting in several ways. The use of mirrors in the composition of images has been the subject of a large body of work in the history of art. As Leonard Da Vinci once said, in early Renaissance art, there was a widespread notion that “[t]he mind of the painter must resemble a mirror, which always takes the colour of the object it reflects and is occupied by the images of as many objects as are in front.” (qtd. in Yiu 2005: 207). Renaissance painters advised that the mirror can be employed as a technical aid to provide more accurate self-portrait representations or to explore a linear perspective through it (Yiu 2005: 209). Paintings, such as Jan van Eyck’s *Arnolfini Portrait* (1434), Diego Velasquez’ *Las Meninas* (1656) or Edouard Manet’s *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (1882), all address the issue of meta-representation involving both the mirror and the artist. Here, it is worth recalling Foucault’s analysis on *Las Meninas*, which indicates that it serves as a connection between classical and modern epistemological thought in Europe because representation “can offer itself as representation in its pure form” in this painting (Foucault 1989: 18). Velasquez accomplishes this in a number of ways, including by placing the mirror in the middle of the painting. “The mirror”, for Foucault, “by making visible, beyond even the walls

of the studio itself, what is happening in front of the picture, creates, in its sagittal dimension, an oscillation between the interior and the exterior” (Foucault 1989: 12).

From the early pioneers of Soviet constructivism to the uncanny shots in the psychological dramas of Ingmar Bergman, the mirror has been used for specific applications by the directors. According to Hanich, there are two types of mirror shots in cinema: *complex* and *regular* mirror shots, each serving a different purpose. The former consciously directs our attention to the reflected object or occurrence, while the latter simply “describes” the environment without asking any questions (Hanich 2017: 131). “The mirror and its source of reflection assume a prominent role in the shot”, Hanich says, provided that “they can change the way spectators look *onto*, look *into*, and look *beyond* the filmic image, but also look at it in a puzzled or questioning way.” (Hanich 2017: 132).

Now we have a picture of how the mirror has been used or perceived in the Judeo-Christian canon of the arts. Being associated with mystery and sorcery, the mirror plays an important role in Turkish culture and literature as well, particularly in Sufi doctrines. Sufis have used the mirror image to express some of their elusive mystical thoughts. While the beauty of the spirit is stressed in Sufism, the beauty of the body, as well as decency and manners, are also cherished. God’s creations were thought to be mirrors in which Allah’s presence and manifestation could be seen. It was also believed that the mirror was a way of seeing Him, and that the purest mirror was the heart (*âyîne-i dil, mir’ât-kalb*). Allah created Adam when the world was empty, soulless, glazed, and gloomy, and the cosmos, also known as the mirror of absence, was polished thus. In this regard, just as the universe is Allah’s reflection, the human being, which is a more tangible component of the cosmos, is also His mirror (*mir’âtü’l-Hak*). Sufi poets/philosophers such as Al-Ghazali, Rumi, and Ibn Khaldun used the mirror image to explain the cleansing and enlightenment of the heart in order to prepare it for mystical knowledge (Uludağ 1991).

It is worth noting that, in contrast to the negative connotations linked to mirrors in Christian culture, the mirror is presented in a positive manner in Islamic culture. While both Rumi’s *Mesnevi* and Şeyh Gâlib’s *Hüsn ü Aşk* (Beauty and Love) deal with this aspect and interpretation of the mirror, Pamuk reinvents it in his novels, as a tool for the search for the Self. However, in Sufism, the search for the Self always implies the search for Allah, whereas in Pamuk, it is difficult to ascertain whether this is the case.

### 3. Mirror in Turkish Literature

The mirror (*âyîne*) was associated with positive signifiers in classical Turkish literature. Because of its virtues of clarity, purity, spotlessness, and two-facedness, as well as its capacity to reflect things while only casting their shadows, it was used as a *mazmun* (conventional metaphors that were reiterated over and over by *divan* poets) in *divan* literature (Pala 1991). One of the *divan* poets who placed a heavy focus on the mirror is Nev’î Yahya (1533–1599), who was inspired by the work of Ibn Arabi

(1165–1240), *Fusus al-hikam* (The Bezels of Wisdom), which deals with “the aspects of a single truth in different mirrors”. In Nev’î Yahya’s poetry, the mirror is used as a mystical symbol, and taken in three different ways: the mirror of the cosmos, the perfect human (*insan-ı kamil*, fundamental concept of the Sufi doctrines of Ibn Arabi) and the mirror of the heart (Karayazı 2014: 42).

Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (1904–1983), Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901–1962) are among the names that frequently use the mirror image in modern Turkish literature. We can notice that in his book *Çile* (Ordeal), Kısakürek uses the mirror as a metaphor of a peculiar imagination. While the poet used the mirror image in nineteen poems in *Çile*, two of them [*Aynalar Yolumu Kesti* ‘Mirrors Blocked My Way’ and *Aynadaki Hayalim* ‘My Dream in the Mirror’] are exclusively related to the mirror (Okay 1998: 52). Mirror, on the other hand, is used in Tanpınar’s prose and poetry in a manner that converges with Western attributions to it, remaining outside of the Turkish literary tradition. Nurdan Gürbilek, in her book, *Kör Ayna, Kayıp Şark* ‘Blind Mirror, Lost Orient’, points out that Tanpınar has a sweet spot for Ophelia, instead of Hamlet, in a “water-death-mirror triangle”, which is somehow related to the myth of Narcissus (Gürbilek 2007: 103). This assumption is reinforced in a pool of images about Ophelia that Tanpınar replicates, such as “dream of beauty and happiness”, “in the mirror of the water”, “echo”, “crystalline bowl”, “cave of the inner world”, or “water daffodils in still water” (Gürbilek 2007: 104). For Tanpınar, in this respect, the mirror serves as a metaphor of crystal clearness, calm waters and the pursuit of pure beauty (Gürbilek 2007: 110). In addition, Gürbilek determines that Tanpınar, in parallel with his own lack of mother, compares the Orient, which was once the pillar of inspiration for the great empires, with a dead mother, thus a *blind mirror* that has lost its strength and clarity (Gürbilek 2007: 118–119). When all of these are taken into account, it is possible to infer that the understanding of the mirror in Tanpınar, who was inspired by thinkers such as Bergson, Bachelard and Freud, was formed in line with its forms in Western art. It seems, however, he approaches the mirror with a unique outlook as well, by the notion of the “vestigial mirror” which he assigns to the East.

It is Orhan Pamuk, however, who seeks the meaning and the uses of the mirror in the origins of Turkish literature and deals with the patterns of meaning it has acquired in the West. In Pamuk’s work, particularly in *Kara Kitap*, we see that the mirror is engaged along with the “doppelgänger” trope. Guérard refers to this similarity in the introduction of his *Stories of the Double* as follows: “Few concepts and dreams have haunted the imagination as durably as those of the double from primitive man’s sense of a duplicated self as immortal soul to the complex mirror games and mental chess of Mann, Nabokov, Borges” (Guérard 1967: 1). It would not be incorrect to add Orhan Pamuk to this list.

Pamuk’s *Beyaz Kale* (1985, The White Castle) is a historical novel focusing on the confrontational relationship between two identical characters, the Italian scholar and the Turkish Hoja. There are times in the book where the duo poses half-naked in front of a mirror and stare at each other. The scene where they confront the mirror and repeat each other’s gestures fits the typical doppelgänger-like portrayal:

“Elini omuzuma koyarak yanıma geçti. Dertleştiği bir çocukluk arkadaşıydım sanki. Parmaklarıyla enseme iki yanından sıkıştırdı, beni çekti. ‘Gel birlikte aynaya bakalım.’ Baktım ve lâmbanın çiğ ışığı altında, bir daha gördüm ne kadar çok benzeştığımızizi. Sadık Paşa’nın kapısında beklerken onu ilk gördüğümde de bu duyguya kapılmıştım, hatırladım. O zaman, olmam gereken birini görmüştüm; şimdiyse, onun da benim gibi biri olması gerektiğini düşünüyordum. İkimiz birmişiz! Şimdi, bu bana çok açık bir gerçekmiş gibi geliyordu. Elim kolum bağlanmış, tutulup kalmıştım sanki. Kurtulmak için bir hareket yaptım, sanki benim, ben olduğumu anlamak için: Aceleyle elimi saçlarımın içinde gezdirdim. Ama, o da yapıyordu aynı şeyi, üstelik ustalıklı, aynanın içindeki simetriyi hiç bozmadan. Bakışımı da taklit ediyordu, kafamın duruşunu, aynada görmeye katlanamadığını, ama korkunun merakıyla gözümü alamadığım dehşetimi de tekrarlıyordu. Arkadaşının sözlerini ve hareketlerini taklit ederek onu sinirlendiren bir çocuk gibi neşelendi sonra. Bağırdu! Birlikte ölecekmiz! Ne saçma, diye düşündüm. Ama korktum da. Onunla geçirdiğim gecelerin en korkuncuydu.” (Pamuk 2006: chap. 6)

This image of the two in front of the mirror shows how twins complete each other, as well as demonstrating how this uncanny resemblance and the appearance of the Other inwardly annoys them. Another instance that ties together the image of doppelgänger and the mirror in Pamuk’s oeuvre comes about in *Kara Kitap*. There are several different projections of the mirror, all connected to the word *sır*, which is used as a homonym for both the mystery and the thin layer applied to the back of the mirrors and to the surface of the metal objects. As the mirrors are bracketed with the mysteries in Turkish culture, Pamuk contemplates this approach by intermingling the Sufi doctrines with the deeply western concept of dual identity. Galip, the protagonist of *Kara Kitap*, senses the unnerving presence of the shadow-like Other, Celâl, as if he is being followed by his alter ego. Celâl, on the other hand, in his Sunday columns, writes about that, when getting a shave, he looks at the mirror and he does not see his own face, he sees the face of columnist Celâl (Pamuk 1991: part I, chap. 16 *Kendim Olmalıyım*). These parts give the impression that they are both in an identity crisis that they cannot make sense of it. Çalışaneller suggests that this scene reveals a split identity, as Galip peers at the mirror and sees Celâl, his author-self: “Galip realizes that he is alienated from himself even in his ordinary life because Jelal invades his entire life” (Çalışaneller 2011: 8).

In the ninth chapter of the second book, *Keşfü'l-Esrar* ‘The Discovery of Mystery’, Galip is anxious to uncover the significance concealed in his face by gazing at the mirror. Inspired by Hurufism, a Sufi doctrine centered on the mysticism of letters, Galip wishes to see a reference to his true Self, looking at his reflection in the mirror. He actually sees the mystery behind the looking glass, and when you get rid of the *sır* (*esrar* is the plural of *sır*), the mirror strips its mysteries off and remains a glass: “*camı aynaya çeviren eczaya Türkçede ‘sır’ denmesinin bir rastlantı olmayacağını o an anlamıştın.*” (Pamuk 1991: part 2, chap. 11 *Kardeşim Benim*).

The author of *Kara Kitap* inserts his own text into this eternal reflection, argues Koçak and continues: “The mirror is in *The Black Book*, but ‘a black book’ is also in the mirror; *The Black Book* shows us the mirror, and the mirror reflects the black book. The ‘mystery’ of the book is the secret of the mirror: the medicine that turns glass into a mirror when it is put on its back.” (Koçak (1991: 76; translation mine). Following this, an obsessed reader of Celâl, who knows every detail about him and thinks that he is the brother of Celâl’s/Galip’s, reminds Galip of what he said about the secret: “Okumak aynanın içine bakmaktır; aynanın arkasındaki ‘sırrı’ bilenler öteki tarafa geçerler, harflerin sırrından haberdar olmayanlar ise bu dünya içinde kendi yüzlerinin yavanlığından başka bir şey bulamazlar” (Pamuk 1991:part 2, chap. 11 *Kardeşim Benim*).

In a later part of the novel, the mirror is used for a separate but rather significant purpose. In this chapter, entitled *Esrarlı Resimler* ‘The Mysterious Paintings’ the mirror is put forth in order to illustrate one of the main practices in Islamic/Eastern art: copying. The chapter includes a rewriting of “Rumi’s famous Mesnevi parable” on a painting competition between two painters, one of whom wins the competition by using a mirror to reflect the other’s work (Gökner 2013: 224). In fact, the epigraph at the beginning of the chapter (*Esrarını Mesnevi’den aldım*) beforehand provides hints on both what the mystery behind the mirror was and what Pamuk aims to imply by rewriting this parable. This line in *Hüsn ü Aşk* by Şeyh Gâlib, who openly admits that he was inspired by Rumi’s *Mesnevi* when he crafted his own poem, is preceded by the line in which the poet pleads his ‘guilt’: “Çaldım velî mîrî malı çaldım” (Şeyh Gâlib 2002: 141). Lifting from a parable by Rumi, in the same vein as Şeyh Gâlib, Pamuk’s purpose here is to demonstrate how the true talent is to reflect the works of masters. In essence, the story that was written in the 13<sup>th</sup> century summarizes the issue of originality in art, as well as the practice of copying and creation by transformation in Eastern art. Probably this parable, like many others told by Rumi, was taken from some older poet, which sums up the issue in form and substance at once. Indeed, Turkish *divan* poetry had developed with a literary convention called *nazire*, which led poets to reecho each other’s poems with slight variations in wording for centuries. However, as Pamuk describes in detail in this chapter, everything can alter, even though they look the same when copying someone else’s work, like in the case of “Pierre Menard, Author of the Quixote” by Borges. Therefore, the mirror appears not only a reflector of the question of identity in Pamuk’s novels, but it undertakes a significant role in coping with the problem of art and originality as well. This dual-sided approach to the mirror can be attributed to the achievement of Pamuk’s long-held goal of uniting East and West. This time, he does it through the mirror that, in this regard, takes a position that reflects the East to the West and multiplies the West in the East.



#### 4. Mirror in Hungarian Literature

First of all, it is worth indicating that my reflections on the mirror theme in Hungarian literature are restricted to the concept of ‘Turkish mirror’, which emerges in two specific contemporary novels. Many other examples of the use of mirrors in literature or history of Hungary in modern and pre-modern contexts may also be presented, such as the books written in the genre known as “Mirrors for princes” (*Királytükrök* or *fejedelmi tükrök*), such as *Intelmek* (1027), written by St. Stephen I of Hungary (970–1038) for his son, St. Emeric (1000–1007–1031). However, the mirror that I intend to speak about here is different from such works written in the genre of political literature, it is rather a mirror that has found a place in contemporary literature, especially in historical novels. These historical novels written in postmodern fashion are Viktor Horváth’s *Török tükör* and László Darvasi’s *A Könnyumatványosok legendája* ‘Legend of the Tear Jugglers’ (1999).

*Török tükör* outlines some of the incidents that took place during the Turkish conquest of Hungary, but from a Turkish point of view. The authenticity of the novel stems from the idea of recounting an era of centuries-old grinding wars from the ‘enemy’ viewpoint. Horváth’s novel reflects a somewhat new, rather vibrant vision of war and conquest, seemingly transforming *Egri Csillagok* (1899, Eclipse of the Crescent Moon), the popular Hungarian historical novel by Géza Gárdonyi. It does so by mirroring not the same but in a way similar series of circumstances narrated in Gárdonyi’s epic novel. Although the novel includes both good and evil, the characters of *Török tükör* are not inherently good or evil, whether Turkish or Hungarian. This is one of the most important features that distinguishes the novel from traditional historical novels that have made a significant contribution to the construction of national identities (Bhabha 1990). In this regard, the mirror here symbolically serves not only as a way of representing the point of view in a certain historical period by turning the eye to the other side, but also as a medium for converting narrative identity from romantic historical novel to postmodern historiographic metafiction.

*Török tükör* does not, in effect, tackle with the issue of identity, as Pamuk does in *Kara Kitap*, but does address the problem of double by using the mirror as the core motif. Horváth’s novel creates a change in the identity of the story, at least for the Hungarian reader. In this way, change of identity only takes place on an extra-diegetic basis, when the author pretends to be a Turkish and a Muslim, in order to grasp the city, Pécs, in which he grew up from the eyes of a Turk around five centuries ago. Written in the genre of historical adventure, the novel narrates the coming-of-age story of Ísza, in the same vein as that of Gergő in *Egri Csillagok*. Yet Ísza’s childhood and adolescence are much more vibrant and joyful than that of Gergő, who appears in the novel as *Gergely diák*, the son of the blacksmith Gáspár Bornemissza. He gives the impression that he is this story’s Alice, who infiltrated into Ísza’s world through a Turkish mirror, only to see how everything was reversed there. This reaffirms the possibility that Horváth’s novel is a mere reflection, or a transformation, of that of

Gárdonyi. The tale of Ísza bin Juszúf in the Hungarian lands, where he grows up as a foreigner, but most importantly as an invader, is such a cheerful story that is unusual in a historical novel. Ísza, as the novel's self-reflective narrator, is trying to explore this unfamiliar land in a dream-like and mystical environment while growing up. There is brutality, deception, and the vocabulary of hostility and xenophobia, but they are all employed through a kind of historical irony that is not intended to provoke any nationalistic fervor that we encounter in conventional historical novels. Even though it is written in Hungarian and, apparently, firsthand to Hungarian readers, the narrator seeks to persuade us that it is written by an Ottoman Turk, as the Hungarians in the novel are derogatorily referred to as *gyaur* (infidel), *barbar* (barbarian), *pogány* (pagan), etc. The speech mode used by the narrator and the other Turkish characters is rich with many Turkish words, expressions and idioms, such as “*otthoni számla vásárba nem való*” (Horváth 2009: 93), which are authentic enough. The novel's textual double, *Egri Csillagok*, also incorporates similar Turkish vocabulary, which is another evidence of the transtextual connection between the two novels. In this respect, *Török tükör* can be seen as a mirror of the events that took place in Hungary in the 16<sup>th</sup> century from a flipped perspective, as Horváth recovers them by substituting his name as Ísza.

Horváth's novel gives priority to the power of storytelling rather than to the so-called historical reality. Thus, the mirror does not serve to demonstrate how the Ottoman historiographers portrayed incidents differently from the Hungarian ones, but instead represents a mystical, vivid and polychromatic representation against the static and questionable facts of historiography. This style is somewhat similar to Pamuk's playful metahistorical novels, as neither aim at positing an untold historical fact dug into the depths of the history, but rather cherishing the power of telling and retelling tales.

*Török tükör*, with its title, signifies a reversal of the image of the past, though it does not contain a concrete mirror in the narration itself. But it might be inspired by a concrete Turkish mirror, which alters the shapes of the figures it represents, that took part in Hungarian literature: *A könnyemutatványosok legendája*. Darvasi's novel also retells the sorrowful incidents that occurred in the region around the Carpathian Basin, Transylvania and Transdanubia during the one and a half century Ottoman invasion of Hungary. Technically, it has the same theme as *Török tükör*, but the image it reflects is much more gloomy and obscure. As another example of historiographic metafiction, this novel also impairs, by its very nature, the one-sided rhetoric of historical narratives (Hites 2004: 476). Unlike *Török tükör*, brutality, pain, and misery are prevalent notions in this novel, but they are not only performed by Turks or Hungarians, they rather come from all directions and often strike the weakest. In a deeply forthright discourse of historicity, Darvasi's novel accentuates the gruesome circumstances that people had to face in the relentless times of war, a concern that historians usually ignore. But what concerns our subject here is a mirror, a blind mirror from Istanbul, sent by the Ottoman Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha to the Prince of Transylvania, George II Rákóczi, in 1657, due to his intervention in the conflict

between the Swedes and the Poles. The narrator describes the mysterious mirror as follows: “*A tükröt száz látó kézműves csiszolta és faragta egyetlen világtalan mester útmutatása alapján. A mesterek csak éjszaka dolgozhattak, ha aludt a fény, mely a tükrök lelke. E sztambuli tükörnek az volt a tulajdonsága, viselje bár a gazdája a legragyogóbb öltözékeket, mégis nyomorúságos nincstelenként tűnhet föl a keretben, ha úgy érdemli. Rákóczi György fejedelem sokáig bámul a sztambuli vaktükörbe. Úgy mutatja őt a tükör, mintha már semmije nem lenne e világon. Se pénze, se reménye, és mintha az Isten is elhagyta volna. A fejedelem köszöni az ajándékot, aztán titkos helyre viteti. Az is lehet, hogy összetöreti, elássza, kútba dobhatja. A fejedelem nem hisz abban, hogy a nagyvezír tükre jól látna, ahogy egy tükör egyébként helyesen láttathat valót és jövődőt. Köprülü Mehmed tükre hazug, dög tükör!*” (Darvasi 2016: 14–15)

Although Prince Rákóczi is reluctant to believe the bad luck that the mirror might bring to him, it becomes prophetic of his ill-fated expedition as he falls off his horse in front of the entire council of Krakow as soon as he arrives in the city. This enchanted mirror may be a source of inspiration for Horváth, as both novels have similar content but are dealt with differently. They both revive the past, but one does so light-heartedly, the other so cynically. In this regard, Horváth’s attitude to the past is far closer to that of Orhan Pamuk.

## 5. Conclusion

Various interpretations have been given to the mirror in the East and the West, as the mirror performs different functions and symbolizes different things in literature and arts depending on the context. In Turkish literature, the mirror is closely identified with the mystery, besides being viewed as a way of reaching Allah in Sufism, which has been reinvented in contemporary canon. Orhan Pamuk combines this interpretation of the mirror in Sufism with the *doppelgänger* trope, a concept linked with the mirror in terms of an identity crisis in Western culture. We have also seen that a special mirror called Turkish mirror is mentioned in two contemporary Hungarian novels. It is important to note that both novels are historiographic metafiction which revisit the occupation of Hungary by the Turks. While in one of these novels (*A Könnymutatványosok legendája*), the Turkish mirror occupies a small place as an instrument having a disruptive impact on the one who looks into it, in the other (*Török tükör*), it constitutes the entire frame of the book, claiming that the whole story of that historical era is told from a Turkish viewpoint. On the other hand, in view of the fact that both Pamuk’s novels and the Hungarian novels in the sample are written in a postmodern manner, we can infer that the mirror metaphor takes on new facets in postmodern narratives that had not been discovered before.

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# Chuvash and Linguistic Documentation

Emine Yılmaz

## Introduction

At the meeting of the International Linguistics Congress held in Quebec in 1992, linguists stated that the disappearance of any language means the permanent disappearance of any knowledge produced in that language, and that will lead to a culturally impoverished world. Therefore, they called UNESCO for immediate duty. Immediately after that in 1993, the UNESCO Endangered Languages Project was accepted. Two main approaches regarding endangered languages, have been on the agenda since then. The first is the view that languages with few speakers are an obstacle to globalization and their disappearance will facilitate international relations. The other approach is qualified as the humanist point of view. It says that language diversity must be preserved, just like the diversity of animals and flowers. This second approach has reached and influenced large groups, especially with books such as *Vanishing Voices* by Daniel Nettle-Suzanne Romain and *Language Death* by David Crystal.

The death of a language is as natural as its emergence, and there is nothing new in it. Languages have always disappeared when the people who speak them have died. The death of languages is viewed not as extinction but as social evolution. This is why most attempts to save endangered languages are useless. "Languages fade away when they are not needed, i.e. when they do not have sufficient social functions in order for parents to endeavor to transmit them to their children. The endangerment starts when the young generations begin to switch over to the dominant language because they find it more attractive and prestigious (Johanson 2001: 34). Therefore, the thing to do is to document these languages without wasting time using all available resources for scientific purposes.

In this paper, we will introduce a general purpose and comprehensive documentation activity which we carried out between 2014 and 2015 on Chuvash, whose speakers are constantly decreasing in number and which is constantly declining against Russian.

## Chuvash People and Chuvash Language

Chuvash people live mainly in the Russian Federation, in the Chuvash Autonomous Republic which is located in the region called the Volga knee. Apart from that, important Chuvash populations exist in Tatarstan, Bashkortostan and Siberia. According to the 2010 census, the Chuvash population in the Russian Federation numbered 1.386.090 and the total number of Chuvash speakers was 1.042.989.<sup>1</sup> Compared with the population figure given in the 2002 census 1.637.000, the Chuvash population had decreased.

## Linguistic Documentation of Chuvash: First Records

P. J. Strahlenberg, a military prisoner in Western Siberia, made a compilation over about ten years after 1711 of the languages spoken in this region, which was published in a book in Western Siberia: *Das nord und ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia*, in Stockholm in 1730. At the end of the book is a list of thirty-two languages, one of which is Chuvash. In this way, the Chuvash language was documented for the first time. Twenty-eight of the sixty German lexical items in the dictionary have Chuvash equivalents.

Written Chuvash texts between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries are regarded as sources of the new Chuvash era. Until 1730, only sporadic data are available. These are mainly Chuvash or Bulgarian words in texts written in different languages and proper names etc. in travel notes and maps. More complete Chuvash texts emerged in the period between 1730 and 1872. Especially in the Russian and Hungarian literature, it is possible to find many publications in which these sources are evaluated collectively. Of these, the Hungarian Turcologist Clara/Klára Agyagási's article "On the Edition of Chuvash Literary Sources" (1982) and the evaluation on the first thirty pages of her book *Chuvash Historical Phonetics* (2019) are particularly important.

## Systematic Documentation of Chuvash

Systematic documentation of Chuvash was carried out by Russian missionaries and Hungarian researchers in the region from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards. These were mostly for folklore purposes and were generally related to the religious beliefs of the Chuvash people. The main ones are by Vishnevskiy (1846) and Magnitsky (1881); in second place are lexical materials, and these are too many to mention here.

The first extensive and scientific documentation of the Chuvash language was by Ashmarin. The publication of this dictionary, which was first published in 1928 and which consists of seventeen volumes containing approximately 50,000 words, was completed in 1950. This dictionary, which is an extraordinary source in the field of Chuvash language, dialects and folklore, is translated into Turkish by Bülent Bayram.

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1 [http://www.perepis2010.ru/results\\_of\\_the\\_census/results-inform.php](http://www.perepis2010.ru/results_of_the_census/results-inform.php)



In recent years in Turkey, young researchers like Bülent Bayram, Oğuzhan Durmuş, Sinan Güzel and İbrahim Arıkan are contributing to the evaluation of these texts and publications. A vocabulary of 18<sup>th</sup> century Chuvash was published by Oğuzhan Durmuş with a detailed evaluation of all the material of that period (2014). Bülent Bayram has extensive reviews, especially on the Chuvash materials of the Hungarian researcher Gyula Mészáros (Bayram 2011, 2015, 2016). In the introduction of İbrahim Arıkan's paper *Edward Tracy Turnerelli'nin Kazan Yılları ve Çuvaşlarla İlgili Kayıtları* there is extensive information about the materials on Chuvash (Arıkan 2018). Likewise, detailed information is given about Chuvash documents in general in the introduction of Sinan Güzel's book, *Heikki Paasonen ve Çuvaşça Masal Derlemeleri*, and H. Paasonen's field studies on Chuvash are evaluated between pages 45 and 48 of the book (Güzel 2019a). Sinan Güzel's paper titled *Simbirsk Çuvaş Okulu Bünyesinde Gerçekleştirilen Derleme Çalışmaları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme*, published the same year, is also one of the most comprehensive studies on Chuvash documentation studies (Güzel 2019b).

### Electronic Documentation: The Turku Chuvash Corpus (Version 1.0)

*Turku University is a database prepared by the Research Unit for Volgaic Languages.* (<http://www.hum.utu.fi/oppiaineet/volga/>). This database of 1.24 million words was obtained from texts representing the Chuvash literary language. These texts were collected by Eduard Fomin and Jorma Luutonen between 2003 and 2009.

### General Purpose Linguistic Documentation of Chuvash Spoken in Chuvashia, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan and Southern Siberia:

Coincidentally, in 2015, the hundredth anniversary of the death of the famous Chuvash poet Konstantin V. İvanov, an international project for the Chuvash documentation was conducted by Turkish and Chuvash academics. The project named *General Purpose Documentation of Chuvash Spoken in Chuvashia, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan and Southern Siberia* was supported by Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities and was implemented between 14 November 2014 and 14 November 2015.

The project was managed by Emine Yılmaz of Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey and Nikolay Yegorov of the Humanitarian Institute, Cheboksary, Russia advised the project. Fifteen linguistics field researchers from Turkey and Chuvashia took part in the project and a great amount of language material was gained from Chuvashia, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Abakan/Khakassia, Moscow and St. Petersburg regions through eleven field studies.

The project team consisted of Nurettin Demir, Elçin Yılmazkaya, Gülhan Öz Açık (Hacettepe University), Feyzi Ersoy (Gazi University), Bülent Bayram, Venera Falakhova, (Kırklareli University), Oğuzhan Durmuş, Cemalettin Yavuz, İnga Andreyeva (Trakya University), Sinan Güzel (Katip Çelebi University), Oksana

Sorokina (Chuvash State University), Albina Kiran (Atatürk University) and Svetlana Polikarpova (Chuvash State Pedagogical University).

### Linguistic Field Research<sup>2</sup>

#### *Field Research in Moscow*

The first expedition under of the project was carried out in the Moscow region by Cemalettin Yavuz and İnga Andreyeva of Trakya University between 28 November and 4 December 2014. Here, they interviewed students who were attending the free Chuvash language course, which had been given for two years, and received information about the course and the situation of Chuvash in the Moscow region, as well as making recordings of the Chuvash language. During the expedition, a compilation was made from a total of eight Chuvash people. One of these was Savelyev, a twenty-five-year-old Tatarstan Chuvash. Savelyev is preparing a thesis on 18<sup>th</sup>-century Chuvash, and is also fluent in Russian and English. His mother and father are Chuvash and he can speak Chuvash very well. He spoke about himself, the Chuvash people, and the Chuvash language and culture, and these conversations were recorded with audio and video. Others are journalist Evgeny Stepanov, who is also proficient in Chuvash, English teacher Oksana Antonova, music teacher Marina Grigoryeva, Lira Petrovna Smirnova and her daughter Veronika Smirnova, İvan İvanov and Sergey İvanov. All of them are very concerned to keep Chuvash alive, and they can speak Chuvash fluently.



*In the back row, from left to right, Cemalettin Yavuz, Feyzi Ersoy, Sinan Güzel and Bülent Bayram with Tatarstan Chuvash in ethnic clothes, January 2015.*

<sup>2</sup> The expedition reports were used in the preparation of this section.

### *Field Research in Tatarstan*

The field research was conducted by Bülent Bayram, Feyzi Ersoy, Sinan Güzel and Cemalettin Yavuz between January 27, 2015 and February 4, 2015 in Tatarstan, where Chuvash has the most speakers after Chuvashia. First of all, sound recordings were made of Roza Chintayeva in Śinĕ Axsu, one of the villages that did not accept Christianity and continue their traditional religious beliefs (Russian *язычник*). In addition, records were made from the villages of Pürgel and Gorodishe of the Buva region in southwestern Tatarstan. In these villages, it was observed that Chuvash suffered a loss of prestige in rural areas.

After the program in these two villages, meetings were held with Tatarstan Chuvash in Dom Druzha Narodov in Kazan. Video and sound recordings were made by different people and many photographs were also taken. Tatarstan field research reports have shown that groups of four attracted attention in the region, and so the small size of the teams made movement easier. A Russian citizen Chuvash had to be present in each team. For this reason, the wife of Bülent Bayram from the project team, Russian citizen Venera Falakhova (ethnically Tatar) was also included in the team.



*In the back row, from left to right, Cemalettin Yavuz, Feyzi Ersoy, Sinan Güzel and Bülent Bayram with Tatarstan Chuvash in ethnic clothes, January 2015.*

*Field Research in on the Chuvashia – Viryal Dialect*

The third field research was carried out by Nikolay Yegorov, Oksana Sorokina and Svetlana Polikarpova, who worked as lecturers at universities in Cheboksary, Chuvashia, the whole region where the Viryal dialect is spoken, for thirty days between 1 and 30 March 2015.

*Field Research on the Chuvashia – Anatri Dialect*

The fourth field study was carried out by Feyzi Ersoy, Oğuzhan Durmuş, Sinan Güzel and Cemalettin Yavuz on the Anatri dialect in Chuvashia between 25- and 31 May 2015. First, a sound recording was made by Vitaliy Rodionov, who is working in the Folklore Department of the Chuvash State Institute of Social Sciences. Later, a sound recording was made in Batiryel, where Anatri dialect is spoken. In Batiryel, which is a multilingual region, 80% of the population are Chuvash, 15% Misher Tatars, and 5% Russian, Mari, Mordva etc. Although the common language of communication is Russian, it was determined that Chuvash and Tatars spoke their mother tongue very well. In addition, Chuvash is spoken by peoples such as Tatars, Mari and Mordva.

It was seen that Chuvash was also used for worship in religious ceremonies in the Batiryel region. It was recorded by the field research team that Chuvash women performed their prayers in the Chuvash language with prayers and church melodies under the direction of a Chuvash priest on Friday. Over forty-five minutes of recordings were made by Nikolay Ivanovich Gluhov, the manager of the Batiryel region, and information about the region and various customs and traditions were recorded. This review is extremely important in terms of exemplifying formal language usage. Also, the past tense with /SA/ (adverb suffix) attached, which is specific to the dialect of Viryal in the literature, was determined by the field research team in Gluhovs's idiolect.

As usual, some representatives of the local press were also present at this field research activity. In addition, compilations were made by Yevdokiya Andreyeva, Alina Sosyayeva, faculty members of Chuvash State Pedagogical University, and television presenter Marina Karyagina from Ahpürt village, Batirevo.



*In the back row, from left to right Oğuzhan Durmuş, Feyzi Ersoy and Sinan Güzel with informants, Baturyel, Chuvashia, May 2015.*

#### *Field Research on Tatarstan – Viryal, Anatri Dialects*

The fifth, sixth and seventh field research on the Tatarstan/Anatri, Viryal dialects, were conducted, between 5 July and 5 September 2015 by Venera Falakhova for sixty days by Bülent Bayram for thirty days between 16 July and 14 August 2015, and for seven days between 21 and 27 July 2015 by Nurettin Demir and Bülent Bayram.

Although there is a dense Chuvash population in the Tatarstan Republic, Chuvash is in decline against Russian. Sound and video recordings were made among the Anatri Chuvash in this region, especially of those who maintained their pagan beliefs. In Tatarstan, in the region called İzgë Ćišme (“Holy Fountain”), which is close to the villages of Śinë Axsu and Yerep in the Axsu region, it was seen in the records made by the pagan Chuvash that the language of communication between Tatars and Chuvash people above a certain age group, especially in the regions where they live together, is Tatar and Chuvash; but among the young population, the language of communication has now almost completely changed to Russian.

In Śinë Axsu village, where the research team spent a significant part of the compilation work, the traditional Chuvash life was actively practiced, and audio and video recordings were made. Significant recordings were made on food culture, gardening, plants, mushroom species, animal names, souvenirs, beekeeping, hunting, and the vocabulary of traditional Chuvash religious beliefs. Since Śinë Axsu is a village densely populated by pagan Chuvash, rich and valuable materials were compiled in the field of folk culture. Among these, it is possible to say that the funeral

ceremony, whose footage is recorded, has the characteristics of a documentary in itself.

In the abovementioned village of Ízgě Čišme, collections were also made from Chuvash people from Yerep village. A 40-minute Chuvash recording made by a Tatar informant living in this region with the Chuvash is considered to be important data in terms of language relations. During the review, as stated above, it was determined that many Tatars and Chuvash above a certain age could speak each other's language easily.



*Šině Axsu Village, Tatarstan, Ízgě Čišme “Holy Fountain”,  
Roza Chintayeva, July 2015.*

Audio and video recording was made from a Chuvash informant working in the old Bulgar city within the borders of Tatarstan. The Bulgar city is also a place which Chuvash and Tatars regard as sacred and is at the center of their mutual cultural

relations. There are also sound recordings made from Tatars here. After the Bulgar city, the city of Biler, which has a special place in Chuvash literature and historical research, was visited, and many narratives and beliefs about this old city were collected from Roza Chintayeva.



*Tatarstan, old Bulgar city, July 2015.*

During all visits to Tatarstan, many practices of the traditional Chuvash religious belief were also recorded on video because Roza Chintayeva, who continues the traditional pagan belief, was on the field research team. Again, in line with the information provided by Roza Chintayeva, a visit was made to the Risaykina village in the Samara region. According to the story, this village, was founded by a pagan Chuvash called Īrsay, when he escaped from missionaries about three hundred years ago, and is still a village where pagan Chuvash live. The images of the cemetery where the pagan Chuvash were buried are also a documentary film in itself. It was found that the Chuvash language is gradually losing its spoken language function in this region, where the review team could only speak Russian with many Chuvash. Especially among the young population, the use of Russian and Christianization is common.



*Risaykina Village, Samara, Tatarstan, village cemetery, July 2015, Chuvash people.*

*Field Research on Khakasia/Abakan – Chuvash Dialect*

This field research was conducted by Bülent Bayram among Chuvash people living in Abakan, the capital city of Khakasia, for seven days between 29 July and 5 August 2015.

Domayakova village, which is mainly populated by Chuvash people, was selected for the field study due to the large size of the Abakan region. Domayakova, which is about sixty kilometers from Abakan city, is home to other peoples such as Khakas, Tajik, Korean and Russian as well as the main Chuvash population. In the village where the Chuvash people migrated from Chuvashia in 1952–1953, young people and children never used Chuvash, but the elderly population used their mother tongue among themselves. During the two-day field research, audio and video recordings were made. According to the information given by the informant, this is the village where the most concentrated Chuvash population lives in Khakasia and its nearby regions.



*Domayakova, Abakan, Khakasia Chuvash people with Bülent Bayram, August 2015.*



*Field Research on Bashkir–Chuvash Dialect*

The Bashkir–Chuvash dialect field research trip was carried out between 10 and 16 August 2015 by Oğuzhan Durmuş and Sinan Güzel. The Bashkortostan Chuvash dialect compilation trip was carried out between 10 and 16 August 2015 by Oğuzhan Durmuş and Sinan Güzel. The compilations were made from bilingual Chuvash, who speak Tatar and Chuvash, in the capital Ufa and Belebey regions.

In the field research in Ufa, the informants were obtained from ‘Chuvash Sunday Schools’ or *Воскресная школа*. It has been observed that these schools, which are active on Sundays in order to enable children from various nations living in Ufa to learn their mother tongue, are also very important places of identity for Chuvash people. A compilation study was carried out on Tuesdays and Wednesdays in two of these schools, which allow the Chuvash people who live scattered in the capital Ufa to meet.

After being greeted by the head editor of the “Ural Sassi” newspaper published by the Bashkir–Chuvash in the Belebey region, Mikhailov Yuriy Nikovlevich made recordings from the informants there, and in the evening went to Slakpuš, the village where Konstantin V. İvanov was born. Here, in the house of the poet, which has been turned into a museum, a video was shot, accompanied by the explanations of the attendant. Tatars and Chuvash people in the region, who know each other’s languages.

The research team stated that the most important detail that draws attention in the collected materials in the city of Ufa and Belebey region is the Kipchak influence on the Chuvash language there. Many elements from the common vocabulary in the languages of the Bashkirs and Tatars (*xezër* ‘now’, *uy* ‘thought’, *eybet* ‘good, beautiful’, etc.) have also been copied into Chuvash language.



*Konstantin V. İvanov’s house turned into a museum Slakpuš Village, Bashkortostan, August 2015.*

*Field Research on the Anatri–Chuvash Dialect:*

Linguistic field research on the Anatri–Chuvash dialect was carried out by Emine Yılmaz, Nurettin Demir, Oksana Sorokina and İnga Andreyeva between 26 and 31



*First from left is Oksana Sorokina, third Emine Yılmaz, Śičĕ Pürt Village, Cheboksary, Chuvashia, August 2015.*

August 2015. The team went to Śičĕ Pürt village, 40 kilometers east of Cheboksary, and first toured the house of Puppeteer Terenti Dede’s puppets, which symbolize the Chuvash past. In this village, recordings were also made of Svetlana Yakovleva, daughter of Terenti Dede who teaches Russian in Cheboksary, the librarian of the village of Angelina Kuzanina, and Anna Nikolayeva, who works in the cultural center. All three informants are bilingual in Russian and Chuvash.

In addition, an authentic museum/hotel named Ludmilla’s Rest House in Narat Čakki district was visited and video footage was made. Some parts of the complex were devoted to displaying traditional items depicting old Chuvash life. Interviews were also held with the television personality Marina Karyagina and the director of the Cheboksary Humanitarian Institute Yuri İsayev.

On the last day, recordings were made of İnga Andreyeva’s uncle (Nikolay Andreyev) and his uncle’s wife (Galina Andreyeva) in the village of Kadıkası.



*Old irons and šăpata ‘wicker shoes’ in the museum section of the village library Śičĕ Pürt Village, Cheboksary, Chuvashia, August 2015.*



*Kadıkası Village, Cheboksary, Chuvashia, a Chuvash meal in the house of İnga Andreyeva's uncle for the research team: pıl 'honey', kämpa 'mushrooms', šêrulmi 'potato', August 2015.*

*Field Research on the St. Petersburg–Chuvash Dialect:*

This field research was conducted by Elçin Yılmazkaya, Gülhan Öz Açık and Albina Kıran among the Chuvash people living in St. Petersburg between 19 and 24 September 2015.

Here, first of all, contact was established with Prof. Anton Salmin, an academic at the Department of Anthropology at St. Petersburg University.

Prof. Salmin spoke in the Chuvash language about the history of the establishment of the city of St. Petersburg and the role of the Chuvash in the establishment of this city, the establishment of the Kunstkamera Museum, where he works, and said that anthropology and history are very important areas for understanding and telling the relations and history of the Chuvash people and Turks. Prof. Salmin's speech was important in terms of showing how Chuvash can be used as a language of science. It has been observed that the density of Russian words is higher in Chuvash as a language of science. The sound recordings show that Prof. Salmin is fluent in Chuvash.

Another important place that the team compiled is the Chuvash association. Chuvash people living in St. Petersburg regularly meet at the Chuvash association which they have established and aim to transfer the language and culture to new generations. In the same city, Chuvash people meet in the study room of a public library, and under the leadership of those with a strong command of the language, work to strengthen bonds with those who know the language little or not at all. Prof.

Anton Salmin is also the president of the association. Recordings were also made of the members of the association.

### General Evaluation of the Project

The main purpose of this project is to document the Chuvash language, the oldest Turkic language, with all its dialects before it disappears completely, and to provide data for future linguistic studies. With fifteen field researches, many sound recordings were made and, videos and photographs were taken in the areas where large numbers of Chuvash people live.

The data obtained through field research will be used to determine the linguistic development of both standard Chuvash and dialects by comparing them with texts previously compiled for different purposes. In addition, the collected material will be used to investigate issues such as language relations, language politics, bilingualism and multilingualism, it will be processed with different projects and the results will be presented in our future studies.

Not only linguistic data was obtained with the project, but also communication was established with the Chuvash people and other Turkic-speaking peoples in Chuvashia, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Moscow, St. Petersburg and Khakasia, and education agreements were made between universities. One of the important outcomes of working on the Chuvash in Chuvashia and Turkey has been to bring together all academics. The team's young researchers in particular gained experience in the field of language documentation and practiced their Chuvash, Tatar and Russian language.

Our project, which aims to compile a very important Turkic language, which is in danger of extinction, in all regions where it is spoken, has also shown how urgently these compilation activities should take place. A week after the end of our project, a Russian aircraft was shot down in Turkey, and a political crisis emerged between the Russian Federation and Turkey, so that it is no longer possible to do this type of work in the Russian Federation. It is clear that it is extremely important that *Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities* should also support similar projects in regions outside of the Russian Federation.

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# The Spread of the Iron Stirrup along the Silk Road

István Zimonyi\*

The term ‘Silk Road’ is interpreted in most cases as land routes that existed before AD 1500, connecting China and Central Eurasia with India, the Middle East and Europe. Not only luxury and common goods, but also technologies, religions, ideas, languages and arts spread in both directions, and peoples migrated to different regions of Afro-Eurasia. The newly introduced technologies became common features of the whole Afro-Eurasian world, and included the manufacturing of silk, papermaking and glassblowing. The decisive steps in Eurasia’s military history were the introduction of heavy armoured cavalry and firearms, which were based on the innovative use of iron stirrups and gunpowder, respectively.

The focus of this paper is on the iron stirrup, which spread under the rule of the Türk Khaganate (6<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> cc.), together with two other innovations: the sabre and yurts. The Türk Khaganate was founded in the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and controlled the steppe-belt from Manchuria to the Crimea; it also maintained close relations with China, Sassanid Persia and Byzantium, which enabled the spread of these innovations (Stark 2008).

The use of the iron stirrup had a decisive effect on the development of warfare. It was invented as a result of the nomadic Chinese peoples’ cooperation in north China in the 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries. From there it spread to the east (Korea, Japan) and to the west, through the Avar and Türk Khaganates and the Silk Road to Sogdiana, Persia; and then to the Caliphate, Byzantium and Europe. To study this process, it is necessary to take into account the results of language history, the first documentations in written sources, early pictorial representations, and archaeological finds, in order to obtain a comprehensive overview.

Three basic opinions have been formed regarding the origin of the stirrup: Pelliot noted that the nomads from Inner Asia invented the stirrup and taught their tricks of riding to the Chinese. The ‘real’ stirrup came from Inner Asia to China between AD 200 and 400 (Pelliot 1925-1926: 259–262). Albert von Le Coq (1860–1930) suggested that the stirrup may have originated either from Turkic-speaking nomads, or from the Chinese in order to successfully confront the nomadic cavalry (Le Coq 1925: 22). Recently, David A. Graff has pointed out that East Asian early medieval military technology was a product of cooperation between the Chinese and the steppe

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nomads. The contact between settled peoples and nomads took place in north China, where steppe dynasties gained power (Graff 2016: 141).

David A. Graff emphasized the historical significance of the stirrup in his work on the military history of medieval China, published in 2002. The Han army was recruited from the peasantry, but from 300 AD onwards, a new military-caste cavalry started to appear, whose main characteristic was the use of the iron stirrup, and armour covering the horse and the rider. This process started around 300 AD, which roughly coincides with the appearance of the stirrup in China; while its end is AD 900, which is the date of the introduction of gunpowder into Chinese military technology (Graff 2002: 11, 17, 41–43).

Pipes, in a monograph, discussed the emergence and survival of Muslim military slavery and its institutional system; he stated that Islam may have played a significant role in its formation. In addition, three other factors have to be considered: climatic conditions, the migration of the Turks, and the appearance of the iron stirrup. The significance of the stirrup was that its application allowed the stallion-rich nomads to gain military superiority over settled and densely populated areas, which could be compensated by various strategies. In Islamic territories, this dilemma was solved by inviting nomadic Turks to join the Caliphate's army. However, this concept is also debated (Pipes 1981: 55–58).

According to Luttwark, the cavalry became a decisive force in the Eastern Roman empire, due to the appearance of the Huns. The use of the stirrup was adopted from the Avars, and made the Byzantine cavalry more effective (Luttwark 2009: 59, 275–277).

In his book published in 1962, White studied the spread of the stirrup in Europe. He suggested that knighthood was the basis of the emergence of European feudalism, and that the stirrup was indispensable to their fighting style (White 1962: 1–38). This provoked a debate which suggested that the relationship between the use of the iron stirrup and feudalism was much more nuanced, as the stirrup was not in general use in the Carolingian period, and knighthood became prevalent in the 12<sup>th</sup> century in Europe (Dibon-Smith 2017: 103–110). However, there is a consensus regarding the Avars' role in introducing the iron stirrup into Europe (Csiky 2015: 392–393; Pintér-Nagy 2017: 120–121, n 336; Bivar 1955: 61–65).

The representatives of Altaic theory have been interested in the adaptation of the iron stirrup from the viewpoint of language history. Gombocz assumed that the common Turkic *üzengi*, Chuvash *yārana* and Mongolian *dörüge* (meaning 'stirrup') are related, coming from a common Altaic form (Gombocz 1912: 5). Poppe and Ramstedt reconstructed the Proto-Turkic *\*yüzäñü*, from which the Altaic form *\*δ'ürängi* can be reconstructed (Ramstedt 1916: 74; Poppe 1958: 93–97). Doerfer and Róna-Tas refused to accept this assumption, because the Mongolian form *dörüge(n)* is derived from *dörü* 'nose ring from iron or rope', and the Proto-Turkic reconstruction is *\*irähä*, from which all the Old Turkic and the Old Chuvash forms can be properly explained (Doerfer 1965: 148–149; Róna-Tas 1972: 169–71). The present Chuvash *yārana* with *y*-prothesis is a well-known change justified by other parallels in



Chuvash. The common Turkic reflects two prototypes: \**üzəŋgü* in the Oguz, Kipchak and Turki language groups, and \**izeŋge* in Siberian Turkic languages (Baraba, Khakass, Tuvay, Yakut, Yellow Uyghur) (Róna-Tas 1982: 120–122). The Chuvash form shows similarities with the Turkic languages spoken in Siberia. In any case, the stirrup belonged to the common vocabulary of the Turkic languages, before the Chuvash-type Turkic and the Common Turkic languages were separated. Therefore, the invention and spread of the stirrup can provide a chronological framework for Turkic language history as well.

Altaic: \**ürāŋgi* > Proto-Turkic \**yüzāŋü* > Mongol: *dörüge*

Old Turkic: \**üzəŋgü* - Oguz, Kipchak and Turki languages

Old Turkic: \**izeŋge* - Modern Siberian Turkic languages

Old Chuvash: \**irāŋä* > Chuvash: *yărana*

The etymology of the word ‘stirrup’ in different languages may provide a basis for the innovation, development and use of stirrups. According to Pelliot, the Chinese 鐙 *Dèng* ‘stirrup’ was composed of the key meaning ‘metal’ and 登 *Dēng* ‘to mount’. He quoted the German *Steigbügel* ‘stirrup’ as an analogy, which is a compound of *steigen* ‘to mount’ and *Bügel* ‘handle’. The Turkic *üzəŋgü* is a derivative from *üze* ‘on’. The Arabic word ركب *rikāb* ‘stirrup’ can be derived from the verb ركب *rakiba* ‘to mount; to ride’ (Pelliot 1925–1926: 261–262). Hayashi suggested that the iron stirrup developed from leather footrests. This process may be reflected in the Anglo-Saxon *stigrap*, which is the composition of *stigan* ‘to mount’ and *rap* ‘rope’ (Hayashi 1995: 69). The French word *ether*, Spanish *estribo*, Italian *staffa* and Russian *stremya* (meaning ‘stirrup’) may have been derived from a common word ‘rope, strap’, which may have referred to an object that helps to mount a horse (Kyzlasov 1973: 31–34). The Greek σκαλα ‘stirrup’ is from the Latin *scala* ‘staircase’ (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986: 208). The meaning of the Hungarian *kengyel* ‘stirrup’ is ‘a device that supports the foot when mounting and riding a horse’, which was formed from a version of the *kégy* ‘circle, hoop, ring, tire’ plus the suffix *-l* (TESZ II: 443). The Mongol *dörüge* ‘stirrup’ is semantically an interesting parallel, as the Mongol word is *dörö* ‘iron hoop’ plus the suffix *-ge(n)* (Nugteren 2011: 319).

The stirrup was first mentioned in Chinese sources.<sup>1</sup> Pelliot noted that the first datum is from Zhang Jing’er’s (†483) biography, which can be dated to 477: “(Zhang) Jing’er and Liu Rangbing, the senior officer of (Shen) Youzhi, were good friends. When Cangwu fell, (Zhang) Jing’er suspected that (Shen) Youzhi is launching a war on this. (So) he secretly inquired (Liu) Rangbing, who did not say a word, he sent only

1 I express my thanks to Professor Gábor Kósa sinologist who translated and helped me to interpret the Chinese texts.

a pair of horse stirrups to (Zhang) Jing'er, who then made the preparations."<sup>2</sup> The dispatch of stirrups was a signal to start the military action.

Boodberg found earlier data on the stirrup, in the biography of Wang Luan from 399: "In the 3rd year of Long'an period [of the Eastern Jin] [399], in the 1st year of the Changle period of the (Late) Yan state [399], in the 1st year of Hongshi period of the (Late) Qin state, (399) and in the first year of Xianning period of the ruler Lüzuan of the (Late) Liang period (399), Murong De [336–405] from South Yan recruited soldiers in Qingzhou. Among the recruits from Yan was Donglai's chief, Wang Luan. Luan was 9 feet [approx. 2.7 m] high, at his waist the belt was 10 *wei* [approx. 2 m long] and [he] was able to mount his horse in armour without need of grasping the saddle or using a stirrup."<sup>3</sup> This unusually strong man did not need the help of stirrups to mount a horse. Thus, the Chinese chroniclers recorded the use of the stirrup in the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

The military manual *Strategikon*, preserved under the name of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice, gives a detailed account of the Turk-Avar nomadic military tactics and weapons. The work is usually dated to 600. It is noted in connection with the Byzantine cavalry: "attached to the saddle should be two iron stirrups." (Dennis – Gamilscheg 1981: 80–81). According to Szádeczky-Kardoss, the Avar origin of the stirrup cannot be questioned, since the author refers to the Avars in the preceding and following passages on the breast plate and tunics. The lack of a mention that the stirrup is of Avar origin can be explained by stylistic reasons. The Greek σκαλα 'stairs, stirrup' is a loanword from the Latin *scala*. The stirrup is mentioned in a description of the health section of the Byzantine army, where it is said that the usual location of the stirrup is at the front of the saddle; but there is also a stirrup at the back of the saddle of the sanitary horses, for taking the wounded out of the battlefield (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986: 208–211).

The earliest mentions of the stirrup in the Muslim *hadīth*-literature are in connection with the Prophet Muḥammad. Abū Dāwūd († 888) stated: "I saw the Messenger of God preaching to the people on 9 Dhul-Hijjah on a camel standing in the stirrups (ركاب *rikāb*)."<sup>4</sup> Whereas the *Saḥīḥ Muslim* collection from the 9<sup>th</sup> century

2 Li Danshou 李延壽 (ed.): *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 (Tang dynasty), *juan* 25, p. 466: 敬兒與攸之司馬劉攘兵情款，及蒼梧廢，敬兒疑攸之當因此起兵，密以問攘兵，攘兵無所言，寄敬兒馬鏡一隻，敬兒乃為之備。The same text can be found in Xiao Zixian's 蕭子顯 (ed.) *Nanshi* 南史 (Liang dynasty), *juan* 45, p. 1137; a slightly different version was recorded in the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, *juan* 134. Cf. Pelliot 1925–1926: 259.

3 *Sanshi guo chungiu* [jiben] 三十國春秋[輯本] (*Taiping yulan* 377): 隆安三年，燕長樂元年，秦弘始元年，涼呂纂咸寧元年，南燕慕容德傳檄青州。燕徵其東萊太守王鸞。鸞身長九尺，腰帶十圍，貫甲跨馬，不據鞍由鏡。*Sanshiguo chungiu* 三十國春秋 was compiled by Xiao Fangdeng 蕭方等 [528–549], it was lost, and it was preserved in a later source. The current version was compiled by Tang Qiu 湯球 of the Qing dynasty from *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, an encyclopaedia from the 10th century. The report has two other versions: *Yanzhou sibu gao* 兗州四部稿 (四庫全書本)/全覽 6 and *Yuding yuanjian leihan* 御定淵鑑類函 (四庫全書本)/卷 256. Cf. Boodberg 1979: 112.

4 Sunan Abū Dāwūd 1917 <https://sunnah.com/search/?q=stirrup> (accessed 08.10. 2018).

recorded: “When the Prophet put his feet in the stirrup (*garz*) and the she-camel got up carrying him...”<sup>5</sup> There is another datum in the description of the Battle of Hunan (630): “Abu Sufyan was holding the stirrup (ركاب *rikāb*) of the mule of the Messenger of God.”<sup>6</sup> Lane clarified in his dictionary that *garz* means a leather stirrup attached to a camel’s saddle, while *rikāb* is a stirrup made of iron, copper or wood (Lane 1863–1893: 2246). The collections of Abū Dāwūd and at-Tirmidhī († 893) preserved a report about Ali from 661: “Ali ibn Rabi’ah said: I was present with Ali while a beast was brought to him to ride. When he put his foot in the stirrup (ركاب *rikāb*), he said: ‘In the name of God’.”<sup>7</sup> These reports can be dated to the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, but they were recorded in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently, the use of the iron stirrup at the time of the Prophet is dubious, since the appearance of the iron stirrups in other Muslim literary sources can be dated to the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Al-Ġāhiz († 868) was a renowned Mutazilite scholar of the 9<sup>th</sup> century; he was the author of numerous literary works, among others, *Exploits of the Turks and the Army of the Khalifate in General*. He mentioned that the people of Khorasan, living in the eastern province of Persia, played a decisive role in seizing the power of the Abbasid dynasty in the Caliphate. They stated: “And we make armour of felt and have stirrups and breastplates.” (Walker 1915: 646). The geographer al-Muqaddasī listed stirrups among the goods exported from Samarkand in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (BGA III: 325; Barthold 1928<sup>2</sup>: 235). Al-Ġāhiz twice mentioned the stirrups of the Arabs in another work, *Kitāb al-bayān wa’l-tabyīn* (The Book of Eloquence and Demonstration): “You were accustomed to ride your horses in battle bareback, and whenever a horse did not have a saddle on its back it was made of leather but had no stirrups. But stirrups are among the best trappings of war for both the lancer who wields his spear and the swordsman who brandishes his sword, since they may stand in them or use them as support.”<sup>8</sup> “As to stirrups, it is agreed that they are very old, but iron stirrups were not used by the Arabs before the days of the Azraqites.”<sup>9</sup> This is supplemented by a description of al-Mubarrad († 898) from *Kitāb al-kāmil fī’l-adab* (The Book of Perfection in Education): “Stirrups were first made of wood and therefore broke very easily, with the result that whenever (the warrior) wished to brandish his sword or the lancer to strike with his spear, he had no support. Consequently al-Muhallab ordered that they be made of iron. He thus became the first to have stirrups made of iron.” (Wright 1864: 675). The background of the story was the campaigns of the Arab leader al-Muhallab (632–702) against the most prominent Harījite branch, the Azraqites, in the 690s (P. Crone: EI<sup>2</sup> VII, 357; R. Rubinacci: EI<sup>2</sup> I, 810–811).

5 Saḥīḥ Muslim 1187 c <https://sunnah.com/search/?q=stirrup> (accessed 08.10. 2018).

6 Saḥīḥ Muslim 1775 a <https://sunnah.com/search/?q=stirrup> (accessed 08.10. 2018).

7 Jami’ at-Tirmidhī 3446; Sunan Abū Dāwūd 2602. <https://sunnah.com/search/?q=stirrup> (accessed 08.10. 2018).

8 Ġāhiz, *Kitāb al-Bayān wa’l-Tabyīn*. <http://www.islamicbook.ws/adab/albian-waltbiin-.pdf> 278 (accessed 08.10. 2018).

9 Ġāhiz, *Kitāb al-Bayān wa’l-Tabyīn*, <http://www.islamicbook.ws/adab/albian-waltbiin-.pdf> 280 (accessed 08.10. 2018).

In summary, the stirrups were first recorded in Chinese sources in 399 and in 477; Byzantine military history mentioned the stirrups at around 600; while the Muslim authors dated the appearance of iron stirrups to the 690s.

The visual representations of stirrups appeared first in Chinese paintings and sculptures. There is a statue of a horse from around Nanjing dated to circa 322, which shows stirrups on each side of it. Chavannes called attention to a Chinese relief from 554, showing a rectangular stirrup (Dien 1986: 45, n.30). The mausoleum of the famous Tang emperor, Taizong (626–649), who subjugated the Eastern Türk Khaganate in 630, contains a harnessed war stallion with stirrups depicted on his tombstone (Zhou 2009: 202–209).



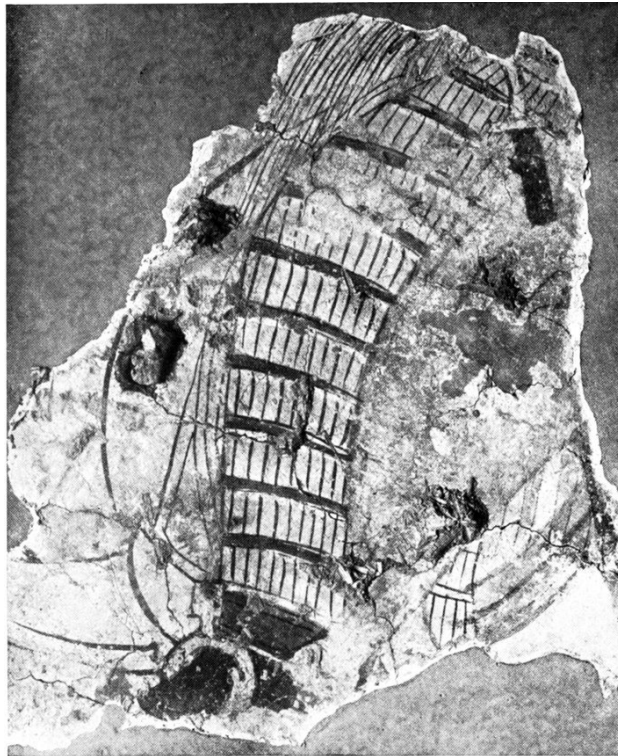
Finally, there is a stirrup on a horse drawing from the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century by the famous Tang-era painter, Han Gan (706–783).<sup>10</sup>



In Korea, there are visual representations from the kingdoms of Kogurjo and Silla. Mjongjong's tomb from the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century is located near Ji'an city, where the famous hunting scene with stirrups can be seen on the wall of the main chamber. This is one of the most beautiful mural paintings of the Kogurjo kingdom. A stirrup can be identified on the equestrian statue among the ceramic figures in the tomb of the Golden Bell, from the 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, in the territory of the Kingdom of Silla; and another appears on a clay sculpture in the Gyeongju Museum (Dien 1986: 35).

Turning to the west of China, there is a fragment with armoured horse's leg and a stirrup in a mural painting in Kocho in the Tarim Basin, from the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Le Coq 1925: 76).

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.chinaonlinemuseum.com/painting-han-gan-two-horses.php> (accessed 08.10. 2018).



There are also stirrup representations in the mural paintings of Penjikent from Sogdia, in the territory of present-day Uzbekistan (Azarpay 1981: 124, figure 50, plate 6–7, 8–9, 14, 15, 17; Marshak 2016). The picture of the Rustem's story in the blue hall clearly shows the stirrup; this picture is dated to the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.



Furthermore, a hunting scene with a Middle Persian inscription on a silver plate can be dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century. It was made in the territory of Khorasan and it is considered to be a post-Sasanian work of art; it shows the rider putting his foot into a stirrup.<sup>11</sup>



In Islamic lands, there is a floor painting with a hunting scene in the palace of Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi in Syria, built between 724 and 743 by the order of the Umayyad caliph Hishām. In this scene, the stirrup of the rider is visible (Fehérvári 1987: 46, 297).

11 Dish with hunting scene. 8th c. Silver. Dia. 28.3 cm. Middle Iranian inscr Found before 1835; purch. 1840. Inv. no. S-247Pub.: Smirnov no. 61; Trever & Lukonin no. 17; Darkevich no. 115, pl. 2, pp. 57-59 (doubts Sasanian, but suggests Khorosan, end 7th-beg. 8th c.)” <https://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/museums/shm/shmsasanian.html> (accessed 08.10. 2018).



Jotov collected the Byzantine images of stirrups; he noted that these are stylized in most cases. They are clearly presented in the miniatures of the Paris manuscript “Homilies of Gregory the Theologian” from the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century; in the “Sacra Parallela” manuscript from the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century; and on the “The Holy Warriors St Theodore and St George” icon, from the collection of the Sinai monastery of St Catherine. The stirrups represented in the first two images are triangular, and the third is a rectangular/arched shape (Jotov 2017: 145–148).

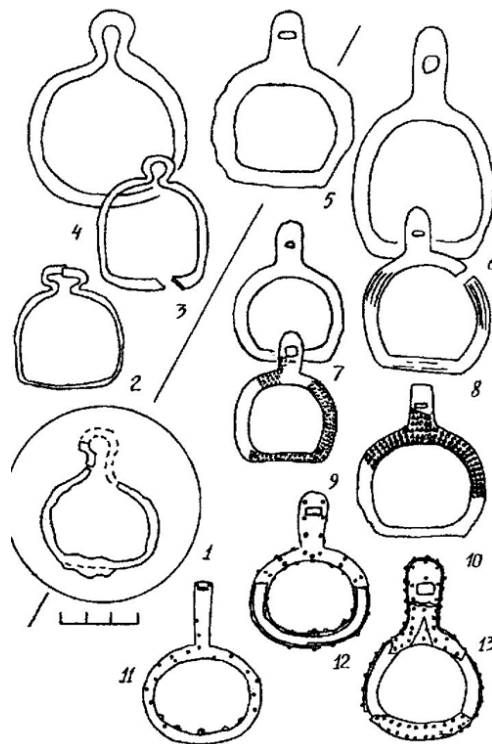
Turning to the archaeological material: in 1974, Xienbei tombs were discovered in Xiaomintun, near to Anyang, which were dated to the early or mid-4<sup>th</sup> century. The deceased’s head rested on a saddle, and beside it was a gold-plated bronze stirrup, which was obviously fixed to the left side of the saddle. During another excavation, a pair of stirrups were found near Huhehot; these date from the 4<sup>th</sup> century. In the tomb of one of the family members of the Northern Yan dynasty, Feng Sufu († 415), a stirrup made of mulberry covered with gold-plated bronze plates was found. The stirrups discovered in Kogurjo, from the 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, are generally oval in shape. The two pairs of stirrups found in Wanbaoting are also wood-based, covered with bronze (Dien 1986: 33–34). The stirrups covered by metal, and later the iron stirrup, appeared almost simultaneously in North China and Korea in the 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. At this time, North China was dominated by various nomadic dynasties, which may have played a decisive role in the appearance of armoured cavalry. The elite Xienbei and Tuoba, presumably speaking Mongolian dialects, formed the heavy horsemen; however, the



Chinese elite gradually took over this role. Thus, power gradually came into the hands of the Chinese, who reunited China (Dien 1986: 42).

The iron stirrup was in use in the Ruanruan Khaganate in the 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, given that the dominant elements of the Avars originated from the Ruanruan, and there are iron stirrups in the cemeteries of the Avars in the Carpathian Basin.

The Türk Khaganate played a decisive role in spreading the stirrup on the Eurasian steppe. Significant numbers of stirrups have been excavated in Türk tombs from the regions of the Russian Altai, Tuva, Middle Yenisey, Lower Ob, Tien-san, Issyk-Köl, Central and Eastern Kazakhstan, the Chu valley and Samarkand (Stark 2008: 147–149). In spite of the vast expanse of the empire, the types of stirrups seem to be consistent. Basically, two groups can be distinguished: (1) figure-8-shaped stirrups with loop-shaped eyelets, and (2) round or oval stirrups with rectangular eyelets. This distinction has no chronological significance (Savinov 1996: 16–20).

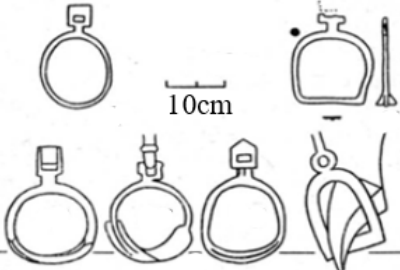
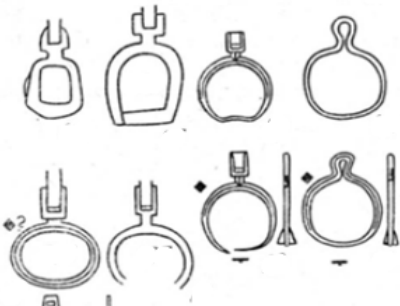

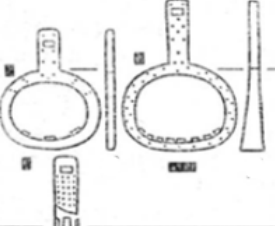


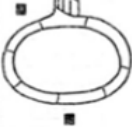


*The formation of stirrups according to Savinov (1996: 16–20): 1. Arbanskij čaatas (Khakassia), 2. Minusinsk basin, 3. Ust'-Tes' (Altay), 4–5. Kudyrge (Altay), 6. Kara Kobe (Altay), 7. Kok Paš (Altay), 8. Krokalevka (Novosibirsk), 9. Ulug-Horum (Tuva), 10. Ust'-Tes' (Altay), 11. Ust'-Tes' (Altay), 12. Ust'-Tes' (Altay), 13. Ust'-Tes' (Altay).*

The Avars brought the stirrup into the Carpathian Basin in 568. In the early Avar period, stirrups were generally long-eared, round in shape and ribbed, and made of high-quality iron. There are also smaller numbers with looped ears (Kovrig 1955: 30). Early Avar (568–c.630) tombs usually contain the lance and the stirrup together, which is an obvious reference to heavy cavalry. Kovrig emphasized that equestrian equipment of the early Avar period in the Carpathian Basin is similar to that found in the regions of the Altai, South Siberia and Mongolia (Kovrig 1955: 43); the shape of the stirrups changed in the late Avar period, when they became straight-soled and made of poorer-quality iron (Bóna 1987: 164, 173). According to Curta, early Avar stirrups were excavated together with spearheads, a typical sign of professional heavy cavalry. The stirrup allowed the rider to use the bow, spear, and sword alternately during combat (Curta 2008: 296–325, 314).

After the fall of the first Türk Khaganate, the Khazars established their empire on the steppe of Eastern Europe in the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. As a successor state to the Western Türk Empire, they evidently continued that tradition. A common find in the graves of Saltovo is the iron stirrup. They are arched, and the sole is straight or slightly concave. There are two types of ears: a long rectangular shape, and rounded. The width of the sole can be narrow, medium or wide; however, there are also stirrups with curved soles and looped ears (Aksenov, Miheev 2006: 122–123).

The archaeological data reflect the spread of stirrups in the Asian part of the steppe and in the Carpathian Basin in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, which can be related to the creation of the Türk and Avar Khaganates. The Eastern European steppe was briefly under the rule of the Avars for a short time (555–568; 603–630); then it was the part of the Western Türk Khaganate (568–603). There are some traces of the use of stirrups in that period, but the iron stirrups were spread under the Khazar Khaganate (7<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> cc.) in Eastern Europe.

c.	leather	wood and plate	iron
8th			
7th			
6th			
5th			
4th			

*Ambroz 1973: 84.*

Before the iron stirrups, the following antecedents can be reconstructed. The initial form could have been a loop-eared stirrup made of organic material (leather strap or rope). Then, a hard wooden footrest was installed into the loop socket. The next step could have been the wooden stirrup. Later, it was covered and reinforced with bone or metal plates, and finally the metal stirrup was invented (Kyzlasov 1973: 35; Ambroz 1973: 84; Zhou 2009: 202–209). The two basic types of iron stirrups, with several typological variants, lived side by side in the Türk Kaganate. It is worth mentioning that the wooden stirrups survived and were in use among the Mongols in the 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, and there are ethnographic data regarding their use today among Mongols, Tuvans, Bashkirs, Kazakhs and Yakuts (Kyzlasov 1973: 33). At the end of August 2018, the author photographed traditional Kyrgyz stirrups at an exhibition at the ethnographic department of a bookstore in Bishkek, the capital of Kyrgyzstan. It is clear from the picture that the wooden stirrups, covered by bone and metal, have lived side by side with the metal stirrups.



In conclusion, the iron stirrup seems to be a common Sino-nomadic invention, and the appropriate conditions were created by the Xienbei people, in the Touba states of northern China and Korea. The iron stirrup spread eastward to southern Korea, and then to Japan. The westward spread was facilitated by the formation of the Türk Khaganate, which provoked the western fleeing of the Avars. Consequently, the stirrup appeared first in the sections of Eurasian steppe-belt ruled by these khaganates:

the steppe from Manchuria to the Volga and the Carpathian Basin. The Türks and the Chinese, especially due to the Tang conquests, could spread the stirrup along the classic Silk Road in the Tarim Basin and Sogdia. Before the Islamic conquest, Persia became acquainted with the iron stirrup through the Türks. Then, the Türks played a similar role in the Islamic world. The Islamic conquest of Transoxania, and later, in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the Türk bodyguard and slave army, may also have promoted the use of stirrups. Byzantium and Europe became acquainted with the iron stirrup due to the Avars. As a result of its use, the bow could be more precisely targeted; and the rider was able to exert more striking and stabbing force. Presumably, it allowed the heavy armoured squad to switch weapons during combat. Thus, the common Sino-nomadic invention of the stirrup and other equestrian equipment made it possible to use heavy armoured cavalry in Chinese, Islamic, Byzantine, and European warfare, which can be regarded as dominant until the appearance of firearms.

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