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## THE HUNGARIAN LINGUISTIC MATERIAL IN EVLIYA ÇELEBİ

### 1. Introduction

**1.0.** Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* ('Book of Travels'), the impressive historical-geographical work considered a masterpiece of seventeenth-century Turkish literature, is a veritable mine of linguistic information too. In fact, the "Ottoman globetrotter" (*giramondo ottomano*, as Bombaci 1969: 400 calls Evliya) proves greatly interested in the languages of the various countries visited and usually provides a number of samples of each of them. Among these languages is Hungarian, since he had the opportunity to pass several times through territories inhabited by Hungarian-speaking people during his travels. The aim of this paper is to examine the Magyar lexical material scattered in the *Seyahatname*, pointing out that we will only deal with words, phrases and sentences specifically mentioned by Evliya Çelebi as foreign vocabulary, not with (varyingly turkicized) loanwords of Hungarian origin found in his work, which are generally known from other sources too (f.ex. *biro(v)* 'judge, head of a village' < *bíró*, *erşek/irşek* 'archbishop' < *érsek*, *nemeş* 'noble' < *nemes*, *papişta* 'catholic' < *pá-pista*, *turvin* 'assembly' < *törvény*, *varoş* 'suburb' < *város*, etc).<sup>1</sup> We only made an exception for *tabur*, including this item given the importance of Evliya's account.

**1.1.** *Seyahatname*'s Hungarian linguistic corpus essentially consists of a list of about eighty words and sentences (numerals, terms of basic lexicon, vulgar expressions) placed within the description of a long journey through Transylvania and eastern Hungary Evliya made in 1661 and whose report occupies a large part of the sixth book of his work. On his arrival in Nagybánya (today's Romanian town Baia Mare), the Turkish traveller says that "as this town is ancient the Hungarian language had its first origin in this region" (*bu şehir kadîm olmağıle ibtidâ lisân-ı Macar-ı füccâr bu diyârda peydâ olmuşdur*: VI 9a = EÇS

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<sup>1</sup> On these loans, see Fekete 1930, Rocchi 2005.

6, 14) and this fact gives him a chance to provide the mentioned list. Soon after he adds that people in “Middle Hungary” (*Orta Macar*) – by this name he designates Magyar territories which had not been subjected to Ottoman domination – usually count in a different way, namely “in groups of ten each” (*onar onar*), and makes a list of these numbers. In addition, further Hungarian lexical samples are quoted by Evliya on various occasions (see the corpus below).

**1.2.** Scholars studying the material in question have to face both an objective difficulty, the absolute inability of the Arabic-Ottoman script to represent some Hungarian sounds, and a subjective difficulty, the often unreliable variant readings of the codices containing the *Seyahatname*. As a result of this, if we compare the various editions of this material published so far, we can easily note glaring textual divergences between them, not only due to different systems of transcription. In fact the first who were concerned with it (Karácson, Ligeti) essentially worked on the text of the *editio princeps* of the work, which was brought out in Istanbul over forty years (1898 to 1938); this edition came in for a lot of criticism, not only for its philological defects, but also for printing errors, omissions, and several censored passages. Instead, subsequent scholars (Halasi-Kun, Dankoff) used the manuscripts kept in the Topkapı Sarayı (those signed Bağdat Köşkü and Revan Köşkü), which are regarded as autographs. In recent years, a new complete edition of the *Seyahatname*, based on the Topkapı codices, was published in Istanbul by Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Kahraman and others, in a transcription in Latin characters according to the modern Turkish alphabet (it is quoted as EÇS).

**1.3.** In our edition of the material, we followed these criteria: the Hungarian entries are listed according to the various spellings found in **(a)** the text of EÇS, in bold; **(b)** the papers of Karácson (K), Ligeti (L), Halasi-Kun (HK) and Dankoff (D), in roman; **(c)** the present-day Hungarian language, in italics, with English (or Latin<sup>2</sup>) translation. Next, we quote in brackets Evliya’s Turkish equivalents (numbers are written in figures) of the Hungarian words; this Turkish text is accompanied by an English translation if it has a different meaning from the Hungarian one, while as for the numerals wrong equivalences are marked with an asterisk. Lastly, we add short explanatory notes by means of the symbol • where we thought it appropriate.

The entries from 1 to 78 correspond to the list of Nagybánya (VI 9a = EÇS 6, 14-15), those from 79 to 88 to the numbers of *Orta Macar* (VI 9b = EÇS 6, 15), the subsequent ones being taken from other passages shown in the explanatory notes.

<sup>2</sup> In the case of vulgar expressions; instead of writing *f.ck* or *c..t* we preferred a Latin translation.

## 2. Hungarian corpus

1. **eg** egy (K); ég (L); ed' (HK); eg (D); *egy* 'one' [1] • For rendering the non-Turkish palatals [j] and [ç] the Ottoman script usually resorts to the grapheme ⟨k⟩ (ك), which also stands for /g/ with its allophone [gʲ], the latter being acoustically rather similar to the mentioned Hungarian sounds. For other instances see 4, 14, 30, 35, 42, 48, 49, 56, 57, 60, 71, 90.
2. **ketö** kettő (K); ket(t)ö (L); ketö (HK); ketö (D); *kettő* 'two' [2].
3. **harm** három (K); hārôm (L); har(o)m (HK); ħarm (D); *három* 'three' [3].
4. **nig** négy (K); nēg (L); nid' (HK); nig (D); *négy* 'four' [4] • Hungarian [e:] is so close that it can easily be taken for [i], especially to a Turkish ear, cf. 26, 54 (*ayandik*), 58.
5. **höt** öt (K); ôt (L); höt (HK); höt (D); *öt* 'five' [5] • The initial ⟨h⟩ of the Turkish is undoubtedly due to the analogical influence of the following numbers.
6. **hat** hat (K); ħat (L); hat (HK); ħat (D); *hat* 'six' [6].
7. **het** hét (K); hét (L); het (HK); het (D); *hét* 'seven' [7].
8. **noç** nyolcs (K); nĵôlç (L); n'oç (HK); goç (D); *nyolc* 'eight' [8] • The spellings of EÇS, Halasi-Kun and Dankoff are different transcriptions of the same Ottoman writing ⟨kWç⟩. The grapheme ⟨k⟩ also stands for the velar nasal [ŋ], but in this case it stands for the palatal [ɲ]. This latter sound is usually represented by a simple ⟨n⟩ (see 21, 41, 43, 57, 61, 70), once also by ⟨ny⟩ (78). It is a rule that Turkish renders *c* [ts] with ç [tʃ], the only unvoiced affricate occurring in its phonetic system, see 9, 34, 54, 63.
9. **kilenc** kilencs (K); kîlenç (L); kil(e)nç (HK); kilénç (D); *kilenc* 'nine' [9].
10. **tiz** tíz (K); tîz (L); tiz (HK); tiz (D); *tíz* 'ten' [10].
11. **husvan** husz (K); ħūs (L); husvan (HK); ħusvan (D); *húsz* 'twenty' [20] • Form analogically reconstructed on the other numerals in *-van*.
12. **kötvan** (missing in K and L); ketvan (HK); kötvan (D); (it does not exist in Hungarian) [30\*] • Evliya "regularizes" in his own way the formation of multiples of ten by adding *-van* to the numbers from 'two' to 'ten'. However, as 'twenty' had already been assigned, he gives the value 'thirty' to the *kötvan* arbitrarily reconstructed on *ketö* 'two', thus wrongly increasing by ten the numerical value of all the subsequent numbers. Instead, in the text followed by Karácson and Ligeti, where the "ghost" word *kötvan* is missing, indications are correct, as well as for the numerals of *Orta Macar* (81-88).
13. **harvan** harmincs (K); ħarmînc (L); har(minç) (HK); ħarvan (D); *harminc* 'thirty' [40\*].
14. **negvan** negven (K); neĵvân (L); n(e)d'ven (HK); ngvan (D); *negyven* 'forty' [50\*].
15. **hötvan** ötven (K); ôtвъn (L); hötven (HK); hötvan (D); *ötven* 'fifty' [60\*].

16. **hatvan** hatvan (K); hâtvân (L); hatvan (HK); hatvan (D); *hatvan* ‘sixty’ [70\*].
17. **hetvan** hetven (K); hetvân (L); hetven (HK); hetvan (D); *hetven* ‘seventy’ [80\*].
18. **goçvan** nyolcsvan (K); njôlčvân (L); n'oçvan (HK); goçvan (D); *nyolcsvan* ‘eighty’ [90\*] • On the rendering of the palatal nasal see 8. Here EÇS follows Dankoff’s spelling (cf. instead 8). The same numeral appears as *noçvan* in the list of *Orta Macar* (86).
19. **kilençvan** kilencsvan (K); kîlenčvân (L); kil(e)nçven (HK); qîlénçvan (D); *kilencven* ‘ninety’ [100\*].
20. **tizvan** [száz (K); sâz (L);] tizvan (HK); tizvan (D); (it does not exist in Hungarian) [200\*] • This “ghost” number occurs in 79 too, in the list of *Orta Macar*, but there it is given the value ‘ten’. In place of this *tizvan*, Karácson and Ligeti have the correct *száz* ‘hundred’ here.
21. **kener** kenir (K); keñêr (L); k(e)nir (HK); kéner (D); *kenyér* ‘bread’ [*etmek*].
22. **viz** víz (K); viz (L); viz (HK); viz (D); *víz* ‘water’ [*su*].
23. **šov** só (K); šō (L); šo (HK); šov (D); *só* ‘salt’ [*tuz*].
24. **şajtun** sajt (K); šâjt (L); şayt (HK); şaytun (D); *sajt* ‘cheese’ [*peynir*] • The ending *-un* is not clearly explicable.
25. **vaj** vaj (K); vâj (L); vay (HK); vay (D); *vay* ‘butter’ [*yağ(dır)*; we put in brackets the Turkish copula *-dır*, see 26, 36, 59, 76, 77, 78].
26. **miz** miz (K); mēz (L); miz (HK); miz (D); *méz* ‘honey’ [*bal(dır)*].
27. **ney [tey]** tej (K); tej (L); tey (HK); ney (\*tey) (D); *tej* ‘milk’ [*süt*] • The *ney* written in the codex should evidently be amended to *tey*, as EÇS and Dankoff correctly do. The initial allographs ⟨n⟩ (ن) and ⟨t⟩ (ت) can easily be confused in the Arabic-Ottoman script. Cf. 75, 93.
28. **teyfel** tejfel (K); tejfel (L); teyfel (HK); teyfel (D); *teyfel* ‘(sour)cream’ [*kaymak*].
29. **aluttey** alutej (K); âlut(t)ej (L); aluttey (HK); aluttey (D); *aludttej* ‘curdled milk’ [*yoğurd*].
30. **hagma** hagyma (K); hâgmâ (L); had’ma (HK); hagma (D); *hagyma* ‘onion’ [*soğan*].
31. **kanal** kanál (K); kanāl (L); kanal (HK); qánal (D); *kanál* ‘spoon’ [*kaşık*].
32. **kej** kézs (K); kěš (L); keş (HK); kej (D); *kés* ‘knife’ [*bıçak*] • Evliya’s data reflect a Hungarian dialect form *kézs* (the grapheme ⟨j⟩ represents the post-alveolar [ʒ]), or, according to Ligeti’s explanation, it has resulted from a graphical error; namely the text originally recorded the correct *kés*, but later the final allograph of [ʃ] (ش) was copied out as [ʃr] (شر) by mistake – in fact the word appears as [kʃr] in some codices – and finally this last spelling gave rise to the reading with [ʒ] (ج).

33. **talt** tál (K); tál (L); tal(a)t (L); talṭ (D); *tál* ‘dish’ [çanak] • The Hungarian word is put in the accusative *tál(a)t*.
34. **pinçebe** pincse (K); pînçe (L); pinç(e)be (HK); pinçebe (D); *pince* ‘basement, cellar’ [zîr-i zemîn] • The Hungarian word is put in the illative *pinçebe* ‘to the cellar’.
35. **gerka** gyergya (K); gérkâ (L); d’ert’a (HK); gerka (D); *gyertya* ‘candle’ [mûm] • On the rendering of the palatals see 1.
36. **lonak** ló (K); lō (L); lonak (HK); lonaq (D); *ló* ‘horse’ [at(tır)] • The Hungarian word is put in the dative *lónak*.
37. **tüz** tüz (K); tüz (L); tüz (HK); tüz (D); *tüz* ‘fire’ [âteş].
38. **disno** disznó (K); disnō (L); disno (HK); disno (D); *disznó* ‘pig’ [domuz].
39. **hozza buzat** hozzá buzát (K); hōz(z)ā bŭzāt (L); hozza buzat (HK); hozzá buzat (D); *hozz búzát* ‘bring wheat!’ [getir buğday] • We do not know the origin of the final *-a* in the imperative given by Evliya.
40. **hozza abrakat** (missing in K and L); hozza abrak(o)t (HK); hozza abraqt (D); *hozz abrakot* ‘bring fodder!’ [the Turkish translation is missing].
41. **liyan** lián (K); lejān (L); liyan (HK); liyan (D); *leány* (with many dialect forms such as *lēján*, *lyiány*, *lián*, see TESz 2, 734) ‘girl; daughter’ [kız].
42. **germek** gyermek (K); d’erm(e)k (L); gérmek (HK); germék (D); *gyermek* ‘child’ [oğlan].
43. **asson** asszon (K); âs(s)ōn (L); asson (HK); aşşon (D); *asszony* ‘woman’ [karı].
44. **seme** szem (K); sem (L); seme (HK); seme (D); *szem(e)* ‘(his/her) eye’ [göz] • As was to be expected, the parts of the human body appear with the third person possessive suffix, see 46, 47 (but cf. 45). The same suffix occurs in 53, 62 too.
45. **zorot** zorot (K); zōr(r)ōd (L); (a)z orot (HK); zorot (D); *orr* ‘nose’ [burun] • The initial *z* of Evliya’s word undoubtedly represents the Hungarian article *az* with loss of *a*-. As to the ending *-ot*, it is interpreted by the scholars in different ways: Halasi-Kun considers it the mark of the accusative *orrot*, Ligeti – an unvoiced variant of the second person possessive suffix *-od*, according to this reasoning: Evliya must have asked his informant: “What is the word for this?”, showing his own nose, and the reply was: “It’s your nose (*az orrod*)”.
46. **saya** száj (K); sāj (L); saya (HK); şayá (D); *száj(a)* ‘(his/her) mouth’ [ağız].
47. **haşa** has (K); hâş (L); haşa (HK); haşá (D); *has(a)* ‘(his/her) belly’ [karın].
48. **gövel** gyüvel (K); guvel (L); d’övel (HK); gövel (D); *jöjjél* ‘come!’ [gel] • The word reflects a Hungarian imperative *gyövel*, which is found in a record of 1718 (TESz 2, 282).

49. **ereg** eregy (K); erég(ǵ) (L); ered' (HK); ereg (D); *eredj* 'go (away)!' [git].
50. **hamar hozz** hamar hozz (K); hamâr hōz(z) (L); hamar hoz (HK); hámar hoz (D); *hamar hozz* 'bring quickly!' [tiz getir].
51. **seker** szeker (K); sekér (L); seker (HK); seker (D); *szekér* 'waggon' [araba].
52. **mojmege [mojdmeg]** mozs meg (K); mōžmek (L); mojt ke (HK); mojmeke (\*mojtke) (D); *mosd meg* 'wash (it)!' [yayka] • We cannot understand the correction *mojtke* made by Dankoff in accordance with Halasi-Kun, since the reading *mojmege* of the manuscript seems much nearer to the Hungarian word.
53. **inge** ing (K); îng (L); inge (HK); inge (D); *ing(e)* '(his/her) shirt' [gömlēgi] • The Turkish translation *gömlēgi* has got the possessive suffix too.
54. **hoça nekem ayandik** hocsa nekem ajándik (K); hōça nekem âjāndēk (L); hoça nekem ayandik (HK); hoçá neqem ayandiq (D); *ho(c)ca nekem ajāndék* 'give me a gift!' [vere bana bağışla literally 'give, donate to me!'] • *Hoça* represents the old, dialect Hungarian *hoc(c)a* 'bringe her! gib her!', formed by the imperative *hozz* (see 39, 40, 50) + intensive particle *sza* (TESz 2, 127).
55. **fokmeg** fokmeg (K); fōkmeg (L); fok meg (HK); foqmeg (D); *fogd meg* 'catch (him/her/it)!' [tuta].
56. **guk** gyuk (K); kūk (L); ŧuk (HK); guq (D); *tyúk* 'hen' [tavuk].
57. **gukman** gyukmon (K); kukmōń (L); ŧukmon (HK); guqman (D); *tyúkmony* (old, dialect) 'egg' [yumurta].
58. **körtvil** körtvil (K); kortvël (L); körtvil (HK); qörtvil (D); *körtvély* (old, dialect; the modern standard form is *körte*) 'pear' [armud] • These data are important evidence that the Hungarian spoken in the area of Nagybánya still preserved the sound [ɕ] at that time, even though "the phonetic change *l' > j* started in the eastern regions in the sixteenth century" (Kálmán 1972: 56).
59. **alma** alma (K); almâ (L); alma (HK); elma (D); *alma* 'apple' [elma(dır)].
60. **meg** meggy (K); meǵ(ǵ) (L); međ' (HK); meg (D); *meggy* 'sour cherry' [vişne].
61. **çereşne** cseresne (K); čerešne (L); çereşne (HK); çereşne (D); *cseresznye* 'cherry' [kiraz].
62. **hala** hal (K); hâl (L); hala (HK); halá (D); *hal(a)* '(his/her) fish' [balık].
63. **çonpo** csompo (K); čômpō (L); çompo (HK); çonpo (D); *compó* 'tench' [sazan balık 'carp'].
64. **list** liszt (K); list (L); list (HK); list (D); *liszt* 'flour' [un].
65. **söl** szőlő (K); sōlō (L); söl(ö) (HK); söl (D); *szőlő* 'grape' [üzüm] • In this case the codices on which the text followed by Karácson and Ligeti is based are those that give the most correct reading.

66. **silva** szilva (K); szîlvâ (L); silva (HK); silva (D); *szilva* ‘plum’ [*erik*].
67. **fayı** fa (K); fâ (L); faya (HK); fayı (D); *fa* ‘tree; wood’ [*odun* ‘firewood’] • The form *fayı* is problematic, unless we suppose that Evliya added the Turkish accusative suffix to the Hungarian word, which would be surprising, but not impossible. According to their reading, Ligeti and Halasi-Kun interpret the term as a possessive *fája* ‘(his/her) wood’.
68. **diyo** dio (K); dijō (L); diyo (HK); diyo (D); *dió* ‘walnut’ [*ceviz*].
69. **anber** ember (K); âmber (L); ember (HK); anber (D); *ember* ‘man’ [*âdem*].
70. **manaçke** menecske (K); meñaçke (L); meneçke (HK); menaçke (D); *menyecske* ‘bride’ [*gelin*].
71. **ki vagon** ki van ott (K); kî vâñ ô(t) (L); ki vađon (HK); qıvagon (D); *ki vagon?* (old; modern standard *van*) ‘who is it?’ [*kimdir o*] • Karácson and Ligeti have a different reading, whose meaning is ‘who is there?’.
72. **nem tudom** nem tudom (K); nem tûdôm (L); nem tudom (HK); nem tudom (D); *nem tudom* ‘I don’t know’ [*bilmem*].
73. **nem latom** nem látom (K); nem lâ(t)am (L); n(e)m lat(t)am (HK); nem latm (D); *nem látam* ‘I did not see’ [*görmedim*] • Hungarian *látom* is the first person of the present (objective conjugation) ‘I see (him/her/it)’, but Evliya’s translation corresponds to the past tense *láttam*.
74. **hunlakot** hun lakol (K); hûñ lâkôl (L); hun lakol (HK); hunlaqot (D); *hun lakol?* ‘where do you live?’ [*nerelisin* ‘where are you from?’] • The text of EÇS and Dankoff has certainly to be amended to *lakol*, as the other scholars read.
75. **in [it] lakom** itt lakom (K); î(t) lâkôm (L); it lakom (HK); in (\*it) laqom (D); *itt lakom* ‘I live here’ [*buralıyım* ‘I am native of this place’] • On the graphical confusion between ⟨n⟩ and ⟨t⟩ (though the final allographs of these graphemes have a slightly different duct) see 27, 93.
76. **hoza kiçi valakat** (missing in K and L); hoz(z)a kiçi valakat (HK); hozá qiçi valaqat (D); *hozđ (a) kicsi valagod!* ‘affer parvum cunnum tuum!’ [*avretiden ol şeyi istemek(dir)* ‘to ask a woman for that thing’] • For the imperative *hoza* cf. 39, 40, 54; however, in this sentence the correct form should be the objective one *hozđ*. The word *valag* means ‘buttocks’ in the present-day Hungarian, but its original meaning was ‘weibliche Scham’ (TESz 3, 1076). In the oldest Italian-Hungarian glossary *fregna* (a vulgar term for vulva) was translated *valag* (Rocchi 1994: 194).
77. **basom segget** (missing in K and L); basom şeget (HK); başom şeget (D); *basszom segged* ‘futuo culum tuum’ [*oğlanın kıçına söğmek(dir)* ‘to penetrate into a boy’s buttocks’].
78. **basa manya [bastam anyat]** (missing in K and L); bastam anyat (HK); başá manyá (\*bastam anyat) (D); *basszam anyád* ‘futuo matrem tuam’

[*anasına söğmek(dir)* ‘to penetrate his mother’] • The correction *bastam* (namely *basztam*, past tense of *baszik* ‘futuere’) made by Dankoff and EÇS (following Halasi-Kun) is superfluous in our opinion, because this curse is often found also in the present tense. In another passage Evliya records it with unvoiced initial stop: *pasa manya* (VII 8a = EÇS 7, 13).

79. **tizvan** tizvan (K); tîzvân (L); (missing in HK); tizvan (D); (it does not exist in Hungarian) [10] • See 20.
80. **husvan** huszvan (K); ħusvân (L); (missing in HK); ħusvan (D); *húsz* ‘twenty’ [20] • See 11.
81. **harminç** harmics (K); ħârmîç (L); (missing in HK); ħarminç (D); *harminc* ‘thirty’ [30].
82. **negvan** negven (K); neġvân (L); (missing in HK); negvan (D); *négyven* ‘forty’ [40].
83. **hetven** ötven (K); ötvân (L); (missing in HK); hetven (D); *ötven* ‘fifty’ [50].
84. **hatvan** hatvan (K); hâtvân (L); (missing in HK); hatven (D); *hatvan* ‘sixty’ [60].
85. **ötven** hetven (K); hetvân (L); (missing in HK); ötven (D); *hetven* ‘seventy’ [70].
86. **noçvan** nocsvan (K); njöçvân (L); (missing in HK); noçvan (D); *nyolcvan* ‘eighty’ [80].
87. **kilençven** kilencsvan (K); ħilençvân (L); (missing in HK); qilénçven (D); *kilencven* ‘ninety’ [90].
88. **saz** száz (K); sâz (L); (missing in HK); saz (syaz?) (D); *száz* ‘hundred’ [100] • The form *syaz* with a question mark in Dankoff’s text is obscure for us.
89. **beştelelen kurafiya** bestelélek kurafia (K); bešte-lélek kûrâfiya (L); (missing in HK); beştelelen (\*beştelen) qurafiya (D); *bestelélek kurafia* ‘damn son of a bitch!’ [the Turkish translation is missing] • This curse is put in Hungarian cavalrymen’s mouths during their engagements with Ottoman troops and occurs in the *Seyahatname* no less than three times: in the mentioned form (VI 124a = EÇS 6, 216), as *beştelen kurafiye* (VI 103b = EÇS 6, 180) and as *beştele len kurafiya* (VII 8a = EÇS 7, 13). In the Hungarian literature, the phrase is recorded f.ex. in a Mihály Horváth’s humorous letter of 1663 (*beste lélek kurafi*),<sup>3</sup> and – with last element *kurafia*, just as Evliya gives it – in a document of 1684.<sup>4</sup> Etymologically it is formed by *beste* ‘beast’ (probably of Italian origin), *lélek* ‘soul’ and *kurafi(a)*, variant of *kurvafi* ‘whore’s (*kurva* < Slavic) son (-fi)’. As to the readings of the Turk-

<sup>3</sup> G. Szentmártoni Szabó, A fele sem tréfa – *Bárka* 13 (2005/5): 61.

<sup>4</sup> Attila T. Szabó, Magyar szitkozódások és esküdözések a XVII-XVIII. századból – *Magyar Nyelv* 36 (1940): 269.



ish text, the right one is clearly provided by the manuscripts on which Karácson and Ligeti are based. The incorrect *beştele(le)n* of the usually most reliable codices misled Dankoff, who thinks it represents the adjective *becstelen* ‘good-for-nothing’ (1991: 115, n. 1).

90. **gingöşiyye** (missing in K, L and HK); *gingöşiyye* (D); *gyöngyösi* ‘of/from Gyöngyös’ [*bu şehir-i Budun’un harâbât erenlerine gûna-gûn müskirât şekilli meşrûbâtları var, ammâ gingöşiyye nâm bir gûne sarı yâkût renginde billâr-misal berk urur bir hamr-ı harâmı olur* ‘innkeepers of Buda have various kinds of alcoholic drinks, for example an intoxicant topaz-coloured crystal-clear wine called *gingöşiyye*’ (VI 88a = EÇS 6, 153)] • Talking about fine Hungarian wines Evliya cites the one produced in Gyöngyös, a town in northern Hungary lying at the foot of the Mátra mountains, in a region that has been renowned for production of grape and wine since the Middle Ages. For instance, old chronicles make mention of Gyöngyösi Olaszrisling, a full-bodied fragrant white wine. The Turkish rendering of the Hungarian word shows noteworthy phonetic (vowel dissimilation *ö – ö > i – ö*) and morphological (addition of the Arabic-Ottoman adjectival suffix *-iyye*) features.
91. **in tudom maki penlatot** *én tudom magam látom* (K); *ēn tudom maqam lāt(t)am* (L); (missing in HK); *in tudom maqi penlatot* (D); *én tudom magam láttam* ‘I know, I myself saw it’ [*ben kendi gözümle gördüm* ‘I saw with my own eyes’ (VII 90a = EÇS 7, 160)] • Evliya considers the Hungarians to be a people of Persian origin, and as proof of this says that their language contains a great number of Persian words, quoting the above-mentioned sentence. Seeing his translation, where the verb ‘to know’ is left out (though *nem tudom* is correctly translated ‘I don’t know’ in the list of Nagybánya, see 72), he might have linked *tudom* with the Persian word *hüdām* ‘I myself’ by assonance; perhaps also the final *-tot* reminded him of the verb *dīdan* ‘to see’. In any case the reading needs substantial amendments in its last part: Ligeti thinks that the original text should be ⟨’yn twdm mkm l’tm⟩.
92. **istenamasa nacramasa** (missing in K, L and HK); *istenamaşa nacramaşa* (D); (according to our interpretation) *Isten á[ldo]mása...* ‘God’s blessing...’ [the Turkish translation is missing] • Words spoken by Hungarians when drinking wine (VI 30b = EÇS 6, 51). Dankoff’s translation is ‘a toast for wine’ with this explanation: “Based on Hungarian *isten éltesse* ‘God give life’ = ‘To your health!’ (also ? *nagyon* ‘very much’)” (1991: 47). In our view, *istenamasa* could represent *Isten áldomása*, with a syllable syncope in the latter word; the phrase already occurs in sixteenth-century Hungarian literature (see, for example, Bálint Balassi’s verse *véled Isten áldo-*

*mása* ‘with you (be) God’s blessing’<sup>5</sup>). As to the rest of Evliya’s data, we dare not put forward suggestions, because the reading is certainly spoilt and suspected of contamination with the previous word.

93. **kıpona** (missing in K, L and HK); *qıpona* (D); (according to our interpretation) *ki[rályi] pa[lo]ta* ‘royal palace’ [*Bu sarâyın nâmına «Kızıl[elma] sarâyı» deyü nâm kodular, zîrâ her kralın odaları üzre kızıl altundan toplar olduđu cihet i Kızılelma Sarâyı ve Kızılelma-yı Ungurus deyüp Budin kal’asına nâm kodular. (...) lisân-ı {Macar’da kızilelmaya kıpona* (in our view to be amended to *\*kıpota derler*)<sup>6</sup> ‘This palace (*scil.* the royal palace of Buda) is called «Red Apple palace» because of the reddish golden balls placed on each dome, and the city Buda itself is named Hungarian Red Apple. *Kıpona* (*\*kıpota*) means «red apple» in the Hungarian language’ (VI 73b = EÇS 6, 127)] • In this passage Evliya describes Buda’s imposing royal palace and his information about the name *Kızılelma* (‘Red Apple’), due to the splendid golden domes of the building,<sup>7</sup> is amply confirmed by other Ottoman sources: “*Red Apple* is an expression which occurs in written sources from the 16th century onwards; (...) It refers to a legendary city which was to be the ultimate goal of Turko-Muslim conquests, and some versions explain the term from the resemblance between a red apple and the golden dome of a building – in this latter case it refers to a large church situated in the area. In the Ottoman period *Kızıl-Elma* tended to be identified with the large cities associated with Christianity – Constantinople, Budapest, Vienna and Rome”<sup>8</sup> (P. N. Boratav, EI 5, 245; see also E. Rossi, *La leggenda turco-bizantina del Pomo Rosso, Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des études byzantines*, Roma 1936: 542-53). Dankoff is cautious in interpreting the *kıpona* of our text and annotates it with a simple “fanciful?” (1991: 73). Taking into account that confusion between the medial allographs of ⟨n⟩ ð and ⟨t⟩ ð is very easy in Arabic-Ottoman script, especially in writing foreign words, we suppose that the form found in the codex is

<sup>5</sup> *Balassi Bálint versei*, szerkeszti Kőszeghy Péter, Budapest 1993: 80.

<sup>6</sup> The words in brackets are written by another hand.

<sup>7</sup> “Gab es doch noch viele Reichshauptstädte und Glaubenszentren der «Giauren» im Abendland, jeweils geschmückt mit einem himmelhoch ragenden Wahrzeichen, von dessen Kuppeln oder Türmen mächtige goldene Kugeln weithin glänzten und als «Goldene Äpfel» die nach neuen Ruhmestaten dürstenden Janitscharen des Sultans lockten. (...) Da war (...) auch – gar nicht mehr weit von der türkischen Grenze – die stolze Königsburg im ungarischen Buda, auf deren Dächern vergoldete Kugeln im Sonnenlicht blitzten” (Kreutel 1963: 11).

<sup>8</sup> In the following lines of *Seyahatname*’s quoted passage Evliya says that the cities referred to with the epithet *Kızılelma* are six: Rome, Buda, Vienna, and three other Hungarian towns: Ustolni-Belgrad (Székesfehérvár), Üstürgon (Esztergom) and Eğre (Eger).

a mistake for \**kıpota/kipota* and therefore this term can be explained as a kind of taking down in shorthand of the Hungarian phrase *királyi palota* ‘royal palace’.

94. **külvaroş** (missing in K, L, HK and D); *külváros* ‘suburb’ [*Ve bu kal’anın lisân-ı Macar’da {ismi} Külvaroş’dur ve lisân-ı Nemçe’de (...) dir, lisân-ı Latin’de (...) ve lisân-ı Yûnân’da (...) dir, lisân-ı Ervâm’da Beç’dır* ‘the name of this city (*scil.* Vienna) is in Hungarian Külvaroş, in German (...), in Latin (...), in Greek (...) and in Turkish Beç’ (VII 56a = EÇS 7, 97)] • In describing Vienna, Evliya also gives information about what the city is called in various languages. On account of gaps in manuscripts only two names are actually recorded, the Turkish one (*Beç*) and the Hungarian one (*Külvaroş*).<sup>9</sup> As a matter of fact, the true Magyar name of Vienna is *Bécs* (from which the Turkish *Beç* is borrowed), while *külváros* means ‘suburb’, etymologically ‘out(er) (*kül*) city/town (*város*)’. It is probable that Evliya, when arriving in the outskirts of Vienna, was told by a Hungarian escort: “This is *külváros*” and our traveller misunderstood the piece of information, taking it for a toponymic indication. Evliya’s data are important for Magyar lexicography too, as it allows backdating the first occurrence of the word considerably. In fact the journey to Vienna referred to took place in 1665, while *külváros* is found in Hungarian records not earlier than 1781, just with reference to the Austrian capital: *Betsben a’ külvároson* (TESz 2, 689).
95. **nem** (missing in K, L and HK); *nem* (D); *nem* ‘not’ [*Evvelâ Nemçe lisân-ı Macar’da lafz-ı nem «değilim» ma’nâsnadır, ya’nî «Çeh değilim Nemse’yim» derler* ‘*Nemçe* (= Austrian) derives from the Hungarian word *nem* «I am not», namely the (real) meaning of *Nemse’yim* (= I am Austrian) is «I am not Czech»’ (VII 72a = EÇS 7, 126)] • Evliya places the wrong meaning ‘I am not’ on the Hungarian *nem* as a result of his fanciful etymology of the Turkish *Nemçe* ‘Austrian, German’ (obviously a borrowing from Slavic *nemec* ‘German’), analysing it as *nem* + *çe* and identifying this latter with the ethnic *Çeh* ‘Czech’.
96. **tabur** *ṭābūr* (K); (missing in L and HK); *ṭabur* (D); *tábor* ‘camp, encampment’ [*lisân-ı serhadli’de tabur ana derler kim yâ bir sahrâda yâhûd bir buheyre ve nehir kenârında bir iki kerre yüz bin küffâr ol sahrâda toprakdan kal’a yapup ve kar’ı azîm handaklar kazup içinde mütehassın oldukları yere tabur derler* ‘in the frontier language *tabur* means a fortified place on a plain or along the shore of the sea or of a lake built by one or two hundred thousand infidels, where they shut themselves up raising ramparts and digging deep pits’ (VI 179a = EÇS 6, 312)] • The word *tabur* occurs many

<sup>9</sup> Other codices have the reading *külvar* (Kreutel 1963: 82).

times in the *Seyahatname*, always as a specific designation of Hungarian soldiers' fortified camps (while the Turks' one is called *ordu*). The term is well recorded in various sources and entered in Ottoman dictionaries, beginning from Meninski's one: 'Castra curribus vallata, exercitus' (1680: 2, 3062); it survives in modern Turkish as a technical military term with the meaning 'battalion'. Evliya's account is an authoritative confirmation for the thesis that the Turkish word is a Magyarism originally meaning 'christliches Lager' (Németh 1953: 434). We therefore cannot accept the opinion of some scholars who consider *tabur* a native Turkic word, derived from *tapkur*, which is an old Mongolian loan<sup>10</sup> (Dörfer 1963-75: 2, 429), found for instance in Ottoman as 'Reihe, Linie, besonders Pferde oder anderes Vieh in Reihen aufgestellt; Palissaden-Einzäunung; Wagenburg' and in Chaghatay as 'zur Recognoscirung oder zum Rauben ausgeschickte Truppenabteilung' (Radloff 1893-1911: 3, 953-54). However, this Turkic-Mongolian word is probably the source of Hungarian *tábor*, originally 'army', cf. its first occurrence of 1383: "Hungari dicti *Thabor* in Hungarica lingua, in Latino exercitus et congregacio bellancium" (TESz 3, 818), so after all the Turkish *tabur* would be a backborrowing.

97. **var/vâr** *vâr* (K); (missing in L and HK); *var* (D); *vâr* 'castle, fortress' [*bu diyârda var lafzı kal'a demekdir* 'in this country (*scil.* Hungary) the word *var* means «castle»' (VI 3b = EÇS 6, 5); *Macarca vâr kal'aya derler* 'the Hungarian word for «castle» is *vâr*' (VI 183a = EÇS 6, 319)] • This correct explanation of the word is given by Evliya talking about Hungarian place-names ending in *-vâr*. Cf. also: (*Köyvar*) *lisân-ı Macar'da «taş kal'a» demekdir* 'Köyvar (= Kővár) means «stone castle» in Hungarian' (VI 8a = EÇS 6, 13; similarly at VII 91a = EÇS 7, 162); *lisân-ı Macar'da ismi Uğvar'dır, yâ'nî «yeni kal'a» demekdir* 'the Hungarian name (of this town) is Uğvar (= Újvár), which means «new castle»' (VI 108a = EÇS 6, 189; the same at VI 130b = EÇS 6, 226).

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. mod. Mongolian *давчар* 'layer, stratum; row, storey or tier' (Hangin 1986: 151). Chaghatay also gives the form with voiced initial stop, nearer to the Mongolian source, *dapkur* 'troupe, rangée de troupes' (Pavet de Courteille 1870: 314).

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