

19. THE LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD ACCORDING TO EVLIYA ÇELEBI

To the master of Turkic and non-Turkic languages:

al-mar'u maxbūwun tahta lisānihi

*Yakist turki vu tazi darin mu'amala Hafiz
Hadith-i 'isq bayan kun bidan zabān ki tu dānī*

For roughly forty years, from 1640 to 1680, Evliya Çelebi, who was born and raised in Istanbul, travelled throughout the Ottoman domains, and into its peripheries — west as far as Vienna, north to Kiev and the land of the Kalmuks, east to Tabriz, south to Sinnar and Abyssinia. Wherever he went, he recorded local speech, and included the samples in his voluminous *Seyāhatnāme*. Although he states repeatedly that the world-traveller must know 147 languages,¹ he gives specimens of some thirty non-Turkic languages, plus samples of at least the same number of Turkish dialects or other Turkic languages.²

Evliya's mother was Abkhazian, and it is perhaps not wholly accidental that the first full-blown specimen of a foreign language in his work is that of his mother's tongue.³ After all, Evliya already knew quite a bit about the Caucasus, and he took the first opportunity to travel there. In addition to Abkhazian, he recorded some Ubykh, Qaytaq, Georgian, and Mingrelian.⁴ These have been known to Western scholarship since 1850 when Hammer published his English translation of book II of the *Seyāhatnāme*.⁵ Subsequent studies brought these specimens to the attention of Caucasian

¹E.g., I 151a7 (503; tr. Hammer [1846], ii,99), IV 241b14 (141 — omitted), VII 149b35 (724); but at III 29a22 the figure is 140; and at X 88b26 (190) he states that 140 languages are spoken in Egypt alone. References to books I-VIII are to the autograph ms. as follows:

Bağdat 304 books I and II Revan 1457 book VI

Bağdat 305 books III and IV Bağdat 308 books VII and VIII

Bağdat 307 book V

Reference to book IX is to Bağdat 306 or to P (= Perteve Paşa 462). Reference to book X is to İÜTY 5973 or to Q (= Beşir Ağa 452). Other page numbers (without a or b) refer to the Istanbul printed text, 10 vols., 1886-1938.

²See Dankoff (1990).

³II 258b (109).

⁴II 258b (109), 311b (291), 320a (319), 332b (359).

⁵Hammer (1850), 58: Abkhazian and Ubykh (= Abaza and Sadşa Abaza), 173: Georgian, 197: Mingrelian. Hammer unaccountably omitted the Qaytaq on p. 157.

specialists.¹ As for the Qaytaq Mongol, Bartold touched on it as early as 1910, and Pelliot, who studied it exhaustively, concluded that Evliya's specimen is based on a written source, not an oral informant.²

Before leaving the Caucasus we will jump to book VII, since Evliya returned there in 1666. Now, however, the obscure Caucasian languages seem to have caused him some trouble. Although he mentions "Daghistani" in Tarkhu, he leaves a blank space for the specimen.³ And of Circassian he states that it sounds like the cawing of magpies, and therefore he was unable to record it.⁴ He does however give a sample of Kabardian.⁵ And when he ventures into the land of the wild Kalmuks, he does learn their language.⁶

The other foreign language specimen in book II is Persian, the dialect of Nakhshivan in the Caucasus.⁷ Evliya records other Near Eastern languages in books III and IV: Arabic in Damascus, the curious Teymani in Jabal Naqura, Ladino in Safed, Armenian in Sivas, and Kurdish in Miyafarqin.⁸ Hammer brought attention to the Kurdish specimen as early as 1814, and more recently Van Bruinessen has devoted to it a full-fledged study⁹. Armenian, one of the two languages entirely omitted from the Istanbul printed text (the other was Albanian) was published for the first time in 1983.¹⁰

By contrast with the Near Eastern languages, the European languages which Evliya records in books V through VIII have received a good deal of scholarly attention — naturally, by European scholars. Although he gives

¹Bleichsteiner (1934), 103-09: Abkhazian, 109-16: Ubykh, 89-96: Georgian, 96-102: Mingrelian; Dzikija (1936, 1954): Mingrelian; Dumezil (1978) and Provasi (1984): Ubykh. [And see now Gippert (1992).]

²Pelliot (1927, 1930-32).

³VII 163a (789). He also leaves a blank space for Tat at VII 136b (656); the reference is to a people (the Crimean Goths?) living on the S. Crimean coast: cf. WB iii, 899; EI (1) "tat" (Minorsky).

⁴VII 149b35 (724; cf. 779); also at I 151a10-12 (503; tr. Hammer [1846], ii,99). Compare his remarks on New World languages at IV 241b22: *Çerkes lisâni gibi bogazdan söylenir, qaleme gelmez elfâzlar var imiş*. He also says of Abkhazian and Ubykh that they are like the speech of magpies (II 259a5).

⁵VII 157b (763). This was included in Bleichsteiner (1934), 117-24.

⁶VII 179b (866). The Kalmuk specimen is included in the Russian translation of this portion of the text (Kniga 2, 1979, p. 176), but unlike the Qaytaq has not yet been the special subject of study by a Mongolist. Note also VII 176b

⁷II 295b (238). It was omitted by Hammer (1850), p. 128, and has not been the object of scholarly interest, though it contains some unusual forms (e.g. *sânzdeh* for "thirteen") and some curious names of foods.

⁸III 29a (69-71), 40a (104-05), 44b (119-21), 79b (210 — omitted); IV 219a (74-76).

⁹Hammer (1814), Bruinessen (1985, 1988).

¹⁰Dankoff (1983). And see Weitenberg (1984).

nothing in Polish beyond the numerals,¹ and barely mentions Russian,² he does give full-blown samples of four other Slavic languages: Ukrainian-Cossack dialect in Uman (a fortress in the Ukraine), Serbian in Belgrade, Bosnian in Sarajevo, and Croatian in Dirnish.³

Aside from the Ladino or Judaeo-Spanish, mentioned above, Evliya records two other Romance languages: Italian, from an informant in the Venetian colony of Split on the Dalmatian coast, and Rumanian in Bucharest.⁴ Turková included the Italian as well as the Croatian in her study of Evliya's travels in Dalmatia.⁵ The Rumanian was touched on by Guboglu, and recently was the object of a definitive study by Lazarescu-Zobian.⁶

Evliya's Hungarian sampling, collected in Nagy-Banya, has long been the object of study by Hungarian scholars, most recently in Hungarian by Ligeti and in English by Halasi-Kun.⁷ The Albanian (of Shkodra/Scutari), by contrast, has until now wholly escaped scholarly notice, for the simple reason that, like the Armenian, it was omitted from the Istanbul printed text.⁸ The German specimen was studied intensively by Kissling and Turková, and of course is included in Kreutel's translation of Evliya's account of Vienna.⁹

During his sojourn in Greece, Evliya collected a sample of Gypsy in Gümülcine = Komotini,¹⁰ and samples of three Greek dialects: in Athens, in Tsakonia, and in Maina in the southern Morea.¹¹ Evliya's data on the strange Tsakonian dialect have been studied by Pernot.¹²

During his travels in the Sudan, Evliya recorded five different African languages: "Hebrew" of Sinnar, "Hebrew" of Boruste, "Abyssinian," "Syriac," and "Imrāni."¹³ Habraszewski has identified the "Abyssinian," along with the numerals of the "Hebrew" of Sinnar, as Kanuri; the remainder have not been

¹V 45a (146); in Lvov.

²V 47a1 (151 — omitted); in Kiev.

³V 49a-b (159-60), 116a (382), 131b-132a (439), 147b (490-91). And note 46b (Kiev). For the Ukrainian-Cossack dialect, cf. *Kniga I* (1961); for the Serbian, Putopis (1979). Note too the blank space for Bulgarian at III 147a2, and the blank space for "Latin" at VI 153bitop (Dubrovnik). [And for Bosnian see now Boeschoten (1992).]

⁴V 149b-150a (499-500), VII 102b-103a (482).

⁵Turková (1965), 77-79, 62-64. [And see now Boeschoten (1990).]

⁶Guboglu (1967), 46-47; Lazarescu-Zobian (1983).

⁷VI 9a (32-33); Ligeti (1971), Halasi-Kun (1979-80).

⁸VI 34b-35a (111 — omitted). [See now Elsie (1998).]

⁹VII 72a (321-23); Kissling (1935), Turková (1952); Kreutel (1957), pp. 198-201. At VII 4b (17-18) Evliya describes a marvelous tree and states that he left a graffito on it in German (!), but he does not give the text. Note too the blank space for Dutch at VI 127b17.

¹⁰VIII 210a-b (94-95). [And see now Friedman and Dankoff (1991).]

¹¹VIII 256b (271-72), 276b (349), 336b (605).

¹²Pernot (1934), 497-505.

¹³X 415b20 (895), 423a23 (911-12), Q339b14 (962), Q339b43 (964), Q340b20 (967-68).

identified.¹ Finally, Evliya gives some tantalizing specimens of Hindi songs and prayers, some of which he heard from entertainers in Funcistan, others of which he learned from the Indian “Banyan” communities settled in Suakin, Massawa, and elsewhere on the Red Sea coast.² One prayer — *İzed Allā[h] ki penāh çalṭi hūn* (“I desire the refuge of God”) — became a favorite of his, and turns up several times without explanation.³

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Like many other aspects of the *Seyāhatnāme*, the linguistic specimens follow a set pattern. There is often an introductory section, explaining that the language in question has seven or twelve mutually incomprehensible dialects.⁴ The numerals, at least 1-10, come first. The lists always include staple food items, especially bread, water, and meat or cheese. Other terms of daily life generally include some animal names, but beyond that there is a wide variety of what we find in the specimens. Relational terms are not as common as we might expect. Simple verbal commands (Go! Come! Sit!) are common. In six cases (Armenian, Kurdish, Croatian, Hungarian, Albanian, Rumanian) we find a kind of dialogue that reflects a traveller’s need to feed his horse: “Bring barley.” “There isn’t any barley.” “Bring barley or I’ll crack your head open.” (In Hungarian, wheat substitutes for barley.) The lists generally end either with obscenities (twelve cases) or verses (seven cases).⁵ Evliya often excuses the obscenities by the vade-mecum argument that a traveller has to recognize them in order to stay out of trouble. So we have variants of “I’ll fuck your sister” from the Adriatic to the Caucasus.

Qaytaq and Hebrew (or, “so-called Qaytaq” and “so-called Hebrew”) stand out as exceptions to this pattern, and in both cases something funny is going on. In the case of Qaytaq, Pelliot showed that Evliya merely took over some of the Mongol animal names from Qazwīnī’s *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, written three hundred years earlier. There is no reason to alter Pelliot’s final

¹Habraszewski (1967). Spaulding (1973) was unable to identify the language of the verses in the “Hebrew” of Sinnar.

²X 422a12 (908), 422b3 (909), Q339b27 (963). For the Banyan communities, see X 436a15 (939), 438b10f. (944), 442b3f. (953).

³IX 1b23 (1), X 272b25 (579), 450b14 (IX, 841).

⁴Thus for Arabic (III 29a18: twelve), Armenian (III 79b13: seven), Kurdish (IV 219a4: twelve), Russian (V 46b22: twelve), Kalmuk (VII 179b9: twelve), and Gypsy (VIII 210b12: twelve).

⁵Obscenities: Abkhazian, Georgian, Mingrelian, Armenian, Ukrainian, Italian, Hungarian, Albanian, Rumanian, Kabardian, Kalmuk, Gypsy. Verses: Persian, Teymani, Kurdish, Maina, “Hebrew” of Sinnar, “Hebrew” of Boruste, Imrani.

judgment:¹ “Dès à présent, je considère qu’Evliya-Çelebi a froidement pillé Kāzwinī et que le prétendu dialecte mongol des Kaitāk est une mystification.”

As for “Hebrew”, the second language thus labelled is also, to borrow Pelliot’s term, a mystification. It is certainly not Hebrew; and it looks very much like gibberish. Aside from the pretended Sudanese specimen, we find verses in the same “language” elsewhere: Adam’s prayer in Egypt, Hagar’s prayer in Mecca, and the prophet Qaffāh’s prayer, also in Mecca.²

Similarly unidentified, the Abyssinian language labelled “Syriac” is not Syriac, although it does look like a genuine language. Elsewhere Evliya gives some (genuine?) Syriac verses.³ The identification of Teymani is also a puzzle.

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Evliya had a good ear, and recorded what he heard in the most exact manner possible given the limitations of Arabic script. Scholars who have studied the specimens as they appear in the autograph ms. agree on Evliya’s reliability as a witness to at least one mid-seventeenth century variant of the languages in question.⁴ And as valuable as Evliya’s information is for some non-Turkic languages, it is even more valuable — and much more extensive — for Turkic languages; but that is the subject for another study.

While the thirty or so full-blown specimens naturally form the core of our study of Evliya’s information on the languages of the world, investigators should not ignore the rest of the text, since we find references to specific languages scattered throughout, sometimes in places we would not expect. Thus, in addition to *aya* “saint” and *pirğaz* “castle” in the Greek vocabulary, Evliya more than once, while explaining proper names of Greek origin, explains that *aya* means “saint” and *burğaz* “castle”.⁵ Similarly, he explains that the ending *-var* in such Hungarian place names as Zitvar, Uyvar, etc., is the Hungarian word for “castle”.⁶ In my article on the Armenian specimen I listed several terms (e.g. *vank* “church”) found elsewhere in the text. Similarly for Kurdish, in addition to the words in the specimen discussed by Bruinessen, we find *av* “water;” *bapir* “sultan;” a children’s ditty; and five

¹Pelliot (1930-32), p. 580.

²X 2a24 (3), IX 347a20 (755-56), 354a12 (771). [See now Dankoff (2004), pp. 176-84.]

³IV 399a.

⁴Halasi-Kun on Hungarian, Dankoff on Armenian, Lazarescu-Zobian on Rumanian, Bruinessen on Kurdish, Provisi on Ubykh. (Note Bruinessen: “I should not hesitate to call him the first Kurdologist.”)

⁵e.g. VIII 234b13 (189); VI 33b8 (108 — omitted).

⁶VI 3b24 (13); not in the Hungarian sample.

untranslated expressions (including one obscenity) in the Bitlis narrative.¹ The quotations from a German prayer book are astonishingly faithful.²

Occasionally Evliya's linguistic identifications turn out to be quite fanciful. For example, when Evliya is in Bosnia, his patron, Melek Ahmed Paşa, has a premonitory dream during which he sees a bear in the mosque.³ Following the battle in which the dream is fulfilled, a certain rowdy captive whose name is Vasil is put to death. Upon learning that *vasil* means "bear," the Paşa exclaims that his dream has come true.⁴ Elsewhere we learn that *vaşıl* means "bear" in Greek.⁵ The clue to this puzzle comes in Evliya's description of the Gypsy dancing-bear trainers (*eşnâf-ı vaşılıcyân ya'nî ayuciyân*). One of the popular names they give their bears is Vasil, as Evliya attests in the ditty they use to start the bears dancing, which begins: *Qalq-a beri yâ Vasil*.⁶ This was apparently the origin in Evliya's mind of the notion that *vasil* means bear, a notion that he put to good literary use in his account of Melek Paşa's dream.

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Evliya had theories, or rather notions, on the origins and relations of the various languages. One statement of his linguistic mythology is found in his introduction to the specimen of Arabic:⁷

First God commanded all the angels to speak Arabic. When the prophet Adam entered Paradise out of the earth, Gabriel taught Adam Arabic, and he spoke Arabic with Eve, with the angels, and with God Himself. . . . But after Adam fell from Paradise he forgot Arabic, out of grief at separation from God. Then Adam met with Eve on Mt. Arafat . . . and by God's command they spoke a language close to Arabic, namely Hebrew. In fact, the word for Hebrew, *'ibri*, is merely a metathesis of the word for Arabic, *'arebi*; but it is an independent language, recorded below in volume — — — [blank]. When the descendants of Adam spread, they spoke Hebrew, Syriac, and Imrani. This was so until Ishmael was sent on his prophetic mission, when for the first time Arabic appeared among them. As for Syriac and

¹ IV 286a20, 305a22, 309b18; VI 48a9 (*bapir*; also at IV 213a21, 215b3, 216a31); IV 287b5; IV 224a20, 225a29, 263b9, 265a34, 36.

² I 203a16 (623 — omitted; tr. Hammer [1846], ii,227), VII 72a16, 21 (322; tr. Kreutel [1957], 199-200).

³ V 135a.end (452).

⁴ V 136b10-27 (456 — omitted).

⁵ VIII 214a19 (109). The actual word for bear in Greek is *arkouda*; in Gypsy it is *rič*. For *vasil* or *vaşıl* = "bear" see also VI 50b22; X 100a7-9 (215).

⁶ I 169a13f.

⁷ III 29a2 ff.

Imrani, these and several (other) languages have survived since the time of the prophet and scribe Idris.

A more elaborate account is the following:¹

In Paradise Adam the Pure spoke Arabic and Persian. But when he fell to the earth he forgot Arabic and they spoke Hebrew, Syriac, Dehqili and Derī. Even today in Funcistan and Berberistan and the other countries of the blacks there are various languages spoken. They got by with these languages until the flood. Then from the sons of Noah — Ham, Shem, and Japeth — there arose 72 nations and 72 languages. At the time of the prophet Ishmael, Arabic and Persian were again heard. And thereafter the various races spread over the earth and the various languages spread abroad, so that in each land a different language arose (*peydā oldi*).

The first to invent (*peydā eden*) languages of various sorts was the prophet Idris, since he was the first whom God invested with the myriad sciences. He was a scribe, and he recorded the scriptures revealed to him and bound them in books. Before the flood he secreted all of these books in the pyramids across the Nile — these had been built by the sorcerer Surid, and are mistakenly known as Pharaoh's mountains. After the flood these books were taken out and read by the ancient philosophers. Hence 147 languages spread abroad. Arabic and Persian appeared with the prophet Ishmael; Turkish, which is the language of the Tatars, became widespread with the prophet Esau; in short, from the speech of the Arabs and the Tatars God adorned this world with as many as — — — [blank] various peoples.

Those descending from Tatar are: Tatar, Hind, Sind, Mughani, Laristani, Multani, and Banyani; twelve peoples and languages of fireworshippers in India; Çin, Khita, Khoten, Fağfur, Qozaq, Moğol, Boğol, Türk-Tatar, Özbek, and 'Acem (Iran); twelve Qumuq in Dağıstan; twelve tribes and dialects of Qilmakh (Kalmuk); Noğay, Heşdek, Lipqa, Çagatay, Lezgi, Gürci, Migril, Şuşad, Dadyan, Açıq-baş, Ermeni, Urum, Türkmen, Qababita, Israili or Yahudi, Mosküv from Gürci [sic], Ya'qubi, and Qarayi; also Fireng - they are twelve tribes and dialects, Jews but of the so-called Christian sect (*yahūdīdir ammā mesiḥā-mezheb derler*) — Işpanya, Firansa, Ciniviz, Portaqaq, Venedik, Duduşqa, Sırf, Latin, Bulqar, Khirvad, Luturyan, and Talyan. — — —

Of the infidels emerging from 'Acem, four sons of Menuçehr fled and settled in the region of Egri (Egri/Erlau in Hungary). When asked why they came, they replied: *men çârız*, meaning "We are four men." By corruption of *mençâr* emerged the people of Macar, who are ten times seventy (*on yetmiş*) infidel peoples, including Orta Macar, Erdel Macar, Seykel, Saz, Cay, Duşaq, Leh, Çeh, Qorol, Tut, Qıraqov, Rus — twelve tribes, Eflaq, Boğdan, Sirce, Isvac, Felemenk, Dunqarqız, Danimarqa, Ingilis, Nemse, İngiltere, Dış-Firansa, Khirvad, Macar, Boşnaq. — — — From the noble and eloquent tribes of the Arabs are descended, first of all, in the peninsula of Egypt (i.e., Africa), forty peoples of various stripe: Mağribi, Fes, Meranküşī, Afnu, May-bornu, Cicil-qan, Isvani, Sudani, Funci, Qırmanqi, Bağaniski, Munci, Berberi, Nubi, Zenci, Habeşi, Kelapişi, 'Alevi, Dumbi; — — — and the Arabs of Yemen,

¹II 256a6-36 (99-100; abbreviated tr. Hammer [1850], 53). Note similar statements at VII 107a26f. (506), X 22b7-14 (47).

Baghdad, Meval, Mekke, Medina, Badiye (i.e., bedouins), and 'Umman. In toto the Arabs come to 3060 tribes — some say more.

The addition of Persian to Arabic as one of the primordial languages is related to the hadith which Evliya records on the authority of *Tafsîr al-Daylamî*:¹ The Prophet once asked the archangel Michael, "Does God say anything in Persian?" "Yes," came the reply. "In the scriptures of Abraham² God says: *çi künem bâ in müşt-i xāk-i sitemkārān cüz ānki peyām ārem*³ ("What shall I do with this handful of dirt of oppressors, except bring them a Message?").

Furthermore:⁴

Arabic was first heard [after the fall of Adam] and became widespread with — — — [blank], the son of Ishmael. Ishmael himself spoke Hebrew with his father Abraham. In fact, the scriptures that were revealed by God to Abraham were all in Hebrew, which is the language of truth (*lisān-ı haq*). Some words (*elfāz*) in it agree with Persian, and certain commentators assert that Persian is Hebrew. In fact ... [quote from *Tefsîr-i Deylemî*]. And some commentators say that Persian is the language of paradise. In fact, the grand mufti Kemalpaşa-zade Ahmed Efendî cited this noble hadith: "The language of the people of paradise is Arabic and Persian and Dari." And the Prophet [Muhammed] spoke Persian. ... It is a refined and elegant language, and, since it has common features with Hebrew (*lisān-ı 'ibrî ile müşterek olunduğundan*), must be quite ancient.

According to a related legend,⁵ the prophet Seth refused to marry his sister, and requested his father Adam to get him a houri instead. God obligingly provided the houri, straight from paradise; but because she spoke Arabic, and he only spoke Hebrew, they were unable to converse until they had a child, who served as interpreter. And that son of Seth is the patron saint of all interpreters.

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¹Untraced; Evliya mentions his grave in Alexandria, X 328b14 (699): *Eş-şeyx Mehemmed-i Deylemî, tefsîr şāhibidir.*

²*şuhuf İbrāhîm* — cf. Koran 87:19.

³II 295b18 (238 — garbled) has: *çz ānki piyām rem*; IX 353b23 has: *cüz ānki peyāmvrām* (ms. Pertev Paşa 462, fol. 146b14 [770] *peyām em*); X 423b7 (912) has: *çiz ānki peyām em.*

⁴IX 353b15f. (770).

⁵IX 250b13f. (552), 259a26f. (569).

For Evliya, “Hebrew” is not (what we know as) Hebrew. Rather it is one of several languages once widespread in the world, and associated with such pre-Islamic prophets as Adam and Idris, displaced in the Arabian peninsula by Arabic since the time of Ishmael, but still found in remnant form in Africa. Evliya is drawing here on a wealth of Islamic lore relating to the pre-Islamic prophets, much of it connected with Idris and with Egypt and the Nile Valley. It was Idris who invented hieroglyphic writing, which Evliya fancifully connects with the difficult Siyaqat script used in Ottoman chancelleries.¹ As far as “Hebrew” is concerned, Evliya’s information is a farrago of folklore, folk etymologies, legends derived from Arabic literary sources, one or two facts, and possibly some fabrication.

Evliya did not know enough genuine Hebrew (or Syriac) to posit a linguistic connection with Arabic. He did sense that German and Persian were related; but the manner in which he states the relation does not warrant calling him a proto-Indoeuropeanist. What he says is: “Many of their words (i.e. in German) are Persian, because they too (i.e. like the Hungarians) came from Persia with the descendants of Menuçehr.”² As Kreutel explains,³ Evliya’s judgment must be based on the striking resemblance of such words as Persian *duxter, est, nām, tū* and German *Tochter, ist, Name, du*. The connection of the Hungarians with the Persians is based on a fanciful etymology of Macar, connected both with Menuçehr and with Persian *men çār* “we are four.”⁴

If remnants of Persian are found in German and Hungarian, remnants of Arabic are found in Albanian as well as in the Caucasian languages — Abkhazian, Laz, Mingrelian, and Circassian — as Evliya recounts in a very improbable legend.⁵ Part of this legend goes to show that Arnavud (“Albanian”) derives from Persian *‘ār-nā-būd* “there was no shame.” This is in line with what may be called Evliya’s “etymologitis.” Thus Bükreş (“Bucharest”) is from Arabic Ebū Qureys;⁶ Trabzon is invariably called Tarabefzün (“joy-increase”); etc. etc. Aside from these flights of fancy, Evliya occasionally gives more-or-less correct etymologies for place names, or genuine folk-etymologies.⁷

¹IV 275b3 ff.

²VII 72a14 (322; tr. Kreutel [1957], 199). Cf. I 203a18 (623 — omitted; tr. Hammer [1846], ii,227): “many of their expressions (*elfāz*) are Persian.”

³Kreutel (1957), p. 263.

⁴Evliya repeats this at every opportunity, e.g. III 137a22 (392 — omitted), V 126b17-22, 31-32 (422 — omitted; here he says that many Persian words are used in Hungarian), VI 9a36 (33 — omitted: “many words in this language [i.e. Hungarian] are Persian, because in origin they stem from the children of Menuçehr . . .”), VII 67a26 (301; tr. Kreutel, 165), IX 373b2 (811), X 34a21 (76).

⁵VI 34b22 ff. (111 — omitted), VIII 353a (671-72), 367b (729-30).

⁶VII 100a15 (467).

⁷For Armenian examples, see Dankoff (1983), 54 (on Çapaqçur) and footnote 14 (on Sivas).

One language preserved apparently uncorrupt from antiquity is Greek, of which Evliya states that it “was heard from the wise men of King Goliath during the time of the prophet David, and became well-known during the reign of Jereboam the son of the prophet Solomon. During the time of the prophets Zachariah and John (the Baptist) and Jesus ... everyone spoke Greek, so God revealed the gospel to Jesus in that language. Afterward it was translated into Latin, Syriac, and Coptic.”¹ Following this statement he gives an apocryphal quote from the Gospel concerning the Prophet Muhammad; the same Greek quote is cited twice elsewhere in his work.²

“Latin” in Evliya’s mind is confused with the Slavic languages. In his introduction to Polish he states:³ “Their language is the ancient tongue of Latin (*latince*). There are twenty different people that speak Latin, including those of Dubrovnik, Bosnia, Herzegovina, the Bulgars, the Serbs, the Voyniks, the Slavonians, Qorol, Duduşqa, the Croats, the Slovaks (Tot), the Ukrainians (Rūs), Lipqa, the Russians (Masqov), Cracow, and the Bashkurts (Heşdek).” Similarly in his introduction to Croatian:⁴ “Croatian is Latin. But the Croats speak a special dialect, with terms and locutions all their own. In fact the Croats, the Bosnians, the Serbs, the Bulgars, the Voyniks, the Slavonians, Duduşqa, Qorol, the Poles, the Czechs, Lipqa, the Ukrainians, the Russians, and the Bashkurt Muslims — all these peoples speak Latin ... but each has its own peculiar expressions and dialect.”

The Romance languages, on the other hand, come under the rubric “Italian.” In his introduction to Italian he states:⁵ “Language of the war-like Franks (*Fireng-i pür-ceng*). Their language is called Italian (Talyan); but Spain, France, Genoa, Livorno (Alağorna-Ġiranduqa), Portugal, Antwerp (? Dunqarqız), Denmark, Holland (Felemenk), and England — all of these kingdoms are Franks. ... Their language is Italian; but each one has its own special dialect and terminology, and they communicate with one another only with interpreters. The most eloquent is the language of the Frankish Venetians. ...”

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¹VIII 265b5 (271).

²III 39b27; X 235b16-18 (502-3). The passage in book X is edited in Haarmann (1988).

³V 45a11. Cf. V 146a34 (487 — omitted): *lisân-i boşnaqda ya'nî latin lisânınca*.

⁴V 147b10 (tr. Turková, 62). Turková (1965), 130, has notes on Voynik (a class of frontier soldiers), Qorol (? — she suggests Friul), Lipqa (she reads Liqa, it. Licca on the Croatian-Dalmatian border); elsewhere (1950) she identifies Duduşqa with Korushka in Slovenia.

⁵V 149b33-34, 150a2-3.

Like many travellers, Evliya enjoyed comparing phenomena from different areas. Linguistically, this tendency can be observed in his attempts to render a given term in all the languages he knew. Aside from “Istanbul”¹ he does this several times for “hot spring”² and once for “crocodile.”³ The most ambitious effort in this regard is found in his treatise on the devil. Since the final quarter of book IV has never been published, and since this Devil’s Dictionary illustrates Evliya’s linguistic horizon, we end this paper with the section on “devil” in all the languages of the world.⁴

The devil (İblis) has seventy names in the Torah. It would take too long to list them all. First in the book of the torah one of his names is: Yeser-herā’ Hāriṯhūm.⁵

He is not named in the Psalter, since the Psalter does not contain promise and threat, legend, command and prohibition, but consists entirely of prayers. [Cites Koran 4:163 = 17:55.]

In the Gospel the devil is named seven times, together with the names of the jinn — a fact that has led some commentators to include the devil among the race of jinn. His names in the Gospel are: Yuğula, Diyavlo, İşqrnut (i.e., Iscariot), Demuna, Şadāna.

In the scriptures of Abraham he is called: Emāre, Jūdāj.⁶

In the scriptures of several of the prophets he is called Satan (Şeyṯān). In others his name is simply The Carnal Soul (*nefs*), and God has warned his servants saying (Koran 12:53): “Oh my servants, beware of The Soul that Commands Evil (*nefs-i emmāre*).”

This humble and sinful one, Evliya, in fifty-one years of travel, while sojourning in eighteen empires and kingdoms, (learned) the names of the devil — may he be damned! — in the various tongues and the 147 languages. I have deemed it fit to set them down here as far as possible.

Arabic: Şeyṯān, İblis
 Syriac: Mimm-mimm⁷
 Coptic: Qatirnās
 ‘Imrān: Milfāk⁸
 Hebrew: Niḥāb, Hünāş, Khajçiz
 Rabī’: ‘Azāzil

¹I 14a.end (55), Hammer (1846), p. 11.

²II 345b20 (393), Hammer (1850), p. 211; III 139b35 (399); V 174a.mid (567 — omitted); IX 236a.mid (521).

³X 160b12-14 (346).

⁴IV 395a5-30.

⁵Heb *yeşer ha-ra’* (“evil inclination”) and *ḥarṯum* (“sorcerer”). These are the only genuine Hebrew words in the *Seyāḥat-nāme*.

⁶Emāre for *emmāre* (“that commands evil” — Koran 12:53). With Jūdāj cf. Adam’s prayer in “Hebrew” at X 2a25 (3): *Ḥuj-i çijiriba* glossed as “beware of Satan” (*şeyṯāndan şaqḻa*).

⁷Apparently derived from Syr. *mamūna* “riches,” figuratively used to mean “devil” in Urmia dialect. I am grateful to Edward Y. Odisho for this information.

⁸Or Milğāk; included in the “Imrani” specimen at X 968 (= ms. Beşir Ağa 452/2, fol. 340b31).

Jinn:¹ Qabrūm

Angels: Hārith — his name (*ism*), Ebū Murre — his nickname (*laqab*)

As I recorded above, in the Koran he is called İblīs, Vesvās, Khannās, Yuvasvis,² and Cinne; in the Torah Yeser-herā'; in the Gospel Yuğula, Diyavlo — when the Greeks curse one another they say *bire diyavlo!*

Turkic: Elbiş

Persian: — — — [blank]

Hindi:: — — —

Chaghatay: — — —

Tatar: — — —

Kurdish: Khilverik³

Func: — — —

Berber: — — —

Latin: — — —

Georgian: — — —

Mingrelian: — — —

Abkhazian: — — —

Circassian: — — —

Russian (*maşqovca*): — — —

Polish: — — —

Czech: — — —

Swedish: — — —

Ukrainian (*urusca*): Didqo⁴

Dutch: — — —

German: — — —

Bosnian: — — —

Bulgarian: — — —

Albanian: — — —

French: — — —

Hungarian: — — —

Rumanian: — — —

Gypsy: — — —

Armenian: — — —

In sum, there are various names for the devil in the various languages. We have given a brief account. [Excursus on how the Sufis refer to the devil.] The upshot is that in this world, the devil has a name in the seven layers of earth and the seven layers of heaven. Even those who have no language — I mean, the tongueless and the mute — have a gesture to indicate the devil: if they place the index finger⁵ of their right hand next to their right eye, and crook the finger, it means “devil.”

¹For examples of “jinn-speech” see IV 396a10, 12: *bire meded gitdim, bire qaf qaf bije bije vay, semif semif seniñdir*; and 395b8, where Evliya remarks that “devil-speech” contains many q’s, f’s and j’s.

²For these three, see Koran 102.

³By “Kurdish” Evliya means here “Rojiki” or Bitlis Turkish dialect; cf. IV 227a10, where *xilverik* is glossed as “black bogey” (*qara qoncoloz*). < Arm. dial. *xlvlik* “ghost, phantom.”

⁴Also found in the Ukrainian specimen at V 49b5.

⁵*şalavāt parmağı* — also at VI 26a8-9 (= *sebābe*), IX 230a3 (508).

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