

Mediterranean Language and Culture
Monograph Series
Volume 11

Shirin Akiner

Religious Language
of a Belarusian Tatar Kitab
A Cultural Monument of Islam in Europe

Harrassowitz Verlag

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The Religious Language of a Belarusian Tatar Kitab

Mediterranean Language and Culture
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Edited by
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Volume 11

Faculty of Humanities Tel Aviv University

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of a Belarusian Tatar Kitab
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With a Latin-Script Transliteration of the British Library
Tatar Belarusian Kitab (OR 13020)
on CD-ROM

2009

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In Memory of MURAT AKINER

(1933-1965)

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Editorial Comment

The Belarusian Tatars are the descendants of a Turkic community that arrived in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the fourteenth century. Their settlement was probably contemporaneous with that of another Turkic people, the Karaites (Karaim), who moved to the Grand Duchy from the Crimea. Today, both groups remain as tiny minorities in their adopted Northern European homeland. Although the Tatars assimilated to Slavic languages (Belarusian and Polish) as early as the 1600s, unlike the Karaites who have only recently become almost uniquely Slavic-speaking, they retained their Islamic religion, and a rich Arabo-Turkic terminology.

The Mediterranean Language and Culture Monograph Series is a fitting vehicle for this study, which should appeal to a double audience. Students of Mediterranean linguistics should find interest in the discussion of Islamic terminology and in the ways in which a Mediterranean community, in the broadest sense of the word, became acculturated to a Northern European milieu, while Slavists will appreciate this publication of an early nineteenth-century colloquial Belarusian document. This monograph sheds new light on the linguistic creativity of the Belarusian Tatars - a creativity which spans more than three hundred years.

Paul Wexler

Author's Preface

МОЛЮ ЖЕ ВСѢХЪ ПОЧИТАЮЩИХЪ. НЕ МОЗЕТЕ
КЛАТИ НЪ ИСПРАВЛШЕ. ПОЧИТАИТЕ.
ТАКО БО И СТЫ АПЉЪ ПАУЛЬ ГЛѢТЬ.
(Colophon to Ostromir Gospel, 1056-1057)

I first embarked on this study over thirty years ago. It became my doctoral dissertation, submitted and approved by the University of London in 1980. Thereafter, commitments and distractions of many kinds, as well as constantly changing (and improving) technical facilities, delayed preparation of the text for publication for decades. Inevitably, I now long to rewrite the work completely, and am only restrained from attempting this task by the thought that history would probably repeat itself and that ten years hence I would still be wanting to rethink it. In a subject of this complexity there will always be the need for new and more specialised research.

The work is essentially the same as originally presented as a thesis. However, some parts have been expanded (notably the section on the historical background). There has also been some new research on sources and texts, and these too have been consulted and the findings incorporated here. Yet in other areas, such as dialectology, there has been relatively little advance, hence minimal updating was required.

Needless to say, this work has many shortcomings, but if it stimulates the interest of others and provokes further investigation, then something useful will already have been achieved. The Colophon to the Ostromir Gospel, cited above, which I first read as a student of Comparative Slavonic Philology many years ago, gives admirable advice: 'I pray all who read this work, do not curse [its faults] but as the Holy Apostle Paul said, correct [them] and read on'.

I am indebted to Professor A. B. McMillin (School of Slavonic and East European Studies) for first introducing me to things Belarusian and for encouraging me to engage in research in this field; also to Professor V. L. Ménage (School of Oriental and African Studies) for much valuable advice and unflagging patience in answering my many queries. Special thanks are due to the Very Reverend Monsignor Dr Alexander Nadson, Librarian of the Francis Skaryna Belarusian Library, without whose

active encouragement and support this work could never have been undertaken. No reference book, however rare, eluded him for long and (almost as important to an impecunious student) no visit to the library was ever allowed to pass without a gargantuan, mouth-watering (and memorably garlic-laden) meal. Father Nadson's energy, enthusiasm and meticulous scholarship were, and remain, an inspiration and spur to further endeavour.

I also remember with deep affection and gratitude my many other Belarusian friends, among them the late Bishop Česław Sipovič, who showed me unfailing kindness and hospitality. The Belarusian Charitable Trust generously provided funds for the publication of this book. I am also grateful to Professor Paul Wexler of Tel Aviv University. Professor Wexler's own research on Jewish interlinguistics has done much to establish a general framework within which to examine the phenomenon of language shift without loss of cultural and ethnic identity. His work on Jewish languages in the Slav context points to similarities with the language of the Belarusian Tatars and opens up intriguing possibilities for further comparisons between the two groups.

Many other friends and scholars have given me help and encouragement over the years, including Gokçe Abdurazzak (School of Oriental and African Studies), Uilleam Blacker (School of Slavonic and East European Studies), Andrzej Drozd (University of Poznan) and Moshe Gammer (University of Tel Aviv). I thank them warmly. I also appreciated the kindness of the Domenican Order at Santa Sabina, Rome, particularly Fra Bernadino Prella's patience in helping me untangle sixteenth-century Latin syntax. I must, too, acknowledge the fortitude of my publishers, Harrassowitz Verlag, for patiently waiting for this manuscript despite innumerable broken promises on delivery dates.

Above all, I am indebted to my husband David. Without his unstinting support I would not have persisted in taking this study thus far.

Shirin Akiner (London, January 2009)

Summary

The Belarusian Tatars (also known as Lithuanian or Polish Tatars) are descendants of Turkic-Mongol tribes from the Golden Horde who settled in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 14th and 15th centuries. Like the rest of the Golden Horde, they were converted to Islam, probably during the 14th century. They were quickly assimilated by the local population and by the mid-16th century had almost completely forgotten their original linguistic heritage (Turkic, with possibly some residue of Mongol). They remained Muslim, however, and the need soon arose for the Quran and other essential religious texts to be translated. Compilations of such translations, called *chamail* or *kitab*, were made of prayers, pious narratives and ritual instructions. The British Library *Kitab*, the main focus of the present study, is a typical example of its genre. Like all the religious works of the Tatars of this region, it is written in the Arabic script, although the language is Belarusian/ Polish.

The Tatars were confronted with the task of conveying Islamic ideas in a Slav/Christian language. Their religious vocabulary falls into two main semantic groups: terms relating to ethics, and terms relating to ritual practice. For the former, acceptable Slav equivalents were generally available, since it is an area in which Christian and Islamic teachings frequently coincide, but for the latter, Ottoman Turkish (predominantly of Arabic origin) terms had perforce to be used, as the concepts are virtually untranslatable. The conclusion reached in this study is that the Tatars' religious vocabulary is basically Slav, with an admixture of a relatively small number of Turkish/Arabic terms to convey uniquely Islamic ideas. These loanwords were grammatically and syntactically fully incorporated into the Slav linguistic structure.

Abbreviations

Dictionaries and other Reference Works

- AVAK *Akty, izdavajemyje Vilenskoj komissijeju dlja razbora drevnich aktov*
- (BC)* *Chronika vsego Sveta Martina Bel'skogo* (Bielski's Chronicle)
- Bial Bialkievič, I. K. *Krajovy sloŭnik uschodniaj Mahilouščyny*, Minsk, 1970
- (BK)* *Biblejskije knigi* (Biblical books of the early 17th century)
- BM Aničenka, V. V. *et al.* 'Materyaly dla dyalektnaha sloŭnika Homielščyny', *Biełaruskaja mova i movaznaŭstva*, 3-6, Minsk, 1975-78.
- BN Bajkoŭ, M. and Niekraševič, S. *Biełaruska-rasijski sloŭnik*, Minsk, 1926.
- BR-R Krapiva, K. (main ed.). *Belorussko-russkij slovar'*, Moscow, 1962.
- Bud Budagov, L. Z. *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' turecko-tatarskich narečij*, 2 vols, St Petersburg, 1869-71.
- Bul Bułyka, A. M. *Daŭnija zapazyčaŭni biełaruskaj movy*, Minsk, 1972.
- (CAN)* Card index for the dictionary of modern Belarusian at the AN BSSR/Belarus.
- (CB)* *Knihy rožaju* (Christmas Books).
- Da Dal', V. *Tolkovyj slovar' živogo velikoruskogo jazyka*, 4 vols, Moscow, 1863-66.
- DABM Avaniesau, R. I. *et al.* (eds). *Dyjalektatahičny atlas biełaruskaj movy*, AN BSSR, Minsk, 1963.
- DI Hughes, T. P. *A Dictionary of Islam*, London, 1896.
- Dob Dobvol'skij, V. N. *Smolenskij oblastnoj slovar'*, Smolensk, 1914.
- EI *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new, second, edition), Bearman, P. J. *et al.* (eds). Leiden and London, 1960 – 2004.

- (F107)* *Sbornik no. 107* (Folder of Ecclesiastical Manuscripts no. 107) in the AN LitSSR/Lithuania.
- HSBM *Historyčny sloŭnik biełaruskaj movy*, Žuraŭski, A. I. (main ed.). Minsk, 1982 – ongoing.
- Jan Jankoŭski, F. *Dyjalektny sloŭnik*, 3 vols, Minsk, 1959-70.
- Jur Jurčanka, H. *Dyjalektny sloŭnik (Z havorak Mścistaŭščyny)*, Minsk, 1966.
- Kar Karskij, Je. F. *Zapadno-russkije perevody psaltyri v XV-XVII vv.*, Warsaw, 1896; glossary pp. 270-424.
- Kaš Kašpiarovič, M. I. *Viciebski krajovy sloŭnik (Matar'jaty)*, Viciebsk, 1927.
- L Linde, S. *Słownik języka polskiego*, 6 vols, Lvov, 1854-60.
- Mal Malevič, S. 'Belorusskije narodnyje pesni', *Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti*, AN, LXXXII, 5, St Petersburg, 1907: 1-194; glossary pp. 165-94.
- McM McMillin, A. B. *The Vocabulary of the Byelorussian Literary Language in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1973.
- NBS Harecki, M. *Nievialicki Biełaruski-maskoŭski sloŭnik*, Vilna, 1919.
- Nos Nosovič, I. I. *Slovar' belorusskogo narečija*, St Petersburg, 1870.
- PB *Leksikon slovenoros'kyj Pamvy Beryndy*, ed. Nimčuk, V. V. AN UkSSR, *Pam'jatky ukrajins'koji movy XVII st.: Serija naukovoji literatury*, Kiev, 1961.
- Ras Rastorgujev, P. A. *Slovar' narodnych govorov Brjanščiny*, Minsk, 1973.
- Redh Redhouse, J. W. *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (new impression), Constantinople, 1921.
- RT *Rocznik tatarski*; in Part IV of the present work it specifically denotes A. Woronowicz's 'Szczałki językowe Tatarów litewskich', *Rocznik tatarski*, 2, Zamość, 1935, pp. 351-67 (word-list of oriental terms used by the Tatars).

- (SCh)* *Chronika Matveja Strykovskogo* (Strykovski's Chronicle of 1582).
- Skar Aničenka, V. V. *Stoŭnik movy Skaryny*, I (A-O), Minsk, 1977.
- Srez Sreznevskij, I. I. *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka*, 3 vols, St Petersburg, 1893-1903.
- SS *Sinonima Slavenorosskaja*, Nimčuk V. V. (ed.). AN UkSSR, *Pam'jatky ukrajins' koji movy XVII st.: Serija naukovoji literatury*, Kiev, 1961.
- Ściac Ściacko, P. *Dyjalektny stoŭnik (Z havorak Zelvienščyny)*, Minsk, 1970.
- Ściaš Ściaškovič, T. F. *Materyjały da stoŭnika Hrodzienskaj voblaści*, Minsk, 1972.
- Šat Šaternik, M. V. *Krajovy stoŭnik Červienščyny*, Minsk, 1929.
- Urb Urbańczyk, St. (main ed.). *Słownik Staropolski*, 7 vols (A-Roz), Warsaw-Cracow-Gdansk, 1953-77.
- Var Varłyha, A. *Krajovy stoŭnik Łahojščyny*, New York, 1970.
- Ziz *Leksis Lavrentija Zizanija*, Nimčuk, V. V. (ed.). AN UkSSR, *Pam'jatky ukrajins' koji movy XVI-XVII st.*, Kiev, 1964.
- Žyd Žydovič, M. A. *Materyjały dla stoŭnika Minska-Maładziečanskich havorak*, 3 vols, Minsk, 1970-77.

*Cited by A.B. McMillin, in *The Vocabulary of the Byelorussian Literary Language in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1973.

Other Abbreviations

A	Arabic
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
Alb	Albanian
AN	Akademija Nauk (Navuk) Academy of Sciences
AN BSSR	Academy of Sciences of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic
AN LitSSR	Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

AN UkSSR	Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
arch.	archaic
B	Bulgarian
BL	British Library
BLK	British Library Kitab
BR	Belarusian/Byelorussian
cen.	central
cent.	century
coll.	colloquial
CS	Common Slav
dial.	dialect(al)
E Slav	East Slav
ed(s)	editor(s); edition
Eng	English
f(f)	folio(s)
fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
Ger	German
H	Hebrew
Hung	Hungarian
<i>ibid</i>	<i>ibidem</i> 'in the same place' (used for work cited above)
<i>id</i>	<i>idem</i> 'the same' (author as for previous work cited)
inst.	instrumental
intrans.	intransitive
iter.	iterative
K	Karaim
lit.	literally
Lith	Lithuanian
Mac	Macedonian
masc.	masculine
MBR	Modern Belarusian
MP	Modern Polish
myst.	mystical
neut.	neuter

nom.	nominative
obl.	oblique
OBR	Old Belarusian
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
OP	Old Polish
orthogr.	orthography
OT	Old Turkish
Ott	Ottoman Turkish
P	Polish
PAU	Polish Academy of Sciences
part.	participle
Per	Persian
perf.	perfective
pl.	plural
PO	<i>Przegląd orientalistyczny</i>
poss.	possessive
prep.	prepositional
pres.	present
PSRL	<i>Polnoje sobranije russkich letopisej</i>
R	Russian
RChSl	Russian Church Slavonic
refl.	reflexive
rel.	religious
RIB	<i>Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka</i>
Rum	Rumanian
S	South
SCr	Serbo-Croat
sg.	singular
Slav	Slavonic
suff.	suffix
SW	South-West
s.v.	<i>sub voce</i> 'see under heading'
T	Turkish
Tat	Tatar (Crimea, Volga)
TBR	Tatar Belarusian

trans.	transitive
transl.	translated; translator
Uk	Ukrainian
voc.	vocative
W	West

Place names

Given in English spelling if established forms exist e.g. **Cracow** not Kraków, **Gdansk** not Gdańsk.

Bibliographic references in footnotes

Full bibliographic details are provided in the Bibliography. In footnotes the author (or editor)'s name, followed by a page number, is given. If several works by the same author are cited, an abbreviated title is given e.g. Krycyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy'; Kryczyński (S.), 'Bey barski'. For standard reference works the title and page/volume reference are given e.g. *Cambridge History of Poland*, I: 54.

Cross references in Text

Relevant section number is given in Roman numerals, followed by subsection, and sub-sub-section (e.g. II.3.1.1). References to articles in Vocabulary (**PART IV**) are indicated by giving relevant word in capitals e.g. GOD, BAJRAM.

Square brackets and italic script

Square brackets are used to indicate the pronunciation of words other than citations from BLK. Phonetic equivalents of such words are usually given in a simple Latin script transcription: e.g. A شعيب [Shu'ayb] 'Jethro'. The use of International Phonetic Association symbols is limited to a few specific sounds e.g. [tʃ] representing 'ch' as in 'church'; [ʒ] as 'z' in 'azure' (in Polish 'rz', as in 'rzecz').

Italic script is used for short quotations and for foreign words e.g. Slav *čistaść* 'purity'.

Examples from BLK are generally not given in italic script, unless they occur as illustration within an explanatory text.

4 Scripts and Transliteration

Key

Transliteration (1): Ott (Arabic) script as used in BLK

Transliteration (2): standard Ottoman script orthography

BR Lat Belarusian Latin alphabet

P Polish alphabet

T Lat Turkish Latin alphabet

Note that all letter names are given in the Ottoman form, as this was undoubtedly the main source for the loan vocabulary.

Script and letter names (Ottoman)		Translit. 1: BLK	Translit. 2: Ott/A/Per	Script: BR Lat	Script: Polish	Script: T Lat
ا	elif	a	a	a	a	a
ب	be	b	b	b	b	b
پ	pe ¹	p	p	p	p	p
ت	te	t̤ (t ^h) ^s	t	ć	t	t
س	se	ś	th	ś	ś	s
ج	jim	dž	j	dž	dž	c
چ	chim ¹	č	—	č	cz	ç
ح	ha	ch	ḥ	ch	ch	h

خ	hi	ch	kh	ch	ch	h
د	dal	d	d	d	d	d
ڊ	TBR ²	dž	—	dz	dz	—
ذ	zal	ž (ž) ³	dh	ž	ž	z
ر	re	r	r	r	r	r
ز	ze	ž	z	—	—	z
ژ	je	ž	—	ž	ž/rz	j
س	sin	š (ś) ³	s	ś	ś	s
ش	shin	š	sh	š	sz	ş
ص	sad	s	ş	s	s	s
ض	zad	ž (z) ³	ḏ	z	z	z/d
ڇ	TBR ²	c	—	c/ć	c/ć	—
ط	ti	t	ṭ	t	t	t
ظ	zi	z	ẓ	z	z	z
ع	‘ayn ³	‘ (—)	‘	—	—	—

غ	gayn	g	gh	(g) ⁴	g	g
ف	fe	f	f	f	f	f
ق	qaf	k	q	k	k	k
ك	kef	ḳ (k') ⁵	k	k	k	k
ل	lam	l	l	l/ł	l/ł	l
م	mim	m	m	m	m	m
ن	nun	n	n	n/ṇ	n/ṇ	n
ه	he	h	h	h	h	h
و	vav	v	w	w/ŭ	w	v
ي / ی	ye	j	y	j	j	y
ء	hemze (glottal stop)	'	'	—	—	—

¹ Not used in Arabic, only in Ott and Per.

² Special Tatar Belarusian symbol.

³ Letters differentiated only in Ott (A/Per) words, except in Slav *úšče*, where س [š] is used consistently, perhaps indicating period of writing.

⁴ Used only in foreign loanwords in BR.

⁵ Transliteration ḳ/k' for [ك], and ł /ł' for [ت], used as required for legibility.

Vowels in the British Library Kitab

The vowel points can be used with any consonantal symbol (including *elif*). In Arabic there are three vowel points, known as *fatha*, *kasra* and *ḍamma*, which convey the three short vowels [a], [i] and [u] respectively; they are usually omitted except in special cases such as devotional works (notably the Quran) and children's books. In Ottoman Turkish, the same three vowel points occur, but as in Arabic, were rarely used except in contexts where it was important to avoid mistakes, such as, for example, religious texts or children's books. Known as *fethə* (or *ustun*), *kesre* (or *esere*) and *damma* (or *uturu*), they had different phonetic values from Arabic; depending on the phonetic context, they could represent eleven vowel sounds or more¹ (in the modern Latin-script Turkish alphabet only eight vowels are represented). In BLK these same three vowel points are used in a number of combinations (often with *'ayn*) to convey five Slav vowel phonemes:

a	أ	عأ	أ	ا
e	—	—	—	ع
o	—	و	عو	او
u	—	ع	و	او
i/y	ي/ي*	—	ع	ا

* Used interchangeably in BLK, but ي predominates.

Other Symbols

The following superscript symbols are also used in BLK:

˘: This symbol (Arabic *shadda*, Ottoman *shedde* or *teshdid*) indicates

¹ Wells: 9-12; for a detailed survey of the letters and orthography of Ottoman Turkish see Redhouse, *Simplified Grammar*: 1-50.

the doubling of a consonant. It is usually shown in the ‘hyper correct’ orthography of BLK, but in a few words it is consistently omitted e.g. DŽINEJ (cf. T *cinni*). It is also erroneously, but consistently used in ‘UMMER *عمر* (cf. A *Omar*). This mis-spelling is found in other Tatar writings, indicating an early error.

ĩ: This symbol (Ottoman *medd-elif*) indicates a long [a]; it is rare in BLK, used only in a few loanwords.

◌◌̣: This symbol (Arabic *sukûn*, Ottoman *jezm*) indicates that a consonant is followed by another consonant or is word-final. In BLK, as in Ottoman, it is written: ◌◌̣. Here, following modern Arabic typographical practice, it is written: ◌◌̣.

Transliteration of Cyrillic (Russian and Belarusian) Alphabet

Cyrillic script not used in BLK, but some dictionaries cited in PART IV do use this script, also names of authors and titles of works cited in Bibliography. Transliteration follows same basic principles as for the Belarusian Latin script (see pp. xxii-xxv).

For Russian transcriptions, not all the BR Latin script symbols are used (e.g. ś, ŋ, ħ). Palatalization usually shown by *jot* (j). Additionally, these symbols are used:

soft sign ъ: -' ;

hard sign Ѣ: -" ;

sign Ъ (*jat'*): ě (Old Russian only)

short 'i' (й): j;

jotated vowels (initial and inter-vocalic): ja, je, jo, ju.

PART I INTRODUCTION

1 Previous Research on the Tatars of North Eastern Europe

The earliest references to the presence of Tatars in north eastern Europe (modern-day Belarus, Lithuania and Poland) are to be found in historical chronicles. For the most part these record raids and battles, though sometimes information on issues relating to administration and dynastic succession is included. Later, as Tatars began to settle in the region, there is occasional mention of them in a number of Latin, Russian, Polish and Turkish sources. These include early histories such as the 'Russian' Chronicles (covering the Russian principalities and territory which now forms part of Belarus, Lithuania and Ukraine);² *Historiae Polonicae*, by Polish diplomat and soldier Jan Długosz/Dlugossius (1415-1480); *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*, by Polish scholar and eminent prelate Marcin Kromer/Cromerus (1512-1589); and *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Zmódzka i Wszystkiej Rusi* by Polish scholar and poet Maciej Strykowski (c. 1547-c. 1593).

There are, too, some sixteenth-century historico-anthropological-political reports, mostly based on firsthand observations, such as *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, by Sigismund von Herberstein (1486-1566), the German-Slovene historian and envoy of the Holy Roman Empire; *Repertorium librorum de omnium gentium ritibus*, by Johannes Boemus (d. 1535), German humanist, priest and member of the Teutonic Order of Knights; *De moribus Tartarorum, Lithuanorum et Moscorum* by sixteenth-century Michalon Lithuanis (precise identity not known, but probably a Lithuanian chancellery official in the Grand Duchy); and *Rerum Polonicarum tomi tres*, by Alessandro Guagnini/Guagninus (1538-1614), an Italian scholar who served in the army of the Grand Duchy. There are also a few travel narratives and reports, such as those by Burgundian/Flemish soldier and diplomat Ghillebert de Lannoy (1386-1462), who travelled extensively in the region in the early 15th century; Antonio Possevino/Possevinus (1534-1611), a Jesuit priest and papal legate who visited Scandinavia, Muscovy and various cities in

² See McM, *Byelorussian Literature: 24-30*, for survey of Belarusian chronicle writing; for published texts, see *PSRL*, esp. vols XXXII, XXXIV.

central and eastern Europe in the second half of the 16th century; and *Historiae Lithuanae* by Albertus W. Koialowicz (1609-77), scholar, Jesuit priest and Rector of Vilna University.³

The most important Turkish source is *Risâle-i Tatar-i Leh* ('Treatise on the Tatars of Poland'), a 23-page report on the Tatar community in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania written by an anonymous Tatar pilgrim. This work, apparently compiled at the behest of Rustem Pasha, Suleyman the Magnificent's Grand Vizir, was written in Ottoman Turkish in Istanbul, when the pilgrim stopped there on his way to Mecca in 1557. The early history of the manuscript is not known, but eventually it was acquired by the Jagellonian University in Cracow (see further below). The historian Ibrahim Peçevi (16th century) gives some information on the Tatars in his *Tarih*, as do later Ottoman sources such as Bartunlu Ibrahim Hamdi (18th century).⁴

These accounts are valuable as contemporary observations. However, they are sparse and fragmentary, and not always easy to evaluate. Moreover, the terms that are used to refer to the Tatars differ from source to source. Proper names are recorded in a variety of ways and it is sometimes difficult to identify the individual in question. Also, the few foreign travellers who did realise that the Tatars were of a unique ethnic origin tended to confuse them with other local minorities such as the Jews (in particular the Karaim). A clearer, though still fragmentary, picture of the condition of the Tatars is provided by legal records. The *Litovskaja Metrika* and the Lithuanian Statutes are especially important sources of information. From the 19th century onwards, the publication of large collections of state acts, laws and statutes gave further insights into the lives of the Tatars. These included *Akty, izdavajemyje Vilenskoju komissijeju dlja razbora drevnich aktov*; *Polnoje sobranije zakonov Rossijskoj Imperii*; and *Volumina Legum: Leges, Statuta, Constitutiones, Privilegia Regni Poloniae*.

In the modern period, the first aspect of their culture to attract scholarly interest was the unique body of devotional manuscripts that they had produced. These were written in the Arabic script, but the language was Belarusian/Polish with an admixture of Ottoman Turkish

³ See Bibliography for full references to all these works.

⁴ See further Orhonlu: 69-78.

loanwords (predominantly of Arabic origin). Towards the middle of the 19th century, H. O. Fleischer, together with F. Delitzsch, catalogued the oriental manuscripts of the Leipzig Library. Here Fleischer discovered a Tatar *chamail* ('prayer book'). He realised that the document contained passages in Polish with some East Slav features, which, knowing no Belarusian, he attributed to Ukrainian influence. His description of the manuscript begins thus: '*Codex arabicus, tataricus, polonicus ...*'.⁵ He had no clear notion of its provenance, but suggested that it came from the Tatar khanate in the Crimea. This was the first, tentative, attempt at a linguistic analysis of a Tatar-Slav manuscript.

The next important advance, undertaken shortly afterwards, was the attempt by T. Czacki to trace the history of the Tatars of this region ('O Tatarach', *Dziela Tadeusza Czackiego*, ed. E. Raczyński, III, Poznań, 1845). This work formed the basis for the expanded, and subsequently better known, study by A. Muchlinskij, entitled 'Izsledovanije o proischoždenii i sostojanii litovskich tatar' (*Godičnyj toržestvennyj akt v Imperatorskom Sanktpeterburgskom universitete byvsij 8 fevralja 1857 g.*, St Petersburg, 1857). Professor of Turkish at the St. Petersburg University, Muchlinskij was able to make use of oriental as well as European sources, and thus to provide a more complete account of the Tatars. The following year he published 'Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach litewskich' (*Teka wileńska*, 4, Vilna, 1858), a Polish translation of *Risâle-i Tatar-i Leh*, the report on the Tatar community mentioned above.

With these two publications Muchlinskij laid the foundations for the study of the history of the Tatars of this part of Europe. During the next fifty years several other historical/ethnographic studies appeared, but to a greater or lesser degree they all drew on Muchlinskij (sometimes indiscriminately, without rechecking his sources).⁶ The most notable were J. Talko-Hryncewicz's *Muślimowie* (first edition Cracow, 1907), which was reviewed at length in *Revue du monde musulman* (11, Paris, 1910), and Dž. Aleksandrovič's 'Litovskije tatarj. Kratkij istoriko-etnografičeskij očerk' (*Izvestija Obščestva obsledovanija i izučenija Azarbedžana*, 2, Baku, 1926), which revised Muchlinskij's interpretation of events and offered a more positive view of the history of the Tatars. In

⁵ Fleischer: 450-51, item no. 179.

⁶ Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije'. On a mistaken attribution, see note 35 below.

1915, I. Łuckievič, a Belarusian ethnographer, acquired a *kitab* and in an article that he wrote about it subsequently ('Aj-kitab-kiciop', *Varta*, 1, Minsk, October 1918), he included some fifty lines of transcription. Although Fleischer had previously transcribed a few short sentences from the Leipzig *chamail* and Muchlinskij had also given some samples in 'Izsledovanije', it was this work of Łuckievič's that brought the writings of the Tatars of north eastern Europe to the attention of the broader public.

Descriptions of other Tatar manuscripts gradually appeared. Several of these studies contained extracts in transcription, as, for example, the long narrative 'Byl jedin mlodzenec ...' (V. Volski, 'Nakont nacyjanalnaj litaratury biełaruskich tatar', *Uzvyšša*, 4, Minsk, 1927), 'Historyja a Marjame ...' (V. Łastoŭski, *Historyja biełaruskaj (kryŭskaj) knihi*, Kaunas, 1926) and 'Chalupa Bužahu s Pānambūham razmuva ...' (Ja. Stankievič and M. Tauerova, 'Adryvak z Aj Kitabu', *Kryvič*, 2 (8), Kaunas, 1924). The philologists Je. F. Karski and Ch. Stang realized the importance of these monuments for the study of the development of Belarusian, but were hampered in their use of them by the fact that relatively few texts were available in transcription (and in any case, the transcripts were not very reliable as there was no uniform system of transliteration); also, there were no reliable criteria for dating the texts and exaggeratedly early dates were sometimes suggested. For example, Stankievič ascribed Łuckievič's *kitab* to the 16th century, but Antonovič later determined that the watermarks and other data proved conclusively that it belonged to the early 18th century;⁷ similarly, V. Volski thought that the *kitab* he describes in 'Nakont nacyjanalnaj litaratury biełaruskich tatar' (*Uzvyšša*, 4, Minsk, 1927) was a seventeenth-century manuscript, though Antonovič subsequently dated it to the late 18th century.⁸ During this period the monumental volume by S. Dziadulewicz, *Herbarz rodzin tatarskich w Polsce* (Wilna, 1929) was published. This exhaustively researched compendium on the genealogy and coats of arms of the Tatar nobility has proved to be an invaluable tool for the study of Tatar social history.

In 1932 a journal devoted exclusively to Tatar affairs, *Rocznik*

⁷ Antonovič, *Belorusskije teksty*: 38.

⁸ *ibid*: 44.

tatarski, was launched. This scholarly journal was a milestone in the study of Tatar culture. The contributors, inspired by a new-found self-awareness and pride in their unique 'Eurasian' heritage, published research on a wide range of themes. A number of articles were devoted to Tatar history and ethnography. At the same time, several authors emphasized the Tatar contribution to Polish society. There was also evidence of a keen attachment to the Islamic world in general and in particular to Turkey. The emotional link with Turkey was made explicit by the use of Turkish as the third language of the journal, the others being French and Polish.

The linguistic feature that aroused most interest was the incidence of so-called 'oriental survivals' of what was presumed to be the Tatars' original language. The first serious work in this field was by V. Volski, who noted some twenty words and expressions of 'oriental' origin in 'Ab asablivaściami żywoj movy biełaruskich tatar i arabskaj transkrypcyi "Al-Kitabaŭ"' (*Naš kraj*, 8-9, Minsk, 1927). A more comprehensive list was provided by A. Woronowicz, who published a list of four hundred-odd terms in 'Szczałki językowe Tatarów litewskich', *Rocznik tatarski*, 2, Zamość, 1935. His sources included colloquial expressions, inscriptions on tomb-stones and written monuments. It is a very useful work, but neither exhaustive nor conclusive. Woronowicz's transcriptions are not always consistent; moreover, he gives little indication as to the exact origin of particular examples (though he does note when a citation is taken from a *kitab* or a *chamail*). There is also no information as to the spread or frequency of individual words; some are obviously trade terms, relating to weights, measures and quantities, while others are technical calligraphic terms. Yet others are polite 'Istanbul' Ottoman (A/Per) phrases such as *estegfirullach* ('do not mention it, not at all', usually said in reply to expressions of thanks or praise, or as here explained, begging pardon for a hiccup). Such expressions were probably brought back by travellers and returnee emigrants from Turkey at the turn of the century.

The outbreak of the Second World War forced *Rocznik tatarski* to cease publication after only three numbers had appeared. By the time peace eventually returned, most of the Tatar intellectuals had perished. For a while it seemed as though the community would again sink into obscurity, at least so far as the scholarly community was concerned. Signs of a revival of linguistic interest came in 1948, when Wł.

Zajączkowski presented a short academic paper on the language of the Tatars entitled 'Resztki językowe Tatarów litewskich' in *Sprawozdania PAU*, Cracow, 1948). A few years later, A. Zajączkowski published a short description of another chamail ('Tak zwany chamail tatarski ze zbioru rękopisów w Warszawie', *Sprawozdania z czynności i posiedzeń PAU*, LII, 4, Cracow, 1952). At the same time, Ja. Stankievič's study of the phonetic characteristics of Łuckievič's *kitab* was reprinted in New York (*Mova rukapisu'al-Kitab Kryvickaha Muzeju Ivana Łuckieviča ũ Vilni: Časć 1. Fonetyka*, New York, 1952). This was particularly welcome, since it had originally appeared in several parts in the journal *Kałošsie*, in Vilna, on the eve of the German invasion and only a few complete copies of the work had survived.

Popular interest in the Tatars also began to revive and from 1956 onwards, a number of magazine and newspaper articles on Tatar history and culture began to appear. The most prolific writer in this field was M. Konopacki, who in the following years published over fifteen articles and booklets on the Tatars of Poland. These works contained valuable local information, regarding, for example, the histories of particular families or mosques. However, in general there was little new research on broader scholarly issues. The first major study in the post-war period was A. Antonovič's *Belorusskije teksty, pisannyje arabskim pis'mom...* (Vilna, 1968). Based on a careful study of the script and orthography of all the known Tatar manuscripts, the author set forth a well thought-out system of transliteration; he also established preliminary criteria for dating the texts. Both achievements are of major importance, establishing a sound foundation for further research. Antonovič's work on transliteration was especially useful since it opened up the field to Slavists. Previously, very few Slavists had been able to undertake detailed research in this area, as the majority of them were hampered by a lack of competence in reading the Arabic script. Smaller, but noteworthy, contributions were made at this time by A. Dubinskij, who examined a sample of the Arabic/Persian/Turkish words used by the Tatars and aspects of the grammatical integration of these terms ('Zametki o jazyke litovskich tatar', *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, 1, Moscow, 1972); and by A. Zajączkowski, who, in his study of a *chamail* (cited above), discussed what he defined as Uighur elements in the Turkish portions of the text.

Two extremely helpful publications appeared in Turkish in 1971.

One was C. Orhonlu's 'Lipkalar' (*Türkiyat mecmuasi*, 16, Istanbul), which presented the history of the 'Lipkas' (i.e. Tatars) as described in Ottoman sources. The other was M. T. Gökbilgin's 'Lehistan Tatarlari hakkında bir risâle "Risâle-i Tatar-i Leh"' (*Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 2, Istanbul), which examined the original Turkish version of *Risâle-i Tatar-i-Leh* (previously only available in published form in Muchlinski's Polish translation) and included facsimile reproductions of its twenty-three manuscript folios. The *Risâle* manuscript does not, unfortunately, reproduce the speech of the Tatar pilgrim, since the unknown author seems to have enlisted the help of professional scribes in Istanbul. Hence, the result is sixteenth-century Ottoman Turkish, not sixteenth-century Belarusian Tatar. Nevertheless, it is a valuable document and the publication of the original was an important event.

The discovery in London by G. M. Meredith-Owens and A. Nadson of three hitherto unknown Tatar manuscripts, subsequently described by them in an admirable article 'The Byelorussian Tatars and Their Writings' (*Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, III, 2, London, 1970), was a welcome addition to the scholarly literature on the subject. Meredith-Owens and Nadson demonstrated the ways in which these Tatar writings illuminate the history of Belarusian. Karski and Stang had previously drawn attention to the linguistic importance of these documents, but interest in this subject had been somewhat overshadowed by the emphasis that was placed on the religious aspect of the Tatars' history.⁹ The lead given by Meredith-Owens and Nadson was soon followed by P. Wexler of Tel-Aviv University Linguistics Department, who wrote on 'Jewish, Tatar and Karaite Communal Dialects and Their Importance for Byelorussian Historical Linguistics' (*Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, III, 1, 1973).

Relatively little new scholarly work on the Tatars appeared in the 1980s, apart from the fine study by Cz. Łapicz of a late eighteenth-century manuscript (*Kitab Tatarów litewsko-polskich*, Toruń, 1986). However, there was an upsurge of interest in Islam, from the point of view of its teachings as well as its history in the region. This naturally overlapped with, though did not wholly subsume, the study of Tatar history and culture. In the 1990s, however, research in this field

⁹ E.g. Roux: 223-25; Bohdanowicz: 646-56; Konopacki, 'Les musulmans': 115-30.

experienced a vigorous revival. One of the first serious works to appear was an illuminating account of Tatar social history in the 19th century by T. Bairašaukaite (*Lietuvos Totoriai XIX amžiuje*, Vilnius, 1996). Another important publication was by P. Suter (*Alfurkan Tatarski – Der Litauisch-tatarische Koran-Tefsir*, Cologne, 2004), which analysed language use in a group of *tefsir*, with particular reference to an eighteenth-century manuscript, the *Francis Skaryna Belarusian Library Tefsir* (copyist Bohdan ibn Ševban Asanovič, dated 1725). The Tatar literary heritage was examined by A. Drozd, whose groundbreaking papers traced links between the Tatar writings and Old Polish religious (Christian) literature (see Bibliography for references). Another strand in Tatar literature was described by M. Tarelka and I. Synovka, who identified a Sufi element in a chamail ('Tekst sufiiskaha pachodžan'nia z biełaruska-tatarskaha chamaila', *Aktualnyja problemy pałanistyki*, Minsk, 2005). H. Jankowski's 'Islamic components in the art of Lithuanian-Polish-Belarusian Tatars' (*Collectanea Eurasiatica Cracoviensia*, Cracow, 2003: 71-92) exemplified the growing interest in the material culture of the Tatars.

The publication of catalogues of Tatar monuments helped to map the range of Tatar material. Of major significance was the publication of the large format, beautifully illustrated *Katalog zabytków tatarskich* (vols I-III, Warsaw, 1997-2000), which covered such fields as military insignia, mosques (with plans and photographs), cemeteries and grave stones, manuscripts, journals, decorative religious inscriptions and illustrations. Holdings of the Belarusian Academy of Sciences were described in *Rukapisy Biełaruskich Tatarau kanca XVII – pačatku XX stahodždzia: Z kalekcyi Centralnaj navukovaj biblijateki Nacyjanalnaj akademii navuk Biełarusi*, compiled by I. Gančarova, A. Citavjec and M. Tarelka, Minsk, 2003. In Lithuania, too, important catalogues have been published: *Holdings of the Seraya Szapszal Karaim Collection* by Ž. Būčys, Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus, Vilnius, 2003 (Tatar documents listed pp. 129-33), and *Katalog arabskoalfavitnych rukopisej litovskich Tatar*, compiled by G. Miškinene, S. Namavičjute and E. Pokrovskaja, Vilna, 2005 (lists 83 items).

In recent years numerous Internet websites devoted to Tatar culture and history have been created. Magazines and journals, especially those produced by Muslim communities, have also provided outlets for articles

on the Tatars, mostly popular in nature, but sometimes containing rare information. These include *Al-Islam* (renamed *Žizn* 'Life' in 1996), Minsk, 1995-98; *Bajram*, Minsk, 1991-97; *Rocznik Tatarów Polskich*, Gdańsk, 1993-97; and *Życie Muzułmańskie*, Gdańsk, 1989-91.

2 Aims and Methodology of the Present Work

As discussed above, there is a growing (though nevertheless still small) body of research on the history of the Tatars in north-eastern Europe. The present study is primarily concerned with the lexical characteristics of the Tatar writings. It builds on previous work in this field, but examines in greater detail the structure and composition of the vocabulary, with particular reference to the terms used for the transmission and explanation of religious concepts. It examines the graphic adaptation of the Arabic script to convey the characteristics of Belarusian and Polish and gives a survey of the narrative content of the BLK. However, the main focus is a detailed examination of the religious vocabulary of the manuscript.

The semantic designation of the field of 'religious vocabulary' has been interpreted loosely enough to include such areas as ritual practice, doctrinal precepts, beliefs, fears, ethics, personal conduct and community worship. The use of such a broad definition provided a diverse cross section of some 1,000 lexical elements, ranging from specific Islamic concepts to general aspects of human relationships and behaviour as seen through a particular religious prism. The intention here was to avoid the imposition of a preconceived idea of what might constitute the religious sphere in the understanding of the Tatars. Rather, it sought to explore the 'lived experience' of the religion, as encapsulated in this document. From a lexical point of view, this provided a rich seam of different stylistic registers.

The study has four main aims: a) to analyze the etymological characteristics of the manuscript, with reference to the Slav as well as the 'oriental' (Turkish, Arabic, Persian) vocabulary; b) to examine the grammatical, phonetic and syntactical adaptation and integration of the non-Slav elements; c) to map semantic differentiation in the use of the Slav and non-Slav elements as applied to religious concepts; d) to

determine the nature and degree of the socio-linguistic interaction between the Slav and non-Slav heritage of the Tatars (i.e. the extent of a possible bilingual culture).

The methodology is grounded in a line-by-line textual analysis of the source manuscript. By studying the document in such detail it is possible to identify dominant patterns of usage, also to highlight the considerable degree of orthographic and phonological variation. Wherever possible, the study draws on comparative linguistic material, as recorded in historical and dialect dictionaries, scholarly monographs and contemporary primary sources. This makes it possible to locate the vocabulary of BLK within the linguistic development of the region. In particular, it reveals a predominance of dialectal features that suggest the probable geographic origin of the source manuscript. This aspect of the research, which draws on the valuable work on Belarusian dialectology published in the 1960s-1970s, allows for an evaluation of this manuscript as a monument of a specific regional genre of literature.

Note: A master copy of the transliteration of the manuscript of the British Library Kitab (BLK) has been deposited at the Francis Skaryna Belarusian Library, London, UK.

PART II HISTORY, RELIGION, LANGUAGE and LITERATURE

Introduction

The history of the Tatars of north eastern Europe is marked by movements of population, shifting alliances and incessant political upheavals. From their original homeland in the heart of Eurasia they migrated to the Baltic region where, over the centuries, the area in which they settled was under the rule successively of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Kingdom of Poland, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Russian empire, the independent republics of Poland and Lithuania in the first half of the twentieth century, German occupation in the First World War and again in the Second World War, then divided between the socialist republic of Poland and Soviet republics of Byelorussia and Lithuania, and most recently, the independent republics of Belarus, Lithuania and Poland. The changes of regime and shifting of state boundaries meant that, time and time again, Tatars communities were divided and re-divided, sometimes finding themselves separated by hostile international borders. Nevertheless, despite these vicissitudes, the Tatars succeeded both in integrating smoothly into the majority society in their new homeland, and in retaining a strong sense of their separate historical and religious identity. They were loyal citizens of the state in which they found themselves, but also proud bearers of a distinctive heritage.

Their history is too rich and complex to be treated adequately here. Rather, the aim in the following pages is to outline the developments that informed the Tatars' collective memory and shaped the social and cultural environment in which they came to produce their religious literature. Yet even this limited undertaking requires a wide-ranging historical and geographic sweep in order to give perspective to the narrative. The Tatars have repeatedly found themselves in border zones where cultures and religions, as well as competing state powers, collide and interact. Thus, while their early history spanned the Eurasian divide, their later history spanned European partitions.

Inevitably, there are difficult questions of terminology, since place names, personal names and ethno-political designations are all the subject

of fierce debate, touching as they do on sensitive issues of national pride and historical interpretation. The Tatars themselves have been referred to in various ways: apart from the different terms that are used for the Mongol and early post-Mongol periods, in north eastern Europe the terms 'Tatars of the Grand Duchy', 'Lithuanian Tatars', 'Polish Tatars' and 'Belarusian (Byelorussian) Tatars' have been used, and indeed, insisted upon as 'historically correct' by some authors. In the 20th century, especially between the two World Wars, the word *Lipka* gained some currency amongst Tatar writers. In historical documents (16th century onwards) the term was used, with specific reference to Tatar troops, in Slav sources (*Lipka*, *Lubka*, *Lupka*), also in Ottoman sources (ليبكا).¹⁰ The etymology of the word is unclear, but the initial 'l' indicates a non-Turkic origin; most probably, it is derived from 'Lithuania' (T *Litvanya*). Here, for the sake of simplicity, the term 'Tatar' is used without qualification unless the context requires clarification.

Place names are generally given in the form in which they were current in the historical period under discussion, with a different form cited in brackets, where needed for the sake of clarity: for example, *Troki* (Belarusian) is used as the main form in preference to *Trakai* (Lithuanian), except when referring to the modern period; likewise *Vilna* (Belarusian) rather than *Wilno* (Polish), or *Vilnius* (Lithuanian). Names of rulers of the Grand Duchy are given according to the ethnic origin of the dynasty: for example *Vytautas* (Lithuanian), is used in preference to *Vitaut* (Belarusian), *Witold* (Polish), *Vitoldus* (Latin). Admittedly, this approach sometimes leads to anachronisms, especially in the names of rulers (in contemporary historical documents Belarusian forms are usually found); it has been adopted here purely as a matter of convenience, in order to avoid cumbersome multiple forms. Arabic, Persian, Mongol, and Turkic names are given in the form in which they are commonly used in English.

Quotations from some languages (e.g. Turkish) are translated into English, while others (e.g. Latin and Russian) are not. To have translated every source would have taken a considerable amount of space and probably been superfluous. So, an idiosyncratic choice has been made,

¹⁰ Evliya Çelebi: 254, note 3; Orhonlu: 60-61; Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 2; *EI*, V: 765-67, s.v. *Lipka*.

based on a personal judgement as to which languages are more likely to be accessible to the readers of this work. In citations from early sources (medieval French, Italian and Latin, Old Polish, Russian etc.) original spelling and punctuation is preserved as far as possible, though this sometimes differs from modern conventions. Dates are given according to the Christian era (*Anno Domini*) unless otherwise stated.

The material below is divided into three main sections. The first deals with general history, the second with matters relating more specifically to the religious life and activity of the Tatars, the third to the religious writings of the Tatars. As elsewhere, cross references are given in brackets, with the chapter heading in Roman numerals, the subheadings in Arabic numerals (e.g. II.1.1).

II.1 HISTORY

II.1.1 Tatar-Mongol Origins

The early history of the nomads of Central Asia (also known as 'Inner Asia'¹¹) is obscure. Moreover, there is uncertainty over the meaning, and hence the use, of ethnonyms. Two terms in particular have caused confusion. One of these is 'Tatar', the other 'Mongol'.

In modern usage, the term 'Tatar' is the official designation of a Turkic-speaking people who originated in the eastern part of Central Asia, on the territory of modern Mongolia, but who for the past six centuries at least have been settled predominantly in the Volga region, the Crimea and Siberia (all part of the present-day Russian Federation). In earlier periods, however, 'Tatar' was often used quite loosely as a generic designation for nomads, without regard for their ethno-linguistic origins. According to Howorth, the term was derived from *ta-ta*, Tungusic 'to drag, pull', or Mongol 'tent, house-shelter'.¹² Yet in the first recorded use of the term in a Turkic-language text, found in the Orkhon inscriptions (carved on rock steles, sited on the Orkhon river, Mongolia) of 732 AD, a much narrower application is indicated; here the term

¹¹ For use of this term see *Cambridge History*: 19-40,

¹² Howorth: 700-03.

designates particular tribes.¹³ Several other nomad peoples inhabited the eastern steppes of Central (Inner) Asia at this period.¹⁴ One of these was the Mongols. They lived in close geographic proximity to the Turkic-speaking 'Tatars', but linguistically were quite distinct, representing a different (Mongolic) family of languages.¹⁵

Matthew Paris was possibly the first to link 'Tatar' with 'Tartarus', a conceit so apt that it gained the force of popular etymology:

eodem anno plebs Sathanae detestanda Tartarorum, scilicet exercitus infinitus, a regione sua montibus circuillata prorupit... exeuntes ad instar daemonum solutorum a tartaro, ut bene Tartari quasi tartarei, nuncupentur.¹⁶

He mentions another derivation which was being aired in Western Europe at that time:

Dicuntur autem Tartari a quodam flumine per montes eorum, quos iam penetrauerant, decurrente, quod dicitur Tartar: sicut flumen Damasci Farfar nuncupatur.¹⁷

Another favourite theory regarding the origins of the Tatars was that they were descended from the Ten Tribes of Israel:

Credentur isti Tartari, quorum memoria est detestabilis, fuisse de decem tribus, qui abierunt, relicta lege Mosaica, post vitulos aureos..¹⁸

Such fanciful etymologies underline the utter bewilderment caused by this scourge that appeared out of nowhere.

II.1.2 Mongol Empire

Within Central Asia, regional supremacy passed from one group of nomads to another. Sometimes the Tatars, at other times the Mongols, were in the ascendancy. It was not until the second half of the twelfth century that there emerged a leader who was strong enough to unite all the peoples of the steppe into a single entity and to build a powerful new empire. This was the Mongol Temuchin (exact date of birth unknown,

¹³ Tekin: 232-58.

¹⁴ See *Cambridge History*, esp. chapters 11-12, for historico-ethnographic survey.

¹⁵ Most philologists hold that Mongolic and Turkic are branches of the larger Altaic family of languages. See Greenberg: 11-17; 279.

¹⁶ Matthew Paris: 731.

¹⁷ *ibid*: 732.

¹⁸ *ibid*: 731.

suggested dates are 1155/1162/1167), who later came to be known as Chingiz Khan. Amongst his many achievements were the introduction of a script (adopted from the Uighur Turks), a code of laws (the *Yasak*), and a strong social hierarchy based on the decimal divisions of the military formations. He created a highly organised administrative infrastructure and a superb fighting force. In 1206 he was elected *Khakan*, Great Khan, supreme ruler of the steppes. The following year he embarked on the sequence of campaigns that were to lay the foundations of a vast Empire. Mongol-led armies fanned out in an ever widening arc into eastern Europe, and eastern and western Asia.

In European, likewise in Arabic and Persian sources, the terms 'Tatar' and 'Mongol' were, from a very early period, used interchangeably.¹⁹ Thus, Pian de Carpine, describing his journey to the court of Kuyuk Khan in 1245 comments that they 'entered the country of the Mongols, whom we call Tatars'.²⁰ However, Rubruck, who visited the Mongol realm a decade later, distinguishes between them, noting that 'next to the Moal were other poor people, who were called Tartars'.²¹ Rashid ad-Din, the thirteenth-century chronicler of the Mongols, explains the confusion of the two terms thus:

By reason of their (the Mongols') fame, others in those lands acquired fame under their name, which is why most Turks are called Mongols, just as before this the Tatars were most powerful and all were called Tatars and even today in Arabia, India and China the Tatars are famous.²²

Chingiz Khan was a military commander of rare ability. As Juvaini expressed it, 'Alexander... had he lived in the age of Chingiz-Khan, would have been his pupil in craft and cunning'.²³ Under his leadership,

¹⁹ Cf. Matthew Paris, *op. cit.* See also Boyle: 20, note 4, on the use of the term Tatar by the Persian historian Juvaini (c.1226-83) and his Arab counterparts: 'This term in Juvaini (as the Arabic equivalent Tatar in Ibn al-Athir and Nasawi) always refers to the Mongols in general and never to the original Tatar, a tribe to the south-east of the Mongols proper'.

²⁰ Pian de Carpine: 18.

²¹ Rubruck: 112; also note 1 on same page.

²² Rashid ad-Din, V: 9.

²³ Boyle/Juvaini: 24. The comparison with Alexander (to Alexander's detriment) was a favourite theme of oriental writers. The same point is made by Ibn al-Athir (1160-1233) in *Perfection in the Art of Chronicle-writing* (Tizengauzen, I: 3).

the Mongol conquests proceeded at an unprecedented pace. Peking fell in 1215, Khwarezmia in 1216. Bukhara, Merv, Samarkand and other renowned centres of Muslim learning were laid waste within the next few years. Indeed, it seemed to the contemporary Arab historian Ibn Al-Athir (1160-1233) that 'this terrible calamity, the like of which the days and nights had never before brought forth, engulfed the whole of creation and in particular, the Muslims'.²⁴ The Mongol army swept inexorably through Armenia and Georgia and on to the Crimea and the territory of modern Ukraine, over-running the Kipchak Plain as it went. Only the majestic prose of a Gibbon can do justice to this exploit:

They had trampled on the nations which opposed their passage, penetrated through the gates of Derbend, traversed the Volga and the desert and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea, by an expedition which had never been attempted and has never been repeated.²⁵

Those who stood in the way of the invaders, among them the Khwarezmians and the Kipchaks, were first defeated and then incorporated into the ranks of the victorious Mongol army. This further strengthened the Turkic linguistic and ethnic element in the Mongol states that emerged in the steppe region. The Arab historian al-Omari (d. 1348-49) writes of the intermingling of the Tatars (Mongols) with the Kipchaks (known as Cuman to the Byzantines, Polovtsy to the Russians):

In ancient times this state was the land of the Kipchaks, but when the Tatars conquered it the Kipchaks became their subjects. They (the Tatars) co-mingled with the Kipchaks and became related to them, so all became just like the Kipchaks, as though they were one people. Thus the Mongols (and Tatars) settled on Kipchak land, inter-married with them and remained living on their (Kipchak) territory.²⁶

In the spring of 1223 Mongol troops made their first sortie into Russia. After massacring the Russians at the Battle of the River Kalka they

²⁴ 'Pereskaz etogo dela zaključajet v sebe vospominanije o velikom sobytii i ogromnom neščastii, ktoromu podobnago ne proisvodili dni i noči i ktoroje ochvatilo vse sozdanija, v osobennosti že musul'man'. (al-Athir, Russian transl., Tizengauzen, I: 2)

²⁵ Gibbon, VII: 10.

²⁶ 'V dřevnosti eto gosudarstvo bylo stranoju Kipčakov, no kogda im zavladeli Tatary, to Kipčaki sdelalis' ich poddanymi. Potim oni (Tatary) smešalis' i porodnilis' s nimi (Kipčakami) ... i vse oni stali točno Kipčaki, kak budto oni odnogo (s nimi) roda, ottogo, što Mongoly (i Tatary) poselilis' na zemle Kipčakov, vstupali v brak s nimi i ostavalis' žit' v zemle ich (Kipčakov)'. (Al-Omari, Russian transl., Tizengauzen, I: 235)

withdrew as suddenly as they had appeared, leaving the local population stunned and bewildered. As the Chronicle records for that year:

Togo že lě(t) javišas jazyci. ichže niktože dobrě jasno ne věst' kto sut' i otkolě izidoša. i čto jazyk'' ich'' i kotorogo plemeni sut' i čto věra ich i zovut' ja Tatory a inii gl(agol)jut' Taumeny. a družii Pečenezi... my že ich ne věmy kto sut'.²⁷

II.1.3 Rise and Fall of the Golden Horde

Chingiz Khan died in 1227. However, this did not stop the expansion of the Mongol empire. The campaign against the Russian principalities was re-launched in 1236. The following year they took Moscow in 1237 and a few months later subjugated the other northern Russian principalities. The Mongols then turned southwards and in 1240 took Kiev, slaughtering the citizens and reducing the city to rubble. They continued their advance westwards, into the Hungarian plains and beyond, conquering a swathe of territory that stretched from the Gulf of Finland in the north to the Danube in the south (see Map 1, 'The Mongol Empire c. 1300').

During his lifetime, Chingiz Khan, as was customary amongst Mongol chiefs, divided up his great kingdom into subordinate states, each ruled over by one of his sons under the supreme overlordship of the Great Khan.²⁸ The western territories had fallen to the lot of Juchi, his eldest son. This land came to be known as the 'Ulus of Juchi', though in the event, Juchi died before his father and the campaign in the west was carried out by Juchi's sons. The chief commander was Batu, his second son and it was as a vassal of the Great Khan that Batu conquered, and then ruled, the lands to the west of the Caspian Sea. This is the state that in Europe came to be known as the 'Golden Horde'. The origin of the term 'Golden Horde' remains an enigma. It was not used by the Mongols themselves, though Pian de Carpine comments that the enthronement tent of the supreme ruler, Khan Kuyuk, was called 'the Golden Orda' and that it was decorated with 'gold plates ... fastened with gold nails'.²⁹ Later, the traveller Ibn Battuta (1304-1377) described the Tatar Khan Özbek's 'golden tent', with its wooden throne covered with gilded silver and precious stones.³⁰ The actual designation 'Golden Horde' appears to date

²⁷ *Laurentian Chronicle*, year 6732 (1223 AD), *PSRL*, I: 446.

²⁸ Bosworth: 142.

²⁹ Pian de Carpine: 29.

³⁰ Ibn Battuta (Tizengauzen, I: 290).

from 1564, when it was used in *Istorija o Kazanskom Carstve*:

I ot togo vremeni obložen i nača pervoje velikii knjaz' Jaroslav Vsevolodič' Vladimerskii carju Batjuju v Zlatuju Ordu dani davati.³¹

The main wings of the Golden Horde were the Blue Horde, under the direct leadership of Batu, and the White Horde, led by his elder brother Orda. The Blue (or 'Great') Horde constituted the eastern wing and was the larger and more powerful of the two formations, stretching from the Aral Sea to the Kipchak plains; the White Horde controlled the territory to the west and north, including part of Siberia.³² There were frequent struggles between the leaders of these two wings for overall mastery of the Golden Horde. Nevertheless, Batu and his successors remained the dominant power in the Golden Horde for over a century, albeit at times with the support of the semi-autonomous Nogai Khanate.

Batu died in 1255. The Golden Horde (known in the Belarusian and Russian Chronicles as 'the Great Horde') was by now little more than a nominal part of the Mongol empire and increasingly functioned as an independent state. The rulers were still Mongols, direct descendants of Chinghiz Khan (Chingisids), but the army consisted largely of Turkic-speakers and was ethnically more Turkic than Mongol. As one historian aptly commented:

It is difficult to conceive of a successful Mongol penetration of central Europe, if a great part of Eastern Europe had not been peopled by a Turkish folk not undisposed to welcome distinguished invaders with similar Turanian traditions of nomadic life, of rapacity and of unity under a despot. For, after all, Chingis Khan, though a Mongol, inherited the traditions and prestige of Oghuz Khan, the mythical hero of the Turks.³³

Mongol continued to be used as a court language, but Turkic languages were rapidly becoming the chief literary vehicles of the Horde (see

³¹ *PSRL*, XIX: 6.

³² In the Russian Chronicles the term 'Great Horde' is used synonymously with 'White Horde' for the main (western) body of the Golden Horde, while 'Blue Horde' is used to designate the (supposedly) smaller, eastern wing. This coincides with the Mongol colour code, whereby blue stood for East and white for West. In most oriental sources, however, the 'Blue (Kök) Horde', also called the Great Horde, is located in the west, the 'White (Ak) Horde' in the east. Modern historians tend to prefer this second usage. Arguments in favour of the Russian terminology are given in Vernadsky: 138.

³³ Boswell: 71.

further II.3.1). In European, and especially in Russian sources, the ethnonym 'Tatar' became the main term for the Turco-Mongol population of the Golden Horde and its successor states.

Another, perhaps even more significant, development that took place at this time was the process of Islamicisation. There had already been some Islamic influence in the Mongol empire prior to the mid-14th century (see further II.2). In 1257 Batu's younger brother, Berke, became Khan of the Golden Horde and officially converted to Islam.³⁴ Batu established his capital, Sarai, on the lower reaches of the Volga, within easy reach of the Caspian Sea. This, as later its successor 'New Sarai', was a flourishing entrepot for transcontinental trade from Asia to Europe.³⁵ It facilitated contacts between the Horde and the Muslim Middle East. Politically, Berke's sympathies lay here rather than with his fellow Mongol khans. When the southern wing of the Mongol Empire, the Il-Khans of Persia, killed the Caliph, Berke formed an alliance with the Mamelukes of Egypt against them. These links may have been helped by the fact that the Mamelukes, like many of the subjects of the Golden Horde, were of Kipchak origin. Berke's immediate successor was not a Muslim, though some of the aristocracy did accept the new faith. It was under Özbek (1312/13-41) that the Horde was finally converted. With the acceptance of Islam, the Arabic script was adopted in place of the Uighur that had been used since the time of Chingiz Khan. Scholars from Khwarezmia settled in the cities of the Golden Horde, bringing with them the riches of Central Asian Muslim culture, science, literature and architecture. Persian, too, gained currency as a literary language.

Thus, having come into existence as a part of the Mongol Empire, within a century the Golden Horde was assimilated into the Muslim world. By this time the Golden Horde was the strongest, and most feared, state in central Eurasia. As discussed below, it was both an enemy and an ally to other regional powers. The history of north eastern Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is marked by cross-cutting alliances between the Tatars and rival Lithuanian, Polish and Russian rulers, played out against a backdrop of devastating, indiscriminate Tatar raids.

Yet even while the Golden Horde was outwardly still at its height,

³⁴ DeWeese: 81-90.

³⁵ Spuler, *Goldene Horde*: 264-70; Grekov and Jakubovskij: 141-55.

controlling a vast swathe of territory, it was already beset by factional power struggles. Rulers rarely lasted more than a few years on the throne. In the course of the 15th century it began to fragment into smaller formations. These were led by khans who claimed nominal descent from Chinghiz Khan (a necessary prerequisite for leadership in all the Mongol successor states), but they were constantly in conflict with each other and with the Golden Horde. The most powerful splinter state was the Crimean Horde. Founded in the mid-15th century, it became a serious rival to the Golden Horde, encroaching on its territory and making alliances with its enemies. In the early 16th century, eroded by defections and secessions, the Golden Horde ceased to exist.

II.1.4 The Grand Duchy of Lithuania

In parallel to the rise of the Golden Horde, a new European power was emerging on the Baltic coast. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania was founded in the 13th century on lands that were originally settled by East Slav tribes (forebears of the modern Belarusians) moving westwards, and later joined by Lithuanian Baltic tribes moving eastwards. The two groups fused to form a unified political entity.³⁶ The Slavs, known as 'Ruthenians' (from the word *Rus*) remained the ethnic majority, but the ruling dynasty was Lithuanian. The nascent state was consolidated by Mindaugas (BR *Mindovh*), who was proclaimed king in 1253. Later rulers took the title Grand Duke.³⁷ From the mid-14th century onwards, there was rapid territorial expansion, incorporating more Slav lands. Algirdas (BR *Olhierd*), ruler from 1345 to 1377, styled himself *Rex Litviorum Ruthenorumque*. The official state language was 'Ruthenian' (Old Belarusian - hereafter the term Belarusian will be used). At its height, the Grand Duchy encompassed some nine-tenths of the territory that today constitutes the Republic of Belarus and as one writer expressed it, 'the state was Lithuanian in name only'.³⁸

The Slavs had been converted to Christianity of the Orthodox rite in the 10th century. The Lithuanians, however, were still pagan. In 1385,

³⁶ Vakar: 38-40, outlines some of the main theories regarding this period.

³⁷ *PSRL*, XXXII: 25, under year 1284; also Bielski: 156.

³⁸ On the historical and geographical significance of the terms 'Byelorussia/Belarus' and 'Lithuania' see Jucho: 175-88; also Yermolovič: 233-36.

the Polish barons concluded an agreement with the Lithuanians (Union of Krewo), underpinned by the marriage of the sovereigns of the two states, which, amongst other provisions, specified the baptism of the Lithuanians into the Catholic rite of the Christian faith (officially adopted by the Polish state in 966). This personal union was gradually strengthened and from 1440 onwards, the Lithuanian rulers were also crowned Kings of Poland. Initially, however, the Lithuanians ruled only their own territory as regents of the Polish monarch. In 1392, Vytautas (BR *Vitaut*, P *Witold*) became Grand Duke and won recognition as an independent ruler. During his reign, the Grand Duchy reached its zenith, territorially as well as economically (see Map 2, 'The Grand Duchy of Lithuania 1240-1462').

Some of the larger cities, such as Hrodna and Vilna, had been granted a municipal charter (Magdeburg Rights) and this had stimulated the development of a vibrant urban culture. Vytautas succeeded in consolidating his kingdom not only because of his skill as a military commander, but also - and perhaps more importantly - because of his shrewd diplomacy and ability to forge alliances with friends as well as with erstwhile foes. Domestically, he pursued a far-sighted policy of openness and tolerance. He encouraged immigration and granted the incomers wide civil rights. In addition to Ruthenians and Lithuanians, the population of the Grand Duchy included colonies of Germans, Jews and later Tatars and Karaim (Turkic-speaking Jews from the Crimea). All enjoyed freedom of religion. Yet the Grand Duchy's ascendancy brought it into conflict with neighbouring powers: the Teutonic Knights to the north, the Russian principalities to the east, and the Golden Horde, and later the Crimean Khanate, in the south. It was imperative to have a strong army. It was at this point that the interests of the Tatars and the Grand Duchy intersected.

II.1.5 Tatar Immigration into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

Contacts between the Golden Horde and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania date from the second half of the 13th century, the period when Berke was ruler of the Horde and Mindaugas of the Grand Duchy. The *Litovskaja Chronika* notes that Tatar envoys first came to the Grand Duchy in 1263.³⁹ In the succeeding years detachments from the Golden Horde

³⁹ 'O poslach tatarskich do Litvy najperšej. Roku 1263' (*PSRL*, XXXII: 19).

frequently raided the Grand Ducal lands. Despite this, by the end of the century the Tatars were often allies. As mentioned above, the Golden Horde was riven by internal dissent and opposition. Discontented commanders, including princes of the blood, would sometimes take their troops and seek a base elsewhere, aligning themselves with the enemies of the current ruler of the Golden Horde. The Grand Duchy, meanwhile, was in the process of expansion and often under threat from its neighbours, especially the Teutonic Knights. The Tatars were famed for their military prowess, particularly for the darting 'dance' tactics with which they bewildered their foes.⁴⁰ They made a valuable addition to the fighting capacity of the Grand Duchy.

It is not known when Tatars first took service under the Grand Dukes, but it is recorded that in 1319 a Tatar detachment fought for Gediminas (BR *Hedymin*) against the Teutonic knights and played a prominent part in the action:

Gediminus vero ita aciem instruxit, ut Russorum cohorte parte latera, parte extremam aciem firmarent: Litvani in medio consistenter: Tartari frontem occuparent.⁴¹

It is possible that there was already a sizeable community of Tatars living in the Grand Duchy, for an unidentified chronicler of the period reportedly wrote:

Our brethren sent to convert the Lithuanian lands found the whole country plunged in heathenish practices, worshipping the sun, and amongst them were Scythians come from the realm of a certain khan, who in their prayers use an Asiatic language.⁴²

Military cooperation between the Grand Duchy and the Tatars continued after Gediminas' death (1341). Thus, Tatar troops assisted Grand Dukes Algirdas (BR *Olhierd*) and Kęstutis (BR *Keistut*), whose reigns spanned the middle of the 14th century (respectively 1345-77 and 1381-82) in

⁴⁰ Strykowski, I: 360.

⁴¹ Koialowicz: 248.

⁴² This passage, quoted by Muchlinskij in 'Izsledovanije' and repeated by many subsequent writers, is said to be taken from the *Annales Ordinis Minorum* under the year 1324 AD. The present writer has not had access to the first (1672) edition, but in the 2nd and 3rd editions there is no such reference (see Appendix 4 below for the text of this entry).

their attacks on Casimir III of Poland. However, the most intensive contacts between the Tatars and the Grand Duchy took place in the following century.

By this time the Grand Duchy, ruled by Vytautas (1392-1430), was a rapidly emerging power in eastern Europe. The Golden Horde still dominated central Eurasia, but it was fatally weakened by strife between leaders of the White Horde and the Blue Horde. Rival contenders, as mentioned above, sought external support, thus widening the impact of the conflict. This trend was vividly evidenced by the struggles of Tokhtamysh, who became Khan of the White Horde in 1379, to gain mastery of the entire Golden Horde. Tokhtamysh first turned to Central Asia to find an ally for this venture. There, Tamerlane (1336-1405), was emulating Chinghiz Khan's conquests and carving out a vast empire. He had secured control of the Ulus of Chagatai, the realm of Chingiz Khan's second son, and made Samarkand his capital. Although not descended from Chingiz Khan, he succeeded in establishing control over the regional Chingisid rulers. Thereafter he embarked on a bold series of campaigns that ranged across a huge part of the Asian landmass.

When Tokhtamysh appeared in Samarkand requesting help to become supreme ruler of the Golden Horde, it seemed to offer Tamerlane the possibility of extending his authority to the western wing of the Mongol empire (i.e. the Ulus of Juchi).⁴³ Tamerlane agreed to support the campaign, on the understanding that Tokhtamysh would accept vassal status. Tokhtamysh agreed and with Tamerlane's support took Astrakhan and Sarai, the Golden Horde strongholds on the Volga. He then turned his attention to Mamai, a rival Tatar leader. In 1380, Mamai had been defeated by the Russian Prince Dmitri Donskoj at the Battle of Kulikovo. Mamai was preparing a counter-offensive against Dmitri Donskoj when he was attacked by Tokhtamysh.

The armies of the two Tatar leaders joined battle on the River Kalka, where just over a century and a half before Batu had first defeated the Russian princes. Tokhtamysh and his troops won the day. This victory established him as the undisputed master of the whole of the Golden Horde. He went on to ravage Moscow and several other cities, taking hostages from all the leading Russian princes. Then, in 1385, he

⁴³ See Manz: *Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, on the politics of Central Asia at this time.

turned his attention to the Caucasus and northern Iran, formerly a part of the Ulus of Juchi but now under the rule of Tamerlane himself. This was an act of deliberate provocation and could not but bring about a direct confrontation between Tokhtamysh and Tamerlane. The struggle dragged on for several years, with defeats and triumphs on both sides. Finally, in 1395 Tamerlane won a decisive victory and thereupon installed his own candidate, Timur Qutlugh, as Khan of the Golden Horde.

Tokhtamysh sought new backing, this time in the west, to help him regain his throne. He received some help from Russian princes, but found his staunchest ally in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Ottoman historian Ibrahim Peçevi (1574-1650) noted:

Timurlenk, Toktamış han üzerine sefer ettiği zaman ... Timur gelince bunların bir kısmını esir etmiş bir kısmını da kılıçtan geçirmiş idi. Bir çoğu da Leh ve Moskof kâfirlerinin memleketlerine kaçarak oralarda yerleşmişlerdir.⁴⁴

Vytautas, a seasoned, ambitious statesman, decided to support Tokhtamysh, hoping thereby to gain influence in the Golden Horde. Thus, he received the Tatar prince, who came accompanied by his family, court retinue and army, with honour and gave them leave to settle in the vicinity of Lida.⁴⁵ There were already, as indicated above, Tatars in the Grand Duchy. However, this was the largest single influx and it greatly increased the existing Tatar population. Vytautas mustered a large force of Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Poles and Germans and in 1397, together with Tokhtamysh's men, they crossed the Volga and penetrated far into the territory of the Golden Horde. The campaign was a resounding success. The booty included thousands of prisoners (women and children as well as men). Some were sent to Poland (linked to the Grand Duchy by the Union of Krewo), others were allowed to remain in the Grand Duchy and settled in villages on the Waka river.⁴⁶ It has been suggested that it was those who were hostile to Tokhtamysh who were sent to Poland.⁴⁷

In 1399 Vytautas and Tokhtamysh again took up arms against the

⁴⁴ 'In the time when Timur was fighting against Toktamish ... Timur came, he took some of them (Tatars) prisoner and some he put to the sword. A number of them fled to the infidel lands of Muscovy and Poland and settled there' (Peçevi: 248).

⁴⁵ *PSRL*, XXXII: 75.

⁴⁶ Cromerus: 251; Bielski: 281; *PSRL*, XXXII: 75.

⁴⁷ Bohdanowicz: 647. The theory is plausible, but he gives no supporting evidence.

ruling Khan of the Golden Horde. The two armies met on the banks of the River Vorskla. This time Khan Timur Qutlugh and his Nogai ally Edigey utterly routed the Tokhtamysh-Vytautas coalition. Timur Qutlugh was fatally wounded, leaving Edigey ruler of the Horde in all but name. The latter opened negotiations with Vytautas and established a tactical relationship.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Vytautas did not abandon the struggle to set Tokhtamysh on the throne of the Golden Horde. As recorded in the *Chronika Litovskaja*:

Roku 1400 semoho. Vitolt přičhavši do Litvy, zbiral znovu vojsko na tatare, chotjači posaditi na carstve Zavolskom Tak'tomyša, peršoho carja zavolskoho, ot Temertikluja vyhnanoho, kotoryj utekl byl do Vitolta i mēškal v Litvě zo vsěmi ulany i murzami svoimi na Lidě.⁴⁹

These efforts were unsuccessful and Tokhtamysh (who it seems was once again seeking help from Tamerlane⁵⁰) was killed c. 1407 in a clash with Edigey's troops in Siberia. Thereafter, despite Edigey's displeasure, Vytautas continued to give asylum to Tokhtamysh's family and supporters. In 1409, Jelaleddin, Tokhtamysh's son, presented himself at the court of Vytautas and secured from him the promise of military support to gain the throne of the Golden Horde. The Grand Duke also allocated a stretch of land in the vicinity of Kiev on which the Tatars were given leave to camp until they returned to their homeland. The following year, Jelaleddin (called 'Saladin', or 'Takhta Mirza Anton', in some early histories) assisted in the Battle of Grunwald; leading his Tatar troops (estimated by some to have numbered 30,000),⁵¹ he helped to inflict a crushing defeat on the Teutonic Knights. In 1412, with Vytautas' support, Jelaleddin briefly became Khan of the Golden Horde.

Later, Vytautas supported the candidacy of another of Tokhtamysh's sons, Khan Betsabula, who in turn helped the Grand Duke in his ongoing struggles with the Teutonic Knights.⁵² This pattern of mutual assistance was repeated with successive Tatar princes. Vytautas

⁴⁸ Bielski: 318

⁴⁹ *PSRL*, XXXII: 75.

⁵⁰ DeWeese: 338.

⁵¹ Muchlinskij, citing as a source '*po izvestiam našich letopiscev*' ('Izsledovanije': 128); others set it as low as 300 (Długosz, V: 15). For a description of the battle, see Stykowski, II: 119-39.

⁵² Bielski: 317; Kryczyński (L.), 'Tatarzy polscy': 4.

continued to play an active role in the labyrinthine politics of the Golden Horde, supporting one pretender after another in return for military assistance. Strong personal bonds were formed, underpinned by visits of Tatar princes to the Grand Duchy and exchanges of valuable gifts. In 1424, once again an ousted Khan of the Golden Horde fled to the Grand Duchy after suffering defeat at the hands of a rival. This was Ulugh Muhammad (also known as Muhammad Khan), another of Tokhtamysh's sons. With the help of Vytautas, he regrouped his troops and in 1428 regained his throne. He then attacked the Crimea, evidently with some encouragement from Vytautas. He did not succeed in dislodging the emerging house of Girey, but he did receive support from the powerful local clan of Shirin, kinsmen of the Nogai leader Edigey.⁵³ Some of the latter eventually moved to the Grand Duchy, where they founded the influential Szyryńscy line.⁵⁴

Vytautas valued the goodwill of the Tatars and treated them with personal courtesy. This is evident from the accounts of Ghillebert de Lannoy, a Burgundian Flemish noble who visited the Grand Duchy in 1414 and 1421. Lannoy was much impressed by the esteem shown to the Tatars and notes that '*le duc sarrasin de Tartarie*' was served with meat even though it was a Friday. Vytautas' chancery was able to furnish him with letters '*escriptes en tartarie, en russe et en latin*'. On his further travels, the fact that he was a friend of Vytautas' ensured his good treatment both on the territory of the Grand Duchy and in the lands of the Golden Horde. Thus, for example, after crossing the Dniepr and Dniestr (still within the Grand Duchy) he encountered a colony of Tatars whose khan, '*amy et serviteur au duc Witholt*', furnished him with a magnificent feast. Similarly, in the Golden Horde he met '*ung empereur de Tartarie... nommé l'empereur de Sahat, amy dudit Witholt*'.⁵⁵

In the 15th century the Golden Horde, wracked by internecine rivalries, began to fragment into smaller khanates. As Lannoy noted:

pour y faire ung nouvel empereur, car chascun vouloit le sien, et estoient tous en meutrie et en armes en laditte contrée.⁵⁶

⁵³ Grekov and Jakobovskij: 410-18.

⁵⁴ For Tatar genealogy in the Grand Duchy, see Dziadulewicz: 330-34.

⁵⁵ Lannoy: 41, 55-64.

⁵⁶ *ibid*: 63.

The most powerful and long lasting of these was the Crimean Khanate. It was founded, with some support from Vytautas, c. 1427 (the exact date is disputed) by Haji Girey, a Tatar prince who was born and brought up in Troki. This city, one the early capitals of the Grand Duchy, was an important fortified outpost of the state and retained its political and economic significance after the seat of government had been moved to Vilna. During the reign of Vytautas, Karaim from the Crimea as well as high-ranking Tatars were settled here.⁵⁷ They were not the only immigrants. By this time the city and its environs had a lively multi-ethnic, multi-lingual population. Lannoy reported in 1414:

Item: demeurent en laditte ville de Tranquenne [i.e. Troki - SA] et au dehors en plusieurs villaiges moult grant quantité de Tartres, qui la habitent par tribut, lesquelz sont drois Sarrasins, sans avoir riens de la loy de Jhesucrist et ont ung langaige a part nommé le Tartre. Et habitent semblablement en laditte ville Allemans, Letaus, Russe et grant quantite de juifz, qui ont chascun langaige especial.⁵⁸

At least one of Haji Girey's sons was born in Troki, as is recorded in the *Codex Epistolaris Vitoldi*:

Troki 15 lipca 1416: Och so wisset, dat dee keiser van Tattern, de sinen broder gedodet hat, vluchtig ud Tartaren in Lettowen gereden is... Ok so is des gedodes keisers wiff een gevolgen to Vytowten und is ghisterne eins sons genesen to Tracen.⁵⁹

This account is supported by Michalon Lithuanus:

Ultimus vero ex Lituania Caesarum Aczkirei, hic apud Troki natus, et hinc a divo Withovvdo ad imperium illud missus, genuit imperans ibi in Taurica filium Menglikirei.⁶⁰

The death of Vytautas in 1430 triggered dynastic struggles in the Grand Duchy. Rival contenders sought allies amongst the Tatar leaders, and similarly, the Tatar leaders looked for support in their internal politics. There was also turmoil in the wider region as Muscovy and Poland expanded their power. In the Golden Horde there was a kalaeidoscopic succession of changing rulers and shifting alliances.

In 1452, yet another ousted supreme ruler of the Golden Horde, Khan Sayid Ahmad (called Sachmet in some chronicles) sought asylum

⁵⁷ Czacki: 271-84; Zajączkowski (A.), *Karaims*.

⁵⁸ Lannoy: 41.

⁵⁹ *Codex Epistolaris Vitoldi*: 352-53.

⁶⁰ Michalon Lithuanus: fragmina X, 3.

in the Grand Duchy.⁶¹ Expecting a warm reception, he was accompanied by family members and a princely retinue:

quo Sadachmetes ceteriorum Tattarorum dux fugiens cum nouem filijs & familiaribus siue purpuratis, quos Murzas & Vlanos illi vocant, in Lituaniam, tanquam ad amicos sese recepit.⁶²

His hopes were soon dashed. His 'friendly' hosts kept him in custody in the Grand Duchy until his death.⁶³ Meanwhile, other high-born Tatar princes were based in the Grand Duchy at this time. These were Nur-Devlet and Hayder, sons of Haji Girey, founder of the Crimean Khanate. Each in turn tried to become Crimean Khan, but were defeated by a third brother, Mengli Girey.

The Golden Horde was now in terminal decline. In 1501/2, the ruling khan, Shaykh Ahmad (confusingly, also called 'Sachmet' in the Slav Chronicles), was overthrown by the Crimean Mengli Girey, who then annexed much of the territory of the Golden Horde. After this defeat, Shaykh Ahmed and his brothers, together with a retinue of some 300 horses, sought refuge in the Grand Duchy.⁶⁴ His wife, tired of the hardships of war, took most of the army and fled to Mengli Girey:

inediae & frigoris impatiens, cum maiore parte copiarum eius in Taurica transfugit.⁶⁵

Shaykh Ahmad had helped the Grand Duchy in its struggle against the Crimean Tatars and was confident of a sympathetic reception. In this he was disappointed. His hosts regarded him with suspicion and held him under guard in Vilna until 1505, when Alexander, Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland, summoned the Tatar emigrants to the Sejm of Brest and made a brief show of honouring them. This sudden change of attitude was prompted by the renewed threat of attack from the Crimea. Once again, Shaykh Ahmad was regarded as a potentially useful ally. Yet neither side trusted the other. Shaykh Ahmad and his retinue soon tried to escape, intending to go to the Ottoman Sultan Bayezit. Their plan failed: they were stopped near Kiev and brought back to Vilna in

⁶¹ For the wider geopolitical context of Sayid Ahmad's life and times, see Grekov and Jakubovsky: 414-21; Spuler, *Goldene Horde*: 162-74.

⁶² Cromerus: 339; also Bielski: 395.

⁶³ Strykowski, II: 234.

⁶⁴ *PSRL*, XXXII: 168-69; Strykowski II: 316-17.

⁶⁵ Cromerus: 440; Bielski 494.

disgrace. Shaykh Ahmad was imprisoned in Troki, while his men were sent to castles around the kingdom. Later, according to some sources, he was despatched to Kovno in chains where, for the rest of his life, he was kept prisoner.⁶⁶ This account, though, should be treated with caution as there is a tendency to conflate Shaykh Ahmad's fate with that of the mid-15th century fugitive, Sayid Ahmad. Although Shaykh Ahmad did remain in the Grand Duchy, he and his retinue were probably treated as aristocratic hostages and subjected to a merely nominal form of custody.⁶⁷ He was able to receive Nogai envoys and visiting dignitaries. The ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor, Sigismund von Herberstein, records that on his mission to the Grand Duchy in 1517 he met Shaykh Ahmad and dined with him.⁶⁸ Shaykh Ahmad was finally allowed to return to his homeland in 1527 (or 1523, according to some sources), reportedly at the request of Nogai princes.⁶⁹

By this time the Crimean Khanate and the Grand Duchy were forming an alliance. In 1512, as a sign of good will, Mengli Girey sent high-ranking hostages to the Grand Duchy. Sigismund I (joint Grand Duke and King of Poland) reciprocated in 1514 by granting a safe conduct to the ruling Tatar princes and dignitaries, allowing them to enter and leave the Grand Duchy at will and to stay as long as they wished. Throughout the 16th century this pattern of cooperation, punctuated by provocative actions, continued to characterise relations between the Tatars and the Grand Duchy. Thus, Tatars from the Crimean Khanate (known in the Chronicles as *perekopskije*) continued to conduct predatory raids against the Grand Duchy, despite comparatively cordial relations between the two states. The *Chronika Litovskaja* records many such attacks; sometimes the Tatars were victorious, but on other occasions they were given a drubbing and sent home in considerable disarray.

The entry for the year 1506 is typical of the period as a whole and, while allowing for some exaggeration on the part of the Chronicler, it gives an idea of the scale of these operations:

O tatarach pod Sluckom i Minskom. Roku 1506. Prišol v Rus' Mahmet Herej

⁶⁶ Cromerus: 339; Bielski 497-99.

⁶⁷ Kryczyński (L.), 'Tatarzy polscy': 7-8.

⁶⁸ Herberstein: 102.

⁶⁹ Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 17; Dumin and Kanapacki: 13.

soltan, carevič' perekopskij, z bratom svoim z Bati Hereom soltanom i Burnos soltan zo vsěmi silami tatarskimi ... vzjavši perše Novhorodok, zapalili jeho, a perešedši Nemen, v Litovskoj zemli velikii počinili škody, a z vjaznjami i zdoitkami nazad' vernulisja. A Mahmet Herej stojal košem pod Minskom i vsi volosti okolo Minska poburil, Minsko vse vypalil, ne majuči škody v svoich ljudech ni ot koho, vernulisja nazad, ljudej samych nad 100,000 christian vjaznev z Rusi i Litvy, krom inšych dobytkov, vyveli tak, iž na každoho tatarina po 25 vjaznev dostavalo, krom pobitych ... Toho z roku znovu 30,000 tatar vtorhnulo v zemlju Litovskuju, burili, palili, a, prišedši do Klecka, stali tam košem i rozpustili zahony. A litva zobralasja 10,000 i udarili na koš, kotorij božiju pomoščiju vzjali i stanuli v ich koši, a prichodjačich porivcem tatarov z polonami, ljudmi christianskimi i bydlom, bili i mordovali, i vsěch na holovu porazili; a hetmanom nad litvoju tojeju čas byl knjaz' Michail Hlinskij.⁷⁰

Remnants of the Golden Horde, now known as 'the Great Horde', also continued to attack the Grand Duchy. This placed the Tatars who were already living in the Grand Duchy in a difficult situation, creating the potential for divided allegiances. Yet the settler Tatars seem to have remained firmly loyal to their new homeland. The reply they sent to their marauding kinsmen after one such raid illustrates their fidelity to the Grand Duchy:

Ani Bóg, ani prorok, nie każą wam rabować, i nam być niewdzięcznymi, my was mamy za rabusiów, a naszą szablą was pokonywając, zabijamy hultajów nie braci naszych. Siedzicie za Wołgą, póki inne hordy was nie wypędzą. My koło Waki będziemy krew naszą przelewać za naszych Litwinów co nas mają za braci.⁷¹

These hostilities resulted in an ongoing flow of Tatar prisoners-of-war into the Grand Duchy. As was customary, the rank and file troops were settled on the estates of the victorious commanders. In peace time they served as a labour force, while in times of conflict, took up arms on behalf of their new lord and master (even when this meant fighting against other Tatars). In the 16th century some were sent to Volynia (today mostly within Ukraine), thus extending the area of Tatar settlement to the south. The first such colony was established in the

⁷⁰ *PSRL*, XXXII: 101. It is instructive to read the whole of the entry for the year 1506, which puts into perspective the relatively minor defeat of the Tatars by Michail Hlinskij, compared with the far greater raid earlier in the year in which the Tatars wrought havoc in the Christian lands, while suffering scarcely any losses themselves. See also Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije': 131.

⁷¹ Unpublished document of *Litovskaja Metrika*, dated 1508, cited in Czacki: 311.

vicinity of Ostrog in 1512, on the estate of Prince Konstantin Ostrogski.⁷² There were, too, Tatars who moved to the Grand Duchy voluntarily. The incessant intra-Tatar power struggles meant that 'dissident' nobles, together with their men, continued to seek asylum in the Grand Duchy. Also, in the second half of the 16th century, mercenaries from the Crimea increasingly sought service in the Grand Duchy.

As a result of these various influxes, by the early 17th century, Tatars of different origins (voluntary settlers as well as prisoners of war, from the Crimea and other Tatar Hordes) formed a significant element in the private armies of a number of powerful Lithuanian and Polish magnates.⁷³ Yet compared with the earlier waves of immigration, the influx of Tatars by this period was a mere trickle. This was largely a result of the changing political scene. Different actors and centres of power were emerging. In the Grand Duchy, the dynastic union with Poland that had been inaugurated in 1385 was transformed by the Union of Lublin of 1569 into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.⁷⁴ The successor states to the Golden Horde had divergent interests. The Kazakh and Uzbek Khanates, were primarily engaged in Central Asia, while the Astrakhan and Kazan Tatars were conquered by Muscovy in the mid-16th century. The Crimean Khanate, the largest and strongest of the successor states, continued to play a significant role in the region (and not infrequently mounted raids on its neighbours), but it was increasingly tied to Ottoman Turkey. These alignments broadened the sphere of interaction and created a new dynamic, drawing in different sets of national interests. The main arbiters of power were now Istanbul, Moscow and Warsaw.

II.1.6 Social structure of Tatars in the Grand Duchy

There are no reliable figures as to the size of the Tatar population in the Grand Duchy and Poland in the 16th century. Over a period of some two centuries there had been repeated influxes, some numbered in thousands, others a few hundred or less. According to *Risâle-i Tatar-i Leh*, in 1558

⁷² Borawski, *Tatarzy*: 150-51.

⁷³ *ibid*: 152-56.

⁷⁴ However, the two states retained separate administrations, legal systems and armies (Vakar: 47-50).

there were 200,000 Tatars.⁷⁵ This estimate may be somewhat too high, but the figure is unlikely to have been very much less. The Tatars by this period were not a homogeneous group. Drawn from different factional elements within the Golden Horde, they mirrored its complex ethnic and linguistic composition. This included Turkicised Mongols, Nogais, Khwarezmians, Bolgars and other Turkic tribes (see further II.3.1).

Some Tatars went to Poland, where they adopted Christianity, reportedly under duress.⁷⁶ They were assimilated into the local population and their distinctive identity was eroded. The majority of the Tatars, however, stayed in the Grand Duchy, where they were able to keep their religion and to maintain their traditions. It was here that some of the features of the clan-tribal hierarchical organisation of the Golden Horde, and likewise of the Crimean Horde, survived. At the apex of this transplanted social structure were the Chingisid members of the ruling elite. They included the immediate families of four supreme khans of the Golden Horde (Tokhtamysh, Ulugh Muhammad, Sayid Ahmad and Shaykh Ahmad), and the founder of the Crimean Horde (Haji Girey). These 'princes of the blood' came with their courts and armies. They were accorded the title *sultan* or *knjaz*/*kniaz* (BR/P 'prince'). The Grand Dukes treated them with the respect befitting their status. Next in order of seniority were the *mirza* (more commonly pronounced *murza*), powerful, virtually independent, clan-tribal leaders from the Crimean Horde who, like the sultans, had their own retinues. In the 17th century this term came to be used as a general term of nobility by the Tatars.⁷⁷

The category of *ulan* (< OT *oğul*, *oğlan* 'son') originally indicated high status and was used only by the Assanczukowicz princes, who traced their descent from Juchi and were thus Chingisids.⁷⁸ Later the term was sometimes appropriated by families who, though illustrious in the Grand Duchy, did not have a hereditary right to use it.⁷⁹ These terms survive in modern surnames such as Asan Ulanovič, Murza Taksubovič,

⁷⁵ Muchliński, 'Zdanie sprawy': 263.

⁷⁶ Długosz: 491.

⁷⁷ Dziadulewicz: xxx.

⁷⁸ Borawski, 'Tatarskie chorągwie': 144.

⁷⁹ Muchlinskij ('Izsledovanije': 135-36) enumerates these three ranks, but is vague on the exact function of the ulans. For an account of the social structure in the Crimean Khanate, see Fisher: 21-25; also Dziadulewicz: xxix-xxx.

Leon-Najman Mirza Kryczyński, Tuhan-Mirza-Baranowski.⁸⁰

These three classes of nobility arrived in the Grand Duchy in various ways. Some had quarrelled with the ruling elite in their parent Horde; initially they sought asylum and support for their cause, but eventually settled in the Grand Duchy, where they were granted estates and known as *tatarski hospodarski* 'the Sovereign's Tatars'.⁸¹ Among them was Aziubek Sultan, the second son of Shaykh Ahmad, who remained in the Grand Duchy after the departure of his father and elder brother. In 1514 Sigismund I allocated Aziubek a retinue and land in the vicinity of Ostryna. Moreover, he was given precedence over all the other Tatar nobles in the Grand Duchy. Sigismund likewise gave the son of Nur Devlet (brother of Crimean Khan Mengli Girey) the castle of Puńsk near Lida.⁸² These two princes and their descendants also occupied a special place of honour in the Tatar hierarchy.

A second group of high-ranking Tatars in the Grand Duchy had been sent as envoys or hostages to the Grand Ducal court but later they and their families stayed on, sometimes marrying into Tatar families who were already settled there. One such hostage was Prince Melik Basza Szyryński, a member of the prestigious 'Karači' group of clan leaders, who in 1506 was sent to Grand Duke's court by the Crimean Khan. A third group of Tatar nobles were prisoners of war. They were often ransomed by kith and fellow clan members who were already in the Grand Duchy and they, too, then stayed on. Among this group was Nursec, a prince from the Golden Horde, captured near Kleck in 1506 and released when Prince Ajdar Juszyński paid the ransom. Some of the most important Tatar families of later times were descended from aristocratic immigrants such as these.⁸³

The Tatar nobles had status and privileges similar to those of their Ruthenian-Lithuanian counterparts.⁸⁴ They also had similar aristocratic insignia. Their heraldic coats of arms often bore runic-like symbols derived from traditional Tatar *tamga* (mark, stamp).⁸⁵ Their estates were

⁸⁰ See genealogies in Dziadulewicz.

⁸¹ They were also styled *znatnejšij* 'most noble' (Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije': 135).

⁸² For more such examples see Kryczyński (L.), 'Tatary polscy': 10-11.

⁸³ *ibid.*: 6-11.

⁸⁴ Lappo: 261-77.

⁸⁵ See examples in Dziadulewicz under specific family names.

given in usufruct, with the right to hold serfs, in return for raising mounted military units of specified numbers of men in time of war. There was intense rivalry amongst these nobles for hierarchical precedence. They based their claim to superior status on their standing within their horde of origin, to whom they sometimes appealed for support and confirmation of their position.⁸⁶ Tatars who were not of noble lineage were designated 'ordinary' (*prostije*).⁸⁷ Signs of social and professional differentiation soon become evident. The term 'Kozak' or 'Kazak' appears in the 16th century.⁸⁸ This was the designation for a 'middling' group of soldiers who were responsible for practical and logistical tasks such as acting as guards and couriers, and organising transport. Later (? it is not clear exactly when) the Tatar Kozaks were given plots of land on terms similar to those of the nobles, but except in rare cases without the right to hold serfs.⁸⁹ Thus, they became small land owners who, in addition to military duties, served at the court of the Polish-Lithuanian rulers and provincial governors.⁹⁰ In effect, they constituted the minor gentry. Below them were the urban Tatars with no land. They included craftsmen (especially leather workers), traders (typically horse and cattle dealers), carters, and market gardeners.⁹¹ Some of these were former prisoners of war who had been freed when local Tatars paid their ransom. At the bottom of the social pyramid were the unredeemed prisoners of war (not only men, but also women and children). They had no legal rights. They could be forcibly baptised, bought and sold, and given as gifts. Vytautas himself on more than one occasion sent Tatar prisoners to foreign allies.⁹² They were mostly employed in construction work and other forms of hard labour.

The main settlement of the Tatars in the 16th century was within

⁸⁶ *ibid*: 20-21.

⁸⁷ Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije': 135. They were also distinguished by terms denoting place of settlement e.g. Menskij 'of Minsk' (see, for example, AVAK, XXXI, documents 198 and 203).

⁸⁸ Dumin and Kanapacki: 36.

⁸⁹ Borawski, 'Tatarskie chorągwie': 145, 152. See Davies, 1: 218-25, for a description of economic strata in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the second half of the 16th century.

⁹⁰ Borawski, 'Tatarskie chorągwie': 144; Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije': 137; Grishin: 19.

⁹¹ Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 145-63.

⁹² Grishin: 16.

an area bounded in the north by Troki and Vilna, in the east by Minsk, in the south by Sluck and Slonim and in the west by Hrodno. There were also a few colonies further south, in and around Pinsk, Brest and Ostrog. Most of this territory today forms part of Belarus, but the north-west falls within Lithuania (Trakai and Vilnius), a small fringe within Poland and the southernmost tip within Ukraine. The nobles had their estates, but the bulk of the Tatar population lived in the cities, or in villages and small towns. They gathered in compact groups in streets and settlements bearing distinctive Tatar names (some of which still survive today) such as *Tatarskaja Słabada* (Kleck), *Tatarski Kaniec* (Minsk), *Sorak-Tatary*, *Tatarska Góra*, *Tatarskaje Kladbišče*, *Arda*.

The region was prosperous, its economy based on its fertile agricultural land, local craft industries and trade. Politically, too, it was important. Sigismund II, the last ruler of the Gedimin line, moved his court to Vilna in 1544. In 1563 he granted equal rights to Catholic and Orthodox nobles. Vilna became a centre of intellectual activity, particularly after the founding of the Jesuit university in 1579. The Counter-Reformation resulted in a growing Roman Catholic presence in the city, but there were also Uniates (Slav Catholics of the Eastern Rite), a large Orthodox population, several very active Jewish communities, some Protestants and some Armenians. Thus, the Tatars were by no means the only heterogeneous element. Undoubtedly, there was some cultural interaction, especially at the higher end of the social scale.

The 'ordinary' Tatar prisoners whom Vytautas had settled on land near Vilna (see above), adapted well to their new life, though maintaining both their military skill and their faith:

Reliquos in media Lituania Supra Vacam amnem prope Vilnam agris attributis collocauisse. Qui manent ibi vfque in hodiernum diem, boni ac diligentes patresfamilias, & virtutis priscae armorum[ue]; non immemores: ritus autem patrios Mahometicæ Superstitionis adhuc feruant.⁹³

In fact, the main function of the Tatars in the Grand Duchy remained the duty to bear arms in time of war. Tatar regiments, known as 'banners' (BR *charuhvy*, P *chorągwie*), were formed on clan-tribal principles, similar to the formations in the Golden Horde. Initially, there were six main banners, with names that clearly indicate their Tatar-Mongol origin:

⁹³ Cromerus: 251-2.

Ulan, Juszyn, Naiman, Jaloir, Kondrat and Bahryn. They were led by dynasties of Tatar nobles and ranked in strict order of precedence. The office was hereditary but each new holder had to be confirmed by the monarch, who also had the right of dismissal.⁹⁴ Within these units there were sub-divisions known as 'pennants' (BR, P *ściah*). An idea of the size of these formations is provided by the *Rewizja* of 1559, which states that the combined Tatar banners were required to raise a force of 652 horse. The number varied from time to time; in 1661 it was set as high as 2,225 horse. In reality, though, the actual number that was provided sometimes fell far short of the prescribed figure.

Each banner had an allocated number of houses (families) from which it called up men. In 1631, this amounted to a total of 778 houses. They were not located exclusively in one area, but the troops did muster in appointed centres. Thus, the Jaloir formed in Vilna, the Ulan in Hrodno, the Juszyn in Troki, the Bahryn in Navahrudak.⁹⁵ This, too, changed gradually as the banners became based on territorial rather than clan-tribal affiliations.

II.1.7 Assimilation, Discrimination and Disaffection

Grand Duke Vytautas created a legal and social framework that facilitated the smooth integration of immigrants. The Tatars benefitted from this welcoming environment and genuinely came to identify themselves with their new homeland. They were proud of their genealogy, but assimilated to the local culture in virtually everything except religion. Even this marker was not absolute: some of the nobles and landed gentry voluntarily accepted Christianity.⁹⁶ Marriage with Slav Christian girls was not uncommon⁹⁷ and this further strengthened bonds with the host population. Lower down the social scale the same process was to be observed, although the degree of social interaction was less intense. Symbolically, the fusion of old and new identities was illustrated

⁹⁴ Borawski, 'Tatarskie chorągwie': 146-47.

⁹⁵ *ibid*: 153-57.

⁹⁶ Dziadulewicz: 363-455, lists names and arms of Christian Tatar nobility. By the 20th century, they accounted for approximately a quarter of the total Tatar nobility (for Muslim Tatars, *ibid*: 1-362).

⁹⁷ Muchliński, 'Zdanie sprawy': 267 (27).

by Tatar names. First names were generally dictated by religious allegiance, thus Muslims tended to use names with an Islamic significance, while converts were given Christian names. By the second generation Tatar Muslims would often use Christian names such as *Piotr* or *Macej*, or sometimes Muslim and Christian doublets, e.g. *Jusufl/Jozef*, *Mustafa/Stefan*. Surnames were not used in the Golden Horde so immigrants to the Grand Duchy devised their own. In some cases they adopted their wives' surnames, or local place names (e.g. *Kryczyński*).⁹⁸ In other cases, they Slavicised Arabic or Turkic personal names (e.g. *Ahmatowicz*, *Assanczukowicz*, *Illiaszewicz*), or terms indicating their status in the Horde (e.g. *Ulanowicz*, *Juszyński*).⁹⁹

A social factor which possibly facilitated the process of integration was the Tatar attitude to women. Women in the Mongol empire enjoyed a considerable degree of independence.¹⁰⁰ As Pian de Carpine noted in the mid-13th century, when a regional governor died, his wife would be appointed to take over his duties. The same spirit of independence was preserved in the Golden Horde where, even after the adoption of Islam, the women were unveiled. A notable example of female autonomy is the episode mentioned above, in which the wife of Shaykh Ahmad, unhappy at the rigours of life in the steppe, defected to the Crimea, taking with her a large part of her husband's army.¹⁰¹ In the Grand Duchy, Tatar women continued to follow a freer existence than in most other Islamic societies of the time.¹⁰² This tradition was maintained over the centuries. Wealthier women had their own property and, as evidenced by their wills, disposed of it as they wished, including making charitable endowments (*vaqf*).¹⁰³ In later years Tatar women entered higher education and played an active role in political and social developments. Monogamy was the rule in the Grand Duchy.¹⁰⁴ The Tatars seem to have been adopted this practice at an early period, since there is no mention of polygamous marriages in the sources, not even in the form of criticisms

⁹⁸ Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije': 158.

⁹⁹ Many such names are to be found in AVAK, XXXI. See also Dziadulewicz: xxii.

¹⁰⁰ Prawdin: 391.

¹⁰¹ Cromerus: 440; Bielski: 494.

¹⁰² Spuler, *Muslim World*: 6.

¹⁰³ Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 203-4

¹⁰⁴ Muchliński, 'Zdanie sprawy': 27 (267).

or insults. There is also no information on the way in which marriages were arranged. It is known that Tatar men sometimes married Christian women, but Tatar girls do not appear to have married outside their community (at least not until modern times).

Initially, there was no discrimination against Tatars. Some held high positions in the civil and judicial administration. Prince Urustaj, for example, was *Namiestnik* ('representative of the monarch') in Minsk in the early 15th century, while in the early 16th century, one Assanczukowicz was *Maršatak* of Hrodno and another of Navahrudak.¹⁰⁵ Later that century the situation began to change. In the First Lithuanian Statute (1529), Tatars were prohibited from acting as witnesses in cases against Christians (this ban was lifted in 1561 but re-imposed five years later).¹⁰⁶ In the Second Lithuanian Statute (1566) further restrictions were introduced. This discriminatory trend continued for most of the reign of the Vasa (Swedish) dynasty (1587-1668). At first the target was mostly the judicial rights of the Tatars, but in the 17th century their religion, Islam, came under attack (see below II.2.2).

This did not happen in a vacuum: it was a chaotic, dangerous period. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was being menaced from all sides, locked in bloody, protracted struggles with neighbouring powers: to the north Sweden, to the east Muscovy, to the south, the Ottoman empire and its vassal states, among them the Crimean Tatars. Within the country, Cossack uprisings (eagerly supported by rival foreign powers) aggravated the situation still further. The main employment of the Tatars was military service, so they were directly involved in the fighting. No figures are available for Tatar losses, but they must certainly have been high. Moreover, since it was mostly able-bodied young men who were killed, this was not simply a personal loss for the civilian population but also had an economic cost as it depleted the workforce on Tatar estates and smallholdings. Even more catastrophic was the fact that the area of Tatar settlement was on the

¹⁰⁵Strykienicz-Korzón: 165-79; Muchlinskij 'Izsledovanije': 138. The position of *Maršatak* in the Grand Duchy was prestigious, but whether or not the duties it entailed were purely ceremonial or whether they also involved some administrative responsibility is not clear (Dumin and Kanapacki: 35). See also Gorbačevskij, *Slovar'*: 211.

¹⁰⁶Grishin: 22.

frontline of the war zones for much of the century. The result was devastation and impoverishment of the local population.

The economic position of the Tatars had been in decline for sometime. This was partly because land holdings became smaller and more fragmented as they were handed on from one generation to another. Some estates were sold, passing into Polish possession. It became increasingly difficult for Tatar landowners to fulfill their obligation to provide the state with fully equipped troops. The old clan-tribal system of mustering men began to break down and many Tatar soldiers became 'mercenaries', enlisting in standard army regiments. Yet by this time the state's finances were in crisis, drained by the burden of decades of almost constant warfare. Consequently, there were severe arrears in the payment of salaries.¹⁰⁷ This created acute hardship for the Tatars, whose livelihood depended on their army pay.

The combination of religious intolerance and economic stress led to disaffection among the Tatars. In 1631 some 20,000 Tatars emigrated to Ottoman lands. Many settled in the border lands, in and around Chocim (Chotim, Hotin) Castle.¹⁰⁸ They came from all social classes, and included members of long-established Tatar noble families.¹⁰⁹ In the following years there were further waves of emigration. Some of those who remained behind showed their anger by outbreaks of looting and rioting. Eventually, this culminated in a revolt that came to be known as the Lipka Rebellion. Accounts differ as to precisely what happened, but whether peacefully or not, some 3,000 'Lipkas' (i.e. Polish-Lithuanian Tatars) deserted to the Ottoman side.¹¹⁰ These events must be seen in the wider geo-political context of the day. The unrest was restricted to the Tatar population in the south, in Volynia and Podolia (today within Ukraine). Poverty was already rife in this region owing to the ongoing depredations of the Crimean Tatars. The situation was exacerbated further by the influx of landless Tatars from the north, victims of the Swedish and Russian occupation of Grand Duchy territory in the mid-17th century, during which many traditional Tatar settlements had been

¹⁰⁷ Grishin: 23-31; Borawski, 'Tatarskie chorągwie': 155.

¹⁰⁸ Orhonlu: 69.

¹⁰⁹ Dziadulewicz: xxii.

¹¹⁰ Kryczyński (S.), 'Bey barski': 270.

pillaged and laid waste.¹¹¹

In July 1671 Crimean Tatar troops, with the backing of their Ottoman allies, invaded Volynia and Podolia. The following year the Ottomans captured the key fortress of Kamieniec Polodolsk 1672 and converted its cathedral into a mosque.¹¹² This was the final straw for the Lipkas. The success of the Ottoman-Crimean forces, coupled with their own anger over 'oppression and unpaid wages for three years',¹¹³ triggered a mass defection. The movement, which drew soldiers and officers of all ranks, began in November 1671 and continued throughout the following year. It was led by Aleksander Kryczyński, descendant of an illustrious Tatar family that had a lineage stretching back to the Naiman clan of the Golden Horde.¹¹⁴ A brave and successful military commander, he was regarded as an unofficial head of the Tatar community. In 1659, he had represented the Tatar nobility of Volynia and Podolia in the Sejm ('parliament') in Warsaw and had, with some success petitioned King Jan Casimir, for more privileges for the Tatars. In 1669, further concessions were granted to the Tatars. Whether Kryczyński instigated the revolt because he was disappointed by the results of these efforts, or whether he had other motives is not clear. Kryczyński's defection was a boon for the Ottomans. Sultan Murad IV rewarded him with the title 'Bey of Bar' and gave him command of Bar Castle. He was killed by fellow rebels in 1673.

By this time made the Ottomans had made significant advances into Commonwealth territory and were in a position of strength. The armistice that was concluded that year envisaged, amongst other concessions, the creation of an Ottoman protectorate in Podolia. These conditions were unacceptable to the new king, Jan Sobieski (1645-96). So the ruinous war continued, turning the region into a wasteland. It was not until 1676 that the peace treaty of Żorawno brought an end to the hostilities.¹¹⁵ As part of the peace agreement, the Sejm granted an amnesty to all the Tatars who returned to the service of the Commonwealth. Many came back, though a significant number remained in the Ottoman empire. Throughout, Jan

¹¹¹ Dumin and Kanapacki: 61-63.

¹¹² Davies: 471.

¹¹³ Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 31.

¹¹⁴ Dziadulewicz: 163.

¹¹⁵ Inalcik and Quataert (eds) II: 428.

Sobieski showed consummate tact in his dealings with the Tatars. No doubt this was born of his personal knowledge of the Tatar-Ottoman world. His education included not only classical European subjects, but also the study of several oriental languages, including Tatar. He became acquainted with Ismail Girey, the Crimean Khan, when the latter spent a period of captivity in the Commonwealth, in the city of Zamość. In 1653, Sobieski himself voluntarily spent time as a hostage in the Tatar capital of Bakhchisaray; he visited Istanbul in 1654 and in 1657 was in command of Tatar troops in the Commonwealth army.¹¹⁶ Thus, he was no stranger to Lipka issues. He adopted a conciliatory approach towards them and started to address their grievances. Their former privileges and rights were restored (1677), and in Podlasia, in the districts of Brest, Kobryń and Hrodna, land was given lieu of unpaid wages (1679).¹¹⁷ These reforms meant that the Tatars now enjoyed a position similar to that which they had held at the time of the Union between the Grand Duchy and Poland. They continued to serve with distinction in the Commonwealth army. In 1683 Tatars, including former Lipka rebels, took part in the battle of Vienna against the Turks. It is said that they wore a blade of straw in their helmets to distinguish them from fellow Tatars who fought on the Ottoman side. According to tradition, it was a Tatar, Samuel Murza Krzeczczowski, who saved the life of Jan Sobieski during this campaign; as a reward, he was granted an estate in Kruszyniany.¹¹⁸ Military service, as cavalry men and light lancers, was deeply embedded in Tatar history, culture and identity. Tatar units, now known as 'ulan regiments', were commanded by their own, often hereditary, officers. (The term ultimately derives from the Golden Horde, but more specifically from the family name of a line of Tatar commanders, of whom the early eighteenth-century Captain Aleksander Ulan was one of the most famous.¹¹⁹) Successive sovereigns valued the professionalism, courage and loyalty of the Tatars. Several held high rank and were much decorated. This helped to promote respect for the Tatar population and toleration of their religious beliefs.

¹¹⁶ Davies: 477.

¹¹⁷ Borawski, *Tatarzy*: 177-79.

¹¹⁸ *ibid*: 179-81; Grishin: 33.

¹¹⁹ Grishin: 36.

II.1.8 Divided Communities

Poland in the 18th century was torn apart by dynastic struggles and foreign wars. The Tatars, as always, served valiantly, but as so often, were divided between opposing sides, with some supporting one contender for the throne, others the rival candidate. The result was oppression and retaliation against the Tatar community in general which ever side was victorious.¹²⁰ Finally, internal dissension, combined with external pressures resulted in the collapse of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. At the end of the century a series of partitions took place (1772, 1793 and 1795) which divided its territory between Russia (eastern part), Prussia (western part) and Austria (southern part).

Most of the area of Tatar settlement (formerly part of the Grand Duchy), was ceded to Russia, except for a small strip in the west which passed under Prussian jurisdiction. Here the civil administration, likewise the education system, was Germanised. Tatar military skills were highly regarded and in 1795, a Tatar regiment, the *Tatarenpulk*, was created within the Prussian army.¹²¹ The Tatars who found themselves under Russian rule experienced a similar re-ordering of society, in accordance with Russian norms. A Tatar-Lithuanian regiment was set up within the Russian army in 1797; some 80 officers signed the oath of allegiance to the Romanov emperor.¹²² In 1812, yet another Tatar unit was formed, this time as part of the army of the Duchy of Warsaw, the short-lived puppet state created by Napoleon as a result of the Treaty of Tilsit. A number of Tatars continued to serve under Napoleon after his retreat and took part in action in Germany and France. Following the Congress of Vienna (1815), most of the Duchy of Warsaw was incorporated into the Russian empire as the 'Congress Kingdom of Poland'. As a result of these territorial changes virtually all the Tatar areas, including the Białystok district (Podlasia), were encompassed by Russian rule.

Under the Russian administration the Tatars seem to have been regarded as potentially more reliable than the Poles and Lithuanians. They were generally well treated and sometimes given preferential treatment in appointments to local judicial and law enforcement

¹²⁰ Kryczński (S.), 'General Józef Bielak'; *id.*, 'Tatarzy litewscy': 35-36; Grishin: 38.

Many Tatars died in these foreign campaigns and are buried abroad.

¹²¹ S.K., 'Tatarzy Litewscy w Armji Fryderyka Wilhelma II': 419-20.

¹²² For text of oath and list of officers, see Bairašaukaite: 269-72.

offices.¹²³ Nevertheless, the Russian authorities were reluctant to confirm the privileges that the Tatar nobles had held in the Commonwealth. There were long investigations into their claims to gentility. Ultimately, the majority were allowed to retain their estates and social status.¹²⁴ Yet the uncertainty and resentment that was caused by these administrative procedures prompted new waves of emigration to Turkey.¹²⁵

The Tatars were able to practise their religion with relative freedom (see II.2.2). By the mid-19th century, they numbered around 6,000 among them a group of 400 in Minsk.¹²⁶ Geographically, the great majority still lived in the area in which they had settled in the 15th century (historically the north-west of the Grand Duchy), with some southwards expansion into Volynia and Podolia in the 16th century, and some new settlements in Podlasia in the late 17th century (see Map 2). The social structure of the Tatar community had not changed greatly. There were three main strata: the nobility, the small landholders, and the peasant-artisan population of the small villages and towns. The principal employment was still military service. As previously, the Tatar soldiers were much respected; several hundred held officer rank in the Russian imperial army, including, in the years before the First World War, 18 generals, among them Halil Bazarevski, Tamerlan Bielač, Musa Sulkievič and Abu-Taleb Muchlyc.¹²⁷

However, the wealthier Tatars also began to pursue other careers. They went to university and entered the civil service and the professions.¹²⁸ In culture, manners and dress, as also in physical appearance (apart from a slight epicanthic fold over the inner eye), this urban 'intelligentsia' was thoroughly Europeanised. A French scholar, J-P. Roux, commented on the uniqueness of this phenomenon, noting that the complete integration of a Muslim society into a Christian, while retaining its essential 'Muslim-ness', was virtually without parallel:

¹²³ Talko-Hryncewicz: 78.

¹²⁴ For a well documented study of the social history of Tatars in the 19th century see Bairašaukaite: esp. chapters 1, 2 (19-129).

¹²⁵ Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 45.

¹²⁶ This is a very rough average estimate. Cf. Muchlinskij 'Izsledovanije': 154-57; Aleksandrovič: 89-90; Talko-Hryncewicz: 66-72.

¹²⁷ Kanapacki and Smolik: 73.

¹²⁸ Talko-Hryncewicz: 78-80; Bairašaukaite: esp. 102-21.

'Ethniquement, ils étaient Tatares ... De coeur, ils étaient Slaves'.¹²⁹ The rural population preserved a more distinctive character. Although by no means segregated from the rest of the population, they lived largely within their own small communities. Often darker complexioned, they tended to look more foreign, an indication of a lower incidence of intermarriage with the Slav population.¹³⁰ Women wore brightly coloured clothes, quantities of jewellery and a turban-like head covering. The men, who had adopted the local garb of boots, breeches and tunics, were usually engaged in traditional occupations such as farming, leather working and haulage.¹³¹

Most Tatars were loyal to the government. Nevertheless, some (including Tatar women) supported the nationalist liberal opposition and participated in the abortive Polish-Lithuanian uprisings of 1794, 1831 and 1863 that attempted to liberate the country from Russian influence.¹³² There were also several Tatars who, like other members of the Polish-Lithuanian intellectual and political elite, chose voluntary exile during these years of oppression. They became part of the Great Emigration that moved abroad to settle permanently in France and other foreign countries. At the same time, the emigration to Ottoman lands that had begun in the 17th century continued.¹³³ By the mid-19th century, as Ubicini records, there were three fairly substantial Tatar colonies:

I Tartari di Turchia son tre colonie emigrate in diversi intervalli dall'Ucraina e dalle provincie limitrofi della Russia meridionale; una di queste colonie abita le pianure della Dobrodja sulle rive del Danubio; un'altra ha ferma stanza nei dintorni di Brussa nel Khudavendguar; la terza e stabilita verso l'imboccatura del Kizil-Irmaq, l'antica Halys. Ammontano in tutto a 36,000 anime.¹³⁴

Yet the transition was not easy. Knowing neither the language nor the customs of their new destination they found it difficult to adjust. Several eventually returned home.¹³⁵

The Russian authorities introduced some travel restrictions in 1864,

¹²⁹ Roux: 223-25.

¹³⁰ See Talko-Hryncewicz: 74-96, for a survey of Tatar physical characteristics.

¹³¹ Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije': 159-61.

¹³² Kryczyński (S.) 'General Bielak': 49-94; *id.*, 'Tatarzy litewscy': 47; Kryczyński (L.), 'Tatarzy litewscy w wojsku polskiem': 113-79; Najmański: 262-76.

¹³³ Orhonlu: 69-75.

¹³⁴ Ubicini: 29.

¹³⁵ Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 134.

but emigration continued until the outbreak of the First World War. Tatars, like other poor peasants from the region (e.g. Belarusians) were also part of the flow of labour migrants to European countries and to the United States in the early 20th century.¹³⁶ Some of these later returned, but among those who found a permanent home abroad were some 150 Tatar families who settled in Brooklyn, New York. True to their military tradition, they served in the US army during the Second World War; several received awards for bravery.¹³⁷

II.1.9 Wars and Changing Political Geographies

As the First World War drew to a close, chaotic civil conflicts and nationalist struggles hastened the disintegration of the Russian empire. The political map of the region changed rapidly. An independent Polish republic was established in 1918. It encompassed most of the western half of the historic Grand Duchy within its borders, including Vilna (now officially renamed Wilno) and other centres of Tatar settlement such as Troki, Navahrudak and Slonim. A Lithuanian republic was also founded, with Kaunas as its capital. It included a small number of Tatars, located in the vicinity of Alytus. Attempts to create an independent Belarusian republic were unsuccessful. It was absorbed into the Soviet Union, as was the Ukraine. Both became Soviet Socialist Republics (SSRs). During these upheavals, some Tatar intellectuals and military officers moved to Azerbaijan, the Crimea and other Muslim parts of the crumbling Russian empire, where they participated in nationalist struggles. Notable among them was General Suleiman Sulkevich, who briefly headed the Crimean Territorial Government in 1918. Most Tatars, however, remained in their traditional area of settlement.

As a result of the re-drawings of borders, the great majority of Tatars now found themselves part of the new Polish state. They enjoyed the same civil and religious rights as other Polish citizens. Moreover, they shared the optimism and enthusiasm that characterised this period. Over the next twenty years they experienced a cultural flowering. Many Tatars had distinguished careers in the universities, the judiciary and other such fields. Alongside their very real patriotic attachment to Poland, there was an upsurge of interest in every aspect of their heritage.

¹³⁶ Grishin: 84.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*

This was inextricably intertwined with a strong sense of Islamic identity (see II.2.1). Thus, ethnic and religious allegiances re-enforced each other. In 1936 a Tatar Squadron was formed within the 13th Vilna Ulan regiment. Although not all the men in this unit were Tatars, nevertheless on their uniforms they wore a star and crescent. Their regimental insignia was a *bunchuk* ('traditional horsetail banner'). This was a source of pride to the entire Tatar community. Also important was the fact they were allowed to have an imam as their military chaplain.¹³⁸

A smaller proportion of the Tatar community found themselves domiciled within Soviet borders. Most were in Belarus (by this time the Byelorussian SSR). Here, as elsewhere in the Soviet Union, every form of religion was persecuted. Whatever Muslim observances the Tatars were able to maintain were practised in private. In public, without this marker of identity, the community, became almost invisible. In independent Lithuania, too, there were some historic Tatar settlements. Here, in the inter-war years, there were no constraints on religious practice. However, the Tatars were a tiny, scattered minority, with no intellectual or religious leadership. Individuals were conscious of their heritage, but there were no group activities that distinguished the community from the rest of the Lithuanian population.

During the Second World War this region again straddled the front-line, this time between German and Soviet armies. There was massive destruction of life and property. Thousands of people were deported, some to death camps, others to labour camps. The Tatars were not singled out for persecution, but they shared the general misery and hardship. Few of the Tatar intellectuals survived the war. Some were killed, others disappeared without trace. After the war, the borders were re-drawn yet again. 'Western Belarus', likewise the Lithuanian republic, were incorporated into the Soviet Union. The border between the Byelorussian and Lithuanian SSRs was redrawn; Vilna, now officially Vilnius, became the Lithuanian capital. The great majority of Tatar settlements were now within the Soviet Union, mainly in the Byelorussian SSR. The only Tatar settlements still on Polish territory were those around Białystok. A communist government was now in power in Poland, and as in the Soviet Union (though not quite as

¹³⁸ Grishin: 166-70.

harshly), the practice of religion was repressed. For the Tatars here, as in Soviet Byelorussia and Lithuania, Islam was reduced to little more than a loose cultural identity. Family histories and traditions survived, but as a living community, the line of Tatars descended from the Golden Horde had, by the middle of the twentieth century, been marginalized and fragmented almost to the point of extinction in north-eastern Europe. The situation began to change in the 1960s. There was a revival of interest in the history of the Tatars, especially in Poland. This was nurtured by a spate of publications, mostly of a popular nature, though there was also some scholarly research (see I.1). Such works encouraged a greater sense of self-awareness and pride amongst the Tatars. Gradually, there was an increase in the active practice of Islam amongst the Tatars in Poland. By the 1980s, there was relatively frequent contact with Muslims in other parts of the world. Qurans (modern, printed abroad) were fairly readily available and people, young and old, began trying to learn to read and write the Arabic script. Meanwhile, in Belarus and Lithuania, still part of the Soviet Union, there was little sign of this Muslim revival. Here, on the surface at least, Islam as a living religion appeared to have been virtually eradicated. A few individual scholars began to study the Tatar manuscripts, but popular interest in the Tatar heritage at this period was primarily focused on family genealogies.

After the overthrow of communism, new governments in Poland, Lithuania and Belarus adopted more liberal policies towards religion. This created an environment that was conducive to a revival of Islam and, linked to this, of Tatar culture. Today, these two spheres overlap, but nevertheless are not entirely congruent. The cultural revival extends well beyond religious practice to encompass interest in such topics as local history, language, food, dress, art and architecture. The Islamic movement is a revival of faith and observance among the Tatars, but it is also part of a wider process of Islamicisation, consolidating links with Muslims of other ethnic origins as well as attracting new converts (see II.2.4). In religious matters as in cultural, new influences are appearing and, consciously and unconsciously, assimilated. Thus, an eclectic blend of local and extraneous elements is emerging. Developments in the religious life of the Tatar communities are described below (II.2.2).

II.2 RELIGION

II.2.1 Tatars and Islam

As discussed above, Islam was the most distinctive and persistent feature of Tatar identity. Yet in the 14th century, when Tatars began to settle in the Grand Duchy, they were still very new converts. To understand their religious outlook it is necessary to look at the legacy of faith and belief that they inherited from their forebears.

The Mongol empire was noted for the tolerance it showed to all forms of religion. The Mongols themselves (like the Tatars and other steppe peoples) espoused various forms of nature worship. Yet they welcomed representatives of other faiths. As Friar Pian de Carpini observed in the mid-13th century, the Mongol ruler kept 'Christian clerks and gives them allowances and he has always the chapel of the Christians in front of his great tent'.¹³⁹ Rubruck, too, met several Nestorian Christians on his travels.¹⁴⁰ According to Juvaini:

Being the adherent of no religion and the follower of no creed, he (Chingiz Khan) eschewed bigotry, and the preference of one faith to another, and the placing of some above others; rather he honoured and respected the learned and pious of every sect, recognizing such conduct as the way to the Court of God. As for his children and grandchildren, several of them have chosen a religion according to their inclination, some adopting Islam, others embracing Christianity, others selecting idolatry and others again cleaving to the ancient canon of their fathers and forefathers and inclining in no direction; but these are now a minority. But though they have adopted some religion they still for the most part avoid all show of fanaticism and do not swerve from the yasa of Chingiz-Khan, namely, to consider all sects as one and not to distinguish them from one another.¹⁴¹

There had been Muslims at the Mongol court in the early 13th century, but Berke Khan (1257-66) was the first ruler of the Golden Horde to accept Islam. Nevertheless, it was only during the reign of Ózbek Khan (1313-1341) that the new religion was firmly established.¹⁴² Even then, this 'hardly entailed an overnight transformation of the Golden Horde or the instant elimination or repression of "rivals" to Islam.' The latter

¹³⁹ Pian de Carpine, *Journey*: 29

¹⁴⁰ Rubruck, *Eastern Parts*: see, for example, 106-11, 211-16.

¹⁴¹ Juvaini (Boyle): 26. See also DeWeese: esp. 27-50.

¹⁴² For a fine, scholarly study of this period, see DeWeese: esp. 90-142.

included followers of the indigenous beliefs of the Mongols and Turkic peoples (shamanism and other forms of natural religion), Christians and possibly Buddhists.¹⁴³ Rather, the Islamicization of the Golden Horde was a lengthy process of social and institutional change that continued well after Özbek's death. Sufi sheikhs from Central Asia played an important role in spreading and popularising Islam. The conversion of Berke is usually ascribed to the influence of a Sufi sheikh of the Qubrawi order, Saif ad-din Bakhrazi; the Yasavi order played a similar role under Özbek. There is no record of how the population at large responded to the introduction of Islam. Yet it is clear that eventually it not only became entrenched, but a defining aspect of the identity of the overwhelming majority of the descendants of the Golden Horde.

The first mention of Tatars in the Grand Duchy dates from 1319, but as mentioned above (II.1.4), it is quite likely that there was already a semi-permanent Tatar settlement there. At this time Özbek Khan had been on the throne for less than a decade and the Islamicization of the Golden Horde was still at an early stage. As Bielski notes under the year 1260, some of these Tatars had already adopted Christianity:

W ten czas niektóre Książetá Tátárskie zwłaszcza Husá Kasan, przyieli Chrześciańska wiaře to iest Ormiańska.¹⁴⁴

By the end of the 14th century, when several thousands emigrants from the Golden Horde were settling in the Grand Duchy for longer or shorter periods (see above), Islam was firmly established as the religion of the Tatars. It is more than likely that amongst the settlers there were Muslim clerics (*ulema*). There were possibly also Sufi sheikhs or devotees. However, in the available sources there is no mention of religious leaders. In the early 15th century, a European visitor to the region, Ghillebert de Lannoy, refers to the local Tatars as being of '*drois sarrasins*'.¹⁴⁵ The subsequent history of the Tatars in the Grand Duchy confirms the fact that Islam was not only their religion, but also an

¹⁴³ *ibid*: 95-97.

¹⁴⁴ Bielski: 183

¹⁴⁵ Lannoy: 55-64. The term 'saracen' had earlier been used only for Muslims but by this period it was applied to all non-Christians (Klimas: 31), hence Lannoy's comment is not conclusive proof that they were Muslims. However, the probability is that this was the implication here.

integral part of their ethnic identity.

A decisive factor in the survival of the Muslim faith in the Grand Duchy was the tolerant attitude to Islam that was initiated by Grand Duke Vytautas. The Tatars were able to practise their faith openly. It is not known when the first mosques were established, but by the mid-16th century several were in existence.¹⁴⁶ There must also have been Muslim cemeteries, though none have survived from the early period of settlement. One of the privileges granted to the Tatars was that their children should be brought up in the faith of the father. Despite the disapproval of the Church, this applied even in the case of a Tatar marrying a Christian girl.¹⁴⁷ The memory of Vytautas' benevolence was handed down through generations of Tatar Muslims, for whom he was 'like a pillar, supporting Islam in the land of the infidels'.

This comment is recorded in *Risâle-i Tatar-i Leh* ('Treatise on the Tatars of Poland'), a report dated 1558 that was composed in Istanbul by a Tatar pilgrim (see I.1). The first and fullest account of the Muslims in the Grand Duchy, it was formally dedicated to Suleyman the Magnificent, Sultan of the Ottoman empire and Caliph of the worldwide Muslim community, with the aim of informing the Ottoman ruler about the condition of the Tatars of the Grand Duchy and appealing for help to maintain the faith by sending religious leaders to minister to their spiritual needs. Stylistically, the manuscript reveals the influence of professional scribes.¹⁴⁸ Indeed, it was probably written at the instigation of Grand Vizir Rustem Pasha, as a way of encouraging more active Ottoman interest in the Grand Duchy. The chief court interpreter at the time was a certain Ebrahim, of Polish origin:

Erat hic Ebrahimus primarius Turcarum principis Dragomanus (sic illi interpretem vocât) natione Polonus ...¹⁴⁹

This individual, who enjoyed high favour, was conceivably a Tatar. Even if he was an ethnic Pole who had converted to Islam, it is likely that he would have been well disposed towards the Tatar pilgrim and tried to

¹⁴⁶ Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 184, lists of pre-1795 mosques; some five date from the mid-15th century and about double that number from the 16th century.

¹⁴⁷ Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije': 140; Czacki: 310.

¹⁴⁸ See Gökbilgin: 121-30 + 23 plates for facsimiles of the *Risâle*.

¹⁴⁹ Busbecq, *Epistola quarta*: 270. Unfortunately he gives no further information on Ibrahim's background.

bring him to the attention of senior Ottoman officials. The curious distortion of the name of Grand Duke Vytautas in the *Risâle* is possibly the result of scribal 'interference': it is given as *Wattad*, Arabic for 'strong, constant', an epithet which reflects the eulogistic sense of the passage, but is a mis-representation of *Witud* (BR *Vytaut*, P *Witold*).¹⁵⁰ The claim that the Tatars are descended from 'the noble and brave Seljuks, ancestors of the Ottomans' likewise suggests an 'embellishment' of the text. It is possible that there are a few other embellishments in the *Risâle*, but overall, the account is convincing. The Tatar mosques are described as modest, low wooden structures, lacking minarets or hospitals (a typical feature in Muslim countries). This is still an accurate picture of Tatar mosques today. The anonymous writer stresses that all the larger settlements have their own mosques and lists some of the main towns in which they are located. The total number, including prayer rooms in houses, is estimated at 'over one hundred'.¹⁵¹ Whether this number includes mosques on the estates of Tatar nobles, such as at Ostrog, is not clear.

The writer had some knowledge of life in Muslim countries and comments that some of the practices of the Tatars were rather odd and that therefore in the eyes of other Muslims they might even be considered to be *kafir* (infidels), but they were, nevertheless, true believers and it was circumstances that had forced them to deviate from the orthodox path. One of the customs he notes as unusual was the Tatar habit of reciting the *azan* (call to prayer) standing in front of the mosque (since there was no minaret), or even of sending one of the community round the streets to call the believers to prayer, to make sure that everyone attended the service. Women attended the mosque, where they had their own place to stand. Tatar cemeteries were located near the mosques, but, he adds, the gravestones were not decorated with beautiful inscriptions. He explains that the Tatars were monogamous, but as it was difficult to find wife of their own faith, they sometimes married Christians. However, it was forbidden to bury wives and relatives who professed a different faith alongside Muslims.

The author of the *Risâle* was not the only Tatar to make the

¹⁵⁰ Muchliński, 'Zdanie sprawy':13 (253), note 1.

¹⁵¹ *ibid*: 16 (256). He mentions in 'the capital of that realm' (Vilna), also Kyrk-Tatary (Sorok-Tatary), Wakja (Waka), Jenisehir (Navahrudak) and Turk (Troki).

pilgrimage to Mecca. He mentions that 'several other Muslims from our part of the world' fulfilled this religious obligation. During the 16th century at least five Tatars went on pilgrimage, as is evident from their use of the honorific term *haji* or *hoja*.¹⁵² There is no record that they encountered any official obstacles. In the *Risâle* relations with the state are generally described in positive terms, with only occasional hints at problems. Thus, for example, he explains that although no new mosques or prayer houses can be built without official permission, this is not difficult to obtain as all faiths are equal (i.e. there is no religious discrimination). He does not mention that in addition to permission from the secular authorities, the assent of the Roman Catholic clergy was also required and this could be more difficult to secure.¹⁵³

A more serious issue was the shortage of trained clerics (imams). Formerly, they had come from the Golden Horde or the Crimea. During the time of Khan Mengli Girey (founder of the Crimean Khanate in the mid-15th century), this contact had been disrupted owing to political tensions; the Crimean Khan, he explains, was an ally of Moscow and the Polish King suffered some insults and injuries from him. He delicately requested the Sultan to send his *ulema* to the Grand Duchy to sustain the Tatars in their faith and to guide them along the True Way. Also, they could open schools to teach the children Arabic and Ottoman and religious knowledge.

The mention of schools is interesting, because it indicates an awareness of the importance of education to preserve the faith. A Czech Jesuit who visited Vilna in 1570 reported to the Pope that the Tatars had schools in which the children were taught the Arabic script.¹⁵⁴ Another papal envoy, Antonio Possevino, writing in 1579 from Vilna, notes that the Tatars have mosques and send their sons to Arabia to learn Arabic:

Tartari colle loro moschee, dalle quali mandano insino nell'Arabia i loro figliuoli per apprendere de lettere.¹⁵⁵

On a subsequent visit in 1581 he again mentions this:

quandoquidem ipsi Tartari solent aliquos in Arabiam mittere, ad eam linguam et

¹⁵² Bakalarz: 38.

¹⁵³ In 1591 Sultan Murad III did appeal to Sigismund III, apparently without success, to permit the construction of more mosques (*EI*, V: 765-67. s.v. *Lipka*).

¹⁵⁴ Grishin: 58.

¹⁵⁵ Caligarii: 208.

Possevino suggests that this knowledge of Arabic can be used to the advantage of Rome:

De Tartaris vero, si quis adolescens Arabice aut nosset, aut disceret, facili negotio agere posset cum iis, qui Tartaros solent docere, adhibita ea fidei professione, quam Latine, et Arabice Romae impressam, attuli Vilnam, plura enim exemplaria illius reliqui in collegio ...¹⁵⁷

The Ottoman authorities were less proactive and do not appear to have responded to the call for clerics to be sent to the Tatars of the Grand Duchy. Nevertheless, by the 17th century there must have been an organised and quite widespread system of Muslim instruction, since Tatar religious writings in the Arabic script were fairly common (see II.3.1 below). An insight into the situation in the early 17th century is provided by the Ottoman historian Peçevi, citing the experience of a Turkish prisoner of war, one Musa Kaha, who spent ten years in Poland and met many Tatars. At this time, he says, the Tatars lived in sixty large and prosperous settlements, but the 'infidels' (Poles) only permitted the construction of one mosque. Nevertheless, the Tatars had good relations with the king (who apparently trusted them more than his own people) and in their Friday prayers they would mention his name. The lack of Islamic scholars is also alluded to by Peçevi, who relates that Musa Kaha once arranged for a Tatar to visit the Mufti of Akkerman (Crimea) to resolve a religious question.¹⁵⁸

II.2.2 Religious Intolerance

After the Union of Lublin, political, social and religious tensions that had already been emerging in the Grand Duchy were intensified. Notably, the influence of the Roman Catholic church grew considerably. The Counter-Reformation was by this time a powerful force. One of its consequences was the rise of religious intolerance. Orthodox Christians, the Jews and the Muslims were all subjected to various restrictions. Many of the rights that had been granted to the Tatars by Vytautas were rescinded. The Constitution of 1588 forbade the Muslims to build new

¹⁵⁶ *ibid*: 843.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid*: 843.

¹⁵⁸ Peçevi: 248; Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije': 144.

mosques or to repair existing ones. They were also no longer allowed to keep Christian serfs. In 1615 they were forbidden to marry Christian girls and military units of Tatars could no longer be commanded by their own chiefs. Five years later, in 1620, restrictions were imposed on Tatar ownership of property. These measures were accompanied by a certain amount of religious persecution. In 1609, for example, Tatar women were burnt at the stake for witchcraft and in the same year a mosque was desecrated in Troki.¹⁵⁹ In 1616 an anonymous author, using the pseudonym 'Piotr Czyżewski', published *Alkoran tatarski* (in later editions called *Alfurkan tatarski*), a crude attack on Islam. It advocated such measures as taking Muslim children away from their parents and giving them to priests to bring them up as Christians, in order to eradicate Islam. The war between Poland and the Ottoman Empire further exacerbated the situation, providing new excuses for hostility towards the Muslims.

As mentioned above, this prompted some Tatars to emigrate to Ottoman territory. In the second half of the century conditions improved somewhat and in 1662, they were again allowed freedom of worship.¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, several Tatar nobles converted to Christianity at this time. In 1679, following the Lipka amnesty, Tatar officers were given land in Podlasia, in the districts of Hrodna, Brest and Kobryń.¹⁶¹ This was a region that had been devastated and largely depopulated during the conflicts of the mid-17th century (see above II.1.6). Such local inhabitants as remained were resettled in other villages.¹⁶² Two of these new Tatar holdings were later to gain significance as the main centres of Islam in Poland. One was Kruszyniany, the other Bohoniki. Mosques were built in both places, although officially this was still prohibited (the ban was not lifted until 1775).¹⁶³ The original structures have not survived, but there are still mosques in these villages, although of a later date. There are also Muslim cemeteries. So far very few early

¹⁵⁹ Baranowski: 137; Aleksandrovič: 87.

¹⁶⁰ Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije': 147; Grishin: 31.

¹⁶¹ Borawski, 'Etapy kolonizacji tatarskiej': 145-46.

¹⁶² Grishin: 33.

¹⁶³ Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije': 147; Kanapacki and Smolik: 169. According to Konopacki and Miśkiewicz (*Białostocki szlak*: 20) the settlers were given a special dispensation to build these mosques.

gravestones have been identified (the oldest known to date are from the 17th century),¹⁶⁴ but this is not surprising given the war damage inflicted on this region over many centuries, most recently in the Second World War.

There is little information on the organisation of the religious life of the Tatars in the 16th-17th centuries, but it is clear that there was no stigma, or career disadvantage, in professing Islam. As Dziadulewicz's work on genealogy and heraldry shows, hundreds of Tatar Muslim families were armigerous. They practised their religion openly and larger landowners had mosques on their estates. In some cases, family members were imams. In 1658, for example, a Ramazanowicz was imam in a Tatar regiment. In 1659, when Aleksander Kryczyński petitioned the Sejm and King Jan Casimir for more privileges for the Tatars (see above), he was accompanied by Imam Ramazan Miłkomanowicz.¹⁶⁵ Existing records indicate that there was a certain degree of internal regulation among the clergy. If, for example, an imam was found guilty of immoral behaviour (e.g. by committing adultery), he could be deprived of his status and standing in the community.¹⁶⁶ In addition to their ritual duties, the imams (generally called 'mullas' in Poland) administered *sharia* law in certain family matters. Thus, in cases of divorce, which could be demanded by husband or wife, the imam presided over the division of property. Imams could also decide disputes according to *sharia* law; the first recorded instance of such a case dates from 1523.¹⁶⁷ In the 17th century, the Tatars sometimes had recourse to the legal judgements of the Turkish *ulema*, but this was prohibited in 1672, along with other forms of potentially subversive contacts.¹⁶⁸

The imams also performed some official functions, such as registering marriages, births and deaths, and administering legal oaths. The Constitution of 1670 stipulated that they were to carry out a census

¹⁶⁴ Personal communication from A. Drozd in 2008, who has carried out field research in Muslim cemeteries.

¹⁶⁵ Borawski and Dubiński: 85. For genealogies of Miłkomanowicz and Ramazanowicz families, see Dziadulewicz: 216-17, 434-35.

¹⁶⁶ Grishin: 56.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid*: 58.

¹⁶⁸ *ibid*: 58.

of tax-paying Tatars.¹⁶⁹ Attached to the mosques were *vaqf* (charitable) endowments for the upkeep of the mosque; the imams were in charge of this property. They also had personal plots of land, and as land-holders, were required to perform military service. Some served as chaplains in front-line regiments, where they were needed to minister burial rites to Tatar troops.¹⁷⁰ The link between the military and the mosque had a long history. Traditionally, the Tatar 'banners' were attached to a congregation (*dżemiat*), and in time of peace, when the fighting units stood down, their standards were kept in the mosques.¹⁷¹

II.2.3 Islam under Russian rule

After the Partitions of Poland of 1772, 1793 and 1795 much of the territory of Tatar settlement was ceded to Russia. Consequently, the religious life of the Tatars was now regulated according to Russian law. In 1788, Catherine the Great had created a Muftiate, or 'Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly', at Orenburg. This institution was similar to the Ottoman *Ilmiye* ('Learned Institution'). Its functions included the training of the *ulema*; it also had competence in certain areas of civil law involving the Muslim population. Following this same model, Muftiates were established in other parts of the empire, including one in the Crimea in 1831. The clerics of the Muftiates were state employees and received regular salaries.¹⁷² They were expected to ensure that imams had an adequate level of religious education and performed their duties in an orderly fashion. They were also expected to ensure the political loyalty of the Muslim population and to report subversive tendencies.

The Tatars of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (hereafter, for the sake of brevity 'Polish Tatars') first came under the jurisdiction of the Orenburg Muftiate, then were transferred to the Crimean Muftiate, which had its seat in Simferopol. In practical terms this had scarcely any impact. The Polish Tatars continued to conduct their own religious affairs, with little interference, or even direct contact, with the

¹⁶⁹ Tatars of the Troki province, however, complained that the local imams favoured the rich and exaggerated the wealth of the poor (*ibid*: 56).

¹⁷⁰ *ibid*: 56.

¹⁷¹ Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 194-95; 144.

¹⁷² On Islam in the Russian empire, see Crewe: *For Prophet and Tsar*.

Muftiate.¹⁷³ In the mid-19th century, they had twenty one functioning mosques, serving a Muslim population of around 5,000. Six were in Vilna province (Tatar population of around 2,000), eight in Minsk province (some 1,500 Tatars), three in Hrodna province (around 800 Tatars), two in Volynia (around 200 Tatars), two in Podolia (around 100 Tatars) and two in the Kingdom of Poland (Augustovo and Lublin provinces, in total some 400 Tatars).¹⁷⁴ Formerly, they had had a *Qadi* (Muslim judge), who was 'so renowned for his fairness and common sense that even local Christians sometimes appealed to him'; by this time, however, they only had twelve imams.¹⁷⁵ They did not have any *medresse* (Muslim colleges),¹⁷⁶ and the level of Islamic scholarship among the Tatar clerics was generally held to be very low.¹⁷⁷ The office of imam was often handed down in families, supported by annuities provided the wealthier members of the community.¹⁷⁸

The period of Russian rule was an interlude of stability in an otherwise turbulent history. It is not surprising that the largest number of Tatar manuscripts date from this time. Another indication of the relatively beneficial environment was that there was a spate of mosque building. The political upheavals and social dislocation of the 18th century had resulted in the damage, or even complete destruction, of many of the old wooden mosques. Moreover, there had been a population shift as Tatars moved away from devastated lands to new areas of settlement.¹⁷⁹ This, too created a demand for new mosques. Endowments of land for this purpose were provided by rich Muslims.¹⁸⁰ The construction of new mosques required permission from the Ministry of

¹⁷³ Kryczyński (L.), 'Tatarzy polscy': 63.

¹⁷⁴ The population figures are very approximate because sources and estimates differ. See Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije': 154-57, 163; Narbutt, appendix 2: 9 (note); Kraszewski: 162, note 12; Bairašaukaite: 254-59.

¹⁷⁵ Muchlinskij ('Izsledovanije': 163) states that they had a Qadi 'under the previous government', (i.e. the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). Presumably this office was instituted after the Tatars were forbidden to have contact with the Turkish religious authorities at the end of the 17th century.

¹⁷⁶ Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije': 163

¹⁷⁷ Grishin: 59; Kryczyński (L.), 'Tatarzy polscy': 63.

¹⁷⁸ Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 201.

¹⁷⁹ *ibid*: 46.

¹⁸⁰ Kanapacki and Dumin: 176-77.

Internal Affairs. In theory, it was not difficult to obtain official sanction, provided there was a congregation of a minimum of two hundred worshippers, but in practice, bureaucratic obduracy meant that there were often delays.¹⁸¹ For example, the new Minsk mosque was sanctioned in 1890, but only completed in 1901. Nevertheless, a substantial number of mosques were built, or repaired and embellished during the 19th - early 20th centuries, including some in brick. Some of these projects were supported by donations from Tatar immigrants in the USA.¹⁸²

Perhaps the most significant development during this period was the fact that being part of the Russian empire enabled the Polish Tatars to establish, or more precisely re-establish, links with Muslim communities in Central Asia, the Caucasus and elsewhere in European Russia. This fostered a sense of Muslim solidarity, likewise curiosity about the broader Islamic world. There were limited opportunities for meeting Muslims from abroad (only one early twentieth-century account of the pilgrimage of a Polish Tatar is known).¹⁸³ Within the Russian empire, though, there were stirrings of religious reformism and political activism among the Muslims. Young Polish Tatars, especially those (men and women) who were studying in universities in the foremost intellectual centres of the Russian empire, embraced these ideas and related them to their own historical experience.

In 1907, a group of Polish Tatars in St Petersburg established a secret society dedicated to the study of their history, culture and religion. Others engaged in outreach activities, in St Petersburg as well as Vilna and Warsaw, setting up societies to provide charitable assistance to poor Muslims, also education.¹⁸⁴ Polish Tatars also took part in the All-Russia Muslim Congresses of 1905-06. They represented a tiny minority among the Muslim peoples of the Russian empire, yet motivated by a sense of solidarity and common purpose, they played a far from insignificant role in this wider community.¹⁸⁵ Thus, they made an important contribution to

¹⁸¹ Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 183-87, lists pre-1795 mosques as well as later mosques.

¹⁸² Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 186.

¹⁸³ Alexander Iljasewicz/Illasewicz, who in 1913 travelled to Mecca from Kovno (Kaunas) via the Crimea, Istanbul and Smyrna (Bakalarz: 42; Grishin: 60).

¹⁸⁴ Kryczyński (L.), 'Tatarzy polscy': 73-75; Grishin: 85.

¹⁸⁵ Kryczyński (L.), 'Tatarzy polscy': 69-92.

the national movements in Crimea and Azerbaijan. Moreover, it was a Polish Tatar, Alexander Ahmatowicz, who, as head of the All-Russia Council of Muslims, was instrumental in securing the return of the Othman Quran to Central Asia. One of the earliest copies of the Holy Scripture, this revered manuscript had been taken to St Petersburg in 1869. In 1918, it was ceremonially transported to Ufa, and thence to Samarkand.¹⁸⁶

II.2.4 Popular Beliefs and Practices

The Tatars were, and still are, Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi School, as are the overwhelming majority of Muslims in Turkey and Central Asia. Yet for most Tatars the doctrinal aspect of their religion was a given that they accepted, rather than a conscious choice based on knowledge. In their writings, apart from Muhammad, the authority whom they cite most often is 'Alī ibn Abū Tālib, Muhammad's cousin and adopted son. Sunnis revere him as the fourth and final Rightly Guided Caliph. Shia Muslims, by contrast, regard him as the legitimate successor to Muhammad and reject the claims of the three Caliphs (Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Usmān) who followed the Prophet. The degree of prominence given to Ali in the Tatar writings might suggest a Shia influence, but there is nothing in their practices or beliefs to support this.

Another possible influence might have been Sufi practices. Given the important role played by Sufi orders in the conversion of the Golden Horde (see II.2.1), it is entirely possible that some Sufi teachers accompanied the Tatars when they emigrated to the Grand Duchy. If this was the case, though, Sufi traditions did not survive over the centuries in a recognizable form. There are some elements of Tatar practice which could be distantly related to Sufi influence, but equally, might have had a different origin. For example, in the religious writings of the Tatars there are frequent exhortations to perform *ziker* (A *dhikr* 'a reminding'), a devotional act that involves the repetition of the names of Allah and the recitation of sections of the Quran.¹⁸⁷ This practice is often associated with Sufis, since the Sufi orders have a highly stylised form of *dhikr*

¹⁸⁶ Babakhanov: 46-50. Polish authors give a slightly different chronology, but Mufti Babakhanov's dating is supported by archival sources.

¹⁸⁷ *EI*, II: 223, s.v. *dhikr*.

ceremony.¹⁸⁸ Yet the recitation of *dhikr* is not exclusive to Sufis and of itself, does not indicate Sufi affiliation or influence. S. Kryczyński, in his detailed study of the Tatar community, does not mention *dhikr* (BLK *ziker*) ceremonies. He stresses the fact that their religious practices were conservative, devoid of mysticism.¹⁸⁹ Jankowski is surely correct in his comment that the Tatars used the term 'to refer to any form of prayer with a recurring formula'.¹⁹⁰

References to religious authorities who have some link to the Sufi tradition are rare in Tatar literature. In the British Library Kitab, for example, there is a passing reference to 'Cheşen al-Beseri'. Hasan al-Basrī (AD 643 - c. 728), a renowned teacher and scholar, was held in high esteem by Sufis for his contribution to the development of Muslim asceticism and his name is mentioned in several Sufi 'chains of transmission' (*silsilah*).¹⁹¹ However, he was a firm supporter of the orthodox Sunni tradition and was not himself a Sufi. The only other Sufi link that has been identified to date is one short text in a Tatar *chamail* which mentions *rijāl al-ghaib* ('People of the Unseen').¹⁹² This concept is particularly associated with the Qadiriyya Sufi order. Without further information as to when and where the *chamail* in question was compiled it is impossible to assess the significance of this text.

The Tatars have several semi-mystical/magical elements in their popular beliefs, but these are similar to the folk traditions that are found in other parts of the Muslim world.¹⁹³ Belief in devils and other malign spirits (*fiereji*) was widespread and in Tatar manuscripts there are many warnings as to how to avoid their blandishments. There are also references to auspicious and inauspicious days, to amulets and to protective measures prescribed by fortune tellers and healers. For example, steeping a *nuska* ('card') on which was written a prayer or magic formula in water till the letters disappeared, then drinking the water, was considered to be a good cure for epilepsy and giddiness.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁸ See further Trimmingham: *Sufi Orders*.

¹⁸⁹ Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 125.

¹⁹⁰ Jankowski, 'Polish-Tatar *Zikier*': 407.

¹⁹¹ *EI*, III: 247, s.v. *al-Basrī*.

¹⁹² Tarelka and Synovka: 29-53

¹⁹³ See for example Lane: 226-42; Garnett: 138; Zwemer: 79.

¹⁹⁴ Borawski and Dubiński: 200-2005; Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 281-306.

Muslim cemeteries were regarded as holy places, with magical properties. Tatars (as well as local Christians and Jews) would make communal visits to them to pray for good health, help with conceiving and other blessings. The best known Tatar legend, which recounts the magical pilgrimage of the shepherd Evlija Kontus to Mecca, is linked to the cemetery of Łowczyce. His supposed grave became a popular place of pilgrimage.¹⁹⁵ The practice of communal celebration of the main Muslim festivals *Kurban Bayram* (Feast of the Sacrifice), *Aşura Bayram* (Commemoration of the Martyrdom of Husain), *Mevlud Bayram* (Birthday of Muhammad, coinciding with New Year) and above all, *Ramazan Bayram* (Feast marking the end of the Fast of Ramadan), was strongly maintained. These events, which lasted several days, were important not only for their religious significance, but also as a way of bringing people together and reaffirming social bonds.¹⁹⁶ Life cycle rituals, too, were (and still are) a vital part of the religious and social fabric of the Tatar community. Burials were performed according to Muslim custom, but marriages and the naming of new-born infants were an amalgam of Muslim ritual and local traditions. Typically, a lighted candle, bread, salt and water would be essential elements in the ceremony. All such celebrations were accompanied by special Tatar dishes such as *kołdun* (meat pasties), *bielusz* (poppy seed cakes) and *dżajma* (biscuits).¹⁹⁷ The remembering of the dead and the visiting of cemeteries were of great personal and communal importance, (a subconscious link, perhaps, with the ancestor worship of their distant forebears). Graves were lovingly tended and if families were forced to move away, they would often leave money for the upkeep of the burial plots. Cemeteries were regarded as places of supernatural activities and treated with respect and some nervousness. Tombstones reflected family status. Wealthy members of society had stones of polished marble with beautifully inscribed inscriptions in Arabic and Polish/Belarusian, while poorer families had simple unhewn stones.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Borawski and Dubiński: 229-47

¹⁹⁶ *ibid*: 190-91.

¹⁹⁷ Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 241-58.

¹⁹⁸ Post-1863 inscriptions in Polish were banned. See Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 259-80; also Drozd: 'Cmentarze Tatarów'.

II.2.5 Post-First World War

After the First World War the historical area of settlement of the Tatars was again divided by international borders. In the areas that came within the Soviet Union, Islam was virtually eradicated. By far the larger part was encompassed by the newly established Polish Republic. It was here that there was a flowering of Muslim faith and culture. The Polish Constitution of 1921 guaranteed freedom of worship to all its citizens, including minorities. The Polish Muslims began to create organisational structures. Two rival communities emerged. One was based in the capital, Warsaw. There was no mosque here and the congregation, which consisted of immigrant Volga Tatars as well as Polish Tatars, met in the home of the imam. This formed the nucleus of the first official Muslim association, registered as a legal entity in 1923. Vilna (now known as Wilno), by contrast was the historic centre of Tatar life and this was where most of the intellectual and social leaders were concentrated. They had almost no financial support and were thus severely handicapped in their efforts to develop a viable administration. Nevertheless, they sought to establish links with other Tatar communities in Poland and thus to coordinate their activities. The initial tendency to compete with Warsaw was overcome and the two communities worked together to establish a Muftiate.

The first All-Polish Congress of Muslims was held in December 1925. One of the first acts of this body was to elect a Mufti. Their choice fell on Jakub Szyrkiewicz (1884-1966), a scholarly man with degrees from the universities of St Petersburg and Berlin, and a good knowledge of Arabic and Turkish. This appointment was important in a symbolic as well as a practical sense. The Polish Muslims now had a formal identity and presence. This did not resolve their internal disputes. The wrangling continued over several years. It was only in April 1936 that the Muslim Religious Union was finally established. Meanwhile, Polish Tatars were contributing to the diplomatic activities of the new state. Mufti Szyrkiewicz visited the Middle East in 1926, 1930 and 1932, as an official representative of Poland. During the first trip he participated in the Universal Muslim Congress of 1926, where he was the only representative of European Muslims. On the second occasion (during which he made the pilgrimage to Mecca), he was accompanied by a senior Polish diplomat and had meetings with such dignitaries as King

Ibn Saud and King Fuad. In 1937 he travelled to the East again, this time to visit Muslims in India.¹⁹⁹

Another Polish Muslim who acted as a semi-official envoy for Poland was Olgierd Najman Mirza Kryczyński, who also visited the Middle East and lectured in prestigious institutions and had numerous meetings with high-ranking government and religious representatives.²⁰⁰ When delegations from countries with Muslim populations such as Afghanistan, Turkey and Yugoslavia visited Poland, Tatars likewise participated in the official meetings.

Contacts such as these raised the profile of Poland in the Muslim world. At the same time, they helped the Mufti to realise his aim of improving the religious education of his community by sending promising young students to study in Muslim institutions abroad. Ali [Alej Samuilovich] Woronowicz and Mustafa Aleksandrowicz were the first to benefit from this project. In 1933 were sent to Cairo to study in Al-Azhar for three years. They received some financial assistance from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and later, both worked for periods in embassies and consulates in the Middle East. Other students were sent to Sarajevo, among them Yusuf Konopacki.²⁰¹ These links with foreign Muslims had a 'modernising' impact on the practice of Islam in Poland. Visible signs of these changes included the introduction of new furnishings for mosques and new forms of dress for imams.²⁰²

Reviving the Muslim community within Poland was a considerable undertaking, particularly in view of the very limited financial and human resources that were available. One priority was the care of the physical fabric. Cemeteries, damaged and neglected during the war, also required attention. In 1929, seventy one Muslim graveyards were listed, but over half were no longer in use.²⁰³ Even more pressingly, many mosques were in urgent need of repair. Some financial support for this work, likewise for the construction of a few new mosques, was provided by the Polish

¹⁹⁹ Grishin: 87-88; Bakalarz: 44-50.

²⁰⁰ Kryczyński (L.), 'Tatarzy polscy': 92-100.

²⁰¹ Kryczyński (L.), 'Tatarzy polscy': 105; Grishin: 96-122.

²⁰² Kryczyński (S.) 'Tatarzy litewscy': 189-97. This process began somewhat earlier, but was intensified at this period..

²⁰³ Grishin: 116-17.

and Egyptian governments, and, as previously, by Tatar immigrants in the USA.²⁰⁴ Plans to construct a large and splendid new mosque in Warsaw, however, were largely driven by politics.

The Polish government, as part of its larger foreign policy strategy, was eager to broaden its contacts with the worldwide Islamic community. The Warsaw mosque was to serve as a focal point in this undertaking, facilitating and strengthening good relations with Muslim countries. To this end, the construction project was widely publicised throughout the Muslim world. Yet Polish Muslims themselves seem to have regarded it with some scepticism. Ali Woronowicz, who was appointed Mufti of Warsaw in 1937 (and Mufti of the newly formed Polish Tatar Squadron in 1938), estimated that there were at most some 250 Muslims in the city at this time, of whom only about 60-70 individuals attended communal prayers even on feastdays.²⁰⁵ In the event, the necessary funding was not forthcoming and the mosque was not built.

Another priority (as in the 16th century) was education. As mentioned above, this was partly resolved by establishing links with Islamic institutions abroad. There was also some attempt to develop training courses in Poland. Providing religious instruction for children was yet another challenge. Previously, this had taken place in a fairly informal fashion. Now, under the supervision of the Muftiate, Sunday schools (jointly for boys and girls) were organised with the help of Volga Tatar teachers.²⁰⁶ The children learnt to recite prayers and memorized parts of the Quran (some would not only learn the entire Holy Book by heart, but would recite it backwards as well). On completion of their training, the children would give a public demonstration of their knowledge and the whole local community would join in the celebration of the *lahi* (from the Arabic *lā ilāha illa'llāh* 'There is no God but God').

Many other initiatives to raise awareness of Islamic history and culture, both in Poland, and worldwide, were launched at this time. In

²⁰⁴ *ibid*: 115.

²⁰⁵ Transcript from Ali Wronowicz's interrogation by Soviet authorities in 1941, reproduced in *Bajram*, 3 (35): 10-15. His evidence, made under duress, must be treated with caution, but his estimate of the size of the Warsaw congregation seems reasonable.

²⁰⁶ Grishin: 114-15.

1925 the Cultural-Educational Union of the Tatars of the Polish Republic was created. Its activities included the organisation of lectures, and the publication of books and journals (*Przegląd islamski*, *Rocznik tatarski* and *Życie tatarskie*) containing both scholarly and popular articles. A Tatar museum was established in 1929 in Vilna, which served as a repository for a unique collection of archival documents, photographs and other materials connected with Tatar history. Music and dance groups were established, also various youth movements.²⁰⁷ The leading Tatar intellectuals of the day were involved in these undertakings. Inevitably, there were teething problems, but given time they might well have been resolved.

The outbreak of the Second World War brought this chapter of Tatar history to an abrupt end. The Tatars, unlike their Jewish neighbours, were not targeted for extermination by the Nazis. However, they shared the suffering of the population at large, inflicted by Germans as well as Soviet forces. Some Tatars were deported, others disappeared without trace and were presumably executed; among the latter was Ali Woronowicz. Mosques and cemeteries were ruined, manuscripts and other irreplaceable artefacts destroyed. After the war, the redrawing of borders meant that much of the historical territory of settlement of the Tatars was transferred to the Byelorussian SSR. All that remained under Polish jurisdiction was the western fringe ('Western Belarus'), centred on the Białystok region.

II.2.6 Survival and Revival of Islam

The communist government in post-war Poland was opposed to religion, but the restrictions that were imposed on the faithful were not as severe as in the Soviet Union. Thus, within the Białystok region Polish Muslims were able to continue to practise their religion. The small wooden mosques in Bohoniki and Kruszyniany, far off the beaten track, became the main places of worship, and indeed of pilgrimage, for Muslims from all over Poland. Tatar families regularly gathered here to celebrate the main religious festivals and in the 1950s-60s, began to settle here, swelling the tiny local population. In 1964, only 285 Tatar Muslims resided in the town of Białystok; by 1984 there were 1,800.

In Warsaw, aided by an influx of Volga Tatars, there was also a

²⁰⁷ Grishin: 122-44.

small-scale revival of the Muslim community. Meanwhile, Tatar displaced persons and deportees (mainly from the Soviet Union) were returning to Poland and seeking work in towns such as Gdansk. They formed local Muslim communities, thus establishing an Islamic presence in new areas. Groups of practising Muslims soon appeared in many parts of the country, especially in industrial centres. The religion began to attract Polish converts. Missionaries from abroad encouraged this process. Some movements, such as the Ahmadiyya, allocated substantial resources to 'winning' Poland for their interpretation of Islam.²⁰⁸ Assistance of various sorts was also provided by governments of Islamic countries, among them Libya.²⁰⁹

In 2006, on the 80th anniversary of the founding of the Polish Muftiate (Muslim Religious Union), the XV Congress of Polish Muslims was held. The Muftiate, modernised and revitalised, was re-launched under the leadership of Tomasz Miśkiewicz (b. 1977). Previously imam of Białystok, Mufti Miśkiewicz had studied in Saudi Arabia and was a graduate in sharia law. By 2008, there were Muslim organisations (e.g. societies, circles, associations, youth groups) in some fifteen Polish towns and cities. Estimates of the Muslim population ranged from 5,000 to 30,000.²¹⁰ The lower figure probably refers to the number of 'traditional' (i.e. Tatar) Muslims.

In Lithuania, interest in the Tatars and more broadly in Islam, re-emerged with the fall of communism. The *Lietuvos Totoriu Kulturos Draugija* ('Cultural Society of Lithuanian Tatars') was formed in 1988, with aim of restoring the cultural heritage of the Tatars and reviving their religious traditions. In 1997, the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences organised an international conference to mark the 600th anniversary of the settlement of Tatars and Karaim in the Grand Duchy. The Lithuanian President and other state dignitaries took part in the celebrations. In 1998, the Lithuanian Muftiate that had existed in the inter-war years, but was

²⁰⁸ In the mid-1980s, the chief representative of the Ahmadiyya movement in Poland was Imam Taha Żuk, a Pole who had converted to Islam. Based in Warsaw, he produced a monthly magazine entitled *Al-Islam*.

²⁰⁹ In the 1980s, for example, a glossy magazine called *As-Sadaka* ('Alms') was published in Warsaw by the Libyan-Polish Friendship Society. Several of the articles were on Islamic topics.

²¹⁰ *Islam in the European Union*: 147-49.

abolished when the country was incorporated into the Soviet Union, was re-established. In 2008 it was headed by Mufti Aleksander Krynicki. There were five congregations (*djemiat*), located in traditional areas of Tatar settlement: Keturiasdešimt Totoriu (Sorok Tatars), Nemežis, Raižiai (Rejže), Vilnius and Kaunas (Kovno). In 2008, there were three old wooden mosques (Nemežis, Keturiasdešimt Totoriu and Raižiai), identical in form and shape to mosques in Poland. There was also a brick mosque in Kaunas, built in the 1930s and re-opened in 1991. At the time of writing there was no mosque in Vilnius. There were at this time some 5,000 Tatars of local descent in Lithuania.²¹¹ Census statistics did not make a distinction between recent Tatar immigrants (e.g. from the Volga or Crimea) and those with historic roots in the region. Nevertheless, individual families knew their genealogy; many had surnames, now Lithuanianized, that are familiar from Tatar history (e.g. Asanavičius, Ridzvanavičius, Iljasevic).²¹²

In Belarus, formal signs of renewed Islamic activity appeared in 1989 (period of perestroika in the Soviet Union), when Tatar cultural associations were established in Minsk and Hrodna. Over the next decade, four mosques were built and two restored.²¹³ In 1991, the Muslim Religious Association of Belarus, based in Minsk, launched *Bajram: Tatars na ziamli Bełarusi*, a quarterly journal that carried articles on the history and culture of the Tatars. It appeared fairly regularly until 1999. In 1994, the First All-Belarusian Congress of Muslims was held, following which the Muslim Religious Community of the Republic of Belarus (Muftiate) was established, headed by Dr Ismail Mustafavič Aleksandrovič (b. 1929, Kleck). Shortly thereafter, the Belarus Tatar Muslim Association *Al-Kitab* was formally created. In 1995 it began publication of a monthly magazine (in Russian), entitled *al-Islam: Žurnal musul'man Bełarusi* (in 1996 renamed *Žizn'*), which contained brief explanations of doctrinal issues, news about the activities of Muslims at home and abroad, also popular items such as recipes and (Volga and Crimean) Tatar conversational phrases.

The Association promoted links with the wider Muslim world and

²¹¹ Harviainen, 'Karaims and Tatars'; Lederer: 425-48.

²¹² See <http://www.gaumina.lt/totoriai>; <http://www.alka.mch.mii.lt/visoumene/totoriai>; for general data see *Islam in the European Union*: 135-37.

²¹³ Kanapacki and Smolik: 183.

in 1999, for example, it organised an International Islamic Children's Camp. In 1997, as in Lithuania, Tatars in Belarus celebrated the 600th anniversary of their settlement in the region. By the end of the decade four mosques were open for worship (Ivje, Navahrudak, Slonim and Smiloviči) and a fifth, in Minsk, was under construction. There were 27 local Muslim congregations, serving a community of some 45,000. Most of these, however, were recent immigrants (e.g. Azerbaijanis, Kazakhs and Uzbeks). The number of 'original' Tatars was estimated at about 12,000 in 1998.²¹⁴

II.2.7 Evolution of Islam in North Eastern Europe

As outlined above, there has been a Tatar Muslim presence in north eastern Europe, present-day Belarus, Lithuania and Poland, for at least six centuries. (The small Latvian Muslim community is mostly of a different, more recent origin.²¹⁵) Despite being on the periphery of the Islamic world, Muslims of this region, were rarely completely cut off from fellow-believers elsewhere. In the early period they had contact with Central Asia and in particular, with the Golden Horde, centred on the Volga basin. Later they had strong links with the Crimea, then with the Ottoman empire. In the 16th century some Tatars went to study in 'Arabia' (however the term might have been understood at the time) and a few made the pilgrimage to Mecca (II.2.1). From the 18th century onwards, there was a constant flow of emigrants to, and likewise of returnees from, Ottoman lands. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, under Russian rule, links with Muslims in the Volga region, Central Asia, the Crimea and Azerbaijan were revitalised. In the inter-war years Muslims from Poland were actively involved in international Muslim organisations and maintained personal ties with Muslim scholars abroad. In the mid-20th century, during the communist period, such contacts were largely frozen, but by the end of the century new links were emerging. By the early 21st century, Muslims in this region were arguably more thoroughly integrated into the world of Islam than at any time previously.

The long history of external influences on a relatively small and

²¹⁴ *Navukova-praktyčnaja kanferencyja: 25* (communication by I. Kanapacki).

²¹⁵ See *Islam in the European Union: 133-34* for data on Latvian Muslims.

fragmented community meant that whilst there was some degree of continuity, there was also change and adaptation. Consequently, it would be rash to assume that the practices and customs that exist today are those that the Tatars brought with them when they first arrived in the Grand Duchy. On the contrary, theirs is a living tradition that constantly evolves. This is evident in religious practices (for example, the manner of praying and the types of prayers),²¹⁶ rituals and ceremonies (for example, wedding celebrations), dress, food and even terminology.²¹⁷ This process has become more intense in recent years as 'new' believers (converts or re-awakened believers) are exposed to strong pressure from exogenous sources of authority. This introduces new norms and concepts of authenticity. Inevitably, 'traditionalists' find themselves dismissed as 'ignorant'. Yet their practices and beliefs, too, are largely the product of an ongoing process of assimilation and integration.

II.3 LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

II.3.1 Linguistic Legacy

Within a generation or two of settling in Grand Duchy the Tatars adopted Belarusian and/or Polish not only in their daily lives, but also as the medium for their religious literature. This is not an unusual occurrence: immigrant communities regularly switch languages as part of the process of assimilation. The Tatar case is remarkable, however, firstly for the speed with which the change happened and secondly, that it was so pervasive that even the language of religious discourse was affected. In order to understand this process it is necessary to look at the complex linguistic heritage of the Tatars of the Golden Horde.

The Golden Horde was ethnically and linguistically diverse. The ruling elite claimed descent from the Mongols and in the early 14th century Mongol, written in the Uighur script, was still in occasional use

²¹⁶The present author visited the Białystok district in 1984 and noted that some acts of informal worship, especially the recitation of *ziker*, appeared to be relatively new imports from Turkey or the Volga region.

²¹⁷Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy', records many such changes, especially in later chapters on more modern period. He comments, for example, that the term *mizar* was introduced by returnee emigrants in place of Tatar *zirec* 'cemetery' (p. 260).

as a literary language; it is possible that it was also used as a spoken language by some groups.²¹⁸ Turkic, however, was already the dominant language group. Yet there was no unified literary language. Kipchak (Cuman) belonged to the West Middle branch of Turkic languages, Khwarezmian, Chagatai and Karakhanid to the East Middle Turkic branch. As for colloquial forms, there must have been a considerable range of dialects since later, on the territory of the Golden Horde, a number of distinctive languages emerged, showing the characteristics of different branches of the Turkic family (e.g. Nogai, Volga Tatar, Bashkir). In the Crimean Khanate (15th century onwards), Ottoman Turkish was used, as well as a local variant known as Crym-Ottoman; both are South Turkic languages.²¹⁹ Finally, after the Golden Horde converted to Islam (mid-13th century), knowledge of Arabic, and probably also of Persian, would have been quite widespread, at least amongst the elite. Certainly, the Arabic script became the accepted written medium. As discussed above, Tatar immigration into the Grand Duchy began in the 14th century and continued over a period of some two hundred years. It encompassed people from different social groups, also different clan-tribal affiliations. Thus, although it may be supposed that there was a degree of mutual intelligibility between immigrants, nevertheless they were not united by a single language.

In the Grand Duchy, in the early phase of Tatar immigration, the dominant language, written and spoken, was Belarusian (Cyrillic script). However, over time the influence of Polish (Latin script) grew stronger as the political balance within the Lithuanian-Polish union shifted in favour of the Polish element. The nobility in particular was heavily Polonized in language as well as culture. Nevertheless, the use of Belarusian remained widespread, especially in the area of Tatar settlement (see above). Bilingualism (Belarusian-Polish) was common at all levels of society. The Belarusian literary tradition, which had flourished in the 14th-15th centuries, was overshadowed by the

²¹⁸Poppe: 46. Eckmann, 'Zur Charakteristik': 51-59; also relevant sections in *Fundamenta*, and Menges, *Turkic Languages*.

²¹⁹The classification of the Turkic languages used here follows *Fundamenta*. A slightly different classification is proposed by Baskakov, *Vvedeniye*. See also Menges. For philological analysis, see under specific language headings in these three works.

increasing emphasis on Polish. Yet in the 16th century there was still considerable use of Belarusian in the civil and legal administration (e.g. the language of the Lithuanian Statute of 1529 was Belarusian). The 'prestige' of the language was also enhanced by the publication of Francysk Skaryna's translation of the Bible into Belarusian (1517-22).²²⁰ By the end of the 16th century, however, the position of Belarusian had declined significantly.

This trend continued and in 1696 Belarusian was replaced by Polish for most official purposes. By the 18th century Belarusian literature had almost ceased to exist.²²¹ These two legacies - the fragmented languages of the Golden Horde and the changing relationship between Belarusian and Polish - surely had an impact on the linguistic adaptation of the Tatars in the Grand Duchy, making them more flexible in their responses. In addition to this, the settlers lived in a relatively open social and economic environment, in close contact with their neighbours, not subject to discrimination or isolation. Indeed, a considerable number of Tatars at all levels of society intermarried with the host population. They lived in compact groups, but these were not only small, but spread out over quite long distances. Thus, close contact with the neighbouring Christian population was unavoidable. Large gatherings of Tatars tended to take place in the mosque, or more sporadically, during military service. Taking factors such as these into account, it is not surprising that within a generation or two of arriving in the Grand Duchy, the majority of the immigrants had forgotten their original language, and instead adopted Belarusian and/or Polish.

This phenomenon is sometimes contrasted with the case of the Karaim, another Turkic people who also settled in the Grand Duchy during the reign of Vytautas, but who preserved their language.²²² Various theories have been put forward to explain why the Tatars should have been so much more susceptible to language shift than the Karaim. The chief causes are held to be that the Tatars intermarried with the local population and that they served in the army.²²³ These were undoubtedly contributory factors. Yet perhaps the main reason is that the

²²⁰ McMillin, *Byelorussian Literature*: esp. 13-59.

²²¹ Šakun: 170-77; McMillin, *Byelorussian Literature*: 69-76.

²²² Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije': 122.

²²³ *ibid.*: 141; Aleksandrovič: 90; Szapszał: 34-48.

circumstances surrounding the settlement of the Tatars in the Grand Duchy were very different from those experienced by the Karaim. Crucially, the latter were more tightly-knit and exclusive in their community life than the Tatars, thus far less exposed to extraneous influences.²²⁴ The language shift of the Tatars seems to have taken place in the middle of the 16th century. The author of *Risâle-i Tatar-i Leh* (1558), confirms that they could not speak Turkish or Arabic, but did know two other languages; Muchliński is undoubtedly correct in his surmise that these are Polish and 'Ruski'²²⁵ (i.e. Belarusian). The account by Guagninus, published in 1584, also comments on this language change:

Lingua eorum a polono idiomate tam longe abest, ut in Scythiam, illi in Sarmatiam commigrantes ranae seriphiae non iniuria dici queant. Qui tamen in Polonia et Lithuania et utroque Russia longe lateque dispersi sunt, plerumque hominum, quibuscum degunt, linguam addiscunt et callent.²²⁶

However, some sixty years earlier Boemus notes that they were still speaking their own language:

Tartari quidam circa Vilna in assignatis pagis habitant, qui agros nro more colentes laborant merces vehunt, Tartarica lingua loquunt, Mahometu et secta Sarracena profitentur.²²⁷

Ottoman writers such as Evliya Çelebi, Ibrahim Peçevi and Bartınlı Ibrahim Hamdi (who served for some time in Chocim Castle) confirm that in the 17th century the Tatars were speaking a Slav language.²²⁸ Yet even when the majority no longer spoke a Turkic language, there were some Tatars who were educated enough to have a good knowledge of Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Arabic. As mentioned above, in the 16th century they were often employed as interpreters, envoys or trusted couriers to the Crimean and Ottoman courts.²²⁹ Later, from the 17th century onwards, diplomatic links with the Islamic world diminished and the numbers of Tatars employed by the Polish-Lithuanian court in such

²²⁴ See Czacki: 271-84; Zajaczkowski (A.), *Karaims*; Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte*.

²²⁵ Muchliński, 'Zdanie sprawy': 260 (20), note 2.

²²⁶ Guagninus: 412.

²²⁷ Boemus chapter 7: f xlviij.

²²⁸ Çelebi, V, 146; Peçevi: 248; Orhonlu: 62.

²²⁹ Orhonlu: 65; Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 165-63.

capacities fell sharply.²³⁰ Nevertheless, the Tatars themselves continued to have contact with the Ottoman empire and the Crimea. Some Tatars served in the Ottoman army, particularly during the Lipka Rebellion (1672). Others visited Istanbul on the pilgrimage to Mecca and stayed to work there for a while. Yet others went for purposes of trade. There were also links with Muslim clerics in the Ottoman empire and the Crimea (see above). Thus, there was not a complete break in linguistic continuity.

II.3.2 Creating a Religious Literature

As devout Muslims, it was important for the Tatars that basic religious teachings, prayers and scriptural texts should be accessible. To this end, they began to translate the Quran and other doctrinal material into Belarusian/Polish. As discussed below, the source language is rarely indicated (and even the Quran might have been translated from an intermediary source). It is also not known for certain into which language the first translations were made. The predominant (and probably first) language to be used was Belarusian, a fact which was noted by Karskij as early as 1921.²³¹ In some manuscripts the name of the village or town where the work was carried out is mentioned. These, too, are mainly located in the Belarusian-speaking area. However, as discussed elsewhere in this study (see Part III), the language of these manuscripts is very mixed and it is often impossible to draw a distinction between Polonized Belarusian and Belarusianized Polish. There are very few manuscripts that can be dated, and sometimes only tentatively, to the end of the 17th century or the 18th century. The great majority of the extant texts are dated, with slightly more certainty, to the 19th century. Some bear the name of the copyist (some of whom were women).²³²

The most distinctive feature of these manuscripts is that the Slav translations are written in the Arabic script. The Arabic script is an important marker of religious and ethnic identity throughout the Muslim world, because it is the script in which the holy Quran was transcribed. It has been adapted to represent many languages, including South Slav Serbo-Croat.²³³ The Tatar writings are the only example of its use to

²³⁰ Baranowski: 57, 132-37; Antonovič, *Belorusskije teksty*: 11.

²³¹ Karskij, *Belorusy III*: 239-40.

²³² E.g. Ajša iz Murzičov Jakuba Smolska (Antonovič, *Belorusskije teksty*: 69).

²³³ *EI*, IV: 1113, s.v. *Khatt*; *EI*, I: 404-05, s.v. *Aljamia*.

record East Slav (Belarusian) and West Slav (Polish) languages. Both the task of translation and of devising an appropriate system of transliteration were complex, and presumably lengthy, undertakings.

Curiously, perhaps, there are no folk memories or traditions relating to when this project was initiated, on whose authority it was undertaken, under what conditions, or with what preparation. Yet it presupposes not only the availability of individuals who possessed the necessary linguistic ability and some mastery of calligraphy. There is a wide range of opinion on the skill of the Tatar scribes: according to Muchlinskij, they wrote beautifully, but Kračkovskij speaks of their '*očen' tipičnym neuključim počerkom*'. Zajączkowski comments that they used a deformed version of the *naskhi* script, but does not agree with Kračkovskij's epithet 'clumsy'; Fleischer called their style '*rustico et invenusto*'.²³⁴

The people for whom these manuscripts were intended would also have had to know at least how to read the Arabic script. Further, the acquisition of these skills would have required systematic teaching. That such teaching facilities were in place is evidenced by the fact that knowledge of the Arabic script was quite widespread among the Tatars.²³⁵ In some cases it may have been the only script they knew. This is indicated by the numerous examples of Tatar signatures in the Arabic script on official Belarusian/Polish documents.²³⁶ Within their own community, business transactions and other legal agreements were sometimes recorded in the Arabic script.²³⁷ The majority of known items are from the late 16th century through the 17th century; only a small

²³⁴ Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanija': 141; Kračkovskij: 163; Zajączkowski (A.), 'Tak zwany chamañ tatarski': 309; Fleischer: 450, item 179.

²³⁵ Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije': 161; Aleksandrovič: 77.

²³⁶ See AVAK, XXXI, for entries such as these: (1592) 'pri pečati podpisał Chasien Dajko, pisar arabskij, rukoju svojeju' (no. 66); (1593) 'u toho listu ... podpis ruk dvě pismom arabskim i podpis ruk pismom ruskim' (no. 115); (1655) 'u toho listu ... podpis ruk panov pečatarov arapskim i polskim pismom' (no. 206).

²³⁷ Antonovič, *Belorusskije teksty*: 174-77; Jankowski, 'Tatar Documents': 113-144 gives a fuller survey of such documents. As he points out, they contain valuable material for an understanding of the social and economic structure. In his paper he includes a number of very interesting facsimile reproductions, among them a recognition of debt (dated 1650), a bequest (also 1650), and authorisation for the sale of a property (1595).

number date from the 18th century.²³⁸ It is not known when the first examples of Tatar religious literature appeared. In the *Risâle* there is no mention of such manuscripts, hence it is reasonable to suppose that in the mid-16th century they did not exist. However, by the 17th century they appear to have been quite widely available for more than one Ottoman writer comments on it. Bartınlı İbrahim Hamdi, for example, noted that the Lipkas in the vicinity of Chocim Castle could read and write the 'Muslim script', although they knew no Turkish and spoke only Polish, while Peçevi reported that a certain Musa, Iskender Pasha's kethüda, who had been a prisoner-of-war in Poland for ten years, related that the Tatars wrote the Quran in Arabic, but the *Tefsir* (exegesis) in Polish.²³⁹

This coincides with the evidence cited above of a fairly widespread familiarity with the Arabic script. The tradition would have been kept alive by the influx of material brought back from Turkey by pilgrims, also by returning prisoners-of-war and emigrants. Moreover, in the 19th century, it was relatively easy to import Qurans and other religious material from Kazan (within the Russian empire), an established centre for publishing Muslim works. Nevertheless, By the end of the 19th century knowledge of the Arabic script was clearly not keeping pace with the demand for religious instruction. A small number of chamails written in the Cyrillic script, with transcriptions of Arabic prayers, were produced at this time.²⁴⁰

II.3.3 Content of Tatar Religious Literature

The religious writings of the Tatars comprise three elements: a) copies of original texts; b) translations into Belarusian and/or Polish; c) 'free' compositions (narratives commentaries and so forth) in Belarusian and/or Polish. Not surprisingly, the Arabic-language text that was most frequently copied, whole or in part, was the Quran. Complete copies of the Quran have mostly remained in private hands, but some are held in publicly accessible collections.²⁴¹ Individually bound manuscripts of

²³⁸ Some 25 per cent of signatures are in the Arabic script, the remainder in the Latin script (Grishin: 58).

²³⁹ Orhonlu: 62; Peçevi: 248.

²⁴⁰ Szykiewicz, 'Literatura religijna Tatarów':138-43. They were kept in the Vilna Muftiate, but do not appear to have survived to the present day.

²⁴¹ An important collection of Tatar Qurans is held in the Seraya Szapszal Karaim Collection (Büçys: 129-33). See also Kračkovskij:162-65.

sufra (probably derived from Ott/Per سیپاره, T *sipare*, 'one thirtieth part of the Quran') and *tédźwid* (<Ott/A تجويد, T *tecvîd*, 'rules for reading the Quran') also exist, but to date, relatively few examples are known, and fewer still have been studied. More familiar are the pious inscriptions in Arabic that formed part of the religious-material culture of the Tatars. These are found in the home and the mosque as decorative wall plaques.²⁴² They could also take the form of a *nuska/niuska* (< Ott/A نسخة, T *nüşha* 'copy'), a prayer in Arabic written on paper, bone or birch bark (if it was to be burnt as part of a magic spell).²⁴³ Gravestones, too, often bear Arabic inscriptions.²⁴⁴

This body of (mostly Quranic) material in Arabic is a noteworthy aspect of the religious activity of the Tatars. Of greater linguistic interest, however, is the translated material and the 'free' compositions, since both these elements represent unique Tatar achievements. They form the basis of the three main categories of Tatar religious literature: *téfsîr*, *kítâb* and *chamail*. The *téfsîr* (Ott/A تفسير) consist of the Arabic text of the Quran with an interlinear translation (sometimes a very loose paraphrase) into Belarusian and/or Polish; the Slav component is written in oblique lines beneath the horizontal lines of the Arabic text. The language of the kitabs and chamails is predominantly Belarusian/Polish, though with quotations and, in some manuscripts, fairly lengthy passages, in Arabic and less commonly, Turkic languages (no Persian texts are known). Most use a form of Ottoman Turkish, though some researchers have found traces of Uighur and other Turkic languages.²⁴⁵ In most cases it is evident that the scribe was not well versed in these languages, for such passages are often extremely corrupt and the orthography inaccurate.

Knowledge of Arabic seems to have been very limited. Kračkovskij describes the language of the Pskov Quran, for example, as: ... *užasajušcej po svojej negramotnosti poluarabskoj-polutatarskoj zapisi* ('a shockingly illiterate mix of semi-Arabic, semi-Tatar').²⁴⁶ According to some scholars translations of Quranic verses show signs of having been

²⁴² *Katalog III*: catalogue descriptions: items 53, 57-59.

²⁴³ *ibid*: catalogue descriptions: items 60, 62.

²⁴⁴ *ibid*: 12-16; also entries in *Katalog II*.

²⁴⁵ Zajaczkowski (A.), 'Tak zwany chamail tatarski': 311-13; Szynekiewicz, 'Literatura religijna Tatarów': 141.

²⁴⁶ Kračkovskij: 163.

taken from Ottoman Turkish glosses rather than the original.²⁴⁷ Small glossaries of Ottoman/Arabic are mentioned by some writers. Only one separate example (i.e. not part of a larger work) is known. Dated 1836, it consists of 22 sheets, measuring 18 cm x 11.5 cm; it gives Belarusian and/or Polish translations for some 1,000 Turkish words as well as a few score Moldovan entries, thus no doubt was compiled for the use of Tatar emigrants (see II.1.7). Other known wordlists are incorporated into larger documents.²⁴⁸

A mixed genre of Tatar literature is that of the *dalawar/dualary/dwaraty* (< Ott/A دعاء 'prayer', T *du'a* + plural suffix *-lar*). These are amulets or prayer books for personal use. According to Woronowicz,²⁴⁹ they were usually in the form of scrolls (or rolls) of prayers which were placed in the grave with the deceased. Existing examples, though, suggest that they could take various forms. The manuscript in the Latvian State Library, for example, consists of 176 folios and is written in Arabic with Belarusian (or Russian?) section headings. It contains prayers as well as texts on religious matters, such as the Five Pillars of Islam.²⁵⁰ Smaller, usually protective, amulets or prayer books in the form of scrolls were known as *hramatki/hramotki/gramotki* (a term that sounds Belarusian, but appears to be a Tatar coinage, not found in dialect or historical dictionaries).

The kitabs are the most varied genre. They are often quite large in format (e.g. 33.5 cm x 21 cm), with several hundred folios.²⁵¹ There were also smaller versions, known as *pótkitab(ek)* 'half kitabs'. Texts include pious narratives, ritual instructions and explanations of passages from the Quran and the Traditions (*Hadith*), as well as material of a more popular

²⁴⁷ Antonovič, *Belorusskije teksty*: 21-22; Szykiewicz, 'Literatura religijna Tatarów'.

²⁴⁸ Drozd, *Katalog III*: 14; catalogue descriptions: items 18, 47.

²⁴⁹ Woronowicz, 'Szczątki': 352.

²⁵⁰ Latvian State Library, no. 28, A 222S; written in Arabic, fully vocalised, with section headings in coloured ink in Belarusian or Russian (?). The manuscript, the first of its kind to have been discovered in Latvia, originated in St Petersburg but was probably produced in Belarus between 1835 and 1885. Scribe is identified as Salayman Bogdanov Abraham (Ibrahim). (Professor Harry Norris, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, kindly brought this document to my attention; he examined the manuscript in 2007 and is currently engaged in researching it further.)

²⁵¹ Drozd, *Katalog III*: 52-54, gives dimensions of 10 kitabs.

nature, such as discourses on auspicious and inauspicious days, the interpretation of dreams, and which parts of the body are particularly vulnerable on certain days. In some cases, the material seems to have been adapted to local needs. For example, much is written on the evils of strong drink. Other items appear to have been included out of convention (or for exotic interest?): thus, instructions on how to perform the ritual ablutions with sand in the absence of water can scarcely have been necessary in a part of the world that has an abundant rainfall and is famous for its rivers and lakes.

The chamails are quite similar in composition to the kitabs, but are usually smaller and of a more practical orientation. In addition to prayers and pious narratives, they contain such items as spells, incantations and recipes for curing sickness. They are generally of smaller dimensions than kitabs, though often running to several hundred pages.²⁵² Most were intended to be carried or worn by the owner (the term is derived from A حمل *hamala* 'to carry') and consulted on a daily basis. Larger copies, known as *moliński chamail* ('chamail of the mulla'), gave guidance on the conduct of ritual offices.

Given the devotional nature of the Tatar writings, it is likely that every family would have had at least one manuscript. However, the ravages of war and the frequent uprooting of the population in the past two hundred years has meant that many such documents have been lost. Today, the number of known manuscripts is comparatively small (around sixty).²⁵³ None have yet been published in full, though a few extracts have appeared in print.²⁵⁴ Also, some writers have attempted to list the topics covered in the kitabs to which they have had access.²⁵⁵ This is by no means an easy task, since the texts often meander on from one subject to

²⁵² *ibid*: 54-59, gives a description of 20 chamails.

²⁵³ According to Muchlinskij, there were so many such manuscripts that one could form a small library of them ('Iszledovanie': 141). See Antonovič, *Belorusskije teksty*: 50-177; he includes descriptions of manuscripts described by other writers, some of which are now untraceable (*ibid*: 32-47). Drozd, *Katalog III*, gives a survey of currently known manuscripts. See also Łapicz: esp. 70-74; Szykiewicz, 'Literatura religijna Tatarów': 138-43; Jankowski, 'Documents'.

²⁵⁴ E.g. Suter: 374-534; Miškinene: esp. 108-169.

²⁵⁵ Antonovič, *Belorusskije teksty*: 50-177; Woronowicz, 'Kitab Tatarów litewskich': 376-94; Szykiewicz, 'O Kitabie': 188-94.

another without a break, abruptly leaving one theme and embarking on another and then perhaps returning to the original topic.

The influence of Polish religious literature has been identified in some Tatar writings.²⁵⁶ As mentioned above, in one text a reference to a Sufi prayer has been discovered.²⁵⁷ These findings are noteworthy, but they are isolated instances. Further research is required to establish whether such influences are genuine rather than coincidental similarities. Some favourite stories appear in most of the known kitabs.²⁵⁸ One is a Turkish text with interlinear Belarusian/Polish translation of the *Mi'rāj* (T *Miracname*). It recounts Muhammed's Miraculous Night Journey to the Heavens, an event that most Muslims believe in a literal sense. Narratives on this theme are popular throughout the Islamic world.²⁵⁹ Other popular items include the Devil's conversation with Muhammed, the death of Jesus' mother Mary, the story of Mecca and Medina, and the story of 'Abid. Some stories are found in only one or two manuscripts, but since several of the kitabs are incomplete, this is hardly surprising. More importantly, perhaps, the order of the contents seems to be different and so is the emphasis within a given section (see III.8.4 for a description of the contents of the British Library Kitab). References are rarely indicated in a traceable fashion.

The original model for the kitab genre might well have been *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* ('Stories of the Prophets'). This genre, a compilation of narratives drawn from various sources, including Jewish and Christian traditions, was very popular in the Muslim world. In Tatar writings one of the most frequently encountered narratives is that of the death of Jesus' mother Mary (see APPENDIX 2.4). The Tatars ascribe this text to Wahb ibn Munabbih (AD 654/55 – c. 728/9), author of a well-known Arabic version of *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*. However, a more likely (or more immediate) source for the Tatar story was probably the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* compiled by Rabghuzi in AD 1310. This, the first Turkic version of the genre, was still being recited in modern times in parts of Central Asia, with additions and reworkings. The Russian scholar Katanov transcribed

²⁵⁶ Drozd, 'Staropolski apokryf': 95-134; 'Tatarska wersja': 163-95; 'O twórczości literackiej Tatarów': 33-47.

²⁵⁷ Tarelka and Synovka: 29-53.

²⁵⁸ Antonovič, *Belorusskije teksty*: 37.

²⁵⁹ For a study of the *Mi'rāj* cycles see Palacios: 2-42.

a version that he heard in Xinjiang in the late 19th century and pointed out that it strongly resembled the Rabghuzi text (see APPENDIX 3). He also noted that Muslims in eastern Turkestan compiled collections of translated works, interspersed with original material of their own. He identified the likely sources for their translations as: *Mejmū'ah al-ahkām* ('Collection of Wise Precepts'), Rabghuzi's *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, and *Baḥr al-durr* ('Sea of Pearls'). These eastern Turkestan compilations are reminiscent of the Tatar kitabs and chamails in content and format (Katanov describes one that measured 13.25 cm x 22.5 cm, consisting of 114 pages, 11-13 lines a page, and another measuring 13.5 cm x 10 cm, consisting of 32 pages).²⁶⁰ This adds weight to Szyrkiewicz's suggestion that the Tatars inherited this genre from their forebears in the Golden Horde. He describes a chamail (now lost) that he found in Slonim and believes that this was possibly the original exemplar for all the later examples of this type of work. In this Slonim manuscript the main text was in Arabic, with explanations in Chagatai. Later manuscripts show that the prayers are still being written in Arabic, but the explanations and translations are now rendered into Belarusian/Polish.²⁶¹

Szyrkiewicz's theory is credible. However, until more comparative material becomes available it is not possible to confirm its validity. In the longer term, it might be possible to reconstruct the genealogy of these writings, as well as a typology of the various genres, but further research is required.

²⁶⁰ Katanov: 1-44; Szyrkiewicz, 'Literatura religijna Tatarów': 138-43.

²⁶¹ Szyrkiewicz, 'Literatura religijna Tatarów': esp. 141. See also note 250 above.

PART III THE BRITISH LIBRARY KITAB

III.1 Physical Characteristics

III.1.1 Appearance of the Manuscript

The British Library Kitab (hereafter BLK), shelf-mark OR 13020, measures 30 cm x 19 cm and contains 125 folios. It is undated, but the watermarks are those that were used by the paper-mills of Konstantin Gondukov of Ivanino in the Kaluga province; the mould date is 1831.²⁶² In graphic characteristics as well as in content it bears a resemblance to the Vilna University Library Kitab (MS no. 391) described by Antonovič; this is also undated, but tentatively ascribed to the mid-19th century.²⁶³


The paper is factory made, of poor quality. Many of the sheets are heavily stained, probably by damp. Leaves are missing after folios 6, 62, 96 and 125. The manuscript was foliated in pencil, on the recto side in Arabic numerals only up to folio 66, but in Arabic/European numerals (Continental-style script, barred numeral 7) throughout on the recto side, and apparently in an English hand ('7' not barred) on the verso side. This numeration was done at some point after the loss of the missing leaves as it continues through to the end without a break. It shows signs of heavy wear, the lower corners of the folios being very rubbed (and in some cases repaired). The leather binding is new and without decoration. There is an inner cover of rough brown paper. Originally, the manuscript was sewn together, as can be seen from the needle marks along the inner edges of the folios. The manuscript is no calligraphic masterpiece, but it is written in a clear, even hand and is easily legible. The style appears to change for a few lines on page 59b; this could have been caused by the use of a faulty pen. There are some twenty to twenty-five lines a page. The differences in spacing are possibly the result of the work having been carried out over a fairly long period. There is a margin of approximately 3 cms all round and the text is enclosed in a neatly ruled rectangular frame.

There are no divisions between the words and at the end of a line

²⁶² Učastkina: 118-19; see also plate 109, watermark no. 177. Učastkina suggests that time-lag between production and use was usually about four years, but two or less if local (*ibid*: 181-84).

²⁶³ Antonovič, *Belorusskije teksty*: 57-62. See also below, note 266.

they are broken off at whatever point is consistent with the required length of the line, not with the form of the word. Thus, for example, a word such as *mešec* ('month') occurs as *m ešec*, *meše c* or in any of the other possible combinations. A catchword is usually found in the left-hand corner on the obverse side of each folio (turning the pages from left to right).

The text is written in black or dark brown ink; Arabic quotations are usually overlined in red. The manuscript is not decorated in any way, but introductory words such as *bab* 'chapter', or *chikájet* 'story', are often written in a slightly ornamental way and surmounted by two or three wavy, horizontal lines. In the text on auspicious days, the comments on the various days are separated by this symbol:  (ff 112a-113b). In the section on the letters of the Quran, the divisions between the letters are marked by a small circle: o (ff 119b-120a).

In the genealogical table at the beginning of the manuscript the most important names are surrounded by double circles in ink, the space between the circles being filled in with a light brown or green colour wash. A similar type of presentation is seen in some other Tatar manuscripts.²⁶⁴

III.1.2 Script

All the letters of the Ottoman alphabet are used and, in addition, two letters that were invented by the Tatars themselves by adding three dots below existing characters: *ɟ* [dž] and *ç* [c]. The system of transliteration that the Tatars invented to convey the Slav (BR/P) languages is based on the phonetic principle, with letters of the Arabic script ascribed the value of Slav phonemes in a consistent fashion. There is little trace of the conventions of Ottoman orthography (i.e. spelling rules) in the Slav texts, other than the basic use of letters with approximately similar phonetic values.²⁶⁵ The Slav consonantal system possesses a strongly developed pattern of oppositions based on the presence or absence of palatalization. The Tatars were fairly successful in adapting the Arabic script to convey this phenomenon, but one of the shortcomings of their system was that a single Slav sound could be indicated by more than one Arabic letter. Thus non-palatalized [z] could be written as *ظ* or as *ض*; palatalized [ž] as

²⁶⁴ Drozd, *Katalog III*: plates 57-58.

²⁶⁵ See Redhouse, *Simplified Grammar*: 1-50

ز or ذ; palatalized [š] as س or ث. However, no graphic distinction was made between palatalized and unpalatalized [ch], both of which could be represented by ح or خ. Most manuscripts use all the symbols, but show a preference for one or other of the alternative forms.

In BLK, the following letters predominate in Slav words as well as in loanwords:

ظ [z]: phonetic alternative ض rarely used, even where required by 'correct' orthography in loanwords (see III.5.1.10.).

ز [ž]: phonetic alternative ذ extremely rare, used only in a very few loanwords. In Ottoman, too, ذ is only found in a small number of loanwords (see III.5.1.13).

ث [š]: preference for this letter not so strong as for ظ and ز respectively. It is used almost interchangeably with س, even in loanwords (see III.5.1.12).

ح [ch/ch']: phonetic alternative خ very rarely used, even where required by 'correct' orthography in loanwords; in Ottoman, by contrast, خ was more common, while ح was found mainly in Arabic loanwords (see III.5.1.11).

The preferences for ظ and ث are also found in the Vilna University Library kitab, ascribed to the mid-19th century, and in Łuckievič's kitab, ascribed to the early 18th century.²⁶⁶ One other noteworthy graphic characteristic of BLK, also encountered in other Tatar documents, is the strong preference for writing [h] in its initial form ه, whatever its position in a word; this feature is found in Slav words as well as in loanwords: عَنْ هَلْ يَ، شْ هِدْ، طْ هُوْرْ (*enhelej, šehid, tehur*).

Belarusian and Polish have six vowels (not counting Polish nasal vowels, discussed below in III.3.1). Unlike Arabic, there is no phonemic distinction between long and short vowels in these languages. Hence the vowel points *fetħe*, *kesre* and *damma* could be used in various combinations to convey the Slav vocalic system. In BLK, as in other Tatar manuscripts, these vowel points are carefully marked throughout, even in loanwords, although in Ottoman Turkish (likewise in Arabic and

²⁶⁶ Antonovič, *Belorusskije teksty*: 218-21, 243-46 respectively. For description of the Vilna University Library kitab, *ibid*: 57-62; for the Łuckievič kitab, *ibid*: 50-57; also Stankievič's *Mova rukapisu*.

Persian) it is unusual for texts to be fully vocalised except in special cases, such as copies of the Quran. The Tatars represented four vowels individually, using either separate letters, or combinations. However, front vowel [i] and back vowel [y] were not differentiated. As discussed above, the following forms are found in free alternation in BLK:

a	اَ	عَا	أَ	ا
e	—	—	—	عَ
o	—	وَ	عَوَ	اَوَ
u	—	عُ	وُ	اُوَ
i/y	ي اِ	—	عِ	اِ

Standard Ottoman (A/Per) orthography is usually preserved in loanwords, but there are some distortions. Characteristically, symbols for long vowels are sometimes substituted for those of short vowels and vice versa. Such 'mistakes' may in fact represent a phonetic representation of actual pronunciation. Hence the occasional substitution of *elif* [a] for *fetħe* [e]: cf. نَمَازُ [nemaž], sometimes written نامَازُ [namaž].

It is noteworthy that *medd-elif* [أ] is rare in BLK, mostly found in a few loanwords e.g. آسَاسُ (*aṣāṣ* 'basis'). However, it is more common in other Tatar manuscripts.²⁶⁷ Another feature of BLK is that اِ (*elifi maqsure*), representing final long [a], is preserved in some religious terms and names of prophets, e.g. عِيسَى [‘Īsā] 'Jesus'. In Ottoman orthography, *elifi maqsure* (without dots) was similarly used in Arabic loanwords of religious significance.²⁶⁸ According to Antonovič, in some Tatar manuscripts this letter, usually written with two dots below and *fetħe* above (يِ), was occasionally used to represent long [a] in words of

²⁶⁷ Antonovič, *Belorusskije teksty*: 320-21; for use in Ottoman Turkish, see Redhouse, *Simplified Grammar*: 24-26.

²⁶⁸ Redhouse, *Simplified Grammar*: 10.

Slav origin; the examples he cites are taken from a document that tentatively dates to the 17th century.²⁶⁹ These and other phonetic/graphic features of BLK are discussed more fully in section III.5.1 below.

In this manuscript, as in other nineteenth-century Tatar manuscripts, various combinations of *vav* and *fetħe* were used to represent [o], while combinations of *vav* and *damma* were used for [u]. However, in the 17th and 18th centuries, one symbol was used for both sounds.²⁷⁰ Consequently, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between Belarusian and Polish forms of the same word. Also characteristic of BLK is the frequent use of combinations with *'ayn* to mark initial vowels in Slav words: عَابْمُوَوِصِ, عَاوْثَوْمَ, عُجْنَقُ ['učinek, 'avšom, 'abmovci]. Note that in the system of transliteration used in the present study this characteristic is not shown, since it has no phonetic, grammatical or lexical significance and was thus not relevant to the focus of research.

III.1.3 Language Variation: Summary

The language of BLK is predominantly Belarusian. However, there are some twenty pages of 'peripheral Polish', i.e. Polish which shows strong traces of Belarusian influence. Texts in this language include the introductory section on the *Yā Sīn* sura, the passages from the Old Testament and the story of Muhammed's death. There is an obvious Polish influence on the vocabulary of the manuscript as a whole, but this is in keeping with standard Belarusian in the 19th century (see below III.3.1). Moreover, this work is characterised by a lack of consistency in the use of Belarusian/Polish forms. Hence, sweeping generalizations are misleading. Forms such as *ketorij/katorij* and *kturij, čelevek/čelavek* and *človek, řišečej* and *řišenčej, chto* and *kto, darohu* and *drogu, pere-* and *pre-* are often used consecutively within the space of a few lines. The difficulties of describing the language adequately are well illustrated by the following phrase, in which P *okręť* ('boat') is spelt in three different ways in the space of a dozen words: ways in the space of a dozen words:

ukrut pelen ludžej, Junuš prarok na akrent ušev, okront ad beraha adišov (76a18-19) ('The boat was full of people, the Prophet Yunus sat down in the boat, the boat left the shore'.)

The Slav text is frequently interspersed with quotations in Arabic from

²⁶⁹ Antonovič, *Belorusskije teksty*: 109-20, 288.

²⁷⁰ *ibid*: 297-305.

the Quran and the Traditions of the Prophet, followed by a Belarusian/Polish translation. The Arabic of these quotations is very corrupt, indicating that the scribe knew little of this language. There are a few short passages in Turkish and one longer text. This is the story of Muhammed's Miraculous Journey to the Heavens (the *Mi'rāj*), which has an interlinear translation into Belarusian. The Turkish text is extremely corrupt. Elsewhere in BLK, individual Turkish, Arabic and Persian terms are sometimes inserted into Slav texts. In most cases, these loanwords have been fully assimilated morphologically and syntactically. For more a discussion of these features, see below.

III.2 Phonetics and Phonology of Slav Vocabulary: Overview

Tatar writings provide a valuable record of Belarusian linguistic history for a period which is otherwise very poorly documented. Largely free of the influence of the conventions of the standard orthography, they give a relatively clearer record of the phonetic characteristics of the language. As the Norwegian Slavist Ch. Stang noted:

Das grosse linguistische Interesse der Kitabe besteht darin, dass diese von Mohammedanern mit arabischen Buchstaben geschriebenen Texte von der Ksl. Tradition ganz und gar unabhängig waren. Man findet hier das lebendige Weissrussisch jener Zeit; gewiss, es ist die Sprache gebildeter Kreise, denn diesen gehörten natürlich die Übersetzer und Abschreiber der Texte; aber trotzdem: die gesprochene Sprache, in einer vom Kirchenslavisch nicht beeinflussten Orthographie.²⁷¹

However, the evidence that these manuscripts provide must be treated with caution for several reasons. Firstly, as discussed further below, the Arabic-script system of transcription used by the Tatars does not reflect all the features of Slav phonology. Secondly, as is well illustrated by BLK, the orthography is very inconsistent. In most languages, stable norms of orthography are a fairly recent development, so a degree of fluidity is not unusual. See, for example, P. Černych's comment on the 1649 *Uloženie*:

Odna i ta že grammatičeskaja forma, odno i to že slovo vstrečajutsja to v odnom, to v drugom orfografičeskom ili fonetičeskom oblike, očen' často ne tol'ko na smežnych stranicach, no i v sosednich stročkah i daže na odnoj i toj že stroke, v odnoj i toj že fraze.²⁷²

²⁷¹ Stang: 125-26.

²⁷² Černych: 142.

Yet the fact that it is so marked in this manuscript may reflect a greater range of acceptable variants in Belarusian/Polish (particularly in sub-standard dialects) than has hitherto been suspected. Equally, however, it may simply be the result of the copyist's skill (or lack of it) in using the Arabic script to provide a satisfactory phonetic renderings of Slav words.

III.2.1 Vowels: General

In the Tatar system of transliteration only five vowels were marked: [a], [e], [i/y], [o] and [u]. As explained above, there was no direct way to mark the difference between [i] and [y], or to represent jotted vowels. Yet it was sometimes possible to surmount these difficulties by indirect means. When a jotted vowel follows a consonant, this is often shown indirectly by using the symbol for a palatized consonant, if such a letter exists. In initial or inter-vocalic position, the letter җ [j] + vowel could be used. The combination [j+i] (e.g. *svajim*) is particularly interesting, because although it is an established feature of Belarusian pronunciation, it is not recorded in conventional BR orthography. See below (III.2.2.8) on the use of *jot* in the combination [j+i].

III.2.1.1 Akańnie

The practice of pronouncing [a] for [o] in unstressed syllables, a typical feature of Belarusian pronunciation, is consistently recorded in BLK (and other the Tatar writings) but was not marked in standard Belarusian orthography until the twentieth century. In BLK the unstressed vowel can be shown in two ways:

by *elif* [a]: *holasu* 19a12; *sposabam* 89b8; *havarili* 74b2; *čistaśc* 70b9; *katorije* 18b9; *charošije* 82b19; *čelavek* 19b7; *adžin* 114a6.

by *fetħe* [e]: *čelevek* 46b19; *ketorij* 18b18; *cherošij* 86a13; *mešec* 69a21; *jezikom* 69b22; *kerabel* 17b18; *tevarišav* 10a19; *kerenje* 85a9.

It is possible that *fetħe* in this position indicated a weaker vowel than *elif*, something akin to [ĩ], but as it is found in contexts identical to those in which *elif* is used, it is not clear whether these are graphic variants or phonetic variants. A further confusion is that the vowel point *vav* [u] is sometimes used in these same positions, thus giving rise to three or more versions of the same word:

ubaču 85a16-17; *ebačiv* 85a21; *abačec* 29a12; *oźme* 59a17; *uźmi* 59a17; *eźmice* 59b15; *aźmice* 59b15; *voźmuc* 27a23.

As can be seen from the line references in these examples, alternative forms often occur in very close proximity.

III.2.1.2 Pleophony (and 'mock' or 'pseudo' pleophony)

This feature (a development of *CS vowels [o] or [e] +liquid consonants [r] or [l]) is characteristic of all the East Slav languages. Belarusian tends to preserve it better than Russian, which was more influenced by OCS.²⁷³ It is quite widely reflected in BLK. Some forms occur in standard BR:

u šeradu 122b22; šalodšaje 114a22; saromejše 94b6.

BLK also records a few unusual examples of 'mock' or 'pseudo' pleophony (i.e. with consonants other than liquids):

chemelni 32b16; heledži 66a9; herech 110a20; šemerci 35b7; setajic 109a16; žeberuc 21b11.

They are used in alternation with the standard forms and the latter do in fact predominate. Occasionally 'mock pleophonized' forms are found in loanwords: e.g. NEFCHE/NEFECHE نَفْحَ / نَفْحَ 'the last trump'; cf. Ott (A) نفخة [nefha]. They may be scribal errors, but interestingly, similar forms were found by Stankievič in his copy of a kitab.²⁷⁴

III.2.1.3 Substitution of [e] for [a] in stressed position

An unusual feature of BLK is the substitution of [e] for [a] in stressed position. This only occurs on a regular basis (i.e. excluding occasional random scribal eccentricities) in a very small number of words, notably *kezan* (cf. BR *kazan*) and *enhel* (cf. Slav *anhel*). It is possible that the fronting of stressed vowels was a feature of Tatar speech, but the available evidence is insufficient to prove the case.

III.2.1.4 Alternation of [v] and [u]

In a few words in BLK there is alternation between *u*-/*v* in initial position (or after NE-) e.g. UDICHANE/VDICHANE; UHNEVIC/VHNEVIC. This could be the result of scribal error (omission of vowel point *damma* over *vav*). However, in BR there is also some vacillation over the use of these two sounds in this position. In MBR forms with *u*- are more common, but in earlier BR texts *v*- is also found. Cf. VSTID/USTID: McM (BK, F107, SCh) *ustyd*, Nos *vstyd*; cf. P *wstyd*.

²⁷³ *Narysy*: 59-60; *Matthews*:154.

²⁷⁴ Stankievič, *Mova rukapisu*: 40; Karskij, *Belorusy*, I: 257, OBR monuments.

III.2.2 Consonants and Consonant-Vowel Combinations: General

Modern Belarusian possesses thirty-nine consonant phonemes; fifteen of them are paired palatalized and non-palatalized consonants and nine are unpaired. The Arabic script transcription as used by the Tatars was able to represent five of these pairs (see III.1.2); for the rest, it provided one symbol which stood for both the palatalized and the non-palatalized phoneme. The five pairs it did represent are *k/k'*, *s/s'*, *z/z'*, *t/t'* (>ć), *d/dź*:

ق	[k]:	velikaje 20a13; rukami 72b2; muku 24b20; pekla 24b23.
ك	[k]:	velikim 66a13; ruĳi 24a9; muĳi 9a13; pekelnaho 24b22.
ص	[s]:	u sadĳe 73a1; sin 82a18; pasipali 9b1; son 117a14; sundĳicel 8b5; sud 19a2; esla 26b22.
س/ث	[š/s']:	ušadĳe 89b8; šela 26b20; šila 18a17; ušo 8b7; spašonije 110a23; ešol 24b7; šuda 29a7; uveš 8a24.
ظ/ض	[z]:	zastanucca 18b11; raskazav 69a23; raz 69b5; zakipac 18b8; zolata 118b10; zubi 89a4.
ز/ذ	[ž/z']:	žalonaje 89a3; žnetu 14b14; darože 70b4; žemli 17b20;
ط	[t]	tarc 33a10; čitelnikav 69a17; nešmertelnij 29b10; ti 106b6; tilko 70a3; švetij 8a8; sto 70a1; turma 11a22; tušic 37a6; treba 107b11; jest 8a18.
ت	[t']:	ješt 8a17; jestešce 18a5; tišečej 78b1.
ص	['soft' c]:	caškuj 42a13; cela 61b18; cebe 64a10; celca 106a6; cerplivošc 110a13; išcor 25a5; pac 58b21; ješc 70a9.
د	[d]:	darohu 13a8; dojdže 14b5; duša 113b6; zdumajucca 23b2; blud 114a7; mod (BR <i>miod</i>) 114a13.
د	[dź]:	dđerava 34b10; modže (BR <i>miodzie</i>) 114a14; pravadživ 9b4; dživno 19a23; pravadž 34b10.

As seen in the examples cited above, *dziekańnie* and *ciekańnie*, distinctive features of Belarusian pronunciation, are clearly indicated in this manuscript, though they were not consistently shown in the standard

orthography until the twentieth century.

Note that ظ, which could have been used as an alternative to ض to represent a hard [z], is very rarely used in BLK. The use of ت to represent palatalized [tʲ], as well as چ to represent palatalized [č], is curious, since from a phonological perspective the latter in effect replaces the former. The use of ت in this phonetic context is typical of the known examples of seventeenth-century Tatar manuscripts; it occurs less frequently in later texts, and by the 19th century is uncommon.²⁷⁵ In BLK it is quite rare. It is sometimes used in *jest* 'to be', 'is', although *jest*, with non-palatalized [t] is more common; the two forms are used in free alternation, sometimes within a single line. In BR dialects of the southwest both forms are found.²⁷⁶ The palatalized [tʲ] is sometimes found in *jest'ešce* and other forms of the verb 'to be', but *ješč* 'to eat' is always written with چ, representing [č]; see III.2.2.1 below for use of regressive palatalization.

Noteworthy is the use of palatalized [tʲ] in *t'išeče*: the initial soft consonant here reflects standard Cyrillic spelling as recorded in Belarusian documents up to the 18th century; subsequently, this consonant hardened and was pronounced as an unpalatalized [t]. In early Tatar manuscripts (17th-18th century), only ت is used in this word. Later, as in the standard language, a hard [t], represented by ط, became the norm. In BLK, instances of a hard [t], thus *t'išeče*, are occasionally found, but generally only in passages in Polish, or in Polonized Belarusian. The usual form in BLK is *t'išeče*; this is also found in another nineteenth-century manuscript, the Vilna University Library Kitab.²⁷⁷

For consonants other than the five pairs mentioned above there is no way of knowing whether or not they are palatalized ('hard' or 'soft') other than by the phonetic context:

- ب 'hard' [b]: banketach 22a10; zabiv (BR *zabyü*) 114a7;
bili (BR *byli*) 115b2; bidlaci 56b10;
budučich 25a6; božuju 36a21;
'soft' [b]: belaje (BR *biel-*) 43b19; bez 70b10; lubeči
63a2; cebe 26a12; zabiv (BR *zabiü*) 114a7;

²⁷⁵ Antonovič, *Beloruskije teksty*: 258-59.

²⁷⁶ For the regional distribution of this feature, see *DABM*: map 163.

²⁷⁷ Antonovič, *Beloruskije teksty*: 250-54 (BLK resembles the Vilna University Library Kitab in several other respects; see note 263 above).

zabili (BR *-bil-*) 15a10.

- 'hard' [p]: pavažnašc 8a8; panove 19b14; šlepije 10a10; pitane 33b12; papitav 83b12; pošle 27a5; adpuščene 34a8;
- 'soft' [p]: patniči (BR *piat-*) 43b7; pac 104a11; pekelnich 23b6; pišma 68a11; pej 43b21.
- 'hard' [v]: vadže 17b9; našmevališc 13a24; vibili (BR *vybili*) 21a22; vimerli (BR *vy-*) 67a15; vizvolše 13a3; volane 17a1; vucha 87a5; voźme 19a21;
- 'soft' [v]: uveš (BR *uvies*) 8a24; vedaj 70b11; vernašc 14b14; velikaje 20a13; vidžev 12a8 vino 111b11.
- 'hard' [f]: falgujiči 67b16; ufatigovalaše 85b4; funtav 41a22; funtamenta 7a5;
- 'soft' [f]: figlami 37b12; fižmovim 23a18; figove 74a4.
- 'hard' [c]: mocar 28a6; tablica 65b19; cerkvi 76a1; cesarove 21a6; pšenici 41a19; mocnij 74b17; palac 61a10;
- 'soft' [c]: chrešcanij (BR *chryscian-*) 90a7; cerpac (BR *cierpac*) 95b5; pašceli 67a4; celešnich 41a6; umerci 47a21-22; šmerci 13a9; verac 9b10; hrašic 24b17.
- 'hard' [dž]: cudžoložniki 63a14; cudžulož 105a20;
- 'soft' [dž]: džecej 61a1; budže 28b12; adžinij 28a16.
- 'hard' [h]: hari 10a6; halodni 8a1; harelka 67b10; hetaho 60b10; hola 14b7; horka 24b1; hulajuči 100b6;
- 'soft' [h]: historija 42a1; hine 63b12.
- 'hard' [g]: gospodar 7a9; gvalt 43a15;
- 'soft' [g]: magil 46a20.
- 'hard' [l]: klanevše 10a14; švetlašc 15b15; pekla 23b6; laskaj (BR *laskaj*) 13a6; liški (BR *łyski*) 124a18; lotrovstva 15a9; slunca 16b24;
- 'soft' [l]: laskaj (BR *laskaj*) 115b1; vola 110a18; smalanoja 21b10; palach 24b6; lat 104a4; daleka 10b23; lidžba 9a1; karabloch 17b5; los 66a19; loh 109b7; karmlu 26a11; ludži 7b4; u karablu 17b4.
- 'hard' [m]: matka 85b7; mahili 31a20; malanje 33b5; mor 95a3; morsķije 22b19; muķi 9a13;
- 'soft' [m]: masa (BR *miasa*) 70a7; mešaca 43a20; umerlujū 39a22; mene 31b10; medavoj 23a2; milošci 23b3; mod 22b23; imona 23a1; umor 26a19.

- č 'hard' [n]: našmevališe 13a24; vernašc 14b14; sudnij 18a13;
noč 16b14; znov 23a8;
'soft' [n]: kana (BR *kania*) 26a11; volane 17a1; nebose 18b7;
šceni 13a2; nihto 15a3; anol 35a20; hlan 83b10.

The BR alphabets in Cyrillic and Latin scripts also do not provide separate symbols for all these phonemes, but they do indicate palatalization by the use of jotated vowels or [i]. It is not possible to indicate these vowels in the Arabic script, hence there is no direct way of marking the presence or absence of palatalization in these cases. For some letters this does not matter very much, for the phonemes concerned do not occur so often that minimal pairs are likely to arise. In other cases, however, the frequency of the particular phonemes is very high. Consequently, even in a comparatively short text, several pairs of words are written identically, although their pronunciation (and meaning) are quite different. Compare:

BLK *laskaj* (BR *taskaj*) 'with grace' and BLK *laskaj* (BR *laskaj*) 'with a stick';

BLK *zabiv* (BR *zabiv*) 'he killed' and BLK *zabiv* (BR *zabyv*) 'he forgot'; BLK *nos* 'nose' (BR *nos*) and BLK *prinos* (BR *prinios*) 'he brought';

BLK *mor* (BR *mor*) 'of seas' and *umor* (BR *umior*) 'he died'.

III.2.2.1 Regressive palatalization

In some cases the problem of marking the palatalization of a phoneme, if no separate symbol exists, can be surmounted by showing the effect of regressive palatalization. It is noteworthy that though this is a standard feature of Belarusian pronunciation, it is not indicated in the Cyrillic script. It can, of course, only be shown in the Arabic script if there is a separate symbol for the palatalized phoneme of the first element of a consonantal cluster (see list above). The most common combinations are the following: *šv, šc, šl, šm, šn, šv, šb, šl, šm, šn, šj, šh, džv*.

Combinations with initial *š*:- *švetlašc* 15b15; *švetij* 8a8; *švini* 21b10; *pašceli* 67a4; *šceni* 13a2; *košci* 19a1; *trudnašci* 8a25; *išcor* 25a5; *čistašc* 14b14; *vernašc* 14b14; *šlepije* 10a10; *pošle* 27a5; *prinešli* 12a7; *mišlic* 16b20; *šloz* 96b9; *šmerci* 13a9; *ošmim* 20a2; *našmevališe* 13a24; *šneh* 91b11; *pošnikav* 30b14; *zajzrošniki* 21b11; *blišne* 30b11;

bašnu 106b13.

Combinations with initial *ž-*: *žvazdi* 16b16; *žveri* 19a2; *žberucca* 16b22; *žle* 28b2; *ražlevajuči* 89a1; *žmenivše* 107b16; *žmilujša* 24b15; *lažni* 124a8; *bajažnikav* 25b6; *žješč* 24b7; *ižjevši* 73b21; *bajažn* 36a12; *neprijažn* 66b1; *žhine* 50b13. Note that regressive palatalization in the combination *žh-* is not usual in standard Belarusian, but is commonly found in BLK (e.g. *žhine*).²⁷⁸80

Combination with initial *džv-*: *džveri* 113b22.

III.2.2.2 Regressive palatalization in adjectival endings

Regressive palatalization is often shown in adjectival ending [-ški-]. A 'soft' [s] in this position seems to have been regarded as a marker of the adjectival form and is often found before a 'hard' [k], where its use is not phonetically motivated. There are, however, a great many exceptions to this practice and a non-palatalized [s] in this position occurs almost as often as forms with a palatalized [š]:

- šk'i-*: *malženškij* 70b14; *morškije* 22b19; *mušulmanškij* 67b12; *išlamškiij* 123a4; *rajsškije* 14b7; *kafirškije* 93b10; *židovškij* 71b1;
- ška-*: *Adamškamu* 25a10; *balvanškaje* 69b17; *konškaje* 70a7; *šejtanškaje* 63a12; *židovškaj* 34b9; *stvaricelškaje* 62a6.
- sk'i-*: *rajskimi* 22b2; *kafirškije* 8a20; *Adamškich* 15a5; *chraščanskej* 34b9; *nebeskim* 34a7.²⁷⁹

III.2.2.3 Regressive palatalization in nouns

In nouns the spelling of the root is usually fairly stable and regressive palatalization is not reflected if it arises as the result of morphological change; cf. *lask'i* and *lasce*, derived from *laska*. However, it is frequently indicated in syntagmas formed by preposition *iž/ś* + noun:

- iś cerplivimi* 35b22; *iś cela* 61b18; *iś pekla* 24b23; *ś Kim* 85b21; *iž velikim* 66a13; *iž džecmi* 18a18; *iž levaho* 61b15; *iž listov* 74a5; *iž masa* 25b18; *iž milości* 23b3; *iž modu* 112a8; *ž nimi* 20a1; *ž nich* 91b1; *iž jachentu* 22b15.

III.2.2.4 Voicing and Devoicing

Another feature of Belarusian pronunciation, reflected in the Arabic

²⁷⁸ Lomtev: 49.

²⁷⁹ Stankievič, *Mova rukapisu*: 68.

script writings of the Tatars but not in standard BR orthography, is devoicing of final consonant of *iz* under influence of the initial phoneme of following noun. In BLK this is often shown before *c, t, p,* and *k/k*:

is cela 61b18; is cerplivimi 35b22; is tich 22b17; is tim 61b7; s taboj 34b15; is Panem 31b8; is pekla 24b23; is pravej 76a13; s perlav 89a7; is kažnej 63a10; s kim 85b21.

Nevertheless, there are a great many cases involving these same letters in which this phenomenon is not reflected:

iz pesku 78a4; iz pšenici 66b10; iz prosa 66b10; iz kana 90b3.

Curiously, this form of devoicing is not usually shown before *s, s* or *š*, though this would be logical if the phonetic principle were adhered to:

iz saboj 1 9a24; iz šestroj 63b1; iz smačnimi 29a26; iz šneha 91b9; iz šeršci 25b19; iz šejtanom 65b8.

Within a word, or at the end of a word, devoicing is shown sporadically: prarokaf pakamenovali 13a2; dožc na ... švece 15b8; hot u ... ahnu 24b22; caška 107b17; potpori 62a17. It is noteworthy that in two words the regressive voicing of a voiceless consonant is always marked in BLK: *prožba* (BR *prošba*) and *lidžba* (BR *licba*). These spellings are also typical of other Tatar manuscripts; they may reflect an older orthography.²⁸⁰

III.2.2.5 Assimilation and Dissimilation

In standard BR orthography, assimilation and dissimilation are shown sporadically (e.g. *chto* < *CS *ku*to). In BLK, too, this feature is marked in some instances but not in others:

dohtar (BR *doktar*) 113a11; lechko (cf. BR *lohka*, P *lekko*, R *legko*) 77a1; ulechcevažic (P *-kce-*) 111a3.

If the preposition (*i*)z/s is followed by a word beginning with *ž* or, less frequently, with *č*, the assimilation is often marked:

iz žanoj 18a18; iz živaho 59a12; is čaho 26b24.

In the case of *ž ž-*, and also in other cases in which the last letter of the preposition is the same as the initial letter of the following word, the relevant consonant is represented by a single letter surmounted by *shedde* (Arabic-script symbol indicating doubling):

²⁸⁰ Antonovič, *Belorusskije teksty*: 223 (*prožba*), 216 (*lidžba*); cf. Karskij, *Trudy po belorusskomu*: 197, where the form *prožba* is cited from an OBR (1656) document.

addarohi 34b9; ižzemli 17b20; izzachodu 17a2; ižžanoj 63b2.

III.2.2.6 Use of Jot (ȝ / ѣ) with Vowels

This letter is used in several positions, representing different phonetic contexts as well as different phonological developments:

1. With vowels:

initial: javno 16b11; jermom 68a10; jim 37b22; jon 26a17; juķi 118b21;

inter-vocalic: tvaja 85b20; svajeho 18a4; majimi 21a17; svajo 63a19; bajuše 42b10;

final (syllable or word): pojdzē 16b10; zajdzē 17a10; perejdzē 17a12; dajce 17b24; svajho 16a19; džecej 19a17; vedaj 16b8; dobrašćaj 31b11; toj 25a18; starij 25a16-17.

2. Development of *CS consonant + ij + vowel:

zabju 26a9; pabjem 10a19; bjuķi 98b9; pjanij 66a18; pjanstva 16b10.

III.2.2.7 Reflexes of *CS consonant + ije as suffix (word-final)

Three developments of this *CS feature are found in BLK:

1. *-nn + e*: zdavanne 19a5; spašenne 30b23. This form (with palatalized double n) is the standard MBR reflex, but is relatively rare in BLK.
2. *-ne*: adpuščene 34a8; navežane 43b13; pakejane 67b9; pitane 33b12; prikazane 34a24; raskazane 35b8; šanovane 46a3; volane 17a1; zbvane 35a17; zdavane 32b10; žadane 75a6. Very common in BLK.
3. *-nje*: ačišenje 41a16; klanenje 109b6; milovanje 121a7-8; starenja 8a13; spašenje 30b24; povelbenje 34a13; žadanje 47a9; pecja 49b18; sudžjeju 34a21; krilja 89b11; bahamolje 117b15.

In general, each word is found with only one of the above endings, but the most common words may occur with alternative endings. In such cases, the variants are found in free alternation, but one form predominates. Thus, for example, *spašenje* and *spašenne* sometimes occur in close juxtaposition (e.g. 30b24 and 30b23 respectively) with no apparent stylistic differentiation. However, in the manuscript as a whole *spašenje* is more common. This word apart, the ending *-ne* is slightly more characteristic of BLK overall. The multiplicity of reflexes (with no stylistic distinction) is not surprising, for a similar situation obtained in

OBR and still does in dialect usage.²⁸¹

III.2.2.8 Development of [l] and [v] to [w]

In MBR an original Slav final [l] or [v] in closed syllable has become [w] (in MBR written as *ŭ*). In the standard BR orthography neither of these features was shown consistently until the twentieth century. In BLK this development is generally recorded, as shown below:

[l]>[w] **consistently marked** by use of *ŭ*:

[l]>[w] *medially*: dovhaje 16b14; povni 17b15; mavčac 24b13; žovtije 89a3; povnači 98b5; povtara 106a7-8; dovh 69a12;

[l]>[w] *finally*: pošnikav 30b14; 12a8; stvariv 17b11; iżvev 73b19; pravadživ 9b4; 65a1; 85a15;

occasional retention of [l] in final position probably Polish influence:

išpelnivše 25a17; stvardžil 7b2; potverdžil 62a18; povelbil 13a6; muvil 26a8.

[v]>[w] **not shown** in BLK, since *ŭ* used to represent both sounds:

dživno (BR *dziŭna*) 19a23; pravdi 35a16; rovnij 28a18; navčonij 59a9; časov 17b9; čarav 25b3.

The same problem arises in other phonetic contexts. An original Slav [v] becomes [u] before any consonant in Belarusian; development[u]>[w] takes place when [u], standing alone or word- initially, is preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant (cf. BR *na ŭsio, ad usiaho*). This is not consistently reflected in BLK; some words, e.g. *ušo*, are routinely written with initial [u] whatever the phonetic context, but in other words there appears to be a random alternation of *u/v*:

dla nich ulašne 17b11; dla nich vlašne 17b12.

III.2.2.9 Prothetic and epenthetic consonants

In standard Belarusian **prothetic [v]** is found before initial stressed [o] or [u], but not in the Hrodna region;²⁸² it is reflected sporadically in BLK:

vucha 87a5; vuši 89a5; cf. ušu 82a22; okach 113a20; oku 11a14; oči 10a12.

Also characteristic of standard Belarusian is the **inter-vocalic use of epenthetic [v]** before stressed [o] or [u]; this is rarely shown in BLK:

²⁸¹ Cf. Alt: 128-29; *DABM*: map 64.

²⁸² *DABM*: map 47.

nauka (BR *navuka*) 52a3; zaočne (BR *zavočna*) 125b6.

Prothetic [h]: as in BR, always found in *hetij* and its derivatives.

Prothetic [i]: this usage was common in OBR, but not typical of MBR; in BLK it is often found before *z/s, ž/š*:

ížev 73b19; izbludživ 13b21; izmaže 40a17; iscuđzoložiš 63a14; išpekla 24b23.

However, forms without prothetic [i] are also common:

žev 118b21; zmaže 30b24.

Epenthetic [l]: instances with epenthetic [l] after [m], characteristic of BR, and without epenthetic [l] after [m], characteristic of P, both occur in BLK, though in different texts. Compare:

pred stvorenem neba i žemli 7b10-11; stvoril Pan Bog neba i žeme 103a2.

Epenthetic [n]: in BLK, contrary to standard BR usage, epenthetic [-n-] is usually affixed to the pronoun in syntagmas formed by a preposition and pronoun:

ž noj 114a5; ž nimi 20a1; pri nom 59a1; pred nimi 21a15; ž nich 91b1.

It is not, however, found with the genitive singular masculine:

ad jeho 89b1; dla jeho 8b10.

Also, contrary to standard usage, it is sometimes not used with the genitive plural: da jich 11a3.

III.2.2.10 Alternation [b/p]

This alternation is not uncommon in the Turkic languages. It may have been typical of Tatar speech. Bielič notes instances of this feature in an eighteenth-century kitab.²⁸³ However, it may also be due, or due in part, to a lack of care in writing the Arabic letters پ/ب.

Substitution of [b] for [p] in BLK occurs in some fifteen Slav words, but in all cases forms with [p] are more common:

boki (BR *poki*) 7b21; batreben 8a1; bravdživašci 9b6; bitali 9b8; posbolu 12a23; bozdravene 27b8; betnaccataja 43b7; bost 40b2; nabitku 111a21.

Substitution of [p] for [b] also occurs but is far less common:

prala (BR *brata*) 26b12; piv 42a11; apo 73a8.

²⁸³ Bielič: 23; Antonovič, *Beloruskije teksty*: 241. Also *Fundamenta*: 250.

Similarly, җ [j] and б [b] or ɸ [p] sometimes confused:

sjaliv (for spaliv) 26a7; bobceše (for bojceše) 37a22; babramnaha (for bajramnaha) 41b15.

Occasionally the confusion extends to [n] (ɳ):

pnanstva (for pjanstva) 65a5-6; kledna (for kledba) 61b19; Nan (for Pan) 9b8; jedjego (for jednego) 11a19.

III.3 Other Phonological Features

III.3.1 Polish

The influence of Polish is exhibited mainly in the following features. However, they occur in alternation with Belarusian reflexes, which in all cases far outnumber Polish variants. Also, they do not occur regularly throughout the manuscript but are usually clustered in a single text.

Nasal vowels are represented in BLK by vowel+ ɳ [n]:

en: bendže 11a13; cenška 121b18; džešencinu 35b4; dževenc 9a11; menžčižni 103b20; mešonc 15b2; pendžešont 58a6; preklentij 65b14; renka 35b17; šventi 28a11;

on: mondri 28a11; pontek 121b20; sond 107a16; stojonci 7a18; veroncim 40b14; vontplivošci 35a4.

Vowel [u]: MBR [o] is sometimes represented as [u] (P *o*) in words that are borrowed from, or also occur in, Polish:

Bug (P *Bóg*) 103b15; krul 7a8; kturemu 7b1.

However, [u] is also found occasionally in contexts in which Polish has [o], probably because in earlier (17th-18th century) Tatar manuscripts [o] and [u] were represented by a single symbol:

vuli (P *voli*) 110a9; hulas 18a11; užmi 59a17; vstidlivuśc 50b9.

Vowel [o] in unstressed position: sometimes written as [a], reflecting Belarusian *akańnie* (see above), sometimes as [o], reflecting Polish pronunciation. The two forms are used in close proximity, sometimes consecutively:

dobratlivimi dabratlivi 23b5; gospodaru 29a24; miloserdni 44a2; stvorenem 7b10-11; poznaka 17b4.

Vowel [a]: very occasionally Polish [a] is found where BR equivalent would be [e]:

švata (BR *švieta*, P *święta*) 7a11; cala 103b19; lat 104a4.

Metathesis: occasionally found in place of pleophony (see III.2.1.1):
drodže 7a18; drevo 103b9 (this could be an OCS form, but the textual context shows that it is probably Polish).

Velar plosive [g]: found rarely, mainly in Polonized texts:
gnevem 114b7; gnevlivij 105a16; gvalt 43a15; gospodar 7a9; ničego 105b2; drugim 105b15; figlami 37b12; Bug 103b15.

Retention of [l] in place of [v]: see III.2.2.6.

Alveolar fricative ǰ [rz], occurs only once in BLK:
žeč (P *rzecz*) 10b24. In all other cases P *rz* [ʒ] is represented by [r]:
gospodar (P *gospodarz*) 7a9; prigod 7a11; mocar 28a6.

III.3.2 Old Church Slavonic

Present participle active in [-šč-] sometimes used in place of East Slav [-č-]: dajuščije 22b23; živuščaje 101a4; cekuščuju 24b8.

***CS ort-** is reflected as **rat-** in some words in place of East Slav *rot-*:
raba 76b18; razsudak 27b1; virazumene 68b6; razumnaha 25a19; (but cf. ROZUM, which is always given in the E/W Slav form).

3.3 Ukrainian

Some writers claim to have found Ukrainian elements in the Tatar texts. Antonovič, however, did not find a single manuscript that could be described as purely Ukrainian (i.e. possessing characteristics unique to Ukrainian).²⁸⁴ As for Fleischer, in the Leipzig chamail he identified *druhaja* as a Ukrainianism, but this is also a Belarusian form. In BLK, there are a few possible Ukrainian words e.g: *mižij* 59b16; *livimi* 73a14.

3.4 Lithuanian

No Lithuanian features in this manuscript, nor in other Tatar manuscripts studied to date by this author.

III.4 Morphological Characteristics of Slav Vocabulary

Note that in this section only the unusual, alternative (e.g. dialectal) or historically noteworthy endings that occur in BLK are discussed.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ Antonovič, *Belorusskije teksty*: 26-30; cf. Muchlinskij, 'Izsledovanije': 141; Aleksandrovič: 77; Fleischer: 451, note 3.

²⁸⁵ For a detailed survey of BR morphology see *Narysy*; for a general overview of features found in Tatar writings, Suter: 240-369.

III.4.1 Nouns

III.4.1.1 Vocative Singular

Frequently used in BLK. Not typical of modern literary Belarusian, but current in Polish. Two endings are found in BLK, *-e* and *-u*:

-e: Adame 74a1; Bože 31b10; brace 108a16; chalope 33b15; čeleveče 125b13; Ibrahime 8b2; ojče 42a7; praroče 36a5-6; sine 42a10; Šulejmane 116a9; šejtane 64a5;

-u: Džebra'ilu 65b10-11; haspadaru 32a22; Muchemmedu 9b19; sinku 42a7; tevarišu 91b2; Užeiru 27a6.

III.4.1.2 Instrumental Singular Feminine

Short form *-aj* more common in BLK than long form *-aju*, though two forms often found in close juxtaposition:

-aj: z laskaj božaj 13a6; za volaj božej 27a11;

-aju: Pan Boh žemlu i nebu mocaju Svajeju budže džeržac 18b14-15; Bože naš laskaju Svajeju učini nad nenznaju chalopjeju 25a1-2;

-aj/-aju: Ti mene velikašceju i dobrašcaj vipravac iz hrechov 31b10-11.

III.4.1.3 Prepositional Singular

In MBR the effects of second palatalization are preserved in this case and likewise in BLK:

na darože 40a11; na bereže 98a1; u pavaže 123b14-15; v ... rucce 21a16; v naucce 59b6.

The doubling of [c] in this position (see the last two citations) is curious, but it is not restricted to this manuscript; Stankievič notes the same phenomenon.²⁸⁶ The doubling effect is also found in some other contexts: cf. *ukrucce* (P *wkrótce*) 68a6. In this example the doubling is caused by regressive assimilation; perhaps this feature was felt to have been in some way representative of the prepositional singular and was therefore extended by analogy to other phonetic contexts.

III.4.1.4 Nominative Plural Masculine

Usually formed with *-y/-i*, as in MBR. However, nominative plurals of animate nouns are often marked by *-ove*, as in OBR (16th-17th centuries)

²⁸⁶Stankievič, *Mova rukapisu*: 82.

and in Polish.²⁸⁷

panove 19b14; cesarove 21a6; staražove 22b2.88.

III.4.2 Adjectives

III.4.2.1 Nominative Singular Masculine

Long form *-ij* is far more common in BLK than short form *-i*. Latter is typical of standard MBR, but long form is characteristic of SW dialects.²⁸⁸

adžinij 28a6; astatnij 18b22; čistij 8a20; dužij 74a22; kafirškij 71b1; mušulmansškij 117b20; pobožnij 124a9; ustidlivij 63b4; židovškij 71b1.

III.4.2.3 Genitive Singular Masculine

Ending *-aho*, typical of the SW BR dialects,²⁸⁹ is far more common in BLK than standard literary MBR form *-aha*:

chmelnaho 66b18; dobroho 10b24; izhiblaho 60a10; kurannaho 49b18; levaho 61b15; nečistaho 56a6; smačnahho 32a11; sudnahho 91b5; šejtanskahho 66a20; takovahho 48b14; živahho 59a12.

However, in BLK the form *-aha/-oha* is also found occasionally, usually with end-stressed adjectives:

švetohho 82a18; darahohho 101a18; adžinahho 57a12; razumnahho 25a19.

III.4.2.4 Accusative Singular Feminine

Most usual ending in BLK is *-uju*, as in standard MBR. The form *-aju*, found in some of the SW BR dialects, occasionally occurs in BLK as an alternative to *-uju* (though in other Tatar manuscripts it is reportedly more common):²⁹⁰

halavu ... pavolbonaju 13a12; pravdživaju darohu 13a14 (but cf. pravdživuju darohu 13a8).

III.4.2.5 Instrumental Singular Feminine

Long form *-aju/-oju* and short form *-aj/-oj* are found in free alternation:

²⁸⁷ Cf 1529 Lithuanian Statute; ending [-ow'e/-ew'e] is less common than [-y/-i] and, as in BLK, used mainly for Polish animate nouns (Alt: 209-11, 445-48.)

²⁸⁸ DABM: map 111; cf. Alt: 265-67.

²⁸⁹ DABM: map 139; cf. Alt: 268-69.

²⁹⁰ Bielič: 26.

laskaju Svajeju 25a1; za svajoj nevernašceju 24a5.

III.4.2.6 Possessive Adjectives

Possessive adjectives in BLK reflect declensional patterns of standard BR, except for the masculine singular genitive, which is found in three forms: *-ajho* (standard BR); *-aho* (Hrodna dialect); *-ajeho* (also Hrodna region dialect):²⁹¹

svajho 61b2; maho 25a21; tvaho 34a18; svajeho 109b6.

Note that full vowel [i] is represented by $\text{ɣ} + \textit{kesre}$ [-ji-]; 'short i' is represented by ɣ alone.

svajim (BR *svaim*) 47b24; svajich 16b16; majimi 27a17; cf. majmu (BR *majmu*) 108b15.

III.4.2.7 Superlative Degree of Adjectives

Usual form of superlative degree in BLK is with prefix *naj-/na-*:

nabolej 49b15; nacherošije 61a10; najlepšij 38a10; namnejšuju 7b2; napatrebnejšije 57a21; najviššaje 39a14.

Comparative form *-šij* is also sometimes used in a superlative sense (cf. OR and R usage). In standard MBR *samy* 'the most' normally conveys this meaning; this usage is not found in BLK:

Ja Boh vadomši 34b22; nad viššimi viššaho Stvaricela 34b18.

III.4.3 Verbs

III.4.3.1 Third Person Singular of First Conjugation Verbs

As in standard MBR, the ending is *-e*:

reče 92a4; piše 30a17; budže 39b4; prijme 45a1; zajdže 17a10.

III.4.3.2 Reflexive Verbs

Reflexive particles in BLK are represented by *-še/-ša* and *-cca* (last form marked by ɣ surmounted by *shedde*):

-še/ša (cf. BR *-sia*): bajuše 42b10; palecajuša 44a1; klaneciše 46b23; adposnikajemše 85a23; addalajceše 71a7; ustidajceše 68b17; naradživše 74a19; klanevše 47a1;

-cca: zaplacicca 45b8; džejecca 25a21; klanejucca 51a7; pišucca 25a13; ačišicca 71a3.

²⁹¹ DABM: map 139.

III.4.3.3 Future Tense

Usually formed with *bic* + infinitive, as in standard MBR, but *mec* is used occasionally to convey this sense:

maješ umerci 125b20; maješ učinic 51a16; što bi mev ... umerci 70a1.

A formation with *-me-* is also found sometimes:

mečimeš 54b8; činicime 54b9; kenacime 49b4.

The forms *mec* + infinitive and *-me-* are dialectal.²⁹²

III.4.3.4 Infinitive Forms

Standard MBR forms generally used in BLK except for reflexive verbs, where *-ciše* is often preferred to *-cca*:

biciše 55a8; žaniciše zachočuc 37b10; abrakaciše 81a10; zebraciše 42b1; budžece klaneciše 46b23.

III.5 Ottoman Turkish Loanwords

III.5.1 Phonetic/Graphic Characteristics: General

By the mid-sixteenth century, the period when the Tatars were beginning to translate their religious works into Belarusian and/or Polish, and hence beginning to use Islamic words in Slav contexts, Ottoman Turkish, the language which appears to have served as their immediate source, contained a large number of Arabic and Persian loans.²⁹³ These had been completely assimilated phonologically and morphologically and in some cases had undergone semantic changes. Many such words belong to the religious sphere and were in turn borrowed by the Tatars. In this study these words will be referred to as Ottoman Turkish, whatever their original etymological derivation, since they bear the clear semantic and phonological imprint of that language. It is not clear how the Tatars pronounced this loan vocabulary at the time when BLK and similar manuscripts were transcribed. As discussed above, in Slav-language texts the Arabic script was used phonetically. It is possible that they adhered to the same graphic/orthographic conventions in the reading of the loanwords.²⁹⁴ However, it is conceivable that they understood the

²⁹² DABM: map 166.

²⁹³ *Fundamenta*: 216-17.

²⁹⁴ It is, of course, not possible to be sure exactly how the Turks pronounced such words. Seventeenth and eighteenth-century transcriptions in the Latin script (e.g. Meninsky,

orthography of some (or all?) such terms as the symbolic representation of a sacred tradition and therefore not subject to the same phonetic logic as that was used in the reading of Slav words.

Woronowicz's transcriptions in the Latin script give some indication of how the loanwords were pronounced in more recent times.²⁹⁵ Unfortunately, his transcriptions are not easy to evaluate. Firstly, he gives no key to his system of transcription, so it is not always clear exactly what sound he is trying to convey. Secondly, when he gives a number of alternatives, some showing palatalization, for example, and others not, he does not explain whether one is a literary rendering and the other a colloquial form, or whether both were colloquial forms, or indeed if there is any significance at all in the alternation. Thirdly, his knowledge of Arabic tends to lead him into giving 'correct' forms. Despite its shortcomings, however, Woronowicz's work is an important source of information and gives a unique insight into Tatar pronunciation.

The principal phonetic/graphic features in the orthography of Ottoman (Arabic, Persian) loanwords in BLK are discussed below. Words in capital letters refer to entries in PART IV.

III. 5.1.1 Confusion of *elif* and *fetħe*

In BLK *fetħe* [e] is sometimes found in positions in which standard Ottoman orthography has *elif* [a] but Turkish pronunciation shows [e]. Compare **KEF** كَف 'twenty-second letter' with Ott (A) كَان [T kef]. Equally, in BLK *elif* sometimes occurs in positions in which 'correct orthography' requires *fetħe*, though pronounced in Turkish as [a], e.g. نَمَاز [T namaz] 'prayer'. Possibly the Tatars pronounced a word such as this literally, e.g. [nemaž], but 'mistakes' with *elif* in this position indicate that it might have been pronounced, as in Turkish, with [a]. Compare:

CHADŽDŽ/CHEDŽDŽ, CHERAM/CHARAM, CHETAR, 'EREFÉ/
ARAFE, FERZ/FARZ, KÉ'BE/KÁBE, NEMAŽ/NAMAŽ, SEDEKE/
SADAKA, SEF/SAF, ŠEHID/ŠAHID, REMEZAN/RAMEZAN.

Thesaurus, Clodius, *Compendium* provide invaluable guides, but are necessarily subjective. However, it is interesting to note that in some words which today have [a], derived from an Arabic short [a], Clodius indicates a sound more akin (presumably) to that used by these Tatars: [færz, šærab, çætib, kælem]; cf. modern Turkish *farz, şarab, hatip, kalem*; TBR *ferz, šerab, çetib, kelem*.

²⁹⁵ Woronowicz, 'Szczatki': 376-94.

Exceptions in BLK are: CHETIB (T *hatib*); 'EŠURE (T *ašure*).

III.5.1.2 Confusion of symbols for long and short vowels

There was no phonemic difference for the Tatars between long and short vowels and this is particularly evident in transcriptions of [i], which show vowel point *kesre* used in free alternation with ي, while in conventional Ottoman/Arabic orthography these symbols represent short and long [i] respectively; see, for example:

DŽEBRA 'IL جِبْرَانِيلُ / جِبْرَانِلْ; IMAN اِيْمَانُ / اِيْمَانْ; TEFŠİR / تَفْسِيرُ.

III.5.1.3 Word-final *hemze* and 'ayn represented by [i] or [e]

In Ottoman orthography, word-finally these symbols were voiceless, but 'ayn sometimes indicated a lengthening of the final vowel. In Tatar texts these symbols have no independent phonetic value but word-finally they are often 'strengthened' by the addition of vowel points *fetħe* [e] or *kesre* [i]; cf. BLK دُعَاء; Ott/A دُعَاء [dua]. This was probably a graphic device, not reflected in the pronunciation: See:

DU 'A 'I; FEŽI 'E/FEŽA 'I; REFE 'E; RUKE 'E/REKE 'I; ŽERI 'E.

III.5.1.4 Substitution of word-final *fetħe* for Ott ة (< A ة)

In the Ottoman alphabet letter ة (from A ة), when used word-finally, was usually pronounced [a/e]. In BLK, it is consistently replaced by *fetħe* [e] in this position: cf. BLK سَجْدَة (sedžde); Ott سجده; A سجدة. See:

ANTAĀIJE; AŽINE; BEKERE; CHUTBE; DIVANE; DŽENAŽE/
DŽINAŽE; DŽUM 'E; 'EREFE/ARAFE; 'EŠURE; FAĆICHE;
FITRE; GERGERE; HAVIJE; ĀE 'BE/ĀBE; MEĀĀE; MEDINE;
NAFILE; NA 'URE; NEFCHE/NEFECHE; SE 'IKE; ŠEDŽDE; (DO-
/ĀIHAR-/JEK-/JENĀI-/ŠE-)ŠENBE; ŀEVBE; ŽI AL-CHEDŽDŽE.

Exceptions in BLK are FATMA and CHADIĀA (always with final *elif*) and 'EJŠE (sometimes with final *elif*, sometimes with *fetħe*).

III.5.1.5 Preservation of word-final Ottoman ت (< A ة)

Arabic feminine ending ة [ah/h], *tā' tarbuta*, is reflected as ت [t] in some Ottoman (and Persian) words.²⁹⁶ The Tatars followed Ottoman usage in orthography (and in pronunciation, according to Woronowicz), thus:

²⁹⁶ For phonological adaptation of Arabic words in Turkish see Schaade: 449-60; also Bittner: esp. 91-119.

BLK سُنَّة; RT *siunniet*; Ott سنت [sünnēt]; A سنة [sunnah]. See:
AJEĆ; CHIKAJEĆ; DŽEME'ET'; 'EMANAĆ; NIJEĆ; REKE'ET';
ŠERIJEĆ; ŠUNNET'; ŠERBEĆ; TEVRIT'; UMMET'; ŽEKOĆ.

III.5.1.6 Treatment of Arabic initial [a]

Arabic initial [a] occasionally becomes [e] in Turkish pronunciation, likewise in languages that borrowed such words from Turkish (e.g. Serbo-Croat). Ottoman orthography, however, preserved the Arabic spelling and thus maintained letter *elif* [a] in this position. There are two words in BLK in which 'correct' spelling is preserved, but Woronowicz suggests that the literal pronunciation was used in only one of them:²⁹⁷

AŽAN: RT *azan*; T, SCr, Rum *ezan*; but NB AVLIIJA: cf. RT *ewlija*;
T *evliya* (SCr *evlija*).

III.5.1.7 Substitution of [e] for [i] after [m]

This development is not found in Turkish loanwords from Arabic, or in languages that have borrowed these words via Turkish. However, it occurs consistently in BLK in two words:

ME'RADŽ (T *mirac*), DŽEME'ET' (T *cemiyet*, SCr *džemijet*).

III.5.1.8 Substitution of [e] for [u] after palatalized [š]

This feature occurs in BLK in two Turkish di-syllabic words derived from Arabic monosyllables, though in both cases alternative forms with [u] are also found. The alternation [e/u] is not found in standard Turkish or in languages that have borrowed such words via Turkish. Compare:

GUŠEL/-ŠUL (cf. T *gusül*, SCr *gusul*); MUŠEL-/MUŠULMANIN
(cf. T *müslüman*, *müsliman*; SCr *musliman*, Alb *müsülman*; Bul
mjuslimanin, *mjusjulmanin*; H *mu(s)zulman*; Mac *musulman*).

A similar development is found in RUKE'E (cf. T *rükû*; SCr *ruku*), but this form was probably influenced by REKE'ET'.

III.5.1.9 Development of word-final [-i] to [-ej]

This feature, typical of the East Slav treatment of the Turkic suffix *-ti* or *-ci*, occurs frequently in BLK, although alternative forms preserving final *-i* are usually found too. Other languages that have borrowed such words from Turkish generally retain *-i*:

²⁹⁷ Woronowicz, 'Szczatki'.

AŽANČEJ/AŽANČI (cf. Tat *azanči*); CHADŽDŽEJ/CHADŽDŽI (cf. T *haci*; B, SCr *hadžija*, Alb *hadži*, H *hads*i, Rum *hadziü*).

In BLK this feature is sometimes found by analogy in other words:

DŽINEJ (T/A *cinni*); FER EJ (T/Per *peri*); MUFTEJ (T/A *müfti*).

III.5.1.10 Confusion of ظ and ض

In Tatar transcription, both letters represented hard [z]. However, in BLK ظ is used even where standard orthography requires ض; only two words in which ض is found (see below – here transcribed as z). In Ottoman Turkish this letter was usually pronounced [z], but in some words it represented [d]. It is not clear whether the Tatars followed this usage in loanwords. See:

FERZ; REMEZAN; RIZVAN; ZAZ; ZERI'E.

III.5.1.11 Confusion of خ and ح

In Tatar transcription, both letters could represent either hard or soft [ch], but in BLK there is a strong preference for ح; the letter خ is rare, even where required by the 'correct' orthography. By contrast, in Ottoman (and Persian) usage the sound [ch] is usually represented by خ, while ح (representing a 'harshly aspirated sound') is found mainly in words of Arabic origin loanwords.²⁹⁸ See:

ACHŠAM; BECHČI; CHEJJIZ; CHEMRI; CHETAR; CHETIB; CHEŤIM; CHUTBE; NEFCHE; ŠEJCH.

III.5.1.12 Confusion of ث and س

In BLK both letters represent non-palatalized [s/š]. There is a preference for ث but even in loanwords it is often used interchangeably with س. By contrast, in Ottoman the letter س was more common; ث was found only in Arabic words.²⁹⁹ See:

'ABDEŠ / 'ABDEŠ; NIFAŠ/NIFAŠ.

III.5.1.13 Use of letter ذ [z]

Rare in BLK. As in Ottoman, it is used only in a few loanwords. See:

AŽAN; AŽINE; ŽIKIR.

²⁹⁸ Redhouse, *Simplified Grammar*: 36.

²⁹⁹ *ibid*: 35.

III.5.1.14 Treatment of Arabic monosyllabic words

Arabic monosyllabic words frequently became di-syllabic in Turkish (and in languages that borrowed such words via Turkish); this feature is reflected in BLK. See:

GUŞEL/-UL; MEŞICH; MISIR.

III.5.1.15 Preservation of for Arabic double consonants (*shedde*)

Arabic double consonants were not usually marked in the Ottoman script but are generally preserved in pronunciation. In BLK they are almost always marked in the orthography by use of symbol *shedde*, but it is not clear whether or not they were pronounced. See:

A'ÁTECHIJA'ÁTU; CHADŹDŹ; CHEJJIZ; DEDŹDŹAL/
DADŹDŹAL; ME'ÁKE; MEJJÍ; MUCHERREM; MUKEDDÍŠ;
NIJJE'Á; SIDDIK; ŠUNNE'Á; ÁTEJEMMEM; UMME'Á; ŽI AL-
CHEDŹDŹE.

In a few words *shedde* is **consistently omitted**. See:

SEF/SAF; MU'EŽIN; occasionally forms with and without *shedde* occur, but the latter predominate; e.g. 'EB-/ABAŠOV (from *Abbas*).

Note also a few cases of '**hyper-correction**', when a single consonant is regularly shown as double (with *shedde*), possibly reflecting early errors:

BE'ÁKIR (*Bakr*); 'UMMER; CHUŠEJJIN.

III.5.1.16 Preservation of Arabic article *al-*

The 'frozen' Arabic definite article is preserved (sometimes phonetically, showing elision) with the names of some suras and prayers, also the names of holy places, See:

AL-CHEMDU; AL-RRECHMENU; A'ÁTECHIJA'ÁTU; LEVCHI AL-
MECHFUZU; BEJ'ÁTU AL-MUKEDDÍŠU.

However, it is not used with the names of any of the holy books (cf. standard BR, P *alkoran*). It is also not used with the following suras:

BEKERE, DŹUM'E'ÁI; FA'ÁICHE.

III.5.1.17 Preservation of 'frozen' Arabic inflectional endings

Arabic nominal [u] and genitive [i] inflections are 'frozen' in a few expressions in BLK orthography; whether or not they were actually pronounced is not clear. The 'survival' of Arabic nominal [u] was possibly motivated by the fact that it coincides with Slav prepositional

singular ending -u; it is often found in expressions requiring that case:³⁰⁰

BEJ'Ū AL-MUKEDDĪŠU/BEJ'Ū AL-MUKEDDĪŠU; LEVCHI AL-MECHFUZU; ME'MURU; ŠIDRE'Ū AL-MUN'ŪTEHA.

III.5.1.18 Preservation of *elifi maqsure*

Long final [a] in Arabic words is represented by *ى* (*elif maqsūra*); in the Ottoman script, *elifi maqsure*, usually written as *ى*, was preserved in words with a religious significance. The same practice was continued by the Tatars, especially in the spelling of names of scriptural figures. See:

'ĪSA (Jesus) عيسى; MUŠA (Moses) موسى.³⁰¹

III.5.1.19 Substitution of ف [f] for پ [p]

This feature occurs in BLK in some loanwords from Ottoman (Persian); cf. FERĒJ/FARĪ فاري / فاري from Ott (Per) پری, T *peri*; SUFRĀ صُفْرَا 'a thirtieth part of the Quran' from Ott (Per) *siyārah* سیپاره. (Note that in substandard Turkish, also recorded in RT, the substitution of [p] for [f] is not uncommon; cf. Ott (A) تفسیر, RT: *tefsir*, *tepsir*).

III.5.1.20 Substitution of ح for ق / ك

Substitution of fricative [ch] for plosive [k] is characteristic of several Turkish (Turkic) provincial dialects.³⁰² It is also found in a few words in BLK, but whereas in the Ottoman script this feature is recorded with خ, in BLK letter ح is preferred (see above III.5.1.11). Cf ACHSAM, standard Turkish *akşam* آقشام, dial. *aḥşam* اخشام.

III.5.1.21 Three oddities

There are three loanwords, all of Turkic (i.e. not Arabic or Persian) origin, which are treated in a way that is unique to the Tatars. Two might be the result of early mis-spellings of Ottoman forms, which were then pronounced literally; the third might reflect a characteristic feature of Tatar pronunciation, but the evidence is slight.

ĀKINDE/-DI: 'second'(prayer); derived from OT *ekinti*. In Ottoman this word was written ايكندی [ikindi]. This is the form that is found in

³⁰⁰ See analogous forms in Woronowicz, 'Szczaŭki'.

³⁰¹ Antonovič, *Belorusskije teksty*: 288, notes this feature, but without context.

³⁰² See Caferoğlu, *Anadolu ağızlarından; id, Sivas ağızlarından*; also Redhouse, *Simplified Grammar*: 36-37; *Fundamenta*, I: 251.

modern Turkish; Slav languages that have borrowed the word from Turkish also have *iki-* (cf. SC, B *ikindija*). In BLK and other Tatar texts, *ي* has been lost after *elif* in the first syllable; word-finally *ي* has been replaced by *kesre* or, more often, by *fethə*: اِكْنُو/اِكْنَدْ. According to the conventions of the Tatar system of transliteration, these forms would be read as [akinde/i]; this is corroborated by Woronowicz.

AVLE: 'noon'(prayer); derived from OT *ödleg* (recorded by Kaşgari). Ottoman form was written او يله; modern Turkish *öğle* [öjle]. In BLK and other Tatar texts, *ي* has again been lost; word-finally *ه* is replaced, as usual, by *fethə*: اَوْلْ. For the Tatars, a literal reading would give [avle]; again, this pronunciation is corroborated by Woronowicz.

JEŤCI: ('evening'prayer) يَتَّجِر . Ottoman ياتسى; modern Turkish *yatsi* (cf. T *yat-* 'to go to bed'). The change [a>e] in BLK is odd; it is possible that it was motivated by regressive assimilation following [t+s]. This form is not found in other languages that have borrowed this word from Turkish (cf. Mac *jadzija*, SCr *jacija*). However, the substitution of [e] for [a] in the stressed first syllable of a di-syllabic word is very occasionally found in Slav words in BLK and may reflect a feature of Tatar pronunciation (see III.2.1.4).³⁰³

III.5.2 Morphological Adaptation of Ottoman Turkish Words

The Slav languages are highly inflected, hence in order to be fully assimilated, it was necessary for the Ottoman loanwords to be incorporated into the Slav morphological system. The phonetic structure of the loanwords accorded well with that of the Slav recipient language(s), hence phonological adaptation was relatively simple. This pattern of integration is found in other languages. As Weinreich comments:

A word which has been transferred from one language into another is itself subject to the interference of the grammatical, as well as the phonic system of the recipient language, especially at the hands of its unilingual speakers ... By far the most usual procedure is the grammatical adaptation of loanwords.³⁰⁴

³⁰³ Etymologies of these three words are given in Clauson: 55-56, 111 respectively; *öğle* is also discussed in Vambery: 63, paragraph 69. See also Mahmud Kaşgari, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk*. For equivalent forms in SCr etc. see Appendix 1 below.

³⁰⁴ Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*: 44. He cites such Polish American forms as *jeden*

III.5.2.1 Nominative Singular

As Weinreich points out, where several classes are potentially open to a loanword, form is the crucial factor in assigning gender to inanimate nouns.³⁰⁵ The majority of loan nouns ended in a consonant and were thus easily assimilated into the BR **masculine declension**:

ACHŠAM, AŽAN, BAJRAM, DŽAHIL, DŽEHENNEM, DŽUNUB, IMAN, KĪTAB, KIJAM, NEMAŽ, SEBACH, ŠEHID, ŠUNNETĪ, VADŽIB.

A few ended in *-a* and were treated as **feminine a-stem nouns**:

FUTA, SEDEKA/SADAKA.

This is analogous to the standard BR treatment of Greek and Latin loans in *-a*; a similar pattern is also found in Russian.³⁰⁶

The noun MEČIC (T *mescit*) was treated in accordance with **feminine i-stem declension** (cf. BR *kość*).³⁰⁷

Words in *-e* were hybrids, treated nominally as **hard stem neuter nouns** (cf. BR *pole*): AĶINDE, AVLE, 'EREFÉ, KÉ'BE, MEKĶÉ.

However, in oblique cases epenthetic [-j-] was inserted between root and declensional suffix and they were treated as *-ej* stem nouns (cf. BR *kraj*):
da avleju 81b5; pered avlejem 71b19; da aķindeju 81b7; po aķindeju 122b17; u Ké'beju 58a9.

A small number of nouns was not declined (or not usually declined); there is no obvious reason why they should not have been grammatically assimilated: DU'A'I, GERGERE, JEŤCI.

III.5.2.3 Vocative Singular

Vocative case of loan nouns, as for Slav nouns, formed with *-e* and *-u*:
šejtane 63b18; Ibrahime 8b2; i Išrafilu 98a5; i Muchemmedu 9b19.

z butlegerów 'one of the bootleggers' and *rokińczerować* 'to rock in a rocking-chair', which illustrate exactly the same process of assimilation as can be observed in the treatment of the Turkish words used by the Tatars.

³⁰⁵ *ibid*: 45.

³⁰⁶ Stankievič (A.), 'Marfałahičnaje asvajeńnie hrecyzmaŭ i łacinizmaŭ': 190-201; for an analogous process in Russian, see Hüttl Worth: 31.

³⁰⁷ For a survey of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century declensional patterns in Belarusian see Žydovič, 'Da historyi skłanieńnia nazoŭnikaŭ': 3-30; also Alt, for a study of the forms used in the Lithuanian Statute of 1529.

III.5.2.4 Genitive Singular

Masculine and neuter loan nouns in BLK generally take either *-u* or *-a*, but strong preference for *-u*, as in OBR (16th-17th centuries):

-u: bez ažanu 82a3; da akindeju 81b7; da avleju 81b5; pošle džunubu 71b4; da chadždžu 35b14; pošle chejjizu 70b12; da imanu 13a6; da me'radžu 90b9; s ... Kītabu 121a9; pošle nifašu 71b4-5; pošle nemažu 45b6; pošle farzu 81b4; da sebachu 40b21; da šedždeju 74b17; vachtu ne apuščaje 75a18;

-a: bliska imama 47a7; mejjīta 60b2; mucherrema mešeca 43b9; redžeba 43b3; pošle remezana 44a23; ad šejtana 23b13.

Exceptionally, in a few words *-u* and *-a* endings in free alternation:

preciv kurban bajrama 43b8; preciv kurban bajramu 43a23; da Išrafilu 98a2; u Išrafila 29a14-15.

Feminine -a/i stem nouns form gen. sg. with *-i*:

bez futi 63b2; da mečici 10b16.

III.5.2.5 Prepositional Singular

Masculine and neuter loan nouns generally take either *-u* or *-e*, but ending *-e* used mostly after labials [b] and [m]. Noteworthy that in OBR (16th-17th centuries) ending *-u* more common:

-u: po akindeju 122b17; u ažanu 82b20; u 'ebdešu 55b6; u chadždžu 99b11; u adnom chedišu 80b18; u Indžilu 8b24; u me'radžu 102b8; u reke'ētu 30a14; pa sebachu 8a6; u šedždeju 10a15; u 'Évriřtu 8b24;

-e: pa bajrame 42b18; u džunube 71b9; a nemaže 20b11; u kijame 74b18; na michrabe 85a21; pa ramezane 44b3; pa šelame 60a19; u Kurane 45a22.

Exceptionally, a few words occur with both *-u* and *-e* endings:

u imane 84b2-3; a imanu 20b11; u ferze 80a13; u ferzu 81a20.

Feminine -i stem nouns is form prep. sg. with *-i*:

u mečici 74b13.

III.5.2.6 Nominative plural

Nominative plural of **animate masculine** loan nouns is formed with *-ove*, as in Polish, and in sixteenth/seventeenth-century Belarusian:

muhadžirove 21a3; šahidove 23a16; šejchove 64b1; sechabejove 18b4; ažančejove 83a17-18.

In most other cases the nominative plural is formed with *-i*:

kurbani 45a16; ajeći 8a17; churfi 31a18; hetije šureji 7b13; mečici 15a17.

Nominative plural of *ĀKAFIRIN* is *ĀKAFIRE* (cf. BR *minčanin, minčane*).

III.5.2.7 Genitive plural

Masculine and neuter loan nouns take endings *-av/-ov/-ev*:

jakvele nemažev 58b11; kurbanav ne rezavši 45b3; precivku bajramav 44b17; jakvele fitrejev 58b12; učonich muftejev 68b1; vedlug... džinejav 43a13; šurejev 119b12.

Genitive plural of **feminine -i stem nouns** is formed with *-ej*:

da mečicej 31b7.

III.5.2.8 Instrumental plural

As in MBR, generally formed with *-ami*, but occasionally also with *-mi*:

šehidami 20b23; siddikami 20b22; sechabejami 108b21; kafirmi 108b11.

III.6 Lexical Extension of Ottoman Turkish Words

Loanwords from the Turkic languages were not uncommon in Old Belarusian. Some had been inherited from Common Slav.³⁰⁸ Later, from the 12th century onwards, contact with the Golden Horde introduced new terms, particularly in the spheres of warfare, trade and administration. After the Union between the Grand Duchy and Poland (1569), Ottoman Turkish and Tatar words continued to be absorbed into Belarusian, but mainly through the intermedium of Polish.³⁰⁹ Many of these Turkic imports proved to be both tenacious and productive. They and the derivatives of such terms have survived into the modern language. The majority of the Turkic loans in OBR were nouns. Adjectives were formed by adding Slav morphemes *-sk-*, *-k-*, *-ov-*, *-in-* and *-n-*; verbs were formed with suffixes *-ovati* and *-iti*; new nominal forms with *-stvo*, *-nik*, *-čik*, *-in* and *-ar*.³¹⁰ The Tatar borrowings from Ottoman Turkish exhibit a pattern

³⁰⁸This was also the case in other Slav languages; see Miklosich, 'Die türkischen Elemente'; also Sreznevskij, *Materialy*.

³⁰⁹Butyka, 'Osvojenie starobeloruskim jazykom tjurkizmov': 97-110.

³¹⁰See Baskakov (ed.), *Tjurkizmy: Žuravskij*, 'Leksika tjurkskogo proischoždenija': 79-97; Suprun, 'K izučeniju tjurkizmov': 61-79; Arakin, 'Tjurkskije leksičeskije elementy': 112-48.

of lexical extension similar to that of the Turkic loans found in the standard language. Nearly all the loanwords adopted by the Tatars were nouns. Derivatives were formed with standard Slav suffixes. In BLK the most typical derivations were adjectives formed from common nouns.

III.6.1 Adjectives derived from common nouns formed with *-n-*

This is the most usual type of adjectival formation in BLK:

ABDEŠNIJ, ACHŠAMNIJ, AVLEJNIJ, AŽANNIJ (general term), BAJRAMNIJ, CHELALNIJ, CHERAMNIJ, IMANNIJ (only used with *palec* 'finger'), JETCEJNIJ. KĚ'BEJNI(J), KURANNIJ (used synonymously with KURANNOVIJ; see below), MEČITNIJ, NEMAŽNIJ, REMEZANNIJ, SELEVAŤNIJ.

III.6.2 Adjectives derived from proper nouns formed with *-ski*

Usual way of forming descriptive adjectives in BLK from place names or groups of people:

ADAMSĀIJ, ANTAĀIJSĀIJ, DZAHILSĀIJ, ĀAFIRSĀIJ, IMAMSĀIJ, IŠLAMSĀIJ, MEDINEJSĀIJ, MEĀĀEJSĀIJ, MUŠEL/MUŠULMANSĀIJ, UMMEĀĀIJ, SEJTANSĀIJ.

III.6.3 Possessive adjectives formed with *-ov(ij)*

AŽANOV (rare; cf. AŽANNIJ), CHEŠENOV, CHUŠEJINAV 'EEFEV, 'ERŠOVIJ, DŽEBRA'ILOV(IJ), 'ELEJEV, 'EZRA'ILOV, FERĒ'ONOVIJ, GAZIJOV, IMANOV (general term; cf. IMANNIJ above), IŠMA'ILOV, IŠRA'FILOVIJ, JE'KUBEV, JUŠUFOVIJ, KURANNOV(IJ), KUREJŠOV, MUCHEMMEDOV, NUHAV, 'UMMERAV.

See also possessive constructions from personal names:

ABU TALIBOV (son of Talib), 'EBAŠOV SIN (son of Abbas), 'EBDULLAH SIN MEŠ'UDEV (Abdullah, son of Mesud).

III.6.4 Possessive adjectives from personal names formed with *-in*

This adjectival formation is rare in BLK: MERJEMIN, MUŠIN.

III.6.5 Abstract nouns formed with *-stvo*

IMAMSTVO, GAZEJSTVO. Note: This formation is rare in BLK.

III.6.6 Feminine nominal forms formed with suffixes *-ka* and *-ova*

Both types of formations very rare in BLK:

MUŠEL-/MUŠULMANKA, ŽAHIDKA, ŽAHIDOVA.

III.6.7 Singulative suffix *-in* affixed to Turkish (A) nominal root

DŽAHILIN, ĀAFIRIN, MUŠEL/MUŠULMANIN, MEL‘UNIN.

III.6.8 Suffixes *-ec* and *-an* denoting affiliation affixed to nouns

Only two examples in BLK: KUREJŠAN, MEDINEJEC.

NB Woronowicz cites some adjectival forms that do not occur in BLK (e.g. *bajramowy*, *bereatova*). Also, no verbal derivatives are found in BLK, although Woronowicz cites the following forms: (*po*)*sunnieci*, (*po*)*azanić*, *zaharemić*, *guslować się*, *poguslić się*, *zguslować się*.³¹¹ Equally, however, Woronowicz does not include all the words and derived forms found in BLK. Only a detailed study of all available Tatar manuscripts will show how representative is the vocabulary of BLK.

III.7 Syntactic Integration of Ottoman Turkish Loanwords

Loanwords in BLK were usually fully integrated into Slav syntactic structure by means of a number of different constructions.

III.7.1 Slav adjectives with Ottoman nouns

Kuran поваžnij 7a14; chediš pravdživij 81a6; rannij nemaž 58a5; prarockam me‘radžu 87a5; kažnij nemaž 31b8; sedžde adno 77b7.

III.7.2 Adjectives from Ottoman lexemes with Slav nouns

avlejnij čas 124a19; bajramnich ludžej 42b22; bajramni mešec 40a5; namešnik mušelmanskij 13b21; post remezanni 41a23-24; ummečkih ahrechov 100a10; tehternim palcem 72a2; zvičaj džahilškij 71b1; selevatneje spašenje 97b3; nemažnije uše pastupki 116b12-13.

III.7.3 Adjectives from Ottoman lexemes with Ottoman nouns

pošle nemažu bajramnaho 45b6; dva reke‘eti sebach a šešc avlejnich 81b20; rižku chelalnaho 33b6.

III.7.4 Ottoman noun used with explanatory Slav doublet

abroki sedeku ne davavši 42b2; žekašem džešecinaju 41b9; suchufuv

³¹¹ Woronowicz, ‘Szczatki’.

žvitkav 54a4; řevbe kajetu 117b22; sirat most 20b6 (cf. T *sirat köprüsü*, which is also tautological); pavinnař ferz dovĥ jest 56a12.

III.7.5 One Ottoman noun qualifying another (cf. Turkish *izafet*)

sebach nemař (cf. T *sabah namazı*) 58a20; avle vacht 26b21; jeřci nemař 48a5; kuřlug nemař 64b12.

III.7.6 Same construction with Ottoman noun and Slav noun

arafe dřen (cf. T *arefe günü*) 48b18; kedir noř (cf. T *Kadir Gecesi*) 40b23.

III.7.7 Compound verbs formed with Ottoman nouns and Slav verbs

Mainly formed with terms referring to praying and other ritual actions:

PEC, KLANECCA, řINIC, BRAC/UřAC, PSAVAC; for example:

selevař pej 80b9; namař klanevře 31a2-3; chutbe peje 123b13; nijjeř uřiniv 100a4; abdeř uřavři 72a11; guřul ořme 71a10.

III.8 Contents of the British Library Kitab

III.8.1 Overview

The contents of BLK are similar to those listed by Szyrkiewicz, describing a kitab dated 1792, but the order of the items is different.³¹²

Miřkinene gives a transcription of folios 41a-76 of the Kazan kitab (KU1446); Antonoviř dated this manuscript to the 17th century.

Interestingly, in the extract published by Miřkinene there is very little similarity to BLK other than the occurrence of a few common phrases.

The story of *Muhammad's Dialogue with Satan* is found in both manuscripts (BLK 64a-65b), but in substantially different versions.³¹³

Stankieviř gives transcriptions of the *Me'radř* and of the *Death of Muhammed* from the Luckieviř kitab (which he dated to the 16th century, Antonoviř to the 18th century)³¹⁴ which are fairly similar to BLK (respectively ff 86b-102b, 107b-108b).

There is great thematic variety in BLK, but a striking lack of continuity. Some subjects are discussed for a few lines and then abandoned, while others recur time and time again. Notes in the margin

³¹² Szyrkiewicz, 'O kitabie':188-94.

³¹³ Miřkinene: 109-49. Antonoviř, *Belorusskije teksty*: 120-31.

³¹⁴ Stankieviř: *Bielaruskija musulmanie*; Antonoviř, *Belorusskije teksty*: 50-57.

often bear little direct relevance to the topics covered on that particular page. The work flows on from one subject to another, without an obvious logic to the order of the texts. There is a certain degree of thematic repetition as the same topic may be developed in a similar (though not identical) fashion over several different pages. Some sections seem to have been inserted almost at random, with no introductory phrases or words. Some sections, however, are distinguished by the use of *bab* (Ott/Per 'chapter'); less commonly, the terms *chikajet'* (Ott/Per 'story'), or *istorija* (BR/P 'story', 'narrative') are used. Occasionally two or more of these terms are found in combination. See summary of contents below for examples.

There are numerous quotations in Arabic. These are usually taken from the Quran, but sometimes the sayings of the prophets and other authorities are cited. Such passages are rarely more than a single line in length.³¹⁵ The suras that are mentioned most frequently are *Yā Sīn* and *al-Fātiḥa*. The Arabic quotations are generally followed by literal translations into Belarusian and or Polish. Sometimes they introduce new sections. Often, however, they are incorporated within the text to give emphasis and authority to the discourse. Most of the sections are quite short, often no more than a few lines in length. However, there are a few longer narratives. These include the following: the story of Jesus (Isa) sending two prophets to Antioch (11a-13a); the death of Mary (Merjema), the mother of Jesus (85a-86b); the fall of Adam and Eve (103a); and David and the Ox (118a-119a).

The only Turkic text in BLK is the *Mi'rāj* (in List of Contents below see Me'radž, 86b-102b), the story of Muhammad's Miraculous Night Journey to the Heavens. There are three main cycles of this narrative, which is popular throughout the Muslim world (and regarded as factual). The second, which appears to have been the prototype for the BLK version, is attributed to Ibn 'Abbās. However, each cycle has been embellished and embroidered so many times that there are now countless variations. Several are in versified prose.³¹⁶ The version in BLK is partly in verse, as is shown by line structure, but the copyist was apparently not aware of this and line breaks are sometimes random. The Turkic text is

³¹⁵ Jankowski, 'A Polish-Tatar *Zikier*': 405-20 (esp. 406).

³¹⁶ See Palacios: 2-42.

written in horizontal lines. The language is Early Anatolian Turkish or very corrupt Ottoman Turkish; it shows some mixed features (e.g. the genitive suffix of demonstrative pronoun). There is an interlinear translation into Polonized Belarusian, written obliquely, below each line. Vowel points are used in both the Turkic and the Slav versions of this text; this was common practice in Tatar manuscripts, but in a Turkic manuscript suggests an early date (possibly 14th century?). However, some of the letters are formed differently, indicating that separate hands wrote the Turkic and the Slav versions.

III.8.2 Sources

Sources are mentioned occasionally, but mostly references are too vague to provide a guide to the origin of a given text. Frequently, for example, passages are introduced with no indication of the actual location, merely a vague reference to the source of authority:

jak muvi Pan Bug ... (8b18) 'as God said ...'; jak prorok muvil ... (13b4-5) 'as the Prophet said'; u kurane piše ... 'as written in the Quran' (14b23).

Likewise, a particular work might be mentioned, but in vague terms:

u tefsiru Kebiru muvi (15b2) 'it says in the great Tefsir' ; mevlud Kītab, destament Muchemmed (107b9) 'the Mevlud book, Mohammed's last testament' ; u Kītabe Kuduru piše (109b1) 'it is written in the book Kudur'; Bab: to jest s tureckaho Kītabu Abdul Kanju imama na polskij jezik viložona abi ludži pospolita virazumeli (121a9-10) 'Chapter: That is, translated from a Turkish book by Imam Abdul Kanja into Polish so that ordinary people will understand it'.

Similarly, the names of prophets and other (sometimes obscure) authorities are cited, but without references to specific works:

Šejch Abul Mešeh Nuri jednega dna a sudnim dnu povadal ... Šejch Šelbi ... muvil ... Abu Chešen ... muvil (13b14-19); sin Ebašov muvil (22a24); Abu Derde udžačnašc božaj nad nim aznajmuje ... (24b 4); Aniš sin Mališ udžačnašc božaj nad nim muvil ... (33a15). (See IV.3 for names that are most frequently mentioned.)

Some sources appear to be authoritative, but in fact they may not actually have any link to the text in question. Thus, for example, the story of the death of Mary (Merjema), the mother of Jesus (85a-86b), is firmly

ascribed to Veheb sin Munebehev (i.e. Wahb ibn Munabbih), an early eighth-century Muslim scholar.³¹⁷ This narrative has not so far been identified among his known works, but it does bear a strong resemblance to a Rabghuzi text, also to oral versions of this story which could be heard in Xinjiang in the 19th century.³¹⁸

It is noteworthy that, by contrast to the vagueness of the Islamic references, there is a section (103a-106a) which draws on Old Testament sources and here the Biblical references to sources are given in full, citing chapter and verse (see below III.8.4).

III.8.3 Main Topics

Stylistically, BLK is characterised by a preponderance of admonishments and exhortations to observe religious precepts and to perform ritual obligations. Short homiletic stories are sometimes used to illustrate these topics. The themes that occur most frequently are the terrors of the Day of Judgement; the need to live a God-fearing life; the efficacy of the first sura (*al-Fātiḥa*, also popularly known as *al-Ḥamd*); and the perils of indulging in alcohol. The comments on drinking appear to be framed to suit local conditions, for mention is frequently made of alcohol distilled from substances such as millet, barley and wheat, which are indeed commonly used in Belarus. However, this type of alcohol is not confined to Eastern Europe, but is found throughout the Middle East.³¹⁹

The Tatars were Sunni Muslims of the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence,³²⁰ but in BLK the only reference to doctrine is the assertion that Abū Ḥanīfah's teaching is the most reliable, 'because in his teachings there are no mistakes or errors':

Abu Chenife imama nauke jeho pevnejšaje jest bo abmili nemaš a u inšich imamov abmila jest (70a15-16).

There is little religious instruction other than exhortations to avoid evil-doing and to perform the prescribed Islamic rituals. There is no

³¹⁷ *EI*, XI: 34, s.v. *Wahb b. Munabbih*.

³¹⁸ Katanov: 1-44. See Appendix 3 below.

³¹⁹ Lane mentions exactly the same grains, adding that they were popular even with the ancient Egyptians (Lane: 94).

³²⁰ Also the case in Turkey and Central Asia (Tritton: 69).

explanation or discussion of Judaism. All that is said of Christianity is that its adherents have raised Jesus and Mary to divine status. 'The unbelievers say: our God is Jesus and Mary his mother and they call idols their gods and set them on a par with the Lord God':

Kafire muvic: naš boh 'Iša i Merjema matka jeho i balvanov zavuc bahami, Panu Bohu ravnujuc (82b8-9).

Instructions for the performance of rituals are chiefly devoted to the times and observance of the five prescribed daily prayers. There is one brief section on prayers for the burial service. The procedure for the washing of the dead is explained, and parts of the burial ceremony, but there is no guidance as to the way in which the grave should be prepared. Nothing is said of the ceremonies connected with marriage or birth. There is also no mention of circumcision. However, there are several references to the period during which a woman is held to be unclean after the birth of a child (*nifaš*). There is likewise mention of the period of canonical uncleanliness during and after a woman's menstrual discharge (*chejjiz*). The importance of canonically prescribed cleanliness is frequently stressed, and all the accepted forms of ablution are explained (including that which is performed with sand in the absence of water).

There are a few lines on the manner in which the ritual sacrifice of an animal should be performed, but nothing at all is said about ceremonies connected with the annual pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*), although some Tatars did undertake this duty (see II.2.3). The only legal matter that is mentioned in BLK is a single reference to the importance of making a will, underlined by the comment that whoever does not do this will 'die like a dog':

chto bi mev umerci bez dastamentu ... jak sobake zdochne (61b9-10).

There is no mention of such topics as divorce. However, considerable space is devoted to such social duties as the responsibility to care for the aged, for parents, for orphans and for others in want. The need to be generous in the giving of alms is also a recurrent theme. There are no mystical or Sufi texts in BLK,³²¹ but there is an account of some popular

³²¹ See Tarelka and Synovka: 29-53, for a Sufi reference in a chamail.

Muslim superstitions. These include a survey of the days on which particular actions should be performed, for example, the cutting of finger-nails. There is also a brief reference to the efficacy of spells which are written out and then swallowed.³²²

In all parts of the Islamic world the Arabic script is treated with special respect as the medium in which the holy Quran was recorded.³²³ Among the Tatars, this extends to a preoccupation with the frequency with which letters are used. Thus, whole sections in BLK are devoted to recording which letters do, and do not, occur also the number of times that each letter occurs in the Quran, likewise in individual suras:

U fátiche šureju šemi churfav nemaš... (28b21) 'in the Fatiha sura seven letters do not occur'.

Such sections are usually quite detailed, and continue over several folios. Similar texts are found in other Tatar manuscripts (e.g. the opening folios of the Francis Skaryna Library *Tefsir*, dated 1725).

III.8.4 Folio Guide to Contents of British Library Kitab

The list of contents given here is a working guide to the contents of BLK. It itemizes topics that are discussed at some length (i.e. a page or more). The theme of each section (given in italics) is briefly described in English. This is followed by a transliteration of the introductory words from the text in order to allow for comparison with the contents of other Tatar kitabs, which often include similar passages but with small grammatical or lexical differences. The numbers and letters on the left-hand side are folio references to BLK, as annotated in the original (see III.1.1); the numbers in brackets at the end of a citation are references to the initial line of the folio. Names of people and places are given in the form in which they occur in BLK, unless there are well-established English transcriptions, in which case these are used (e.g. Ayesha, Muhammed). Names of suras are given in a simplified Arabic form.

³²² See Garnett: 138, for an account of cures that can be effected by means of Quranic inscriptions soaked in water; also Zwemer: 79, on the importance attached to nail-paring in the Islamic world.

³²³ See Zwemer: 22-25, on the Islamic cult of bibliolatry and bibliomancy.

- 1-6 Genealogical table:** set out in the form of circles of various sizes, linked by straight lines. It starts from Adam and proceeds through various minor prophets, kings and 'khans'; in all some 220 names are listed. A few circles contain explanations such as: Adam nebi dževecsot i tri džešce lat žil ('the Prophet Adam lived for 930 years'). The table breaks off suddenly on folio 6b and appears to be incomplete. The name in the middle of the large circle on this page is Jechja (John). Narrative text begins without preamble on the opposite page.
- 7a Praise to God who revealed the Holy Quran to his servant:** Chvala Panu Bohu kturij zesal na sluga svego kšenge kuran považnij i mondrij ... (13)
- 7b You are my righteous Prophet and Envoy:** Jesteš ti prorokem i pošlem mojim pravdživim ... (3)
- 8a The virtues of reciting Yā Sin:** Mnohim pecjom dobrošč jest ... (1)
- 8b Story about Ibrahim (Abraham) and Džebrail (Gabriel):** A v tim čaše Džebra'il jeho milošč da Ibrahima prišov ... (1)
- 9a On the names of God:** U kurane jest dževevcdžen(s)ont i dževevc javnich a jedne ime skrito ... (1)
- 10a Abu Džahil's attack on the Prophet:** Abu Džahil kledba božeja nad nim ... (13)
- 10b Virtue of living far from the mosque:** Stupni jich što da mečici izdaleka iduc ... (16)
- 11a -14b Loose Gloss on verses of Yā Sin** (begins with sura 36:13 in Arabic; this is not translated literally, but is followed by explanation that the people of Antioch refused to accept the righteous prophets; protagonists of this narrative are Jesus and his disciples):
Chiķajet: 'Iša prorok (4).
(Synopsis of BLK text: The story opens with Isa (Jesus) sending two prophets to Antioch; they are called Jechja (John) and Ševban (Stephen). There they meet an old man who is minding his sheep. In answer to his question as to who they are, they explain that they can perform miracles. The old man tells them that he has a son who has been ill for a long

time; they heal the boy.

They also heal the eyesight of the old man. He is called the Holy Carpenter (Chebib Nedždžar, a Muslim name for Jesus). He accepts their teaching. The two disciples become famous in the neighbourhood. The king summons them and they explain that they have been sent by Isa. The king begins to shout at them and accuses of them of sorcery, then throws them into prison.

Isa sends another prophet to them (sura 36:14) called Semeun (a margin note identifies him as Simon Peter). He asks to be taken to the prison and sees his comrades. He tells them that their mistake was to be too hasty. He illustrates this point by telling the story of a woman who had no children until she was near the end of her life; then she gave birth to a son. In her haste to feed him she gave him bread that she had chewed in her mouth and thereby killed him.

Next the text speaks of Semeun going to the house of idols; he sat down amongst the congregation and prayed, then performed miracles; he became famous and the people took him to their king; the king said that two other men had come before him who called themselves prophets. The previous two were brought in and told of the miracles (e.g. making the blind see) that they could perform (cf. sura 36:12). Semeun claimed to be able to do the same and performed his own miracles, including raising a man from the dead. The man told what he had seen when he was dead. Semeun called on the people to become Muslims; they rejected this and turned against him, saying that he was like the other two men and that they were all magicians (sura 36:15-19).

Then the Holy Carpenter arrived (sura 36:20) and called on them to accept the true faith; the people refused. They captured the Holy Carpenter and took him to the city gates and hanged him; but according to others they killed him by stamping on him till his guts spilled out; others say he was killed by stabbing. The prophets were also stoned.

At that moment the Holy Carpenter was shown a vision of heaven; a Voice proclaimed that he was to enter heaven

and was free of mortal suffering (sura 36:26). He asked God to show mercy to the people and to bring them to the faith. Then Gabriel by his voice alone destroyed the people of Antioch (sura 36:29). The text digresses to make references to Ali and various Muslim authorities, then continues with a fairly close paraphrase of more verses of the Yā Sin, sura 36:30-35).

For a transliteration of this text, see APPENDIX 2:1.

- 15a **On night of Miraj the Prophet went beyond Mount Caucasus:** Me'radz noci za Kaf haroj ... (6)
- 15b **Signs of God's oneness:**
Paznaka jedinostvu bozemu ... (11)
- 16b-17a **Signs of the Last Day:**
Stane slonca sudnaho dna ... (3)
- 17b **Nuch (Noah)'s arks (plural):**
U nuchavich karabloch ... (5)
- 18a **On unbelievers:**
I kafira! jestešce u javnim bludže ... (5)
- 18b **Day of Judgement:**
Išrafil trubu u roce dđeržic ... (3)
- 19a **Story of Pehlul divane:**
Historija a pehlul divane: pitali u pehlula hedže ti biv ... (22)
- 19b-22a **Day of Judgement:**
Iz mahil ustanuc (2)
- 22b **On Heaven:**
U raju u kažnich varotach ... (1)
- 23b **How unbelievers are to be separated from believers:**
Rajških ludžej da raju zapravadžuc ... (6)
- 24a-b **On Hell:**
Raskaže mukarom, ženice jich da pekla ... (12)
- 25a **Story of Ali and Old Man:**
ChiKajeť: 'Elej švetij adnaho dna staroha čeleveka vidžev, oči jemu ne švecic ... (15).
- 25b **Loose paraphrase of sura 36:65-74:**
Ja Muchemmed čaradžejstva ne učiv ... (2)
For a transliteration of this text, see APPENDIX 2:2.
- 26a **Ubej attacks Muhammed:**

- Ubbej sin Dželefev (Ch-?), preklecje bože nad nim
- 26b **Story of Uzeir (Ezra);** loosely based on sura 2:259, with Uzeir introduced as the protagonist:
Chikajet: Užeir prarok adnaho dna jak jechav na esle ... (20)
- 27b **Praise to God the All-Knowing and All-Seeing:**
Chvala Panu Bohu ... (10)
- 28b **Preserve me from temptation, O Lord:**
Šceraži mene Pane Bože ad znoščenav šejtanskich ... (8)
- 28b-29a **On the letters in (and not in) al-Fātiha sura:**
U fatiche šureju šemi churfav nemaš... (21)
- 29a-b **On the Pen (Kalem) as instrument of Creation:**
Kelem piši ... (21)
- 30a-31a **On the letters in al-Fātiha sura** (similar to f 29a):
U fatiche šureju džešec imon ...
- 31b **On the need for prayer:**
Chto nemaž ne klanejecca ... (2)
- 32a-32b **On reciting the Quran:**
Chto bi znav jak velbic kuran ... (4)
- 32b-33a **To guard against torments in the grave:**
Pri mušelmanskich mahilach ... (3)
- 33b **On the Path to Hell:**
Pekelni most jak malanje blišne ... (5)
- 34a **On al-Hamd sura:**
U nemaže peje al-chemdu šurej ... (2)
- 34b **Appeals to God for help:**
Kali ti Pan moj mne laski i pomači svajej ne učiniš ... (1)
- 35a **Holy Books as guides:**
Prez duch šventi prislal bo ta kšenge ... (3)
- 35b **Duties (to go to the mosque, care for others etc.):**
Bliskim krevnim svajjim i sirotam ubogim ... (1)
- 36a-37a **On giving of alms:**
Bab: a davanu sedeka jalmožnaho ... (20)
- 37b **On care of orphans:**
Oddavajce šiotam skarbi jich ... (2)
- 38a-b **On duties to parents, relations, guests, neighbours:**
Chto svajich rodžicav krevnich lubic ... (3)
- 39a-b **On duties to the aged and to scholars:**

- Bab: muvil Pan Boh: staroha kažnaho šanuj i pavažaj ... (1)
- 39b-40a On fasting:**
 Bab: a pošniku vedaj ... (14)
- 40b On the Night of Power:**
 A noči kedir Pan Boh aznajmuje jak ... (4)
- 41a-b On alms-giving in Ramadan:**
 Bab: A davanu fitre za post remezan mešeca ... (13)
- 42a Story of arefan who saw a man with a stone in his mouth:**
 Historija: iz božich prijecelav adžin arefan na haru chadziv, adnaho čelaveka vidžev ... (1)
- 42b Asaf's warning to give full amount of alms:**
 Asaf prarok ustav, na munber uzišov ... (1)
- 43a On alms giving, fasting etc:**
 Sedeku davac, nemaž klanecca ... (1)
- 43b-44b Obligatory duties on Holy Days, Nights and Months:**
 Bab: a nočach švetich vedaj ... (6)
- 45a On ritual sacrifice:**
 Bab: jak kurban činic vedaj ... (14)
- 46a On fasting:**
 Chto bi mev mucherrem mešeca peršij džen posnikav ... (5)
- 46b-49a On the honouring of Friday:**
 A šanavanu patnici ... (2)
- 49b On the Interrogation of the Grave:**
 A u mahile peršije prijudc MunKir ve NeKir ... (7)
- 50a On the visiting of graves:**
 Prarok muvil: chto bi pev kurannij ajet pri mušulmanškich mahilach ... (4)
- 50b-51a Death is God's gift to a good Muslim and four actions are pleasing to God:**
 Dobremu mušulmaninu ad Pana Boha padarak šmerc ... (1)
- 51b Praises to God, Creator of eighteen thousand worlds:**
 Chvala Bohu stvorci ašminaccaci tišečej švatov ... (1)
- 52a On the four Schools of Doctrine:**
 Nauka imama velikaho ajca Chenifaja ... (1)
- 52b-5 On faith:**
 Kali spitajuc: iman što jest? ... (8)
- 54b-55a On different degrees of obligation (e.g. farz):**

- Kali spítajuc: ferzov pavinnich kolka? (4)
- 55b **On prayer ritual:**
Uše nemaži holasam pevali ... (1)
- 55b-56a **On ritual ablutions:**
Kali spítajuc: u ebdešu ferzov kolka jest? ti mov: četiri (5)
- 56b **On prayer:**
Nemaž ž Kim zupelen budže? (1)
- 57a-b **Importance of learning the faith:**
Kažnaho čeleveke da veri mušulmanskej naučaj ... (1). For the full transliteration of this text, see APPENDIX 2.3.
- 58a-b **On praying at the correct times:**
Čto bi učuvši ažan ... (1)
- 59b **On ritual washing of the dead:**
Bab: kali budžešmic mejjita ... (9)
- 60a-61b **On burial and prayers for the dead:**
U chevanem umur nemaž ne budže ani kurannaho pecja ... (1)
- 61b **On the importance of making a will:**
Čto bi mev umerci bez dastamentu ... (9)
- 62a-b **On acquiring and spoiling faith:**
Vedaj prez što iman nabudžeš abo prez što zhubiš (3)
- 62a **On the Pillars of Faith:**
Veri padpora nemaz, post, zekot dzesecina, cistasc ...
- 62b **On a woman's pious duties:**
Bab: (Arabic quote) Bahamolja žanockaje: nemaž pevši, pošnik pošnikavši, može u avšom sluhac i pavažac treba ... (17)
- 63a-b **'Isa (Jesus)'s comments on adultery:**
'Iša prarok muvil: ne hledžice na čužije žoni ... (13)
- 63b **Four things that become a person like a jewel:**
Četiri reči čeleveke zdobec jak darahi kamen ... (8)
- 64a-65b **Muhammad's Dialogue with Satan:**
Šejtane, džeci tvaje čto jest? (3)
- 66a **On drunkenness and other sins:**
Kažneje pjanstva cheram, kali dla prahnene napjecca raz abo dva, nevpecca a zvlašče, taho picja što iz pšenici, iz ječmenu, iz prosa ... (8)
- 67a-b **On the Hell for Drunkards:**

Chto chmelnij napitek pije, to jest ključ da pekla ... (6)

68a-b Listen to the teachings of the learned muftis:

Bab: (Arabic quote) Jak ne pakinice buduc vaši hrachi ... (4)

69a-70a An explanation of degrees of obligation and prohibition

Treba vedac sbosab da čistašci da nemažu, što jest ferz, abo vadžib abo šunnét ... (18)

70b-73b On cleanliness and prescribed rituals:

Kali budžece nečistije, ačišcice ušo cela svajo ... (3)

73b-74a On the Fall of Adam and Hava (Eve) (in this section sura 20:116-122, and Genesis 3:1-24 are interwoven):

Jak Pan Boh Adamu raskazav abi da dđerava pšeničnaho ne približavše ... (17)

(Synopsis of BLK text: As in the Biblical version, 'Adam listens to Eve'; they eat of the forbidden fruit and 'turn black'. They then see their shame and cover themselves with fig leaves. An interesting Judaeo-Islamic note is the identification of the Tree of Life as *pšeničnaje dđerava*, 'the Corn Tree').³²⁴

74a On God's Unity and Oneness (loosely based on sura 112):

Panu Bohu nemaš padobnaho ... (17)

74b-77a On prayers and the importance of praying at the correct times, as shown by lives of prophets (Ibrahim, Junus etc):

U kurane čitaješ to razumeješ i činice došic raskazanu božemu ... (4)

76a Ibrahim destroys idols (loosely based on sura 21:58-69):

Ibrahim uše balvani parubav šeķeraj ... (1)

76a-b Junus (Jonah) in the fish's belly for forty days (loosely based on sura 37:139-145, also Biblical elements):

Junuš prarok na akrent ušev ... (19)

77a Musa and Harun (Moses and Aaron):

Muša prarok klanevše hdže mnoha trudnich zlich frasunkav ... (2)

77b Importance of the ritual prostration (cf. sura 7:11):

Pan Boh maje čeleveke stvariv raskaže nam ušim abišmi šedžde učinili ... (9)

³²⁴ EI, I: 176, s.v. *Adam*; Garnett: 42.

- 78a-79b Instructions on the performance of the ritual prayer:**
Tilko sebach nemaž i achsam nemaž i jétci nemaž holasam pejce ... (5)
- 79b What nullifies prayer:**
Prorok muvil: chto bi mev upered za imama da šedždeju upašc ... učinic Pan Boh helavu jeho helavoju eslov a parsunu jeho persunuju švinoj, to tim ušim nemaž zapsuje ...
- 80a On the correct performance of prescribed prayer rituals:**
U dvuch reke'étach al-chemdu šurej s kurana pec ferz ... (8)
- 80b-81a God knows everything:**
Bab: (Arabic quote) preto vedaj kažnij mušulmanin o tim, jak Pan Boh jest vadamij ušelakije reči nutranich i tajemnich umislav ... (2)
- 81b-82a On the importance of azan:**
Bab: (Arabic quote) a velkašci spašenje ažennaho ... (24)
- 82b-84b Story of Bilal and correct recitation of azan:**
Bilal jeho milošc adnaho dna da sebach nemažu ažan pev ... (16)
- 85a-86b Story of Merjema (Mary)'s death** (source cited as Wahb ibn Munabbih):
Historija: a Merjeme, udžučnašc božeje nad neju, Veheb sin Munebehev muvil ... (1)
(Synopsis of BLK text: Merjema and Isa (Jesus) go together to Mount Lebanon to fast and pray; Isa goes to look for herbs to break their fast, leaving Merjema alone at prayer at the *micrab*. Ezrail comes to take her soul; in words similar to those of the Biblical Annunciation, she expresses acceptance of her fate. Isa returns and does not realise that she is dead; he keeps fasting until morning. All creatures in heaven and on earth are weeping; when asked why, they reply that they are weeping for Isa. Isa beings to weep because he has been left alone.
- The story continues with the burial of Merjema. Then Isa asks God to be allowed to see his mother again. This is granted. He sits at her grave and speaks to her. Her voice comes from the grave asking why he has recalled her from the delights of heaven. When asked how she went to heaven, she

explains that she did good deeds on earth and thus won a place in heaven.

Asked if she suffered when she died, she tells of the fright aroused by Ezrail. Then she tells Isa to go, saying that they will meet again on Arafat field. Isa descends from the mountain and travels the world. Then God takes him to heaven; on the Day of Judgement he will be in heaven. But before that day he will come down from heaven and help Muslims to fight against Dajjal, the Anti-Christ. Isa will kill Dajjal and live for another forty years on earth.)

For a transliteration of this text, see APPENDIX 2.4; for other versions, see APPENDIX 3.

87a-102b **Story of Muhammed's Miraculous Journey to the Heavens (Miraj)** (text is bilingual Turkic/Slav; noteworthy that it begins at the top of a new folio):

Hič jok iken jaratdi .../Ješče ničoha ne bilo, stvariv svetij ludži ješče da ludžej padobnij fari, stvariv žemlu i neba ... (1) (Synopsis of BLK text: The narrative begins with a description of the creation of the world, interspersed with a call to people to listen to the story of the Miraj and to be happy. The story goes on to describe the journey to the heavens; angels with banners, led by Džebrail (Gabriel) all around. Mikail (Michael) leads in a beautiful horse, Burak. The horse carries the Prophet on his journey through the heavens. The text in BLK appears to be incomplete. It ends with words: ... a tvar svaju za praroka prisparajce ščirešće svaju da jeho milošći).

103a **The Creation (paraphrase of Genesis, chapters 1 and 2):**

Bab: to jest preciv nedželi u večer Pan Boh pačav stvarac svet ... (1) (margin note on this page: o stvarenu svata)

104a **Genealogies of prophets** (from Adam to Moses, including Methusalah, Noah, the sons of Noah and Jacob; paraphrase of the relevant chapters from Genesis, using Islamic names in several instances):

Perše džeci Adamove bil Kabil i Habil ... (1)

104b **Story of Joseph** (source cited as First Book of Moses, 35:22, followed by 38:16-24): Very brief account; 'Joseph' referred

to by Islamic name 'Yusuf' throughout, but 'Moses' and 'Egypt' rendered by Slav names)

Bab: perše kšengi Mojžešove, rozdžal tridžešce pontij ... (9).
For a transliteration of this text, see APPENDIX 2.5.

105a Brief extracts from Second Book of Moses, giving Ten Commandments:

Peršij ne bendžece mec sabe bogov cudžich prede mno ... (13)

105b-106a Series of very short paraphrases from Old Testament (Exodus, Leviticus, Isaiah, Kings, Numbers, Deuteronomy, citing Biblical references):

Bab: trece kšengi Mojžešove rozdžal petnastij ... (4)

107a- Muhammed's genealogy and last testament:

Az [ad] kurejšovego pokolena uradžilše Muchemmed prorok, a kurejšove inše bili strijove Muchemmed praroka ... (2)

107b-108b Muhammed's death:

Mevlud kiřab destament Muchemmed Mustefa: aj muřulmane pasluchajce jak iř šeho řveta ischodřiv ... (9)

109a Story of Mecca and Medina:

Bab: Chiřkajeř: Historija: Mekke mucic: ja řčeřlivaje ... (7)

109b On Intelligence:

Bab: u kiřabe kudude piře: kedi Pan Boh rozum stvoril ... (1)

110b On the need to repent of lack of faith:

Bab: (Arabic quote) chto bi mev iman i veru ... (1)

111a On predicting the future:

Bab: u feřavaju piře: chto bi mev tajemnije reči povadac řaho jemu Pan Bug ne dav kezav... (9)

111a-b On the twelve greatest sins:

'Elej řventij mucil: dvanaccac hrachov helavnejřich ... (22)

112b-113a On the way the soul travels round the body, inhabiting a different limb each day of the month:

Bab: u řeleveke duřa i krov jest ... (11)

113b Story of the abid who was enticed into an alehouse:

Bab: biv adřin abid bahamolca ... (20)

(Synopsis of BLK text: the female innkeeper threatens to accuse him of attacking her and her child if he does not drink some vodka (*harelka*); so he drinks one glass, then another, gets drunk and eventually does all the wicked things that the

woman had threatened to blackmail him about. Thus, an inn is Satan's house.)

114a Abu Bakr, Usman and Ali compose metaphors on faith, inspired by a bowl of honey:

'Elej toju času modu pered nimi kezav pastavic ... (12)

114b-115b Musa (Moses) asks God how long He has been God and is taught that God cares for all living beings:

Bab: Muša prarok u Pana Boha pitav ... (1)

115b-116a Suleyman (Solomon) asks God if he, Suleyman, can provide a feast for the whole of Creation:

Bab: Šulejman prarok u Pana Boha pitav ... (10)

116b On choosing an imam:

Kali ušele abo u mešce dva učonije bili abadva hožije na imamstva ... (2)

116b On the meaning of dreams depending on the day they are dreamt:

Bab: kali mušulmanin son vidžec mešeca peršaho ... (15)

117a 'Thank God that He made me a Muslim':

Bab: mušulmanin muvic: chvala Bohu što mne Boh mušulmaninam stvariv a ne židem ... (22)

117b On the fate of one who dies when he is drunk:

Bab: Meš'ud muvil: kali čelevek pjanij umre ... (3)

118a-119a Story about Prophet David (very loosely based on sura 36:64; NB only BR/P form of name used in this section):

Bab: David prarok u jaho holas cherošij biv ... (1)

(Synopsis of BLK text: The pious woman, her son and the rich man's ox; The story tells of David's beautiful voice and how, when he recites the Zebur (Psalms) birds, animal and all other creatures come to him; 4,000 men and women also gather to listen to him everyday. The Jewish [here written as: Israfil - probably misspelling of Israil] people ask him to tell them about the Day of Judgement. He says he will tell them on the feast day (*bayram*).

On the feast day he sits on the *minber* and amongst the Jews there is a very rich man who had lots of precious stones, also a fine ox. The people said that if anyone killed the ox, then he would be killed. In that place there was a widow and

her only son who appealed to God day and night. Their house was in Jerusalem (*bejt al-mukaddaš*). In this house there was a throne and near the throne a pomegranate tree that produced fruit every day, The mother and son ate this fruit. The mother said they must give thanks to God for this fruit so that God should not take it away from them.

One day they got up early and there was no fruit on the tree, The mother told her son it was because they had not given praise to God. They went hungry. The son asked his mother to beg God for licit (*halal*) sustenance. They prayed and at that moment the ox of the rich man walked in and said: 'I am your food, slay me'. The son did so and they ate the meat. They became even more hungry. The rich man searched for the ox for several days, but he did not ask at their house. Eventually, however, the rich man found them, had them arrested and taken to David. They explained how the ox had come to them.

David offered the rich man gold. He refused. Then Gabriel came; he told David to summon the people to gather on the feast day and to tell them on that day the sentence that was to be passed on the rich man. This was done. The hands and legs of the rich man cried out that he had murdered and robbed a merchant on the road from Damascus (*Sham*) to Egypt (*Misir*) and that is how he had become rich. David said that this is how it would be on the Day of Judgement.

119b

On the evils of drink:

Kali šešć kuflav vipje ... (1)

119b

On the number of suras, verses, letters etc in the Quran

(NB 24th (م) and 28th (ع) letters omitted):

Bab: u kurane sufor tricccac ... (12)

120a

A description of Muhammed's appearance:

Persuna praroka šventa, laska Boga visokego nad nim ... (7)

120b

Story of Isa (Jesus), the gold and three avaricious men:

Bab: 'Iša prarok ednahö dna jechav s trima čelevekami ... (8). (Synopsis of BLK text: Isa is travelling in the company of three men. They see two gold bars. Isa tells them not to take the them because they are evil things. The men do not listen

to Isa. They send one of their number to the town to buy food and a saw, so that they may cut up the gold bars and divide them into three. The one who went to town bought poison to kill the others and have all the gold for himself. The two that remained behind, meanwhile, also plotted to kill him. They did this, then ate the food; thereupon, they, too, died. Isa came back and found them all dead. He buried the gold.)

For a transliteration of this text, see APPENDIX 2.6.

121a-124a On auspicious and inauspicious days:

Bab: to jest s tureckaho kĭtabu 'Ebdul Kanju imama na polĭskij jezik viloŭzona abi ludŭi pospoliti virazumeli jak jest dni dobre jak nedobre ... (9)

124b-125b Alphabet of moral precepts (explains that each letter of the (Arabic) alphabet is meant to remind a person of what they should and should not do. The full list of letters, with the relevant precept, is given up to and including the final ع . However, the text then breaks off mid-sentence. The last words urge repentance, 'as he who dies without repentance will go to hell, for such ...'. The catchword at the bottom of the last page is 'a Muslim');

Bab: u elife jest dvadŭeĭce dŭzenc churfav, kaŭnij churf ĉeleveka napaminaje i uĉic z voli boŭej ... (13); last line in BLK: ...chto bez pakajane umre da pekla pojdŭe, dla taho (24). For a transliteration of this text, see APPENDIX 2.7.

Note: A Latin-script transliteration of the full text of BLK and a list of sources cited in the text are included on the accompanying CD-ROM.

PART IV THE VOCABULARY

Presentation of the Vocabulary

The words that form the basis of this study have been grouped semantically, so far as is possible. However, it should be borne in mind that the British Library Kitab (BLK) is far from comprehensive in its treatment of Islam. Several of the topics that are discussed in standard textbooks on Islamic beliefs and practices are not covered at all in BLK, while other topics are mentioned only fleetingly.³²⁵ Moreover, of the subjects that are treated, some are written about at length, hence a fairly large number of related terms are used with quite a high level of frequency. Yet other subjects are treated in a more cursory fashion and the semantic groups in these fields are very restricted, encompassing no more than one or two different terms.

In the following wordlist the **headword** is given in a Latin-script transliteration of the form (or forms) used in BLK. This is followed by the meaning of the word (as used in the context of BLK) if it differs from the general heading of the group. Slav words are followed by references to the BR dictionaries in which they are attested (since the language of this manuscript is primarily BR). These are grouped as follows: dictionaries relating to OBR;³²⁶ dictionaries of the literary language; dialect dictionaries. Where relevant, Polish, Ukrainian, Russian and OCS forms are also cited. The standard MBR orthography (in the Belarusian Latin script) of the headword is given if this differs from the transliterated form. An exception is made for verbal infinitives, since the final *-c* could not be represented as a soft consonant in the graphic system of BLK, thus in this instance the hard consonant is assumed to represent the standard MBR ending. The Polish form of the headword is given if it differs from the Belarusian (or if there is no Belarusian equivalent).

The references given in brackets after McM indicate additional material (mainly 17th century) cited by A. B. McMillin, in *The Vocabulary of the Byelorussian Literary Language in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1973). The headwords of the Ottoman Turkish

³²⁵ See, for example, Klein: *Religion of Islam*.

³²⁶ Berynda, *Leksikon slovenoros'kyj* and Zizanij, *Leksis* are included in this group; for relevance to Belarusian, see Sudnik, 'Historyja ŭžniknieńnia': 62-122.

(Arabic/Persian) loans are also given in the Latin-script **transliteration** that is used throughout this study; this is followed by the form in which these words appear in the manuscript itself, i.e. in the Arabic script, retaining the orthography that is found in BLK. For a guide to transliteration systems see p. xxii.

For purposes of comparison, the Turkish version of such **loanwords** is given, first in the **Ottoman Turkish** form, with Arabic characteristics in brackets (e.g. word-final ـ in place of ہ), and then in **modern Turkish** (Latin script). This is followed by an explanation of the meaning of the term, if this differs from the meaning that is indicated in BLK. If the word is cited by A. Woronowicz in 'Szczałki językowe Tatarów litewskich' (RT, 2) this is indicated by the abbreviation RT; any additional explanatory or illustrative material that is provided by Woronowicz is also included (marked in italics, to distinguish it from citations from BLK).

Belarusian **declensional** information is given, where possible, for loanwords: for example, 'Decl; masc. (neut.) hard stem noun' indicates that the word was inflected according to the second declension (e.g. *stol, vozera*). However, it is sometimes not possible to determine whether the final consonant was palatalized, thus there is no clue as to which declensional paradigm would have been followed. Similarly with adjectives, it is not always possible to know whether *-ck-/-sk-* would have been palatalized in some contexts. (In the Vocabulary below, in the headword this ending is given as *-k'i*, e.g. BOSKI; within the article, variant forms are recorded as in BLK.) The comment 'Not found in obl. cases' means that in this document the word in question was not found in a grammatical context that required declensional endings, but it does not exclude the possibility that such evidence might exist in other manuscripts. By contrast, 'Not decl.' means that the word was not inflected even when found in a context where this might have been expected. 'Compound verb' is a term taken from Turkish grammar and refers to a syntagma formed by a noun and a verb. Further grammatical and phonological explanation is provided by **cross references** to relevant sections in **PART III** (e.g. III.2.1.1).

The Vocabulary is organised according by **semantic fields**. In general, nouns are listed first (where possible, arranged in order of frequency), followed by associated adjectival and verbal forms. Within

each article, capital letters are used to cross reference another entry in the wordlist. Square brackets represent phonetic pronunciation; italicised forms give actual spellings in the source indicated. Where there appears to have been a scribal error the 'usual' form is indicated in brackets e.g. *čevencdzenont* (-dzes-). It should be noted that the orthography of Slav words (Belarusian and/or Polish) is unstable and the same word may be spelt differently within a single line e.g. *řišečel'íšečel'tišeče* 'thousand'. Similarly, *ješt/ješt'* 'it is': this possibly reflects a confusion between infinitive *ješt'* and third person singular *ješt*, but the same feature is found in other Tatar manuscripts (e.g. Francis Skaryna Library *Tefsir*). The original forms are preserved here, with no attempt at standardisation.

At the end of every article **citations** from BLK illustrating the semantic spread of the word under consideration are given. Citations are followed by references to the appropriate folio and line numbers in BLK.

This manuscript (like other Tatar writings) is unpunctuated and there is no capitalization. The text runs on without any divisions between the separate lexical elements; line breaks may occur at any point in a word. Here, for the sake of clarity, words have been divided out and some punctuation has been added. Capitalization has been introduced where it seemed to be appropriate. When Arabic proper nouns occur in the English translations of passages from BLK, or in commentaries on such passages, they are given in an anglicized form, e.g. Muhammed, Quran, Ayeshah. For the sake of clarity, the simplest possible forms of transcription are used in the translations, in contexts which are not relevant to the main arguments of this study. The standard post-Soviet forms 'Belarus/Belarusian' are used throughout, except in original titles of earlier works where the forms 'Byelorussia/Belorussian' are retained. The term 'Tatar' refers to the Tatars of north-eastern Europe (i.e. former Grand Duchy of Lithuania); other branches of the Tatar group are designated separately e.g. Volga Tatars.

IV.1 DOCTRINE, BELIEF AND ETHICS

IV.1.1 Deity and Divine Attributes

God

Three words used in BLK for Principal or Essential Name of God; by far the most common is Christian/Slav BOH/BOG/BUH/BUG. ALLAH found only in prayers and quotations in Arabic or Turkish, JEHOVA/JEHUVA only in passages from Old Testament. Most Muslim scholars are of the opinion that *Allāh* cannot be translated, thus unusual for Muslims, or even non-Muslims, to use any other term for the God of Islam. However, use of a non-Arabic term is not unprecedented. In the earliest extant East Turkic translations of the Quran *Allāh* is rendered by *Tanrı*. In fact, very few Arabic words are used in the early translations; instead, native Turkic words are substituted wherever possible.³²⁷ This parallels Tatar use of BR and P terms. Cf. standard BR and P *Allach*.

BOH/BOG/BUH/BUG Skar, HSBM; BR-R *Boh*, McM, Dob; P *Bóg*. Generally used with PAN. Form BUH relatively rare.

Pan Boh pa džešec anhelej zešle 7b19; Bože naše miloserdni 23a21; Ja jestem pravdživim Panem Buham 33a22; čistij Bože, Ti jest naš Pane, aproc Cebe mi inšego boga ne znali i ne klaneliše 43a12-13; idžice prendko da addavane chvali Bohu 46b5-6; Bože moj, uzivaju ime Tvajo 84b15; ten jest Bug Kturiy stvoril nebosa i žeme 103b14-15.

ALLAH ﷲ; Ott (A) ﷲ; T *Allah*; RT. Cf. standard BR and P *Allach*. BLK: conventional Ott (Arabic) orthogr. Not found in obl. cases.

Kali čelevek muvi Allah tedi všistke imona božije spelna spomnal 9a15-16.

JEHOVA/-UVA Skar; P *Jehowa*. Alternation [o/u] not uncommon in BLK (see III.1.2/3). Two forms sometimes used in same line.

Ješli ne bendžece sluchac Jehuvi, Boga tvego... tak vešelicše bendže Jehova nad vami 106b3-5.

³²⁷ Eckmann, *Middle Turkic Glosses*: 13.

Divine

Two derivatives of BOH/BOG are used, both of which are found in BR, as also in P. No apparent semantic or stylistic difference between them in BLK; used in identical collocations but BOŽIJ/BUŽIJ is more common.

BOŽIJ/BUŽIJ PB, Skar, HSBM; BR-R *božy*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šat; P.

Všistke imona božije 9a15-16; božej moci 118b6; prikaz božij 56b7; prijatelj božij 57b2; božeje adžinostva 52b12; duch božij 103a3; laski božej 110b1; bajažn božeje 116b4; vula božej 118b10.

BOSKIJ PB, HSBM; BR-R *boski*, BN, McM (SCh; CAN), Šat; P.

Z imon boskich 8b21; razsudak boskij 30a11; z voli Majej boskaj 110a7.

False Gods and Idols

BOH 'god'. Skar; BR-R, McM, Dob; P *Bóg*. Only this orthography is found for this meaning. However, it occurs too rarely to determine whether this was chance or deliberate semantic differentiation. Cf. A *Allāh* 'God', *ilāh* 'god'.

Tije bahove mene ad taho ratavac ne mohuc 12b15; sudnaha dna kažnije ludži iz svajimi bohami povstanuc 25b23.

BAHINA 'goddess'. HSBM (*bog-*); BR-R *bahinia*; P *bogini*.

Ķafire na jeho kazali: 'Iša boh, Merjema bahina 76b13-14.

BALVAN 'idol'. Most BR dictionaries define this word as 'fool, blockhead', but the following, like P, also give it as 'idol': SS, HSBM (*bol-*); Kaš, Šat *batvan*; P *batwan*.

Tije mocari hardije katorije Moj rižk jeli peli (pili), inšim bohām balvanom klaneliše 18b16; tije balvani sabe i jim ni v čom pomači ne dajuc... ad balvanov jim pažitku ne budže 25b20-22.

ABRAZ 'graven image'. In BR this word often has the specific meaning of 'icon', but in BLK it is used in a general sense for any reproduced image. PB, Skar, SS, Ziz; BR-R, BN, NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šat, Var; P *obraz*.

Ne činil abrazu ani balvanuv 105a14-15.

Idolatrous

BALVANSKIJ HSBM (+ *bol-*); P *batwanski*.

Tije neverniki balvanskaje vojska 25b21-22.

Name

Usual term is Slav IME; IŠMU occurs once, in conjunction with IME.

IME PB, Skar; HSBM *imia*; BR-R *imia*, BN, Bial, Kaś, Ras, Šat; Nos *imie*, P *imię*.

Sto imon božich u Kurane jest, dževecdženont (-džes-) i dževecdženont javnich a jedne ime skrito 9a1; ime Tvajo visokaje 79a3.

IŠMU اِسْمٌ; Ott (A) اسم; T *isim* (*ismi*); RT only gives plural form *esma*.

BLK: Ott orthogr; -u possibly 'frozen' Arabic ending (III.5.1.17).

To ime išmu A 'zem jest 9a2.

Divine Epithets

In Islam the Essential Name of God is *Allāh*. Conventionally, there are ninety-nine 'Excellent Names' which describe the attributes of the Deity.³²⁸ In BLK seventy-two separate epithets for God are recorded. Some are used often, but others occur quite rarely. Also, several of these epithets are terms that form part of the everyday language and hence are used in a wide range of contexts, while others are found only with reference to the Deity. In the following group of words an approximate indication is given of the level of frequency with which such terms occur when used with reference to God (frequency levels in other contexts are not included here). Many of the epithets are BR/P doublets. The only Turkish (Arabic) word to be used is A'ZEM 'the great and secret name of God'. The majority of the Slav terms are translations, sometimes fairly close, at other times very approximate, of traditional Muslim epithets for God.³²⁹ In general, these terms are not exclusive to the Tatar vocabulary for they refer to such concepts as Divine Mercy and Divine Power which

³²⁸ This number is not canonically fixed, but is commonly used as a guide; the Muslim rosary (*subḥa*) contains 99 beads. Al-Ghazālī, one of the greatest medieval scholars, wrote a seminal work on the 'Beautiful Names of God' (*Kitāb al-Maṣṣad al-Asnā Sharḥ Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā* (Stade: esp. 5-8). This usually forms the basis for the list of 99 divine epithets. See also *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* I: 483-84; *DI*: 141-42.

³²⁹ Arabic terms have many shades of meaning; only some possible equivalents are suggested here. For consistency, Stade translations used.

are also found in Christian theology. There are, however, a small number of terms that do not appear to be of Islamic origin which could conceivably have been derived from Christian models. See, for example, ČISTIJ 'pure', frequently used as an epithet for God in BLK. In Christian theology it is not used with reference to God, but is used for Jesus Christ.³³⁰

ADPUSKLIVIJ 'forgiving'. Cf. A *al-ghaffār* 'the Very Forgiving One', *al-'afū* 'the One Who Erases Sin'. Occurs over ten times as an epithet for God.³³¹

Adpusklivij Bože, što maju pisac 29b1-2; toj Boh ... všim hrachi adpusklivij jest 34a19-20; Ti jest adpusklivij, žmilujše nade mnoj 44a2.

ADŽINIJ 'one, sole'. Cf. A *al-aḥad* 'He Who is Uniquely One'. BR-R *adziny*, BN. Occurs over ten times as an epithet for God, approximately twice as often as the form JEDINIJ.

Adžinij Boh jest 28a16; razkazane i voli adžinaho Boha milošćivaho 29a18-19; Ja Boh adžinij 110a5; Boha chvali adžinaho že 125a5.

AS-/OSTATNIJ 'last'. Cf. A *al-'akhīr* 'the Last One'. Skar, HSBM *ostatnij*; BR-R *astatni*, BN, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Ras; P *ostatny*. Occurs less than five times as an epithet for God.

On ješt peršij i astatnij 18b22; vara Panu Bogu adnu astatnemu 35a19-20.

A'ZEM اعظم 'great'. Ott (A) اعظم; Cf. T *ismi Azam* 'the great and secret name of God'. Occurs only once.

BLK: Ott orthogr. Not found in obl. cases.

To ime išmu A'zem jest 9a2.

BISTRIJ 'perceptive'. Cf. A *al-khabīr* 'the All Cognizant One'. BR dictionaries only give meaning 'fast'; P has additional meaning 'acute, perceptive', which seems more appropriate. PB, SS, HSBM; BR-R *bystry*, Bial, Jan 2; P. Occurs once with reference to God.

Pevne Bug nad vami bistrim strožem 37b1-2.

³³⁰ See, for example, Vukovič, *Služabnik* (1519); *Psaltir* (1520).

³³¹ The following scale has been used: 'less than five times' – three to four times; 'over five' – five to ten times; 'over ten' – ten to fifteen times; 'over fifteen' – upwards of fifteen times.

CESAR 'Caesar'. Cf. A *al-malik* 'the King'; *al-mālik al-mulk* 'the One Who Has Perfect Power Over His Kingdom'.³³² Buř (15th century). Kar, PB, SS, Ziz; P *cesarz*. Occurs once.

On jest visokij krul i velki gospodar albo cesar 7a8-9.

CHVALEBNIJ 'praiseworthy'. Cf. A *al-ḥamīd* 'the Ultimately Praiseworthy One'. Usual meaning of this word in BR is 'laudatory', but in P it means 'laudable'. The latter seems more appropriate in the context in which it occurs here; however, could also be understood as alternative form for CHVALONCIJ. BR-R *chvalebny*; P. Occurs once. Čistij chvalebnij Bug 28a7.

CHVALONCIJ 'one who praises'. Cf. A *al-mu'izz* 'the One Who Raises to Honour'. P *chwalacij*. Occurs twice.

Čistij chvaloncij Bože 79a8; chvaloncij Bože, Panem jest najvišim 79a11.

ČISTIJ 'pure'. Not one of the traditional ninety-nine Muslim epithets for God. PB, SS; BR-R *čysty*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Dob, Šciaš, Žyd 'good, big'; P. Occurs over fifteen times as epithet for God.

Pan Boh čistij visokij 8a20; čistij Bože, Katorij tajemne pravadživ sluhu Svajho v noči da bejtu al-mukeddisu 9b4; čistij Bože, Ti jest naš Pane 43a12.

ČUJUČIJ 'one who hears'. Cf. A *al-samī'* 'the All-Hearing One'. Literary and dialect dictionaries of BR give the meaning of the verb *čuć* as 'to hear'; cf. P *czuć* 'to feel'. The form used here shows E Slav development of CS *T+J>Č. Occurs once.

Pevne toj Boh jest čujuči i vedomij 40b11.

DABRATLIVIJ/DOBRO- 'good, kind'. Cf. A *al-ra'ūf* 'the Very Indulgent One'. PB, Skar, SS; BR-R *dabratlivy*, BN, Nos; P *dobrotliwy*. Occurs less than five times with reference to God.

Dabratlivamu Panu Bohu paslumi (-sluhi) ne addav 13b21; Ti nad dobrotlivimi dabratlivij 23b5.

DAJONCIJ 'one who gives'. Cf. A *al-wahhāb* 'the One Who Gives Freely'. P *dajacij*. In BLK concept of 'the Giver' is expressed by three forms of the same word: DAJONCIJ, DAJUŠČIJ, DARICEL. Each

³³²The form *al-mālik*, with a slightly different nuance, is also used by Muslims, but not included in the traditional list of 99 names.

occurs once. DAJONCIJ shows Polish characteristics (III.3.1).

Iz bogav tilko On Krul čistij ... i všistkim zdrove dajoncij 28a4-5.

DAJUŠČIJ 'one who gives'. HSBM. See DAJONCIJ. This form of the present participle active shows the OCS development of CS *T+J>ŠČ (III.3.2); cf. ČUJUČIJ, which exhibits E Slav characteristics.

Boh rižku dajuščij i hrachi adpusklivij 34a10-11.

DARICEL 'the giver'. See DAJONCIJ. Unrecorded in BR and P dictionaries. Cf. R *daritel'*. Also OCS.

Krula Daricela laskavaho nad ušimi 34b20.

DUŽIJ 'strong'. Cf. A *al-matīn* 'the Perfectly Strong'. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *duży*, BN, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaś, Ras, Šat, Da (S, W, Kursk, Tver, Kaluga); P. Occurs twice with reference to God.

On jest mocnij i dužij 74a21-22.

DŽIVNIJ 'wonderful'. Cf. A *al-majīd* 'the Most Glorious One'. Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *dziūny*, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob; P *dziwny*. Occurs once with reference to God.

Pan Boh jest ... dživni krul 27a19-20.

GNEVLIVIJ 'angry'. Not one of the traditional ninety-nine Muslim epithets for God. In BLK occurs in paraphrase of a Biblical passage (Deuteronomy 5:9), but interestingly term not used in Belarusian (Skaryna) or Polish translations, or in Latin (Vulgate) text.³³³

Skar, SS, HSBM; Var *hniaŭlivy*, Jan 1, Šat; P *gniewliwy*. Initial [g] indicates either that the word was felt to be P rather than BR, or (more likely) that a P original was used as the source.

Ja jest Bug gnevlivij 105a15-16.

HOS-/GOSPODAR/HASPADAR 'lord'. Cf. A *al-rabb* 'the Lord'; not one of the traditional ninety-nine Muslim epithets. MBR meaning is 'landlord, master of the house'; in OBR (and OP, under BR influence) *Hospodar* meant 'Sovereign, King'. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *haspadar*, BN, NBS, Nos, Jan 1, Kaś, Mal, Ściaś, Šat, Var; OP *hos-*, MP *gospodarz*. Occurs over five times.

Kelem muvil: Hospodaru Bože, što maju pisac? 29a24; On jest visokij Krul i velki Gospodar 7a8-9; čistij Pan Boh jest', iz moci Svajej

³³³ Cf. *Az jesm... Bog tvoj milovnik silnyi* (Skaryna); *Bom Ia iest... Bóg zawistny* (Polish, Wujk translation); Latin (Vulgate): *Ego enim sum ... Deus aemulator*.

ušelakije panstva u rukach jest'... dživni Haspadar jest' 27a19-21.

JAVNIJ 'manifest'. Cf. A *al-zāhir* 'the Manifest One'. Var *jaŭny*; P *jawny*. Occurs once.

On jest javni 18b22.

JEDINIJ 'one, sole'. Cf. A *al-aḥad* 'He Who is Uniquely One'. Skar, HSBM; Nos *jedynyj*, Dob; OP. This form occurs over five times, approximately half as often as ADŽINIJ.

On jest jedini 14a11; Pan Boh jedini, ušich švatev Stvaricel 119b11.

KARCA 'punisher'. Cf. A *al-muntaqim* 'the Avenger'. OP *karca*. Occurs twice.

On jest jedini sruga (srogi) Karca 14a11.

KARMICEL 'provider of sustenance'. Cf. A *al-razzāq* 'the One Who Provides All Sustenance'. HSBM (*kor-*); BR-R *karmiciel*; P. In Polish sometimes used to refer to Christ. Occurs once.

On jest dobri Provizor i Karmicel 43a8.

KERAL 'king'. Cf. A *al-malik* 'the King'.³³⁴ BR-R *karol*, BN, Bial, Dob. E Slav form used once with reference to God; KRUL more common in this context.

Ja jest ... Keral nemiloserdne 105a15-16.

KRUL 'king'. Cf. A *al-malik* 'the King'.³³⁵ Buł *krol*, *krul* (1351), HSBM *krul*; P *król*. Occurs over five times as epithet for God (but also found in other contexts).

On jest visokij Krul i velki Gospodar 7a8-9; Ja jestem Panem i Krulam 18b15; češć i chvala Panu Bohu Katori nad švetami ušimi jest Krulem 27b10.

LASKAČINONCI 'one who is merciful, beneficent'. Cf. A *al-ḥalīm* 'the Forebearing One'. Unrecorded elsewhere. Probably represents P *łaską czyniący*. Occurs once.

Nad povolnimi jest miloserdnij i laskačinonci 9b16-17.

LASKAVIJ 'generous, benign'. Cf. A *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* 'the Merciful and Compassionate One'. These are the most common epithets for God used by Muslims; almost indistinguishable in meaning. In BLK

³³⁴ See note 332 above.

³³⁵ See note 332 above.

they are translated by both LASKAVIJ and MILAŠERDNIJ/MILASER-/MILOSERDNIJ. Term *laskavy* cited in PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Dob, Šat, Var; P. It occurs over five times in BLK, while MILAŠER-/MILASER-/MILOSERDNIJ occurs over fifteen times.

V ime Boga laskavego miloserdnega 7a13 (translation of Arabic phrase *bi'smi'llāhi'r-rahmāni'r-rahīm* 'in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful'; this phrase is used at the beginning of all except the ninth chapter of the Quran and it is recited by Muslims at the commencement of any undertaking); pačinaju imem božim, adpusklivaho laskavaho 31b15; Pan Boh hrachov adpusklivij, laskavij 57b17.

LEKAR 'healer'. Cf. A *al-shāfi* 'the Healer' (not one of the traditional ninety-nine Muslim names). PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R, BN, Dob, Kaš, Šat; P *lekarz*. Occurs once.

On jest ... mondri Lekar nad lekarimi 28a11.

LUCĀKIJ/LUDŽĀKIJ 'humane'. Nearest equivalent amongst the traditional ninety-nine Muslim names for God is A *al-ra'ūf* 'the Very Indulgent One'. In BR and P this word can mean both 'human' and 'humane'. In BR the two meanings are sometimes differentiated by means of stress, i.e. on the first syllable indicating 'humane', on the second syllable 'human'. In BLK this distinction cannot be made since there is no way of marking stress. SS, HSBM (*ljudski*); BR-R *ludski*, BN, McM, Nos 'polite', Bial (*luckij*), Šat, Var; P *ludzki*. Occurs less than five times as epithet for God (but also used in other contexts).

Panu Bohu palecajuše, Stvaricelu ludžkamu 28b6; krulovi ludžkamu Bohu luckamu, u moci Jeho uše jestešmi 28b7.

MAHUŠČIJ 'one who is able to do (all)'. Cf. A *al-qādir* 'He Who Acts as He Pleases'. OCS form of the pres. part. act. of *moc*. HSBM *mogučij, moguščij*. MCM and Nos give the form *mahučy*, which shows the typical E Slav development of CS* T+J. Occurs once.

Pan Bug vžitkego mahuščij 7b10.

MILA-/MILOŠCIVIJ 'gracious, compassionate'. Cf. A *al-rahīm al-rahmān* 'the Merciful and Compassionate One'. Kar, PB, Skar; HSBM *milostivij*; BR-R *mišašcivy*, McM (BK, F107, SCh), Var;

P *miłościwy*. Occurs over fifteen times.

Miłościvij Bože, što maju pisac? 29a20-21; Boh miłościvi uše hrachi jemu adpuścic 43b2; Pan Boh miłościvij ad hrachov abaronic 46a4.

MILAŠER-/MILASER-/MILOSERDNIJ 'compassionate, gracious'. Cf. A *al-rahmān al-rahīm* (see above). Used quite frequently in BLK, but not so common in BR. Note alternation of [-s/š-]; both forms found in BR. McM lists *mitaserny* (CAN); *mitasierny* [-š-], classed as a Polonism; and *mitasierdny* (BK and F107); Skar and SS also give *mitasierdny*; HSBM *miloserdnyj*; BR-R *mitaserny* [-s-]. Cf. P *mitosierny*, *mitosierdny* (both given in Urb). In BLK forms with [-s-], represented by ص , predominate. Occurs over fifteen times. See also LASKAVIJ.

V ime Boga laskavego miloserdnego 7a13; čitaj, Muchemmed, od Boga miłošerdnego Kuran 9b14; Pan Boh milasierdnij na mene uzhlad Svoj majec 25a23; Ti jest nad miloserdnimi miloserdni 44a2.

MILAŠERDNEJŠIJ 'most compassionate'. In form this is the comparative degree, but used as a superlative (III.4.2.7). In Arabic only absolute degree used for epithets referring to God. Unrecorded elsewhere. Occurs once.

Nad ušich vas Ja milašerdnejšij 85b18.

MOCAR 'potentate'. Cf. A *al-wālī* 'He Who Has Charge Over All'. Buř (15th century), SS, HSBM; McM (BC, BK, CB) *macar*; P *mocarz*. Occurs once with reference to God.

Švetij uvažni Mocar nad mocarami 28a6-7.

MOCNIJ 'powerful'. Cf. A *al-qādir* 'He Who Acts as He Pleases'. Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *mocny*, BN, McM, Nos, Dob, Kaš, Ras, Šciaš, Šat, Var; P. Occurs over five times.

Ten mocnij ješć Pan 26b12-13; z moci i voli Stvaricela, na všo mocnaho Pana Boha 29a17-18.

MONDRIJ 'wise'. Cf. A *al-'alīm* 'the Omniscient One'. P *mądry*; cf. BR *mudry*. Occurs once with reference to God. Use of the Polish form here suggests that this was felt to be more elevated in style, and thus more appropriate. BR MUDRIJ occurs in BLK in other contexts.

On jest šventi... mondri Lekar 28a11.

MUŽNIJ 'strong, powerful'? Cf. A *al-matīn*, 'the Perfectly Strong'.

HSBM, BR-R, Nos and Dob give this word with the meaning 'manly'; here, probably, it represents *možny* 'strong'; for [o/u] alternation see III.1.1.2/3; *možny* cited in these dictionaries: PB, Skar, SS; BN, McM (BK, F107, SCh; CAN 1), Nos 'rich'; P. Occurs once.

On jest peršij i astatnij, mužnij, nešmertelni 18b22.

NAJVİŠIJ 'the highest'. Cf. A *al-'alī* 'the Most High One'. HSBM, Skar *naivyššii*, BN *najvyšejšy*, Dob *naivyšnjij*. Dob notes that it is a synonym for God. Superlative degree of adjective. Occurs once.

Chvaloncij Bože, Panem jest najvišim 79a11.

NEMILOŠERDNIJ 'merciless'. Occurs once, in Biblical paraphrase (Deuteronomy 5:9). BR-R *niemitaserny*, Dob (*-sierdnij*, *-sernyj*).

Ja jest Bug gnevlivij, bende za to Keral nemilošerdne 105a15-16.

NEŠMERTELNIJ 'immortal'. Cf. A *al-bāqī* 'the Everlasting One'. Skar; Nos *niešmiertelnyj*, Dob; P. Occurs less than five times.

Nešmertelnij Bože 29b10; On jest peršij i astatnij, mužnij, nešmertelni 18b22; aj milošcivij Bože nešmertelnij, ušich švetov Stvaricel 108b18-19.

PAN 'lord'. Cf. A *al-rabb* 'the Lord'. One of the terms that is most frequently used by Muslims to refer to God. Corresponding Slav terms PAN or PAN BOH/BUG are likewise extremely widely used by Christians. Buł (1340), PB, SS, HSBM; BR-R, BN, NBS, Nos, Dob, Ras, Šat; P. In BLK it is the most popular epithet for God, found well over fifty times, often with BOH/-G/BUH/-G, but also alone.

Ja jestem Panem i Krulam 18b15; toj Pan nad Pani, Krul nad kruli 34b14; chvala Panu Bogu 7b1; vara Panu Bogu 35a19.

PA-/POVAŽNIJ 'exalted'. Cf. A *al-'alī* 'the Most High One'. PB, SS; BR-R *pavažny*, BN, McM (CB, SCh), Nos; P *považny*. Occurs less than five times as epithet for God.

Ten považnij ten milošerdnij ten velikij Pan Boh 92b5; On považnij, On milošerdnij, On velikij 101a10.

PERŠIJ 'first'. Cf. A *al-'awwal* 'He Who is First'. SS; BR-R *pieršy*, BN, Nos, Bial, Kaś, Da (Rjazan', Voronež, Smolensk, Pskov); P *pierwszy*. Occurs less than five times in BLK with reference to God.

Peršij i ostatnij On jest 86b19.

POMAČNIK 'helper'. Cf. A *al-mujīb* 'the One Who Responds to Every

Need'. This, the BR form of the word, occurs once, as does P POMOCNIK. PB and BR-R show stress on the second syllable, *pamóčnik*; Dob (-*mošník*) and Var on the last syllable. Form used in BLK suggests stress on first syllable by use of [o].

Adna Pan Boh Pomačnikam 33a2.

POMOCNIK 'helper'. P *pomocnik*. Form occurs once. See POMAČNIK.

I 'Iša dla čeho tak barzo frasuješe? Tabe jest Pan Boh Pomocnikam 86a1-2.

PRAVDŽIVIJ 'righteous; true'. Cf. A *al-barr* 'the Dutiful One', with implications of righteous and kind. The usual BR and P meaning of this word is 'true'; the meaning 'righteous' is rare.³³⁶ PB, SS; BR-R *praūdživy*, BN, McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh), Nos, Dob, Var; P *prawdziwy*. Occurs over five times with reference to God.

Jich Bug pravdživij jedini 12a13; Ja jestem pravdživim Panem Buham vašim 33a22.

PRAZRISTIJ 'transparent'. Not one of the traditional ninety-nine Muslim names of God, nor is it a Christian epithet. Possibly a mistranslation of an original text in another language. Alternatively, it might be an extension of the idea expressed by *čistij*. Šciaš gives *prazrysty* as one of the meanings of *čysty*; this suggests that in dialect or sub-literary speech the terms were perhaps synonyms. Word also cited by BR-R, BN, Bial (-*ta*), Var; cf. P *przejrzysty*. Occurs once.

Iz bogav tilko On Krul čistij, prazristij 28a4.

PRIKRAPICEL 'the strengthener'? Unrecorded elsewhere. Occurs once.

On jest Bug Stvoricel, duši Prikrapicel 28a9.

PROVIZOR 'provider'. Cf. A *al-razzāq* 'the One Who Provides All Sustenance'. In MBR and MP means 'dispenser, pharmacist'. Buš, however, defines it as 'superior of a community' and this comes closest to the sense in which it is used in BLK. Buš; BR-R *pravizar*; P *provizor*. Occurs once.

On jest dobri Provizor 43a8.

ROV-/RUVNIJ 'equal'. This is not, strictly speaking, an epithet used for God, but is used with *nimaš* etc. to convey the idea of incomparability. Cf. A *al-badī* 'the Unequaled One'. For [o/u] alternation see

³³⁶ McM records only four texts in which it has this meaning (McM: 66).

III.1.2/3. PB, SS; BR-R *roŭny*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaś (-na), Šat; P *równy*. Occurs more than five times in this sense.

On jest Bug Kturemu nimaš ruvni 28a3-4; Bohu rovni nemaš 125a5.

SLIŠONCIJ 'one who hears'. Cf. A *al-samī* 'the All-Hearing One'. P *styszący*. Occurs once. Cf. ČUJUČIJ.

On jest slišoncij vidžoncij Bug 74a18.

SLOBODNIJ 'free'. Cf. A *al-mughnī* 'the Enriching One'; has the sense of not being dependent upon anyone. BN *stabodny*. McM, Nos, Bial, Kaś, Ściaś, Šat, Da (S). Occurs once.

Pan Boh jest Bog abi slobodni 36b10-11.

SPADAR 'lord'. Cf. A *al-rabb* 'the Lord'. This is an interesting example of semantic adaptation in BLK, whereby a secular word is given a religious connotation. In MBR only Nos cites this word, defining it as 'head of the family', but it is found in the sense of 'lord' in OBR (sixteenth-seventeenth century) texts.³³⁷

Bože Spadaru, jestem z pesku stvoronij 77b17-18.

SRUGIJ 'severe'. Cf. A *al-dārr al-nāfi'* 'He Who is Responsible for Both Good and Evil'. Buł (1538), PB, SS; McM (BK, F107) *srohi*; P *srogi*. Cf. lit. and dial. BR *strohi*. Occurs once with reference to God.

On jest jedini sruga (-gi) karca 14a11.

STROŽ/STRUŽ 'guardian'. Cf. A *al-ḥafīz* 'the Preserver'. Buł (1501) *strož*, PB, SS; P *stróż*. For [o/u] alternation see III.1.2/3. Only non-pleophonic form (as in P) used with reference to God, suggesting that it was regarded as more elevated. Occurs twice. Cf. use of STARAŽ in other contexts,

Pan Boh, Katorij jeś nad nami Stružam 18b5-6; pevne Bug nad vami bistrim Strožem 37b1-2.

STVAR-/STVORICEL 'creator'. Cf. A *al-khāliq* 'the Creator'. PB, Ziz; Nos, P *stworzyciel*. Cf. McM (CB, F107) *satvaryciel*. Occurs over ten times.

Tilko Pan Boh Stvaricel na veķi vekov zastanecca 18b14; Stvaricelu Pane, Tvoj padarak katorij nam dav, nikomu taho ne dav 22a20-21; ad Pana Boha velikaho Pana Stvaricela uśich švatov 33a21; On jest Bug

³³⁷ See, for example, Andrej Rymša, 'Na hierby Lva Sapiehi' (1588 *Lithuanian Statute*); also *List da Abuchoviča* (1655).

Stvoricel, duši Prikrapicel 28a9.

STVARICELSKÍJ 'of the creator'. P *stworzycielski*.

Kuran jest slova stvaricelškaje 62b6.

STVORCA 'creator'. Cf. A *al-khāliq* 'the Creator'. P *stwórcza*. Occurs once. See STVAR-/STVORICEL.

Chvala Bohu, Stvorci asminaccaci t'iščej švatov 51b2.

SUDŽEJA 'judge'. Cf. A *al-hakam* 'the Arbiter', *al-'adl* 'the Just One'. Exact form not recorded in BR or P dictionaries; cf. BR-R *sudździa*, BN, McM, NBS, Dob; P *sądzia*. Occurs once.

Dla (dna) sudnaha Jon Panem budže i Sudžeju 34a21-22.

ŠVATIJ /ŠVETIJ 'holy'. Cf. A *al-quddūs* 'the Most Holy One'. PB, SS; BR-R *światy*, BN, McM, Dob (-*toj*), Šat. In BLK the form *śvetij* is preferred and both these forms are more common than ŠVENTIJ. However, the term is rarely used with reference to God and in this context each form is found once only.

On jest Bug ... śvetij uvažni Mocar 28a3-6.

ŠVENTIJ 'holy'. Buł (1612), P *święty*. See ŠVATIJ.

On jest śventi uvažni mondri Lekar 28a11.

ŠVETLIJ 'radiant, bright'. Cf. A *al-nūr* 'the Light'. PB, SS; BR-R *światły*, BN, Nos, Dob, Kaš (-*la*), Šciaš 'transparent'; P *światły*. Occurs once with reference to God.

On Krul čistij prazristij śvetli 28a4.

UDŽAČNIJ 'grateful'. Cf. A *al-shakūr* 'the One Who Expresses Thankfulness by Rewarding Bounteously'. Skar; BR-R *udziący*, BN, McM. In BLK word frequently used in sense of 'blessed' (see p. 236). This is not a meaning found in standard BR and P. However, as used in BLK with reference to God, it could be understood to mean 'grateful'. Yet even in these contexts, meaning 'blessed' is a possible interpretation. Occurs less than five times with reference to God.

Pan Boh muvil: i prijaceli maje, Ja ed vas udžačen jestam 22b4; kali chto ejcu i matce pracivnim budže ... Pan Boh ad jeho ne budže udžačen 38a12-14; chto božim sluhoj buduči božije pasluhi addav ... Pan Boh udžačen budže ad jeho 38a15-16.

UŠAHO-/UŠEHOMAHUŠČIJ 'almighty'. Cf. A *al-qādir* 'the All-Powerful'. Unrecorded elsewhere. A hybrid form that combines a

RChSl element (present participle active ending *-uščij*) and a P element (genitive case of the pronominal prefix, though in standard P this prefix is in the plural, whereas in BLK it is in the singular). Cf. OCS *vsemog''*; Skar, RChSl *vsemoguščij*; P *wszechmogący*; Buř *vsechmogucy*, *vsechmokgoncyj*, McM *uščmahoncy*, *uščachmocny*; P. Occurs less than five times.

I Bože ušahomahuščij, hetim ludžem daj iman 13a7-8; Boga ušehomahuščaho 16b1-2.

UŠA-/UŠO-/UŠEMAHUŠČIJ 'almighty'. Exact form unrecorded in BR; cf. McM *usiomahučy*, Uk *usiemohučyj*. Occurs less than five times. See UŠAHO-/UŠEHOMAHUŠČIJ.

I Bože ušomahušči pomstva čini 21a16-17; što maju pisac, ušamahuščij Bože 29b17.

UVAŽNIJ 'attentive'. Cf. A *al-raqīb* 'the One Who Watches All'. PB, SS; BR-R *uvažny*, BN, NBS, Nos, Kaš, Var; P. In BR this word has overtones of 'respectful attentiveness'; in BLK, as in P, this nuance is absent. Occurs less than five times with reference to God.

On jest šventi uvažni mondri Lekar 28a11; švetij uvažni Mocar 28a6.

VA-/VEDOMIJ 'knowing'. Cf. A *al-'alīm* 'the Omniscient One'. Kar, PB, Skar, HSBM (*ved-*); BR-R *viadomy*, BN (*-ma*), McM (F107, SCh), Nos, Bial, Kaš, Šat, Žyd (*-ma*); P. In form this is a present participle passive; in BLK, however, it is consistently used with the implication of a present participle active. Occurs over five times.

On ušich rečej vadomij 18b23; zapevne Boh vadomij što vi činice 27b15; Boh jest čujučij i vedomij 40b11; pevne Pan Boh vadom umislav nutranich 74b2-3; Pan Boh jest vadomij ušelačije reči nutranich i tajemnich umislav 80b2-3.

VA-/VEDOMŠIJ 'all-knowing'. HSBM (1653) *vedomšij* 'most known'. In form comparative degree adjective, but used as a superlative (III.4.2.7). Occurs less than five times. See also VA-/VEDOMIJ.

Ja Boh vadomši 34b22.

VEČISTIJ 'eternal'. Cf. A *al-bāqī* 'the Everlasting One'. HSBM, Nos *viečistyj*. Occurs once. Used synonymously with VEČNIJ, VEKOISTIJ.

Večistij Pan Boh, ad pačatku až da astatku Jemu Bohu ničto lidžbi

episac ne može 125a5-6.

VEČNIJ 'eternal'. See VEKOISTIJ. PB, Skar, HSBM; BR-R *viečny*. BN, Bial, Dob; P. Occurs once.

Večnij Pan Boh astanecca na vek 94a4.

VEKOISTIJ 'eternal'. Buř (1498), PB, HSBM (*vekui-*); BN *viekaisty*. Nos *viekovistyj*; P *wiekuisty*. Occurs less than five times.

Peršij i ostatnij, On jest vekoistij 86b19.

VELÍKIJ 'great'. Cf. A *al-'aẓīm* 'the Great One', the perfection of essence. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *vialiki*, BN, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Ras, Šciaš, Šat, Žyd; R *velikij*. This word, together with the P form VELĀKIJ, occurs over five times with reference to God. VELĀKIJ occurs slightly more frequently in this context.

Pravdživaja slova Kuran Stvoricela Boha velikaho 48a15.

VELĀKIJ 'great'. HSBM, Žyd, P *wielki*. This form occurs more than three times. See VELÍKIJ.

Čistij chvaloncij Bože, Panem jesteš velkim nad velikimi 79a8-9; ten velki Pan Boh 92b5.

VIDUŠČIJ 'one who sees'. Cf. A *al-bašīr* 'the All Seeing One'. This is the OCS form of the present participle active. Given in Nos, but more usual BR form is *vidučy*. Occurs once, as does VIDŽONCIJ.

On jest ... ušich rečej viduščij 28a3-6.

VIDŽONCIJ 'one who sees'. P *widzący*. Occurs once. See VIDUŠČIJ.

On jest slišoncij vidžoncij Bug 74a18.

VISOĀKIJ 'high, exalted'. Cf. A *al-'alī* 'the Most High One'. In lit. and dial. BR forms with hard [v] and soft [v'] both exist. In BLK no distinction can be made between these phonemes, so not clear which form is intended. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM (*vy-*); BR-R *vysoki*, Nos *vi-*, Bial and Dob both forms, Kaš and Šat *vi-*, Var *vy-*; P *wysoki*. Occurs over five times with reference to God.

Pan Boh visokij jest 27b8; i Bože visoki, ja chalop Tvoj 31b10.

VIŠŠIJ/VIŽŠIJ 'highest'. Cf. A *al-'alī* 'the Most High One'. In form a comparative adjective, used as a superlative (III.4.2.7). Skar, SS, HSBM (*vyššij*); Dob *vyžšij*, Kaš, Ras *vyšej*; P *wyższy*. Occurs less than five times.

On jest nad vižšimi vižšij 52b3-4; nad viššimi viššaho Stvaricela Pana

Boha, taho spašenje akrom Pana Boha nihto ne vedaje 34b18-19.

ZVICENŽCA 'conqueror'. P *zvičezca*; cf. PB *zvitiažca*. Occurs less than five times.

Od Boga, Katorij jest velikaho miloserdže, zvicenžca nad vžitke 9b15-16; On jest sruga (srogi) karca i zvicenžca 14a11; ad velikaho zvicenžci Boga ušehomahuščaho 16b1-2.

ŽALOŠLIVIJ 'compassionate'. BR-R *žalašlivi*, BN, McM (-iva), Nos, NBS, Bial, Kaš (-iva), Šat, Var; cf. P *žalošlivi* 'mournful'. Occurs once in BLK, as a synonym for LASKAVIJ.

Što maju pisac, žalošlivi Bože? 29b7.

Divine Epithets

In BLK there is frequent reference to the idea that in heaven, the face and person of God will be revealed. This is possibly a feature that has been borrowed from Christian theology. The idea of ascribing a physical being to God is alien to Islam. Islamic expressions which appear to bestow anthropomorphic qualities on the Deity are understood, by orthodox Muslims, in a metaphorical sense.³³⁸ On the metaphysical plane, BLK includes several references to the Holy Spirit (*A rūḥ*); belief in this attribute is characteristic of Islam as well as of Christianity. Other divine attributes that are mentioned in BLK such as Power, Mercy and Vengeance, are also common to both religions. There is nothing specifically Islamic in the way in which they are treated in BLK.

Face

Three words are used for this concept. The usual terms are ABLIČA and PER-/PARSUNA. They are used in identical contexts. ABLIČNAŠC occurs only once. USTA 'lips, mouth' is very rarely found in BLK.

ABLIČA PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *abličča*, BN, NBS, Nos, Bial, Kaš, Šat, Da (Pskov, Tver'); P *oblicze*.

U raji vidžec abliča bože 10b9; Stvaricela Boha abliče vidžev, dživne javna stala perede mneju božeje abliče 99a11.

ABLIČNAŠC HSBM; Srez *obličnost*'. Occurs once.

Ebačiš Pana Boha abličnašc 88a10.

³³⁸ Cf. sura 28.88: 'Everything will perish save His countenance', where 'countenance' is understood as 'Himself' (Watt: 180).

PER-/PARSUNA In BR and P word means 'person, personage'. Buř (1388) *persona, parsuna*, PB, SS; BN *persona, parsona*, Nos *par-*, Dob *per-*; P *persona*. In BLK, form *persuna* more common than *par-*. Nam abecav u raji persunu Svaju ukazac 23a21; persunu božuju u raji abačec 29a12; švečkije oči boskaj persuni ne mahuc vidžec 99b1.

USTA 'lips, mouth' OCS, R, P *usta*.

Tamu ušemu treba veric ... bo iz čistich ust božich slova što u Kurane 57b8-9.

Spirit

DUCH Kar, PB, Skar, SS, Ziz, HSBM; BR-R, BN, McM, Nos, Dob, Jan 2, Šat; P.

Prez duch šventi prislal bo ta kšenge na tablicach 35a3; duch božij poveval po obliču vod 103a3.

God-hood

Two words are used for this concept; occur once each, in single passage.

BOSTVA PB; BN; P *bóstwo*.

Pane Bože jak Ti davno Bohem, jak davna spravuješ bostvam? 114b3.

BOŽENSTVA Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. Skar, HSBM, R *božestvo* 'deity'.

Pan Bug rek: jak Ja boženstva spravuju davno 114b9.

Eternalness

There is no direct reference to the eternalness of God; idea of 'eternity' usually expressed by phrases based on VEK.

VEK 'age; century'. Kar, PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *wiek*, BN, Nos, Bial, Kaš, Ras, Šciaš, Šat; P. Kar, Skar, BR-R, BN, Nos, Bial cite phrase (*vo*) *wiek-viakom* 'forever'; BR-R also gives *vieki viečnyia*, na *wiek*. Cf. Polish *na wieki wieków*. All these phrases used in BLK.

Pan Boh na veķi vekov zastanecca 27a24-27b1; Ja Boh adžinij ... rovnaho ne choče mec na veķi vekov 110a5-6; Mne Bohu nelha spac na veķi vekom 115a17; idžice na veķi večno da raju 22a2-3; pojduc na veķi da raju 50b18.

VEKUISTAŠC 'eternity'. P *wiekuistość*. Occurs once.

V vekuistašci 84b18.

Oneness

Belief in the Oneness of God is central to Islam. In BLK usually expressed by ADŽIN-/EDŽIN-/JEDINOSTVA, or by phrase *rovni nemaš* 'He has no equal' (see ROVNIJ). Islamic ŤEVCHID 'unity, oneness' occurs in one passage, but it makes little sense in that context (see below). RT cites a similar passage from another (unidentified) Kitab.

ADŽIN-/EDŽINOSTVA Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. BR *adzičnostva* 'solitude', *adzičnostva* 'unity'. The form in BLK seems to be a Belarusianized version of P *jedynostwo*, with the substitution of *a/e-* for *je-*. All three forms are used in free alternation.

Adžinostva Majo božeje ludži rozumam majuc viznavac 109b11-12; Ja Boh, edžinostva Svaje pravdživaje 109b8-9; božeje adžinostva znaj i viznavaj 52b12.

JEDINOSTVA HSBM *jedinoc(s)tvo, jedinost'*; P *jedynostwo*.

Ludži u jedinostva verili 14a1; paznaka jedinostvu božemu 15b10-11; tije katorije verice u jedinostva bože jest mušelmane 27b11-12; u jedinostva božeje veric 62a6-7.

ŤEVCHID تَوْحِيدٌ. Ott (A) توحيد; T *tevhid*. RT: '*Pan Boh stworył tewchid (Kitab)*'.

BLK: Ott orthogr, with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Is taje jasnašci Pan Boh stvariv tevchid more 29b6.

Wisdom

RAZSUDAK OCS *razsudok*; cf. P *rozsadek*.

Pan Boh na veći vekov zastanecca, Jeho jest razsudak i da Jeho uše majuc vernuciše 27b1; razsudak boski 30a11, dživivše božej moci i Jeho razsudak 27a1.

Knowledge

VED-/VADOMAŠĆ PB, SS; BR-R *wiadomośc* 'fame, reputation', BN; McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh), Nos 'news'; P *wiadomośc* 'knowledge'.

Iz džerava list ne spadže bez voli i bez vedomošci Majej božej 110a15-16.

Fidelity

VERNAŠĆ Skar; BR-R *viernašć*, McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh; CAN);

P *wierność*.

Iz božej vernašci pomač vernim mušelmanem budže 32b11.

Majesty, Greatness

VELIKAŠC 'greatness'. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BN *vialikašć*, Nos. In BLK this form is more common than VELKOŠC.

Ništo ne budže meži Pana Boha meži čaloveka ... tilko Sam Pan Boh velikašceju Svajeju 19a15-16; Ti mene velikašceju i dobraščaj vipravac iz hrechov 31b10-11; čistij moj Bože, chvala Cebe ... velikašc Tvaja, nimaš boha aproc Cebe 79a3-4.

VELKOŠC HSBM, P *wielkość*. See VELIKAŠC.

Rekl Pan Bug: Ja u velkošci Mojej postanovam 122a23.

PA-/POVAŽNAŠC 'importance'. PB; BR-R *pavažnašć*, BN, NBS, Nos; P *powažność*. Exact meaning of this word as used in BLK is hard to define. Sometimes, as below, it appears to mean 'importance, awesomeness, greatness', but at other times is virtually synonymous with 'respect'. In standard BR and P it has implications of 'seriousness, consequence, solemnity'.

'Elej švetij pavažnašc božeje skora učuv ad praroka, takaje považnašc što džen ja šin pev, užav sabe za abičaj pec velkich slov 8a8-10.

Power

MOC Buł (*Vislicki Statut* 1423-38), PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R, BN, McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh), Nos, Kaš, Mal, Šat, Var; P.

Poznaka jest vam božej moci 17b4; duša jest moc Boža 8b4-5.

ZVICENŽIC 'to conquer'. P *zwyciężyć*; cf. PB *zvitiažlju*.

Tego dna zvicenžil Pan Bug raj i peklo 123a14.

Will

VOLA/VULA PB, Skar, SS, HSBM (*volja*); BR-R *vola*, McM (BK, CB, F107), Dob; P *wola*. Form *vula* possibly pseudo-Polish, but more probably a scribal convention (III.1.2/3.1). Usual meaning of this word in MBR is 'freedom', but in BLK, as in OBR, implies 'will'.

Za volaj božej hetije hnilije košci parušiliše 27a11; ušo to bilo z voli božej 65b15-16; ja voli božej jestem udžačna 85a20; z vuli Majoj božej 110a9.

Creation

STVAR-/STVORENE 1. 'the act of creation'. PB, SS (*sotv-*), Ziz; BR-R *stvareńnie*, BN, Kaś; P *stworzenie, stwarzanie*.

Ješče da stvarene žemli i neba i anhelej stvariv šemsot tišečej mest 114b9-10; pred stvorenem nebi i žemli 7b10-11.

STVAR-/STVORENE 2. 'a creature, that which has been created'. PB, SS (*sotv-*) BR-R *stvareńnie*, Kaś, Šat; P *stworzenie, stwarzanie*.

Toj Boh ušemu stvarenu rižk davaci mocen jest 34a19-20; Pane Bože, stvarene Tvaje padlehli Tabe Bohu klanecca 109b4-5.

STVORENCA/-NEC 'a creature'. Unrecorded elsewhere. Only occurs in the obl. cases, so not clear whether suffix is BR *-ec* or P *-ca*.

Ažančijove ... za vsich ludžej stvorenca v božich vižšije 82a13-14.

UD-/VDICHANE 'all creation, all living creatures'. Alternation [u/v] not uncommon (III.2.1.4). Unrecorded in this sense elsewhere. BR-R gives *udychańnie* as 'inhalation, respiration'. Cf. NBS *dychańnie* 'creation, living creatures'.

Pan Boh stvariv pažitki morskiye ješče dla ašminaccaci švetov, dla poživene ludžem i vselakamu udichane 29b12-13; Bab: kažnaho čeleveke i všemu stvarenu i vdichanu skora ketoreho stvariv albo naradživše Pan Boh jemu pažitek ukazav i napisav 115a18-19; kali četirnaccac kuflev vipje uše udichane edrekucca 119b6.

STVARAC 'to create'. BR-R; P *stwarzać*.

Preciv nedželi u večer Pan Boh pačav stvarac švet 103a1.

STVARIC 'to create' (perf.). BR-R *stvaryć*, BN, McM, Šat.

Pan Boh Adamskich džecej stvariv 19a18-19.

STVORIC 'to create' (perf.). P *stworzyć*.

Naprod stvoril Pan Bog neba i žeme 103a1-2.

PERSUNIC 'to create a person'. Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. OBR, P *persona*.

Nimaš Jemu padobnaho ... persunec On jest mocnij 74a20-22.

EPARSUNIC 'to create a person' (perf.). Unrecorded elsewhere. See PERSUNIC.

Pan Boh čeleveka skora eparsunic 93b2.

Benevolence

ZIČLIVOŠĆ 'benevolence, favour'. Buł, PB; BR-R *zyčliwaśc*, BN, Nos, Bial; P *życzliwość*.

Ja vam kažnamu ubrev premuve ustami u zičlivości Majej precivku vam 69a7-8.

DOBRAŠĆ/OŠĆ 'kindness'. HBM (-ros-); BR-R (coll.) *dobraśc*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Dob, Var; OP *dobrośc* (specifically 'God's kindness').

Ti mene velikašceju i dobraščaj vipravac iz hrechov 31b10-11.

DAR 'gift'. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R, Nos, Kaś, Šat; P. In BLK used synonymously with PADARAK to refer to God's gifts to mankind.

Za hojnije dari božije chvalu addac 9a7; ne tlumce dari Moje 35b20; dar božije 122b19.

PADARAK 'gift'. PB, SS; BR-R, Ściac, Var; P *podarek*. See DAR.

Stvaricelu Pane, Tvoj padarak katorij nam dav nikomu taho ne dav 22a20-21; ščodrim mušulmanem padarak ad Pana Boha raj 50a14-15; prarok šelam prinavši muvil: i brace Džebra'ilu, što za padarki Pan Boh mne prislav? 78b2-3.

ABDARAVAC 'to bestow gifts'. Skar, HSBM; BR-R, BN, Nos; P *obdarować*.

Pan Boh abdaruja 31a20.

PRISPORIC 'to increase'. P *przysporzyć*; cf. Dob *prisparit'*.

Čhto zvičaj maje u patnicu šatu krojic, tamu čeleveku veku prisporic Pan Boh 123b15-16.

Benediction

BLOGASLAVENSTVA 'benediction, blessing'. HSBM (*blagosla-/blagoslo-*); McM, Nos, *blahastavieństva*; Kar, Skar, *blagoslovenie*.

P *blagostawieństwo*.

Nad nimi jest blogaslavenstva od Boga 36a8.

BLOGOSLAVIC 'to bless'. P *blagostawić*. Cf. Kar, Skar *blago-*, McM, Dob, Jur *blaha-*.

Blogoslavil jich Bug 103b5.

Protection

AB-/OBRONA Buř (1540), HSBM, P *obrona*. Pleophonic BR form not used in BLK in contexts relating to God.

Kali pa sebachu budže pec až da noči u abrone božej budže, kali u večar budže pec až da dna u obrone božej budže 8a6-7.

AB-/EBARANIC 'to protect'. PB, Skar, SS (all *-niat'*), HSBM; BR-R *abaranić*, BN, Kaš (refl. only), Šat. In BLK only pleophonic BR form of verb used (cf. nominal form AB-/OBRONA).

Pana Boha prošec abi jich Pan Boh ad lezza pekla abaraniv 29a8; čto čvarti džen pošnikav Pan Boh jeho ad tamtaho šveta muk abaronic 45a1-2.

ŠCERAHČI 'to protect'. PB, SS; BR-R *šcierahčy*, McM, Bial, Kaš, Šat. In BLK used mainly in invocations.

Šceraži nas ad pekelnej muķi 25a2; šceraži mene Bože moj ad šejtana 28b13.

RATAVAC 'to protect, save'. Buř (1516), PB, SS; BR-R, BN, McM, NBS, Kaš, Šat, Var; P *ratować*. This word is rarely used in BLK. It is not found in direct relation to God, but rather for God acting through some other medium e.g. angels.

Enheli ... jeho daždžom ratavac 8a26-8b1.

Mercy

The Islamic concept of God's mercy is, to the layman, close to the Christian concept of divine grace. In BLK, the Tatars use only Slav/Christian terms for this attribute. LASKA and MILAŠC/-OŠC are the terms that occur most frequently. LASKA is also used in the traditional formula of benediction pronounced whenever mention is made of a holy or revered person; the Arabic phrase *rađya allāhu* 'anhu 'may God give him peace', 'may God be pleased with him', is translated in BLK as *laska bože nad nim* 'the grace of God be upon him'. The Tatars generally use this Slav phrase for the first four Caliphs, the four great theological teachers, the prophets, Muhammed's Companions and Muhammed's wife Ayesha. Muslims often use a special benediction for Muhammed himself: *galla'llāhu* 'alayhi wa'l-sallam 'may God bless him and give him peace'. In BLK this is rendered as: *praroka šventa, laska Boga visok'ego nad nim i pozdrovene šventa* (literally, 'the grace of God the High and His

holy greeting on the Holy prophet'); the use of *pozdrovene* 'greeting' suggests a confusion over the different forms of Arabic *sallam/salām*, basic meaning 'peace', but also customary Muslim term of greeting. MILAŚC/-OŚC is found in similar contexts to LASKA, but is not used as a benediction (though it is used as a title for revered figures; see p. 187). Terms UDŹAČNAŚC/UDŹEČNAŚC are used only in a benediction formula. Occurs less frequently than LASKA and in BLK is reserved for Mary, mother of Jesus, and for the Traditionists.

LASKA 'mercy, grace, peace'. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *laska*, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaś, Šat; P.

1. An attribute of God:

Pan Boh rek: Ja Boh, z laski i z voli Majej boskaj daju radaści ludžem 110a6-7; Pan Boh širokej laski 36b1; Bože naš, laskaju Svajeju učini nad nenznaju chalopjeju 25a1-2.

2. Part of the benediction formula:

'Ebasov, laska bože nad nim 10b14; 'Ejša, laska bože nad jej, praciv praroka ustala 15b8; praroka šventa, laska Boga visokego nad nim i pozdrovene šventa 120a7; Abu Beķir, 'Ummer, 'Uśman laska boža nad nimi, navežac prišli da jeho 114a11-12; 'Iša prarok jeho milośc, laska boža nad nim 85a3-4; četiri imami, laska Boha adžinaho nad nimi uśimi 52a4; kali spitajuc: čijej ti nauki? ti mov: imama velikaho ajca Chenifeja Kufejskaho, sina Šabitovaho jestem nauki, laska boža nad nim, 51b17-19; chto božim sluhoj buduči božije pasluhi addav, nad tim čelevekam budže laska božaja 28a15-16.

MILAŚC/-OŚC 'mercy, grace'. Buł (1396), Kar, PB, Skar, SS, HSBM (-*ost'*); BR-R *miłaśc*, BN, McM, Bial; P *miłośc*.

Radośc, zdarovja razširicca Bože naš iz milości i dobrości Svaje 23b3; milośc božuju i na dom božij i na šventi mečic 35b1; chvala Bohu ... laska i milośc učinivši nad prarokem Muchemmedam 51b2-3.

UDŹAČ-/UDŹEČNAŚC 'mercy, grace'. BR-R *udziačnaśc*, BN, McM, NBS; cf. PB, SS, McM (BK, F107, SCh), P *wdzięcznośc*.

Merjeme, udžačnaśc božeje nad neju 85a1-2; jak aznajmuje Abu Žer, udžačnaśc božaja nad nim 16b16; Šeid Chezari, udžečnaśc bože nad nim, ad praroka aznajmuja 18a23-18b1; Abu Herujre, udžačnaśc božaje nad nim, aznajmuje ad praroka 82a7-8; 'Uśman, udžačnaśc

boža nad nim, muvil ad praroke 73b2-3; Aniš sin Mališ, udžačnaš bože nad nim, muvil ad 'Eleje 33a15-16.

Compassion

MILA-/MILOSERDŽE/MILOŠERCE Kar, PB, Skar, SS, McM (BK, F107, Sch; CAN 2) *milaserdździe*, Šat; P *miłosierdzie*. Though relatively uncommon in MBR, this word occurs quite frequently in BLK. Forms with hard [-s-] (ص) are slightly more common than those with soft [-š-] (س). Cf. MILA-/MILOSERDNIJ.

Laska i miłošerce bože 36a9; Pan Boh takomu dvuch švatov miłoserdže učinic 37a16; ne tracce nadžeji a miłoserdže božim 50b5.

ŽMILAVANE/ŽMILOVANE/ZMILOVANE PB, SS; BN *žmilovańnie*, Nos; P *zmiłowanie*. In BLK forms with [ž-] (;) predominate.

Chebib Nedždžar rek: kedi bi to ludži vedželi co bože žmilovane jest nade mno ... to bi oni da imanu prišli bi 13a5-6; jon tam biv u velikam frasunku i ... pačav volac da Pana Boha a žmilovane 76b2-4; chvala Tabe Bože što majmu ummeću žmilovane bože jest 108b15-16.

ŽMILOVACCA 'to have mercy on'. PB, SS; BR-R *žmiłavacca*, BN, McM, Nos, Dob, Šat, Var; P *zmiłować się*.

Bože naš žmilujša nad nami 24b15-16; kali pakajecca a bolej taho ne činic, to Pan Boh žmilujecca 57b13-14; miłošcivij Bože žmilujše nad mušulmanmi 107b17.

Help

POMAČ PB, SS; BR-R, BN, McM, Ras, Šat; P *pomoc*.

Pan Boh jemu z laski pomač učiniv 8a14-15; prašice pomači u Pana Boha 35b21-22.

ULŽENE 'relief, alleviation'. Only SS records this form; cf. P *ulga*.

Chacev Pan Boh dla vas učinic ulžene a ne chacev chvorich i padarožnich trudnic 40a4-5.

UZHŁAD 'look; care'. Bial gives *uzhład* only in the sense 'look, glance'; McM, Šat *uzhłond*, P *wzgląd* 'care'. In BLK this word is used in both a literal and a figurative sense.

Pan Boh milaserdnij na mene uzhład Svoj majec 25a23.

ASTROŽNAŠC 'care'. Buł (1534), SS; Nos *ostrožność*, Dob, Bial; P.

Prez duch šventi prislal bo ta kšenge na tablicach i astrožnašci Mojej

napisalam ... nemaš v nej žadnej vontplivości 35a3-4.

Forgiveness

Muslim concept of divine forgiveness is not dissimilar to the Christian concept of salvation. One of the words most frequently used in the Quran for 'forgiveness' is *A maghfirah*, the term used by Christian Arabic-speakers for 'salvation'. In BLK the idea of being freed from sin by divine mercy is expressed by Slav Christian terms such as UVALNENE and ZBAVENE. For Muslims, 'forgiveness' also embraces the idea of 'erasing, cancelling out' (A *'afw*); the Tatars translate this concept literally by Slav terms (I)ZMAZAC and IZHLAŽAC. Other words for 'forgiveness' in BLK are standard Slav terms such as ADPUŠČENE and PREBAČENJE. No Islamic (Ott/A/Per) words used in this semantic field.

ADPUŠČENE Skar, SS (both *ot-*); BR-R *adpuščeńnie*, McM (CB, F107; CAN); P *odpuszczenie*. Usual word for 'forgiveness' in BLK.

Šemenčuj jich proroče adpuščenem hrachov 10b8-9; prašic buduc Pana Boha adpuščene hrachov mušelmaninu 7b20-21.

ODPUŠK Dob 'farewell ceremony on fortieth day after funeral', 'prayer read by priest at the end of the service'. Cf. HSBM, P *odpust* 'remission', Srez *otpust*".

Učini dobre, za toje tabe na onim švece budže odpusk 125b8-9.

PREBAČENJE SS; BR-R *prabačeńnie*, BN, McM, NBS, Šat; P *przebaczenie*.

A prebačenje prašiv barzo 94b8-9.

PREPUŠČENE Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. Srez *prěpuščati*.

Pan Boh rek: ... daju mnoha ludžem i prepuščene Majho 110a6-8.

UVALNENE McM *uvalniěńnie* (cites one source only); P *uvolnienie*.

Idžice da uvalnene ad hrachov vašich 82b14.

ZBAVENE Skar (*izb-*), HSBM (*zb-*); BR-R *zbavieńnie*, BN (*zbaül-*), McM (CB, F107, SCh), Nos; P *zbawienie*.

Tilko to dobrośc i zbavene ktire vara Panu Bogu 35a19; jeho pričina mušelmanem jest lekarstvam i dušnim zbavenem 62a21-62b1.

ADPUŠCIC 'to forgive'. Skar, SS (both *ot-*); BR-R *adpušcić*, BN, McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh), Bial; P *odpušcić*. This is the verb most commonly used for 'to forgive' in BLK. Cf. ADPUŠČENE.

Pan Boh hrachi jich adpušćic 67a21-22; jakvele u moru kropel takvele Pan Boh jemu spašenne dašć i takvele hrachov adpušćic 30b22-23; Ja takovemu kažnemu hrachi jich adpušču 33b4.

IZHLAŽAC 'to wipe out, to forgive'. Unrecorded elsewhere in this precise form. Cf. HSBM *glaživati*; BR-R *zgladzić, zgladźvać*; Nos, P *zgladzić*; R *izgladit', izglaživat'*.

Uše hrachi izhlažaje Pan Boh 59b4.

VIBAČIC 'to forgive'. HSBM (*vybačiti*); BR-R *vybačyc*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Kaś, Da (Uk, BR); P *wybaczyć*. In BLK this word occurs very rarely and is not used in relation to God. It is included here for the sake of semantic completeness.

Prašu cebe vibač mne, ja abmilivše 25b1.

ZMAZAC 'to wipe away, to forgive'. Skar (both forms); HSBM only *izmazanyj*; BR-R *zmazać*, McM, Dob; P.

Pan Boh tamu čeleveku kaže uše hrachi zmazac 73b5; spašenje zmaže hrachi 30b24; borzda pakajeciše a bolejš ne hrašice, izmaže Pan Boh tojš hrech 40a17; Pan Boh jemu ... řišeče řišečej hrachov kaže zmazac 50a12-14.

Anger

HNEV/GNEV PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *hnieŭ*, BN, McM (CAN), Var; P *gniew*. Word frequently used in BLK. McM considers it more typical of OBR than of MBR; Var only dialect dictionary to record it.

Dla nenavčonich džahilov to i druhim ludžem hnev božij izrušajuc 59b2-3.

SROGAŠĆ/-OŠĆ 'severity'. Buł, PB, SS, P *srogość*; cf. BR-R, McM, Dob *str-*. In BLK conveys a concept that combines overtones of 'displeasure', 'anger' with 'power to punish'.

Pan Boh reče ... Ja vam Svajejš srogašći ne činu 22a21-22; Pane Bože, mušu srogošći Tvajejš bajučiše pravdžive ž nim budu hevaric 64a1-2.

Curse

Usual term in BLK is **KLEDBA**. **KLEDBA** and **PREKLECJE** both used in traditional formula of execration 'may the curse of God be upon him'.

KLEDBA There are several different spellings of this word in BR, but none corresponds exactly to the form found in BLK. Kar, PB, Skar

klatva, HSBM (*kla-*, *klja-*, *kletva*); BR-R, BN, McM, Jur, Var *klačba*, McM, Nos, Dob *klatba*; Ras *klad'ba*. Cf. P *klatwa*.

Abu Džahil, kledba boževa nad nim 10a14; čto kline Boha, to nad jim kledba boževa i anelskaje i luckaje 38b12; kali b žonka jak žemla i neba takvele učinku dobroha činila a mužu ne vnaravila i ne v zhodže bila to nad toj žonkaj kledba boževa i enhelskaje i ludžej ušich 62b19-63a2.

PREKLECJE BN *praklaćcie*, Nos (-ćcio), P *przekłecie*.

Ubbev sin Dželefev preklecje bože nad nim 26a5.

PREKLENSTVA McM (CAN 1) *prakleństva*; P *przekleństwo*.

Ja ... ad ušich enhelej horšim stav i dvuch švetov preklenstvu 66a4-5.

ZLUREČENSTVO Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. PB, Skar, P *złorzeczenie*, SS *złoriećie*.

Tedi prijdo na cebe vžitko zlurečenstvu 106a17.

Accursed

PRAKLATIJ/PREKLATIJ BR-R *praklaty*, BN, McM (BK, F107, Sch), Dob. In BLK these forms are preferred to PREKLENTIJ.

Ja iz laski božej adpav i nad preklatimi praklatem stav 66a8-9; 'Iša prarok jeho milość z neba zišovši Dedždžala praklataho zabje 86a15-16.

PREKLENTIJ P *przekłety*. See PRAKLATIJ.

Pered sudnim dnom Dadždžal preklientij povstane na mušulman 86a12-13; Nemrud preklienti da ahnu biv ukinuv 8a25-26.

ZAKLATIJ HSBM; BR-R *zaklaty*, BN, Nos, NBS, Dob, Kaš, Šat; P *zakłety*. The standard BR and P meaning of this word is 'sworn, promised; enchanted'. In BLK, however, it is used as an alternative for PRAKLATIJ.

Adžin iz nas šedžde jemu ne učinic preto dvuch švetov zaklatij zastac maje 77b10-11.

Punishment

KARANJE/KERANE PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BN *karańnie*, McM (BK, CB, Sch; CAN 1), NBS, Nos; P *karanie*. KERANE preferred in BLK.

Vedaj jakoje karanje maje bic tim ludžem ketorije bez pakajeti umirajuc 67a15-16; šejtane raskazuju tabe pod srokim (-g-) keranem

što ti ušo pravdžive kezac 63b19-20; kerane božeho treba mocna bajaciše 67a18; enheli ... vulni stali ad kerane 66a3-4.

POMST(V)A 'vengeance'. PB, SS; BR-R *pomsta*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Var; P. Only Kaš cites *pomstva*, usual form in BLK.

Ad hrešnich pomste bere 9b16; jon za jich Boha prašiv, že jon biv prijacel božij, pomstva ne činiv 13a10; i Bože ušomahušcij pomstva čini 21a16-17.

KARAC 'to punish'. PB, Skar, SS; BR-R, HSBM (-ti), BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Dob, Kaš, Šat; P.

Bo tich pogan Pan Bug za nečistašc karal 105b6.

SKARAC 'to punish' (perf.). BR-R (*pa-* preferred), BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Dob, Da (W); P.

Pan Boh rek: Muša, velikaj reči pitaješ, kezav bi taho času sroga skarac 114b3-4; židži v ten džen bili skerane, Pan Boh jich v liški obrucil 124a18.

STRAŠIC 'to frighten' PB, SS; BR-R *strašyc*, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Bial; P.

Pan Boh muvil: ... zeslalem Muchemmeda žebi strašil Kuranem 25b2-5.

PASTRAŠIC 'to frighten' (perf.). PB; BR-R *pastrašyc*, BN, Nos; P *postraszyć*.

Pevne pastrašu lud Svoj Kuranem 40b8.

AD-/EDREČICCA 'to repudiate'. PB (*ot-*, not refl.); BR-R *adračysia*, McM (CAN), Kaš *adrakacca*. Cf. P *odrzyć się*.

Čhto bi zanechav ne klanevše sebach nemaž, adrečecce ad jeho iman 58a19-20; kali ošmi kuflev vipje Meka'il edrečecca ... kali dvaccac kuflev vipje to Sam Pan Boh jedinij ušich švatev Stvaricel ad jeho adrečecca 119b11.

IV.1.2 Angels, Devils and Other Non-Humans

Angel

in a general or collective sense concept conveyed by Slav ENHEL/ ANHEL. Specific angels, however, are referred to by Islamic names.

EN-/ANHEL Form ANHEL is typical of OBR (and OCS); survives in

some modern dialects, but only as an alternative to standard BR form *aniot*. PB, Skar, Ziz, HSBM (*an-*, *agg-*); Dob, Kaš, Šat (*-hil*); cf. in BR, P *aniot*. In BLK form ENHEL predominates. Unusual use of [e] for [a] in stressed position may reflect Tatar pronunciation (III.2.1.3).

Ťišeče imon akrom enhelej nihto ne vedaje 8b22-23; enheli plakañ holasam velikim 85b11; pašlu enheli Maje da jeho 93b6; u šemdžešar ťišečej hod stvariv žemlu i neba i enheli 114b21-22; tilko anheñ zastanucca 18b10-11; Pan Boh tamu ťišeče anhelov spašenje dašc 46a8-9; Pan Boh kezav ušim enhelem pricci 109b3.

ANEL-/ENELSKIJ/ANOLSKIJ 'angelic, of angels'. BR-R, BN *aniolski*; Nos, P *anielski*. In BLK form ANELSKIJ/ENELSKIJ predominates. ANOLSKIJ is not common. See also ENHELSKIJ.

Kledba božeja i anelskaje 38b12; u tajemnicach enelskich 48a19; Pan Boh za anelskaje prožbaj kezav ribe na berah vičinuc Junuš praroke 76b4-5.

ENHELSKIJ 'angelic, of angels'. Skar, HSBM (*angel-*, *ankgel-*, *agg-*); R *angel'skij*; OCS. This adjectival form is extremely rare in BLK, unlike the noun from which it is derived. See ANELSKIJ.

Kledba božeja i enhelskaje i ludžej ušich 63a1-2.

ĀKERUVVA كَرُوبَا 'the angels near to God'; Ott (A) كَرُوبِي; T *kerubi*; RT: 'tamze mnoho aniolow a ich imiona kierubiler (*Ākitab*)'.

BLK: the first three letters are the same as in standard Ott orthogr, but use of *vav* in the last syllable is curious (and differs from the form given in RT, although the actual citation in RT is very similar to a passage in BLK). Not found in obl. cases, but verb forms indicate that it was treated as a neut. sg. noun.

Tamze mnoha anhelov, jich imona Kerruva bilo 97a3-4; u kuršu Kerruva bilo veprednejsije enheli 54b20.

Names of Archangels

Always given in Islamic form, even when Christian equivalents exist. Possessive adjectives, formed with Slav suffixes, often used.

DŽEBRA'IL جَبْرَائِيلُ / جَبْرَائِيلُ 'Gabriel'. Ott (A) جبرائيل. T *Cebrail*.

BLK: Ott orthogr, but in second syllable ي often omitted (III.5.1.2). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, voc. sg. -u, gen. sg. -a.

Pitav ja u Džebra'ila 25b11; prez Džebra'ila da prarokav jich milošći bila vešć 29a19; šejtan hlanuvši na Džebra'ila rek: i Džebra'ilu 65b10-11; skora učuv ad Džebra'ila tije slova 88b3-4; pašov na toje mejsce ... iz Džebra'ilem 102a10-11.

DŽEBRA'ILOV(IJ) 'of Gabriel'. Poss. adj. derived from DŽEBRA'IL with Slav suff. *-ov(ij)*. Long and short forms both used in BLK.

Antakijskich ludžej jednim glosam Džebra'ilovim zvicenžil 12a20-21; Džebra'ilov mejsce pad tim dđeravam 97b3-4.

EŽRA'IL/AŽRA'IL عَزْرَائِيلُ / اَزْرَائِيلُ / عَزْرَائِلُ 'Azrail, angel of death'. Ott (A) عزرائيل; T *Azraíl*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. generally used in first syllable, but occasionally *elif* replaces *fetħe* + 'ayn (ع), possibly reflecting Tatar pronunciation (cf. modern Turkish); in third syllable ي often omitted (III.5.1.1/2). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, voc. sg. *-u*, gen. sg. *-a*.

İsrafil muvil: ja pitav u 'Ežra'ila, Ažra'il muvil: ja pitav u Levče 29a15; 'Ežra'il u jeje dušu uzav 85a20; ad 'Ežra'ila učivše 52b1; i brace 'Ežra'ilu 108a16-17; čto bi mev kaho 'Ežra'ilem abo dušajemcam nazvac kafirinam jest 111a19-20.

EŽRA'ILOV 'of Azrail'. Poss. adj. derived from 'EŽRA'IL with Slav suff. *-ov*. Only short form used in BLK.

'Ežra'ilova trudnašć preda mnoju jest 86b8.

DUŠAJEMCA 'soul-taker'. Unrecorded elsewhere. Used occasionally in BLK as alternative name for *Azrail*. Word is a literal calque from T *can alici* 'soul-taker'. Cf. A *malak al-mawt* 'angel of death'.

Dušajemca dušu jeho z hnevam ožme 119a21; to jest dušajemca 'Ežra'il 93a4; čto bi mev kaho 'Ežra'ilem abo dušajemcam nazvac kafirinam jest 111a19-20.

İSRAFIL اِسْرَافِيلُ 'İsrafil, angel of the last Trump'. Ott (A) اسرافيل; T *İsrafil*.

BLK: Ott orthogr, with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, voc. sg. *-u*, gen. sg. *-a*.

İsrafil trubu u roce dđeržic 18b3; i İsrafilu 98a5; ja pitav u İsrafila 29a14; prišov da İsrafila 98a2.

İSRAFILOVIJ 'of İsrafil'. Poss. adj. derived from İSRAFIL with Slav suff. *-ovij*. Only long form used in BLK.

Tilko iz Išrafilavaj trubi 18a10-11; tilko z Išrafilovaho holasu 19a12.

MEĀ'IL مَكَائِلُ / مَكَائِيلُ 'Michael'. Ott (A) ميكايل. T *Mikâil*. Cf. BR *Mikail*, P *Michał*. In BLK Michael mentioned infrequently. No adjectival form.

BLK: unusually, in first syllable [e] replaces [i]; in third syllable ي often omitted (III.5.1.2). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u.

Ja Meċa'il 86a14; Džebra'il muvil: ja pitav u Meċa'ila 29a14.

Custodian of Heaven

RIZVAN, the usual Islamic term, occurs slightly more often than T BECHČI. Slav STARAŽ is used in a general sense and may not have been perceived as a specific synonym for the Arabic and Turkish terms.

RIZVAN رِطْوَانٌ. Ott (A) رضوان; T *ridvan*; RT: *rydwan*.

BLK: ط replaces ض (III.5.1.10); RT indicates that it was pronounced as [d]. Decl; masc. hard stem.

Pa pravaj šali rizvan stajac budže 20a10; Pan boh rizvanu kezav raj adčinic 108a20-21.

BECHČI بَعْجِي 'watchman'. Ott بکچی; T *bekçi*.

BLK: ح [ch] replaces ك [k]; word-finally *kesre* replaces ي [i] (III.5.1.20/2). Not found in obl. cases.

Na mejscach da lidžbi zdavanne bechči buduc 19a5.

STARAŽ 'watchman'. BR-R, Bial *storaž*; BN, McM, Nos, Dob, Ras *staroža*. Cf. P *stróż* (see use of STROŽ/STRUŽ pp. 149, 306).

U raju u kažnich varotach pa šemdžešat staražov jest 22b1.

Angels of the Throne

ENHELI 'ERŠOVIJE See ENHEL, also 'ERŠOVIJ.

Enheli 'eršovije pamruc 18b12.

Recording Angels

Islamic (Ott/A) phrase and Slav translation used. No clear semantic difference.

ĀIRAMA ĀĀĀIBINE كِرَامًا كَاتِبِينَ. Ott (A) كرام كاتيبين. T *kiramun kâtibîn* 'the Noble Writers'.

BLK: suffix *elif* affixed to first word, perhaps a scribal error. Not declined. Entire phrase (occurs once) incorporated bodily into Slav

text, followed by explanatory BR gloss ('two angels at God's side').

Āirama kařibine dva enheli pri Panu Bohu 75a13.

PISAR 'writer, scribe'. PB, SS; BR-R, BN, NBS, Dob; P *pisarz*.

Pavelbonije pisari verajuc (ved-) řto vi řinice, uřelařkije luďřkije uřinki piřuc 75a13-15.

Interrogating Angels

Sometimes referred to by Arabic names, in which case the two names are linked by the Turkish (Arabic) conjunction *ve* and whole syntagma is incorporated into the Slav text; occasionally followed by explanatory Slav term PITALNĀKI, which is sometimes also used alone.

MUNKĀR VE NEĀIR مُنْكَرٌ وَنَكِيرٌ 'the names of the two angels who interrogate the dead'. Ott (Ā) منكر ونكير; T *Mũnker ve Nekir*.

BLK: second syllable of both words -ĀIR (spelt with *kesre*), though in standard Ott (A) orthography NEĀIR has *Ā* here; syntagma incorporated bodily into the Slav text, but verb forms indicate that it was considered to have a plural sense.

U mahile perřije prijduc Munkir ve Neķir 49b7; chto pjanij umre Munkir ve Neķir prijduc, jeho pjanaho znajduc 117b7-8.

PITALNĀKI 'the questioners'. Unrecorded elsewhere in this sense. Cf. BR-R, BN *pitalnik'i* 'question mark'.

Munkir ve Neķir strařnije pitalniki 49b7-8; pazbili ... pitalnikav strařnich 76b11-13.

The Devil

Usual term in BLK is Islamic řEJTAN. Very occasionally Slav řATAN is used. Representation of the two words in the Arabic script is sufficiently different for it to be unlikely that řATAN is an orthographic variant of řEJTAN. Quranic term *Iblis* not used in BLK.

řEJTAN شَيْطَانٌ. Ott (A) شيطان; T *řeytan*. RT.

BLK: Ott orthogr, with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, voc. sg. -*e*, gen. sg. -*a*.

řejtan jak krov pa řilach chodřic 28b9; Pan Boh rek: řejtane, raskazuju tabe ... uřo pravdřive kezac 63b18-19; řceraři mene Bože moj ad řejtana 28b13; ne klanejceře řejtanu 24a1; na tom řvece řejtanom uřinic 47b10; prarok jeho milořc iz řejtanom razmovlav

65b8; iz šejtanom u pekle harec budžece 108a2.

ŠEJTANSKIJ 'of the devil'. Adjective derived from ŠEJTAN with Slav suff. *-skij*.

Šceraži mene Pane Bože ad znoščenav šejtanskich 28b8; na čužije žoni hledžec atruta jest, šejtanskaje strala 63a12; u karti ihrac ... to učinek z umislu šejtanskaho 66a19-20; karčma šejtanskij dom 114a8; tego dna chto nochci reže ad zvodu šejtanskaho vulen bivaje 122b19-20.

ŠATAN/ŠETAN SS; BR-R (coll.) *šatan*, BN, Nos, Kaš, Šciaš, Šat; P.

Skvapljivošć od šatana a neskvapljivošć od Boga 11b6-7.

NEPRIJACEL 'enemy'. PB, Skar, SS; BR-R *nieprzyaciel*, BN, McM. Nos; P *nieprzyaciel*.

Jon stav javnim neprijacelam Panu Bohu svajemu 26a22.

Master of Hell

MALIĀ ʾمَالِكُ 'king'. Ott (A) مالك; T *malik*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

MaliĀ prašic buduc 24b12-13.

KRUL 'king'. Buł *krol*, *krul* (1351); P *król*.

Krul pekelnij 24b13.

VAJEVODA 'leader, ruler'. Used in this sense in OBR, though not in MBR.³³⁹ PB, Skar, HSBM (*voje-*); P *wajewoda*; R (arch.) *vojevoda*.

I Džebra'il, chto to jest? Džebra'il muvil: pekelnij vajeвода to jest 94b4-5.

Jinn

An order of beings intermediate between angels and men. Often considered to be malign, but the Tatars regarded them as good spirits.³⁴⁰

DŽINEJ ʾجِنِّي. Ott (A) جنني; T *cinni*. RT: *dzyn*, *dzyniey*, *czynaj*, 'czy wy z ludziej, czy z džyniejew'.

BLK: unusually, *shedde* omitted over ن [n], but development of final -I>EJ is a common feature (III.5.1.15/9).

³³⁹ Cf. Skaryna's edition of *Acathistos Hymn to the Virgin*: also hymn in honour of the archangels: *Radujsja angelom preslavny voevodo* (Skaryna: *Mataja knižka*).

³⁴⁰ Kryczyński (S.), 'Tatarzy litewscy': 281.

Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. pl. -av.

Mi inšego Boga ne znali i ne klaneliša iz džinejav 43a12-13.

Peri

FEREJ/FARI فَرِي / فَايِي . Ott (Per) پری; T *peri*. RT: *fierej, fierei; fierejka, fierejski*; 'ach ty fierej, kab cibie cholera!' In Turkish, *peri* means 'benign spirit', but the Tatars usually regarded them as evil.³⁴¹

BLK: word-initially ف [f] replaces standard Ott (Per) پ [p]; in first syllable *elif* [a] sometimes replaces *fetħe* [e]; typical development of final -I>EJ (III.5.1.18/2/9).

Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. pl. -ov.

Stvariv ... ludžej padobnij fari 87a1; ad ferejev 31b4.

IV.1.3 Revelation, Holy Scriptures and Prophecy

Revelation

AZ-/EZNAJMENE BN *aznajmieńnie*, Nos; P *oznajmienie*. In BLK word used to indicate a divine pronouncement or revelation.

Ad Pana Boha aznajmene prišlo 85b14.

AZ-/OZNAJMIC 'to announce, reveal'. Buł (1563), SS, HSBM *oznajmiti*; BN, NBS, Nos; P *oznajmić*.

Pan Boh u Kurane aznajmiv 32a2.

AB-/OBJAVIC 'to announce, reveal'. Skar, HSBM *objaviti*; BR-R *ab'javić*, McM (BK, CB; CAN); P *objawić*.

Skaži nam a sudnam dnu, jakaje sprava maje bic abjav nam 118a4.

ZESLAC 'to send down, reveal'. HSBM (-ti); P *zsyłać*.

Potim hetij ajeť zeslanij 10b15-16; mešec remezan u katorim Kuran zeslani 39b21.

Proof

DOVOD PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *dovad*, BN, McM; OP *dowod*.

Zmocnil go u modlitvach i vzivanu praročenstva, iz jasnim dovodam davnim 7a15-16.

JAVNOŠĆ 'manifestation, proof'. P *jawność*.

A hetaj historiji javnošć jest že Pan Boh dna sudnaha martvich aživic

³⁴¹ *ibid*: 281.

mocen ješć ... slova ješć čista abo slova dživne 27a19.

ŚVEDECTVA/-STVA 'testimony, proof'. Buť (1388); P *świadectwo*. Cf. PB, SS, *Ziz svědoc" stvo*.

Tak muvi Pan Bug: kedi bi tvemu proročenstvu ne verili b uveš švet skora Ja učinu švedestva 8a22-23.

POTVERŽENE 'affirmation'. PB, SS; Nos, P *potwierdzenie*.

Na rezširena vari mušulmanskej i dla potvržene 62a17-18.

STVARDŽENE 'affirmation'. Nos, P *stwierdzenie*.

Ākedi bi dla mušelman, mušelman bez stvardžene slova božeho verac u jedinstva Jeho 9b9-10.

POTVERDŽIC 'to affirm'. Nos, P *potwierdzić*.

Potverdžil Pan Boh Muchemmed prarokam 62a18.

STVER-/STVARDŽIC 'to affirm'. Nos, P *stwierdzić*.

Pan Boh ... Muchemmed proroka proročenstva stverdžil 8a20-21.

Wonder, Sign

CUDA P *cudo*. Cf. lit. and dial. BR *cud*; also P *cud*.

Kažnej reči Jego poznaka i cuda ješć 14a11-12.

DŽIVA Kar, HSBM; BR-R, BN, McM (CAN), NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šciac, Šat, Var; P *dziwo*. Cf. Skar, SS *div*".

Vidželi dživa že Ja stvoriv dla jich 25b13.

PA-/POZNAKA 'sign'. McM *paznaka*; P *poznaka*. McM classes this as a Ukrainianism in BR, but it could equally well be a Polonism.

Kažnej reči Jego poznaka i cuda ješć 14a11-12; poznaka ješć vam božej moci 17b4.

Command

No clear difference of meaning between the four words used to express this concept in BLK. Occur in identical contexts, frequently in adjacent lines. Usual term is RAS-/RES-/RAZKAZANE. RES-/RAZKAZ is relatively uncommon.

PRIKAZ BR-R *prykaz*, McM (CAN); P *przykaz* 'precept'. Occurs over fifteen times.

Chto Pana Boha bajavšiše prikaz Jeho spelnic ... pevne jeho mejsca raj 36a17-19; mušulmanin to jest chto znaje prikaz božij i sposab da

veri mušulmanškej 56b7-8.

PRIKAZANE PB, SS; McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh; CAN 3 + 1 folk) *prykazańnie*; P *przykazanie*. Occurs over fifteen times. Not cited in any modern BR dictionaries except McM.

Tije ludži prikazane bože mucna (moc-) dđeržac 51a3-4; čistaje duša ... s prikazane božeha vipelnala pasluhi Jeho 60b14-15.

RAZ-/RESKAZ PB; BN *raskaz*, McM; Nos, P *rozkaz*. Occurs five times.

Božeho raskazu epuścili i jeli s taho dđerava pšeničnaho ovuc 73b20-21; z božeho raskazu budže muvic 118b8.

RAZ-/RAS-/RESKAZANE PB, SS; BN *razkazańnie*, Nos (*ros-*); OP *rozkazanie*. Usual spelling is RASKAZANE; counting all three orthographic/phonic variants, word occurs over twenty times.

Co jest raskazane ad Pana Boha, to tamu všitkemu veric povinen mušelmanin 35b8-9; toje raskazane božeje majuc činic 40b22.

DEK-/DAKRET 'decree'. Buł (1456), PB, SS, HSBM (*de-*); BR-R *dekret*; P.

Dakret božij Kuran jest 9b12-13; dekret stverdžonij že jeni ne verac 10a2-3; kali dakret božij stane vimovi mec ne buduc 24a12.

PRIKAZ-/PRIKEZAC 'to command'. PB; BR-R *prykazać*, McM, Dob; P *przykazać*.

Jak prikazav Boh 71a11; Pan Boh nam pac vachtev prikezav nemaž ferzem 75a15-16.

RAS-/RAZKAZAC 'to command'. PB, SS (both *ros-*); BN *raskazać*, Nos, Var; P *rozkazać*. In BLK used slightly more often than PRIKAZAC.

U Ťevriřtu Pan Boh razkazav nifaš da saraku dneř i sarakavuju vadu gušul brac ... ale nam Pan Boh raskazav Kuranem jak ačiścicca 71a1-3.

Permission

In BLK this concept is expressed by DAZVA-/DOZVOLENE and PAZ-/POZVOLENE. Used synonymously, with about the same frequency.

DAZVA-/DOZVOLENE HSBM (*dozvol-*); McM (CAN) *dazvaleńnie*, Bial; R (arch.), P *dozwolenie* (*poz-* preferred); lit. and dial. BR *dazvoł*.

Dozvolene ad Boha prijdže 16b9-10; ad Pana Boha taje noči

dazvalene ne budže 16b12.

PAZ-/POZVOLENE SS; McM (SCh; CAN 2 + 1 folk) *pazvaleńnie*, Šat; R; P *pozwolenie*.

Šedžde učinic až poiki pozvolene budže 16b9; tabe pazvolene za Mnoj, Bohem muvic 114b2.

Promise

ABETNICA SS, HSBM; McM *abiatnica*, Nos; P *obietnica*.

Tvaja abetnica maje bic pravdživaje 23a22.

ABECAC 'to promise'. Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *abiacać*, McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh), Nos, Kaš, Šat; P *obiecać*. Word rarely used in BLK.

Kali mi na švece bili, nam abecav u raji persunu Svaju ukazac 23a21.

Oath

PRÍŠEHA PB, SS, Ziz; BR-R *prysiaha*, McM, Nos, Dob; P *przysięga*.

Príšeha značiše dekretam božim 9b12-13.

PRÍŠEHAC 'to take an oath, swear'. PB, SS; BR-R *prysiahać*, BN (refl. only), McM, Dob; P *przysięgać*.

Prarok muvil prišehajuči ad Džebra'ila 33a19.

Word

SLOVA PB, SS; BR-R *słova*. BN, Bial, Dob, Šat; P *słowo*.

Kuran jest slova stvaricelškaje 62b6.

Scriptures

Holy scriptures usually referred to by the standard word for 'book' in BR, P or Turkish (Ott/A). Numerically, *ĶĪTAB* occurs most often, but no clear stylistic or semantic difference between this and equivalent terms. Found in identical contexts, frequently in adjacent passages.

ĶĪTAB كِتَاب 'book'. Ott (A) كتاب; T, RT: *kitab*. In T (Ott) this word has no particular religious significance; like *KNIHA* and *KŠENGE*, it is the general term for 'book'.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, gen. pl. -ov.

To jest s tureckaho *ķitabu* 'Ebdul Kaniju imama na polškiej jezik viložona abi ludži pospoliti virazumeli 121a9-10; tamu *ķitabu* kanec

119a16; kali spítajuc: iz neba kolka kítabov zešlo? ti mov: četiri knihi 54a3-4; u inšich kítabach tak našov i vidžev, čítav 85a2-3; u ... ušich kítabach i knihach helava Kuran 33b18.

KNIHA 'book'. PB, Skar, HSBM; BR-R, Bial, Dob, Jan 3. See KÍTAB.

Četiri knihi zeslano, Tévriť, Žebur, Indžil, Furkan 54a7-8; chto ščirim i pakornim sercam muvil tije četiri churfi jak bi tije četiri knihi vipev 31a16-17; u ... ušich kítabach i knihach helava Kuran 33b18; Pan Boh što u troch knihach prikaz Svoj padav, u Tévriťu, Indžilu, Žeburu, to uša taja nauka jest u Kurane 33b19-20.

KŠENGE 'book'. P *kšiega*.

Chvala Panu Bogu Kturiť zeslal na sluga Svego kšenge Kuran považnij i mondrij 7a13-14; trece kšengi Mojžešove 105b11.

PIŠMO 'scripture, writing'. BR-R, Dob; P. In BLK often used as an alternative to the terms for 'book', but also found in a more general, collective sense, for 'scriptures'.

Precivni pišmu božemu 59b8; ušim pišmom fátiche šurej pačatak i zamok, ili što u Tévriťu, u Indžilu i Žeburu, to všo u Kurane jest, a što u Kurane jest ušo toje u fátiche šureju jest 30a21-24; trudna kažnamu da virazumene pišma božeho 68b6.

SUCHUF سُّحُفٌ 'the books of minor prophets'. Ott (A) صحف; T *suhuf*. RT cites *suchuf*, but defines it as 'pages', a meaning which is not uncommon in T (Ott), but not found in BLK. See ŽVITEK.

BLK: س replaces ص. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -uv.

Kali spítajuc: iz neba kolka kítabov zešlo? ti mov: četiri knihi a sto šuchufuv žvitkav prarockich 54a3-4.

ŽVITEK 'holy books, writings'. P *žvitek* 'scroll'; cf. BR *žvić* 'to roll up'. In BLK often used with KÍTAB or SUCHUF, but also alone.

Iz neba kolka kítabov zešlo? ... četiri knihi a sto suchufuv žvitkav prarockich 54a3-4; Idriš prarok naprod na švece u ruķi Kelem uzavši pačav pisac a dvaccac žvitkav kítabov Ibrahim prarok (-u) zišlo a potim četiri knihi zeslano 54a5-7; ušo toje u žvitkach Ibrahim praroke jest, a što u žvitkach Ibrahim praroke jest, to ušo toje u Muša praroka knihi jest 54a13-16.

ŽVITKOVIJ 'of the holy books'. Unrecorded elsewhere.

I Muchemmed prarok, pevne što hetije žvitkovije Kítab 54a13.

Names of the Four Holy Books

Only the Islamic names of the Holy Books are used. Occasionally, however, passages from the Old Testament are cited, slightly paraphrased, but with the correct Biblical chapter references (see citations under ROZDŽAL and VIRŠ respectively).

KURAN/KERAN قُرْآنُ / قَرَانُ 'Quran'. Ott (A) قرآن; T *Kuran*.

BLK: standard Ott (A) orthogr. far more common than form with *fethë* [e] in first syllable (probably careless writing of vowel point). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-u/-e*, prep. sg. *-e*. Compound verb with PEC 'to recite'.

Chvala Panu Bogu Kturiž zeslal na sluga Svego kšenge Kuran 7a14; Kuran borzda peli 16b19; jeni s Kurane sabe pažitkav dđeržac 25b5; is Kuranu preto chto ščirim i pakornim sercam muvil tije četiri churfi 31a16-17; trimac Kerane božeho 67a18; jak u Kurane piše 7a21; zeslalem Muchemmeda žebi strašil Kuranem 25b4-5.

KURANAV/KURANOV(IJ) 'of the Quran'. Possessive adjective derived from KURAN with Slav suff. *-ov(ij)*. Long and short adjectival forms used. Used in similar contexts to KURANNIJ. No apparent stylistic or semantic difference; both can qualify PECJO 'chanting, reciting'.

Ja šin kuranova ime Muchemmed praroku 8b19-20; dla bravdživašci (pra-) imon kuranovich 9b6; bo jest nutr kuranovij ja šin 7b4; kuranova pecjo 32a12-13; u pecju kuranovim 79b14; kuranav švetlašč 114a20.

KURANNI(J) 'of the Quran'. Adjective derived from KURAN with Slav suff. *-ni(j)*. Long and short forms used. See KURANOV.

Kuranni ajeť 32a6; kurannije ajeťi 74b21-22; chafiz kurannij 121b14; to jest matka kuranna 30a6-7; pošle pecja kurannaho 49b18; i Muchemmed, dla pravdživašci razsudku kurannaho ti jesteš praročem 8b18-19.

ŤEVRIŤ تَوْرِيْتُ 'the Pentateuch'. Per تَوْرِيْت [Tevrit]; cf. Ott (A) تورات; T *Tevrat*; Heb *tōrā*. RT: *taur*, *tawry*, *tewrat*.

BLK: Per orthogr. with vowel points (but note Arabic and Hebrew influence in RT). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-u*, prep. sg. *-u*.

Is Ťevriťu 31a16; u Ťevriťu ješť trista imon 8b24.

ŽEBUR زَبُورُ 'Psalms of David'. Ott (A) زبور; T *zebur*; RT: *ziebur*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u.

Iz Žeburu 31a16; u Žeburu jest trista imon 8b24.

INDŽIL انجيل 'the New Testament, Gospel'. Ott (A) انجيل . T *Incil*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, prep. sg. -u.

U Indžilu jest sto imon božich 8b24-9a1.

Names and Epithets for the Quran

Muslims use fifty-five special titles to refer to the Quran. In BLK eight epithets are used, two of them Islamic terms, the others Slav nouns or adjectives (principally the latter), probably inspired by Arabic originals.³⁴²

FURKAN فُرْقَان 'the Distinguisher'. Ott (A) فرقان; T *Furkan*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Furkan to jest Kuran 30b1-2.

SIRAT MUŠTEKIM صِرَاطٌ مُسْتَقِيمٌ 'the straight way'. Ott (A) صراط مستقيم ; T *Sirati müstakim*. Term often used metaphorically for religion of Islam as well as for Quran itself.³⁴³

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Pevne ti jesteš sirat muštekim 9b7.

PRAVDA 'truth'; cf. A *al-ḥaqq*. PB, SS, Ziz; BR-R *praŭda*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šat; P *prawda*.

Takovi luđži ... daleko ad Pana Boga i od pravdi božej 35a15-16.

JASNIJ 'clear, lucid'; cf. A *al-nūr*, 'the Light'; *mubīn* 'clear'. PB; BR-R *jasny*, McM 'noble', Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šat (-na); P.

Iz jasnim dovodam davnim 7a15-16.

MONDRIJ 'wise'. P *mađry*; cf. A *al-ḥikmah* 'the Wisdom'. Only P form of this word used with reference to Quran. BR MUDRIJ used in other contexts, suggesting that P form regarded as more elevated.

Kuran považnij i mondrij 7a14.

PA-/POVAŽNIJ 'important'; cf. A *al-'alī* 'the Exalted', PB, SS; BR-R *pavažny*, BN, McM (CB, Sch), Nos; P *poważny*.

³⁴² For list of traditional epithets used for the Quran, see *DI*: 484.

³⁴³ *EI*, IX: 670, s.v. *ṣirāt*.

Kuran pavažnij 7a14.

ŠVETIJ 'holy, blessed'; cf. A *al-mubārak* 'the Blessed'. PB, SS; BR-R šviaty, BN, McM, Dob (-toj), Šat. (For other contexts see pp. 150, 191, 307.)

Nam treba činic jak Kuran švetij kaže 71a18.

ŠČAŠLIVIJ 'happy'. Cf. A *al-bušrā* 'the Glad Tidings'. PB; BR-R scaslivy, BN, McM, Nos, Bial.

Ja zeslalem Kuran ščašlivij noči keđir 40b8.

Chapter

Three words are used: BAB introduces a new section or theme; ŠURE(J)/ŠUREJUĆ refers exclusively to chapters of the Quran; ROZDŽAL only in Biblical references; see AJEĆ/VIRŠ respectively.

BAB باب. Ott (A) باب; T *bab*; RT.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Bab: čitaj a zhadlivej prijažni 37a17; Bab: jak kaže Pan Boh sušedav šanovac 38b4; Bab: a nočach švetich 43b6; Bab: to jest preciv nedželi u večer Pan Boh pačav stvarac svet 103a1.

ROZDŽAL PB, SS; P *rozdziat*.

Druge kšengi Mojžešove, rozdžal tridžestij, virše dvadžešce peršij 105b10-11.

ŠUREJ/ŠUREJUĆ /ŠURE سُورِي / سُورِي / سُورِي 'chapter of the Quran, sura'. Ott سورة (A ة -); T *sure*; RT: *siurej, siureji*.

BLK: usual form is ŠUREJ. Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u, gen. pl. -ev. Compound verb with PEC 'to recite'.

Ja šin šurej pejuc 7b14-15; u Ĥefsiru šure 8b21; Pan Boh hetij šurej zeslav 28b3; hetij šurej peje 29a10; al-rrechmemu šurejuć 36a14; Pan Boh jemu z laski pomač učiniv da vipisane hetaho šureju 8a15; u katoram šureju šemi churfav nemaš? 28b20-21; po al-chemdu šureju 80a13; u Kurane šurejev sto četirnaccac 119b12-13.

Names of Suras

Six suras mentioned by name in BLK. First sura referred to as AL-CHEMDU or FAĆICHE. No preference shown for one title or the other; both occur very frequently. Titles of suras usually followed by ŠUREJ/ŠUREJUĆ/ŠURE, but AL-CHEMDU and JA ŠIN sometimes used alone.

AL-CHEMDU الْحَمْدُ 'the praise', a common name for the first sura.

Ott (A) الحمد; T *Elhamd*; RT: *elcham pieć, czytać*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with Arabic article *al-*, as in Turkish (III.5.1.16).

Not decl; final *-u* 'frozen' Arabic nominal inflection (III.5.1.17).

Chto al-chemdu šurej peje 29a11; chto al-chemdu ne umeje štokolvek jakij šurej abo ajeť pej 80a14-15; po al-chemdu šureju 80a13; u al-chemdu šureju mnoha chvali i prožbi 80a22-23.

FÁTICHE فَاتِحٌ 'the Opener', another name for the first sura.

A الفاتحة; T *Elfatiha*; RT: *fatycha*; 'trzymać, pieć fatyche'.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Contrary to Turkish usage, Arabic article *al-* not preserved by Tatars in this word.

Not decl. in BLK, but RT shows it treated as a fem. hard stem noun.

U fátiche šureju 28b22; da fátiche šureju 30a16; pa fátiche šureju 78b16.

BEKERE بَقْرَ 'the Cow', the second sura. A البقرة [al-baqara].

BLK: word-finally *fetħe* replaces A ة (III.5.1.1); Arabic article *al-* not preserved in either Turkish or Tatar in this word. Not decl.

Druhoja Bekere šurej 30a17-18.

JA ŠIN يَ سِينٌ 'twenty-eighth and twelfth letters of the Arabic alphabet';

also the name of the thirty-sixth sura. Ott (A) يا سين; T *Ya Sin*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not decl.

Ja šin pev 8a10; v Kurane nutr i serca ja šin šurej 7b5-6.

AL-RRECHMENU الرَّحْمَنُ 'the Merciful', name of fifty-fifth chapter of Quran. A الرحمان.

BLK: Arabic article *al-* preserved; *shedde* retained over ر [r], reflecting elision of [l] of article to [r] of following noun, but contrary to standard orthography; final *-u* probably 'frozen' Arabic nominal inflection (III.5.1.15/17). Not decl;

U al-rrechmenu šurejuť 36a14.

DŽUM'ÉTI جُمُعَةٌ 'the Congregation', name of sixty-second sura.

A الجمعة [al-jumi'a]; cf. Ott جمعت .

BLK: word-finally ت, as in Ott, replaces A ة; final *-i* probably 'frozen' Arabic genitive inflection (III.5.1.15/17). Not decl.

U šureju džum'ėti 46b3.

LEVCHU لَوْحٌ 'the Tablet'. Ott (A) لوح. In BLK this is given as the

name of a sura, presumably sura eighty-five, which contains the only reference to *lawh mahfuz* in the Quran (verse 22). See also p. 204.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not decl; -final -u marks 'frozen' Arabic nominal inflection (III.5.1.17).

Levchu šurej ašaš zavuc 30a19.

Other Divisions of the Holy Scriptures

Most of the other divisions mentioned in BLK refer to the Quran, except for VIRŠ(E) 'verse', which is used only in Biblical references.

CHIŽB حُزْبُ 'part'. Ott (A) حزب; T *hizb*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -av.

U Kurane sto dvaccac chižbav 119b14.

SUFRA صُفْرَا 'a thirtieth part of the Quran'. Ott (Per) *sipare* سِبَارِه

RT: *sufra*. Cf. A جزء [juz'].

BLK: second syllable ف [f] replaces پ [p] (III.5.1.18); *elif* shifted to final syllable. Decl; fem. hard stem noun, gen. pl. zero ending with fleeting vowel between last two consonants.

U Kurane sufor triccac 119b12.

AJEŤ اَيْتُ 'miracle, sign, verse of the Quran'. Ott ايت (A -ة); T *ayet*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points; word-finally, Ott ت in place of A ة (III.5.1.5). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u, gen. pl. -ov/-ev. Compound verb with PEC 'to recite'.

Ten ajét jest dla Abu Džahila 10a13; zejśca taho ajeću 78a13; kali pec pa adnom ajeću 78b16; ačičicca jak chejjiz tak i nifaš jednim ajetem 71a3-4; tri ajėti 8a17; is Kuranu ajėti nechaj pejuc 60b3; u fatiche šureju šem ajetev 80a21.

VIRŠ(E) 'verse of the Bible'. Cf. AJEŤ. Buł, PB, SS *virš*; Skar *viršca*; HSBM *virš, verš*; Nos, Ras *virš*; NBS *vieršy*; P *wiersz*.

Trece kšengi Mojžešove, rozdžal ošminaštij, virš davadžešce čvartij 105b7-8; druge kšengi Mojžešove, rozdžal tridžestij, virše davadžešce peršij 105b10-11.

CHURF حُرْفُ 'letter of the alphabet'. Ott (A) حرف (sg.), حروف (pl.);

T *harf* (sg.), *huruf* (pl); RT: *churf, churfg, churufy*.

BLK: consonants as in Ott singular form, but vowel point vav [u] used

in first syllable instead of *fetħe*, possibly under influence of Ott (A) plural form. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-u*, gen. pl. *-ov/-av*.
 Jakvele u ja šin šurej churfav, na kažnij churf Pan Boh pa džešec anhelej zešle 7b19-20; jakich churfav nemaš u fatiche šureju? ... peršaho churfu 28b21-22; tri churfi 30b4-5; četiri churfi 31a18; dva tišeči šemsot dževecdžešat šešc churfav 8a17-18.

Letters of the Alphabet

All letters of the Arabic alphabet (though not of the Ottoman alphabet) listed in this text, except 24th (م) and 28th (ي) letters. Treated as nouns.

ALIF الف 'first letter'; 'the alphabet'. Ott (A) الف [T elif]; RT.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, prep. sg. *-e*, gen. pl. *-ov*.

1. Alifov ošmi tišečej sto šemdžešat 119b15.

2. U elife jest dva džešce dževec churfav 124b13.

BEJ بَي 'second letter'. Ott (A) با [T be].

BLK: *fetħe* + ي replaces *elif* (III.5.1.2). Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. pl. *-ov*.

Bejov četiri tišeči trista i dvaccac 119b15.

TEJ تَي 'third letter'. Ott (A) تا [T te].

BLK: as BEJ above. Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. pl. *-ev*.

Tejev džešec tišečej džvešce šemdžešat šešc 119b16.

SEJ سَي 'fourth letter'. Ott (A) سا [T se].

BLK: as BEJ above. Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. pl. *-ev*.

Sejev džešec tišečej džvešce šemdžešat i šešc 119b16-17.

DŽIM جِيم 'fifth letter'. Ott (A) جيم [T cim].

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. *-ov*.

Džimov tri tišeči dvešce šemdžešat i tri 119b17.

CHEJ حَي 'sixth letter'. Ott (A) حا [T hā].

BLK: as BEJ above. NB Turkish pronunciation has [a] here, whereas Tatar transcription gives [ey]. Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. pl. *-ev*.

Chejev tišeče džvecsot 119b18.

CHU خَي 'seventh letter'. Ott (A) خا [T hi].

BLK: ي [i] replaces *elif*, reflecting Turkish pronunciation.

Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. pl. -ev.

Chijev dva tišeči sto dvaccac i tri 119b18.

DAL دال 'eighth letter'. Ott (A) دال [T dāl].

BLK: Ott orthogr. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -ev.

Dalev pac tišečej šešcsot sorak i dva 119b18-19.

ŽAL زال 'ninth letter'. Ott (A) زال [T zāl].

BLK: Ott orthogr. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -ev.

Žalev tišeče šešcsot i dževedždžešat 119b19.

REJ ري 'tenth letter'. Ott (A) را [T re].

BLK: as BEJ above. Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. pl. -ev.

Rejev džešec tišečej dževecšot tri 119b19-20.

ŽEJ زي 'eleventh letter'. Ott (A) زا [T ze].

BLK: as BEJ above. Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. pl. -ev.

Žejev tišeče dvešce i dževecdžešat 119b20.

ŠIN سين 'twelfth letter'. Ott (A) سين [T sin].

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel point. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -ev.

Šinev tišeče ošmisot šemdžešat i šem 119b21.

ŠIN شين 'thirteenth letter'. Ott (A) شين [T šin].

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -ev.

Šinev tišeče dvešce pecdžešat i tri 119b21.

SAD صاد 'fourteenth letter'. Ott (A) صاد [T sād].

BLK: Ott orthogr. Decl; masc. hard stem, gen. pl. -ev.

Sadev tri tišeči 119b22.

ZAZ ضاض 'fifteenth letter'. Ott (A) ضاد [T zād].

BLK: Ott orthogr. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -ev.

Zažev tišeče šemsot 119b22.

TIJ طي 'sixteenth letter'. Ott (A) طا [T ti].

BLK: ي [i] replaces *elif*; cf. Turkish pronunciation. Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. pl. -ov.

Tijov tišeče dvešce šemdžešat i četiri 119b22-120a1.

ZIJ ظي 'seventeenth letter'. Ott (A) ظا [T zi].

BLK: ي [i] replaces *elif*; as TIJ above. Decl; masc. soft stem noun,

gen. pl. -*ov*.

Zijov ošmisot sorak i dva 120a2.

EJIN عَيْنُ 'eighteenth letter'. Ott (A) عين [T 'ayn].

BLK: Ott orthogr. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -*av*.

Ejinav dževec ťišečej i dvaccac i dva 120a1.

GEJIN غَيْنُ 'nineteenth letter'. Ott (A) غين [T gayn].

BLK: Ott orthogr. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -*av*.

Gejinav dva ťišeči dvaccac ušmi 120a2.

FEJ فَيُ 'twentieth letter'. Ott (A) فا [T fe].

BLK: as BEJ above. Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. pl. -*ev*.

Fejev šešc ťišečej i četirista i dževecdžešat 120a2-3.

KAF كَافُ 'twenty-first letter'. Ott (A) كاف [T kāf].

BLK: Ott orthogr. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -*av*.

Kafav šešc ťišečej i ošmisot dvaccac tri 120a3.

KEF كَفُ 'twenty-second letter'. Ott (A) كَاف [T kef].

BLK: *fetħe* replaces *elif* (III.5.1.1). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -*av*.

Ķefav ťišeče i pacsot 120a3.

LAM لَامُ 'twenty-third letter'. Ott (A) لام [T lām].

BLK: Ott orthogr. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -*av*.

Lamav triccac ťišečej i četirista i triccac i dva 120a4.

NUN نُونُ 'twenty-fifth letter'. Ott (A) نون [T nūn].

BLK: Ott orthogr. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -*av*.

Nunav dvaccac i šešc ťišečej i šešdžešat jest 120a4-5.

HEJ هَيُ 'twenty-sixth letter'. Ott (A) ها [T he].

BLK: as BEJ above. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -*ev*.

Hejev dvaccac ťišečej šemdžešat 120a5-6.

VOV وَوُ 'twenty-seventh letter'. Ott (A) واو [T vāv].

BLK: [o] replaces [a]. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -*av*.

Vovav dvaccac ťišečej triccac i dva 120a5.

LAMALIF لَامِ الْفُ 'compound letter of lām and elif'. Ott (A) لام الف .

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -*av*.

Lamelifav tišeče i šemsot dževedžešat jest, tak lidžbujuc 120a6.

Other Books, Narrations and Parables

MEVLUD مَوْلُودُ كِتَابٌ 'text in commemoration of death of Muhammed'.

Ott (A) مَوْلُود ; T *mevlid*, (vulg.) *mevlud*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases. Used with KĪTAB.

Mevlud Kĭtab destament Muchemmed ... pasluchajce jak iś šeho šveta ischodživ 107b9-10.

ME'RADŽ مَعْرَاجٌ 'Muhammed's Miraculous Journey to the Heavens'.

Ott (A) مَعْرَاج ; T *mi'rac*; RT: *miewradž*; 'Muchammied prorok u piątek na miewradž chodžił' (*Kitab*). RT shows that [v/w] replaced 'ayn in pronunciation. Passage cited in RT same as in BLK, but in RT version P piątek is used where BLK has BR patnica.

BLK: *fetħe* [e] replaces [i] in first syllable (III.5.1.7). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u. Used alone or with Slav *noći* (poss. gen. form) 'night'; cf. T *Mi'rac Gecesi* 'Night of Prophet's Miraculous Journey' (Slav/Turkish syntax coincide).

Prarok u patnicu na Me'radžu chadživ 47a18; Muchemmed prarok Panu Bohu bliske prišov Me'radž noći, jak dva luķi zlažic 16a1; Me'radž noći za Kaf haroj adno mesta vidžev 15a6; da Me'radžu 90b9; prarockam(u) Me'radžu daj vucha 87a5; u tim Me'radžu 102b8.

TEFŠIR تَفْسِيرٌ 'explanation, commentary on the Quran'. Tatar examples of this genre are paraphrases of the Quran in BR, P or a mixture of both languages. Ott (A) تَفْسِير ; T *tefsir*. RT: *tefsir*, *tepsir*.

BLK: in last syllable ي often omitted (III.5.1.2) but unlike RT, no form with [p]. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, prep. sg. -u.

U Tefširu 8b21.

CHEDIŠ حَدِيثٌ 'tradition', particularly with reference to Traditions of the Prophet. Ott (A) حَدِيث ; T, RT *hadis*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u.

To jest chediš pravdživij 81a6; treba kajetu učinic vedlug zakezanaho ajeću i chedišu prarockaho 67b2-3; u adnom chedišu prikezuje chto bi adžin raz pev ... taho čeleveke Pan Boh učiniv ščirim i pravdživim 80b18-20; chediši prarockije 116b12.

POVEŠĆ 'narration, tradition'. Occasionally used in place of CHEDIŠ. In Polish and Russian means 'story', but of MBR dictionaries only BN cites this meaning. PB, SS; BN; P *powieść*.

Abu Chenife imama jeho miłości poveśc trimace, spašenje bolejš budže 70a21.

BAŠNA 'parable, fable'. HSBM *basnja, basn'*; Dob *bašnia*; cf. P *baśń*, R *basnja*. In BLK occasionally used as synonym for PRIPOVEŠĆ.

Bendže Izra'el pripovešću i bašnu o všítkich narodach 106b13.

PRIPOVEŠĆ 'parable'. SS; BN *prypavieść*, McM (BK, CB, SCh) 'proverb, maxim', Nos (-*iestka*) 'saying'; P *przypowieść*. Sometimes used with BAŠNA, or alone to introduce new story.

Pripoveśc: adžin struž turemni umor 42a16.

CHIKAJEŤ حكاية 'story'. Ott حكاية (A ۵ -); T *hikâyet* (arch.), *hikâye* (modern). In BLK introduces new stories. Used alone, or with BAB or HISTORIJA, but not found as often as either of these terms.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points; word-finally Ott ۵ used in place of A ۵ (III.5.1.5). Not found in obl. cases.

Chikajet: 'Iša prorok. Kali 'Iša prorok pačav luďzej da veri pravdživaj navaračac 11a4-5; Chikajet: historije a Pehlul Divane 19a22; Bab: Chikajet: Historija: Mekke mucic: ja ščešlivaje u Pana Boha 109a7-8.

HISTORIJA 'story'. Buł, HSBM; BR-R *historyia*; P *historya*. Cf. PB, SS, R *istorija*. In BLK usually introduces a new story. Used alone, or with either or both BAB and CHIKAJEŤ.

Pan Boh Aschabul Kerjeti historiju abjaviv 13b25; a hetaj historiji javnośc jest že Pan Boh dna sudnaha martvich aživic mocen ješt 27a17-18; Historija: iz božich prijecelav adžin Arefan na haru chadživ 42a1; Historija a Merjeme 85a1; Bab: Chikajet: Historija: Mekke mucic 109a7-8.

PA-/PODOBENSTVA 'similitude, parable'. In standard BR and P used in a literal sense; in BLK introduces metaphors. The likening of one thing to another in order to illustrate a particular point is a favourite device in the Quran and in Muslim didactic practice in general. SS; BR-R *padabienstva*, BN, McM, Nos, Var; P *podobieństwo*.

Tich ktire afaruje skarbi na božuju darohu jak podobenstvu žernu co zrodži šedem klosov, a v kužnim kloše sto žernat 36a23-36b1.

Prophet

Usual term in BLK is Slav PRA-/ PROROK. Found in a general sense, also as a specific term for Muhammed (cf. English usage 'the Prophet'). Islamic (A) MURŠEL 'envoy, apostle' occurs only once. Other terms for 'the Prophet' are PASLANEC and POSEL, Slav equivalents of Quranic *mursal* and *rasūl*, both meaning 'apostle, envoy, one entrusted with a special mission'. POSEL more common than PASLANEC in BLK. Cf. Turkish use of (A) *nebi* and (Per) *peygamber* for 'the Prophet'.

PRA-/PROROK Kar, SS; BR-R *prarok*, BN, Nos; P *prorok*.

Jesteš ti prorokem i pošlem Mojim pravdživim 7b3; pevne ti. Muchemmed, prorok jest stojnci v drodže pravdživoj 7a18; sin Abbasov muvil ad praroke 46a8; prarok jeha milošč da Medineju prišov 64b22-65a1; Džebra'il muvil: šemenčuju tabe, praroče 88a5; ad Adam praroka až da 'Iša proroka 41a11; Muša prarok triccac nočej Pana Boha chvalic 15b25; pad charongaj prarockaj z ušimi prarokami ... stajac buduc 20b22-23.

PRA-/PROROCKIJ/PRAROSKIJ 'of the prophet'. BR-R *prarocki* (*praročy* preferred), BN, Nos; P *prorocki*, *proroczski*.

Viklad chediši prarockije 116b12; prorockije duši selevat pejuc 48b24; s prorockich imon 9a17; šunnēt, to jest čto činic, prarockej pričini budže mec 57b18; da ummeću praroskaho 108b20; 'Ejše, matka maše (n-) a praroskaje žena 107b13-14.

POSEL 'envoy'. Buł (1511), PB, SS; P *poseł*. Cf. BR-R, Var, R *pasol*. In BLK usually refers to Muhammed, but very occasionally found with a more general meaning.

I pošle božij 19b4; Muchammed božij posel jest 82b11; ne jestešce poslove, tilko tače ludže jak i mi 12a17-18.

PASLANEC 'envoy'. BR-R *pastaniec*, BN, Nos, Bial, Dob, Var; P *postaniec*. In BLK used only for Muhammed.

Ti kamu palecaješe? ... Panu Bohu adžinamu i paslancu božemu Muchemmedu praroku 56a20-21.

MURŠEL مُرْسَلٌ 'envoy'. Ott (A) مرسل; T *mursel*; RT: *mursiel*; 'Isa był z *mursielow* božych'.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun; only occurs in instrumental plural, but RT cites gen. plural ending *-ov*.

Šelam i bozdravene (p-) bože nechaj budže nad muršelami, prarokami i poslami Jego 27b8-9.

Other Titles of the Prophet

AP-/EPOŠNIJ 'the last'. Cf. Turk *ahir zaman peygamberi* 'the Last Prophet'. BR-R *apošni*, BN, NBS, Bial, Kaš, Šciaš, Šat, Var.

Muchemmed prarok sami apošnij ... uše praroki na jeho prarokavali muveči budže prarok epošnij 107a4-6.

MILA-/MILOŠC 'grace'. Title of respect widely used in OBR and OPR, but now archaic in these languages (as also in Russian). Of the BR dictionaries, only Dob cites it with this meaning. In BLK used for the prophets and other revered figures, also the archangels.

Pravdživaje slova proroke jeho milošci 8a8; prarok jeho milošc adnaho dna avle nemaž pevši šedžev, a v tim čaše Džebra'il jeho milošc prišov 78a22-23; Adam praroka jeho milošci jestem narodu ... Ibrahim praroke jeho milošci jestem zakonu 51b13-16; Bilal jeho milošc adnaho dna da sebach nemažu ažan pev 82b16.

MILOŠNIK 'beloved'. Cf. A *habībullāh* 'the Beloved of God' (i.e. Muhammed). In OBR and P this word can have either active or passive meaning, thus both 'lover' and 'beloved'. Here probably inspired by *habībullāh*, therefore a passive form. Buł, PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; McM *miłašnik* 'benefactor, well-wisher'; P *miłošnik*.

U mene Muchemmed prarok miłošnik božij ležic 109a18-19; kali spitajuc: čijho ti ummeću? ti mov: Muchemmed Mustefa miłošnika božeho jestem ja jeho ummeću 51b16-17.

MUDRIJ 'wise'. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *mudry*, McM. Cf. P *mądry*. Form **MONDRIJ** occurs in BLK only as an epithet for God.

Pan Boh na všo mocnij dav jemu priražonuju nauku i rozum i včiniťv jeho šmelim i mudrim 62a14-15.

MUSTEFA *مُصْطَفَى* 'chosen, elected', one of Muhammed's titles (cf. **VIBRANIJ**). Ott (A) *مصطفى*; T *Mustefa*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points; *elifi maqsure* preserved (III.5.1.18). Not found in obl. cases; used with **MUCHEMMED**.

Muchemmed Mustefa na kraju sirat mostu stane 20b17.

PACHVALNOŠC 'glory'? Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. P *pochwalny* 'praised'.

Pri mne prarok, pachvalnošć švata 91a10.

PAN 'lord, master'. Buł (1340), PB, SS; BR-R, BN, NBS, Nos, Doł, Ras, Šat, Da (S, W); P. Cf. ŠULTAN; see also p. 147.

Muchemmed ... Panem jest ušich prarokav 62a9-11.

PEČENTAR 'seal' (of the prophets). Interesting example of a Tatar semantic calque: in OBR and OP this was a chancellery term, but here meaning extended to translate Quranic (A) *Khātīm al-Nabīyīn* 'Seal (i.e. last) of the prophets' (cf. sura 33.40: 'Muhammad ... is the Messenger of Allah and the Seal of the Prophets').

Buł (1617) 'keeper of the seal'; P *pieczętarz* 'sealer'.

Povelbilem jako dijamenta ščirego Muchemmeda praroka i včiniłem jeho panem i pečentaram všitkich prorokov 7a22-23; Muchemmed ... panem jest ušich prarokav, pošlem i pečentarem prarockim 62a9-12.

PREDNEJŠIJ 'foremost'. Buł (1489); Nos *predniejšyj*. Cf. P *przedni*.

Nad ušimi prarokami ... prednejšim 62a15-16.

PRIČINCA 'intercessor'. PB; P *przyczyńca*. See also PRIČINA.

Prarok muvil: ja ed jich adrekajuše, jeni ne maje ummėti e ja ne jich pričinca 83b15-16; Pan Boh nam pričincaju jeho dav 94b7.

RADAŠ-/RADOŠNIK 'bearer of joy'? Unrecorded elsewhere.

Cf. A *al-bashīr* 'bringer of good tidings'; for Christians, 'evangelist'.

Pan Bug ... dvuch švatov radašnika jeho milošći, šultana nađ prarokami, paklon jemu ad nas stvariv 121b9-10.

ŠULTAN سُُلْطَانُ 'ruler, lord'. Ott (A) سلطان; T *sultan*. RT: *siultan*; cf. standard BR, P *sultan*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun. gen. sg. -a.

Pan Bug vele prarokav tego dna stvoril i ... jeho milošći, šultana nađ prarokami, paklon jemu ad nas, stvariv 121b8-10.

SUNDŽICEL 'judge'. Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. R (Da) *suditel'*.

Ime tvoje jest sundžicel, kuranem ti jest prarošem 8b15.

ŠVE-/ŠVADAK 'witness'. Cf. T (A) *Šahid* 'Muhammed as the witness of the One God'. PB, SS, Ziz; Nos *švietok*, Da (S, W); P *świadek*.

Cf. lit. and dial. BR *świedka*.

Muchemmed ... to jest švadak pravdživij 8a21-22.

ŠVETŠIJ 'holiest'. Comparative degree of the adjective, but here used as superlative (III.4.2.7). Simple form recorded in these dictionaries: PB, SS; BR-R *šviaty*, BN, McM, Dob (-toj), Šat. Cf. P *święty*.

Pan Boh ... včiniiv jeho šmelim i mudrim i nad ušimi prarokami švetšim 62a14-15.

UVELBONIJ 'adored'. Buť (1507) *uvielbieny*. Cf. BN, Nos *uwielbiać*, P *uwielbić*.

Muchemmed ... uvelbonij, vibranij, laska pozdravene bože nad nim 62a9-12.

VIBRANIJ 'chosen'. SS; BR-R *vybrany*; P *wybrany* (term also used in Christian theological writings). Cf. MUSTEFA.

Muchemmed ... vibranij, laska pozdravene bože nad nim 62a9-12.

Call

VZIVANE HSBM (-nje, -nie, -ńnie). P *wzywianie*.

Chvala Bohu Kturiij ... zmocnil go u modlitvach i vzivanu proročenstva 7a13-15.

Mission

PA-/POSELSTVA/POSENLSTVO PB, SS; BR *pasolstva*; P *poselstwo*.

POSENLSTVO occurs once, probably misspelling of POSELSTVO.

Chvala Panu Bogu kturiij ... učinil jeho poselstva 7a13-14.

Prophecy

Concept usually conveyed by doublet PRA-/PROROČENSTVA, less often by PRA-/PROROCTVA/PROROCSTVA; PROROČENJE is rare. Standard BR and P meaning of *praroctva* is 'prophecy', but in BLK all three terms used with meanings 'prophethood' and 'gift of prophecy'.

PRA-/PROROČENSTVA Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. R *proročestvo*.

Hetij šurej zeslav, Muchemmed praroka praročenstva stverdžil 8a20-21; Ibrahim prarok šati svaje proročenstvu u noči na šebe uzlaživ 15b21; Pan Boh jemu prez Džebra'ila praročenstva dav 107b2-3.

PRA-/PROROCTVA/PROROCSTVA PB; BR-R *praroctva*, BN, Nos; P *proroctwo*, OP also *prorocstwo*, *proroczstwo*, *prorostwo*.

V Kurane jeho proroctva stvardžil 7b2; Ja šin šurej proroctvo jeho

oznajmujā 7b3-4; kafire muvili: ... adkul jon maje prorocstva 8a18-20.
PROROČENJE Srez *prorečenie*; cf. BR-R, BN *prarakañnie*.

Proročenje tedi odabralam i naznačilam 35a2.

PRAROKAVAC 'to prophesy', SS; BN *prarakavać*; Nos, Dob;
P *prorokować*.

Uše praroķi na jeho prarokavali 107a5-6.

Intercession

Islamic doctrine on intercession is a matter of debate. Some authorities hold that it is expressly denied in the Quran, but others argue that there is clear scriptural evidence of support for this concept.³⁴⁴ On a popular level, belief in the power of intercession is widespread in the Muslim world.³⁴⁵ There are several references to intercession in BLK. While not necessarily evidence of Christian influence, the concept was certainly shared by local Christians. Principal word to express this idea is PRIČINA; POŠREDNICTVO occurs only once.

PRIČINA P *przyczyna* 'cause; intercession'. In OBR texts *pričina*, likewise *pričinca* are found with sense of 'intercession',³⁴⁶ but this meaning not cited in BR dictionaries; cf. MBR *pryčina* 'reason, fault'.

Pričina nechaj budže 21a119-20; chto ne učic Kuran prarockaj pričini ne budže 31b17; bez žadnaj abroni bez žadnaj pričini udojǰže da pekla 40a21-22.

POŠREDNICTVO PB; BR-R *pasrednictva*; P *pošrednictwo*.

Meži Mnoju i saboju (tab-) pošrednictvu akinov (ukinuv) 8b9.

PRIČINACCA 'to intercede'. PB, SS; Nos *pryčyniacca*; P *przyczyniac się*. Cf. standard MBR meanings: 'to cause; to take part in'. See also PRIČINA, PRIČINCA.

Praroče pričinjaš za jich 83b15; za kim ti budžeš pričinaciše, ahon

³⁴⁴ According to one Muslim scholar, 'There is no need for, nor does Islam tolerate the notion of any intermediary between God and man' (Khan: 120); but to another, 'Muhammad is the beloved in whom God is well pleased, to whom He has granted the right of intercession' (Tritton: 50). Smith: 123-27, also comments on this dichotomy.

³⁴⁵ See, for example, Lane: 78.

³⁴⁶ See, for example, Zizaniĵ: *Nauka* (1596).

pekelnij cheramem učinu jemu 100a6; ja i ti pričinajmiše nad
hrešnimi addalajuči jich ad muki 21a20-21.

To Testify

ŠVED-/ŠVADČIC PB, SS; BR-R *śviedčyc*, BN, McM (BK, F107,
Sch), NBS, Nos (-*śviet*-), Dob (-*śviet*-), Kaš; P *świadczyć*.

Prorok muvil: mne mnoha selevať pejce u patnicu, toj džen švedčic
budže (-du) 48b20-21.

Saints and Other Holy Men

Islamic names are used for titles that are specific to Islam, but on a more
general level Slav terms are used and in some instances preferred. Thus,
ŠVETIJ/ŠVATIJ/ŠVENTIJ is found far more often than Ott AVLIIJA'
'saint'. Ott (A) *halilullāh* 'God's friend' is rendered into BR as BOŽIJ
PRIJACEL/PRIJECEL, but 'Companion of the Prophet' is almost always
expressed by SECHABEJ, rarely by TOVARIŠ/TEVARIŠ. Terms such
as MUHADŽIR and SEBIK are not translated, neither are ŠEJCH and
ŠAHID/ŠEHID, for which, in theory, Christian Slav equivalents could be
found. Presumably these terms were regarded as uniquely Islamic.

ŠVET-/ŠVATIJ 'saint'. PB, SS; BR-R *śviaty*, BN, McM, Dob (-*toj*),
Šat. In BLK form ŠVETIJ occurs far more frequently than ŠVATIJ.
Used both as a general term ('saints') and as a specific title (e.g. 'the
Saint Ali'). It follows the personal name, reflecting Turkish syntax for
titles, rather than preceding it, as in BR and P usage.

Kali šemnaccac kuflev vipje ... uše švetije adrekucca 119b8-9; Abu
BeKkir švetij eznaizmuje adnaho dna praroke jeho milošci prez son
vidžev 83b8-9.

ŠVENTIJ 'saint'. Buł (1612); P *święty*. See ŠVETIJ.

'Elej šventij iz sechabejami 108b20-21.

AVLIJA' أولياء 'saint(s)'. Ott (A) اولياء. Arabic plural form, used in
Turkish as a singular, to convey respect. T *evliya*; RT: *ewlija, ewlijai,*
ewlijajowie, ewlii. In BLK used as a collective noun.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. soft stem collective
noun (RT cites plural forms -*i* and -*owie*, neither found in BLK).

Pan Boh cheramem činiv žemli avlija'em, prijecelem Svajim
48b22-23; praroKi avlija' ne vedali 88a7-8.

PRIJA-/PRIJECEL 'friend (of God)'; cf. T (Ott) *ḥalīlullah*. PB, SS; BR-R *przyjaciel*, BN, Bial, McM; P *przyjaciel*. In BLK general epithet for a holy man, but in the Quran a title for Abraham (sura 4.125).

Jon biv prijacel božij 13a10; božije prijeceli pad charongu 'Elej žberucca 21a12; ad Pana Boha toj padarak prijacelam Jeho dojdže 22b5.

SECHABEJ صَحَابِي 'Companion of the Prophet'. Ott (A) صحابي. T *sahabī* (rare). RT: *sachabiej*; *sachabiejski*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. soft stem noun, not found in singular; nom. pl. *-ove*, gen. pl. *-av*.

Muchemmed prarok jest stojnci v drodže pravdživoj ... takže i sechabejove jeho 7a18-20; sechabejove rekli: i pošle božij, ti nam što prikazuješ? 18b4; is proroskich sechabejav adžin 'Ummer prarok klanevše dženaže nemaž 15b3-4; šelam dav praroku i sechabejom 65b9-10; 'Elej šventij iz sechabejami 108b20-21.

TO-/TEVARIŠ 'companion'. PB, SS; BN *tavaryš*, McM (BK, F107, SCh; CAN), NBS, Bial, Šat; P *towarzysz*; cf. BR-R, Dob, R -šč. Could have meaning 'second-in-command' in OBR.³⁴⁷

Mušulmane u raje buduc s prarokem iz tovarišami jeho 68b15; Muchemmeda i tevarišav jeho pabjem na haru Kubejš 10a19.

TEVARISTVA 'the fellowship'. SS; BR-R *tavarystva*, BN, NBS, Nos. Žyd; P *towarzystwo*.

Prarok muvil: ... pošle mene maje tevaristva ne razlučajceše 107b19-21.

ANSARI اَنْصَارِي 'helpers', term used for the Medina converts. Ott (A) اَنْصَار; T *ansar*.

BLK: since this is Arabic (and Turkish) plural form, additional Slav pl. suff. *-i* is superfluous. Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. pl. *-(j)ov*.

Pričina hetahe ajetu zejšca ad nich ludžej ansarijov 10b14.

MUHADŽIR مُهَاجِر 'emigrant', term for those who accompanied Muhammed from Mecca to Medina. Ott (A) مهاجر; T *muhacir*;

RT: *muhadžyr*, y; 'muhadžyrowie które z Mekkijeju do Miedynieju z prorokiem napród weszli' (*Kitab*).

³⁴⁷ Cf. 'Posly cesarskije, tovariši jeho (jako on spravu daet)', *Archaeografičeskij sbornik dokumentov*: 20, document no. 15 (year 1576).

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, nom. pl. *-ove*. RT gives plural form *-y*, but in accompanying citation only *-owie* is used, as in BLK.

Muhadžirove iz Mekkeju da Medineju s praročem naprod višli 21a3.

ŠEBIKUVE سَابِقُونَ 'the early converts to Islam'; cf. Ott (A) سابقون; اولون; T *sabikuni evvelûn*. RT gives form *siabikowie*, but defines it as 'those who enter heaven without delay'. Accompanying citation is taken from another Kitab (exact source not given in RT): '*siabikowie w łasce boskiej*' (Kitab).

BLK: Arabic nominal form *sebk* سبق 'precedence' seems to have been confused with present participle active *sābik* سابق 'preceeding'. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, nom. pl. *-uve*.

Vše šebikuve katorije uperad da veri ustupili ... da raju pojduc 21a2-4.

SEDDIK صَدِيقٌ 'faithful friend'; Ott (A) صديق; T *sadik*.

BLK: incorrect doubling of [d], probably a mis-spelling for SIDDIK. Not found in obl. cases.

Abu Bekkir seddik adzavecca 21a2.

SIDDIK صَدِيقٌ 'eminently veracious', title bestowed on Abū Bakr by Muhammed. Ott (A) صديق; T *siddik*; RT: *syddyk, saddyk*; '*pod tą chorągwią wszystkie syddyki i szahidy staną*' (Kitab). In BLK used for Abū Bakr, also (cf. RT), as general term for holy men.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points and preservation of *shedde* (III.5.1.15). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-e/a*.

Ad Abu Bekkira siddike 33a17; z ušimi prarokami, siddikami, šehidami stajac buduc 20b22-23.

ŠEJCH شَيْخٌ 'elder; head of a religious community'. In BLK used as specific title of respect, also as general term for holy men.

Ott (A) شيخ; T *šeyh*. RT: *szejch, szejchowie*.

BLK: ح replaces خ (III.5.1.11). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, nom. pl. *-ove*.

Šejch Šelbi mima mečitnich varot išov 13b16-17; švetije šejchove 64b1.

ŠAHID/ŠEHID شَاهِدٌ/شَهِيدٌ 'martyr, witness'. Ott (A) شهيد; T *šehit, šahid*. RT: *szahid, szehid*; '*z tego świata szehidom pojdzie*' (Kitab).

BLK: usually standard Ott orthogr. but occasionally *elif* replaces *fetħe*

(III.5.1.1); RT suggests that both forms were used. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, nom. pl. *-ove*, gen. pl. *-ov*. In BLK mainly used attributively, in instrumental case.

Chto bi mev u patnicu umerci šehidom budže 47a21-22; chto bi mev pec na džen pa pac raz nemaž iz džeme'et'em iz šeho šveta šehidom budže pojdzé 78b8-9; Pan Boh jeho šehidom učinic 80b20-21; šahidove u nich šedžec buduc 23a16; tišeče šehidov spašenje 46a9; z ušimi prarokami, siddikami, šehidami stajac buduc 20b22-23.

IV.1.4 This World and the World to Come

This World

In BLK 'this world' is expressed by ŠVET alone, or by ŠVET qualified by adjectives HETIJ, ŠOJ or DAČASNIJ. BR ŽEMLA /P ŽEME used for 'earth' as opposed to NEBA 'heaven'.

ŠVET 'the world'. PB, SS; BR-R *šviet*, BN, McM, NBS, Dob, Šciaš, Šat; P *świat*.

Chto na švece chenci svajej davši volu cheramnije pažitki paživac buduc 14a20-21; što činili na švece tam napisano 20a9.

HETIJ 'this'. HSBM; BR-R *hety*, BN, NBS, Nos, Bial.

Dobrije učiniki činiv na hetam švece 60b5-6

ŠOJ 'this'. Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. Dob, Šat, R, Uk *siej*.

According to Karlaū, in OBR *siej* was originally used for the 'first distance', but by the 16th century had mostly fallen into disuse, surviving in such expressions as *siej šviet/mir* 'this world', where it implied an opposition to *toj šviet* 'the other world'. Eventually the distinction was lost and the role of *siej* was taken over by *hety*.³⁴⁸

Aj praroke, bez cebe nam ne treba šoj švet 108a3; na šom švece rižku chelalnaha daśc e na tom švece u raji rajškije pažitki daśc 75b14-15.

DAČASNIJ 'temporal'. Buł (1586), PB, SS; Nos *dočasnyj*, NBS: P *doczesny*. Cf. 'premature', the more usual BR meaning of this word.

Hetij dačasnij švet sorak hod pustij budže 18b19; v tim dačasnim švece 17b15-16.

ŽEMLA 'earth'. PB, Skar, HSBM; BR-R *ziamlja*, BN, Bial, Dob, Šat.

³⁴⁸ Karlaū: 56-62.

Pred stvorenem neba i žemli 7b10-11.

ŽEME 'earth'. P *ziemia*.

Stvoril Pan Bog neba i žeme 103a2.

Of This World

Usual term in BLK is **ŠEHOŠVETNIJ**; **ŠVECKÍJ** occurs less frequently, but there is no clear stylistic or semantic difference. **ŠVETOVIJ** is rare; context suggests that it was a close, possibly exact, synonym. Derivatives of **ŽEMLA**, i.e. **ŽEMLENIJ** and **ŽEMSKÍJ**, mean 'earthly'; used in opposition to **NEBESKÍJ** 'heavenly'.

ŠVECKÍJ BR-R *šviecki*, McM (F107, SCh); P.

Ad ušelačkih šveckich bed ... Pan Boh ebaronic 75b12-13; Adam biv u raji ... na cemnašc šveckuju vihnanuv 75b16-17; ad zlich pripadkav i prihod šveckich pazbiv 77b14-15; šveckije slova 72b10; šveckich trudnašcej 76b12.

ŠEHOŠVETNIJ Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. **TAHOŠVETNIJ**.

I duša praroče, šehošvetnaje adžene s taboj ne treba 88b5; vizvolše ad bed šehošvetnich 13a3; priveli šehošvetnaho čelaveka 24a16-17; duša vichodžic iz cela z velikimi šehošvetnimi mukami 49b5-6; u patnicu šehošvetnuju rabotu rabric a darma šedžec cheram jest 49a9; šehošvetnuju razmovu činic 56a1; šehošvetnuju roskaš za ništo majuc 65a14; jon šehošvetnich slov ne hutariči jakuju prožbu da Pana Boha činiv 47b2-3; ušelačije zabavi šehošvetnije pakinuvši 48a14.

ŠVETOVIJ Nos *švietovij*, Var; P *światowy*. Cf. T *dünyevi* 'worldly'.

Švetovije ludži plakac buduc 17a4.

ŽEMLENIJ 'of the earth'. HSBM *zemlenyj*; BR-R *ziemlany* (stress on last syllable), Dob (stress on second syllable) 'soiled with earth'.

Majo ime jest što nebeski i žemleni, Ja jest Boh 34a13.

ŽEMSKÍJ 'of the earth'. Skar, HSBM; OCS.

Vam bilo ku jedženu i všelkemu žverencu žemskemu 103b9-10.

The Other World

In BLK expressed by **ŠVET**, qualified by various adjectives.

ONIJ 'that'. OCS, HSBM. Cf. T *öbür dünya* 'the other (lit. 'that') world'.

Na šom švece i na onim švece 47b13-14.

TOJ 'that'. BR-R, Kaš.

Iz hetaho šveta izhiblaho na toj svet večistij ... pojdže 60b10-11.

TAMTOJ 'that'. Buł (late 15th cent.) 2; BN tam-toj, Nos, Dob (bož tamtej). P *tamten*; cf. *na tamtem świecie*.

Tamtoj svet vekoistij 85a5-6; hetij svet prociv tamtaho šveta 15b3. Pan Boh jeha ad tamtaho šveta muk abaronic 45a2; Pane Bože naš, daj nam na hetam švece čaho nam treba tak i na tamtim švece šceraži nas ad muķi pekelnej 9a12-13.

PRIŠLIJ 'future'. Buł (1492); BN *pryszły*, Nos, Dob; P *przyszły*.

Pašanuje jeha Pan Boh na šom švece i na prišlim švece 39a11.

TAJEMNIJ 'secret'. PB, SS; BR-R *tajemny*, BN, McM (BK, CB, Sch), Nos, Bial; P.

U božim tajemnim švece 15b1; u švece tajemnim žemla i neba i hori more, 'arš, kurš, slonca, mešonc jest' 15b2-3.

Of the Other World

Of the two adjectives used with ŠVET to express the concept 'the other world', the more common is TAHOŠVETNIJ.

TAŠVETNIJ Unrecorded elsewhere.

Aj praroče, tašvetnij slonca nad mušulmanmi prišov 108a13.

TAHOŠVETNIJ SS; BR-R *tahašvietny*, BN.

Bo šoj svet tahošvetnaja pašna 14b13; Bože naš, šceraži nas ad pekelnej muķi i tahošvetnaj muķi 24b3-4.

Resurrection

Resurrection of the body is an important tenet of Islam. Belief shared by Christians, so Tatars able to adopt Slav terms. No Islamic words used.

UST-/VSTAVANE HSBM (-nje); BR-R (-ńnie); P *wstawanie*. For [u/v-] alternation see III.2.1.4. Cf. USTAVAC, USTAC.

Ne jest takoja ustavane tilka z Išafilovaha holasu 19a12; verce raju i peklu i sirat mostu i vstavana (-u) z martvich 52b13-14.

OŽIVENJE 'returning to life'. HSBM; BR-R *ažyvańnie*; P *ożywienie*.

Duši jak lekarstva dadašc do oživenja 14a13.

USKREŠIC 'to resurrect'. P *wskrzesić*.

Sudnaho dna Pan Boh jeha is prorokami uskrešic 80b21-22.

AŽ-/UŽIVIC 'to bring back to life'. Skar; BR-R *ažyvić*, BN; P *ożywić*.

Dna sudnaho martvic aživac 14a13-14; Pan Boh cebe aživic i da pekle zešle 26a8-9; jest umarlij šedem dnejj martvij leži ... prinešem, uživice 12a3-4; balvani naši (v-) nechaj martvaho aživec 12a10.

ADŽIVAC 'to return to life' (intrans.). BR-R *adžyvać*; P *odżywać*.

Skora adživuc 19a8; hetij ajet' znači ... suchuju žemlu vešennim daždžom adživaje 14a 7-8.

AD-/ODŽIC 'to return to life' (intrans., perf.). BR-R *adžyć*, Bial, Jur, Šat, Var; P *odżyć*.

Ten martvij odžil.

USTAVAC 'to arise'. BR-R, BN, Nos, Bial, Dob (*vst-*), Kaš, Ras; P *wstawać*.

A cudžoložniki majuc ustavac na sud božij u parsune sabačej 63a14-15.

USTAC 'to arise' (perf.). BR-R, BN, Nos, Dob, Kaš; P *wstać*.

Kali sudni džen prijdže toj čelavek iz mahili ustane 32a11.

POVSTAC 'to arise' (perf.). BR-R *paŭstać*; NBS, Nos; P *powstać*.

Na sudnij džen ... peršaje iz kafirami povstane 49b10-11.

Last Trump

The concept of trumpet blasts to herald the Day of Judgement is common to Christianity and Islam. Most Muslim authorities hold that there are two blasts: the first of consternation, the second of resurrection. However, some argue that there are three blasts, the second being the blast of examination.³⁴⁹ In BLK three blasts are mentioned. Slav terms are used in a general sense, but Islamic (Arabic) terms used for names of the blasts.

TRUBA 'trumpet'. BR-R, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Var; P *trąba*.

Išrafil trubu u roce dđeržic 18b3; Išrafilavaj trubi hulas učujuc 18a10-11.

TRUBENJE 'trumpeting, trumpet blasts'. Nos *trubleńnie*; P *trąbienie*.

Tri razi zatrubic trubenje 18a21.

ZATRUBIC 'to trumpet'. Skar, HSBM; P *zatrąbić*; cf. Nos *s-*.

Kali Išrafil u trubu zatrubic is taho strachu žemla rastvariše 18b6.

³⁴⁹ EI, V: 235, s.v. *ḳiyāma*; Sell: 220; DI: 540.

NEF(E)CHE نَفْحَ / نَفْحَ 'the last trump'. A نَفْحَةٌ 'a single blast'. In BLK word signifies 'the first blast', but in Arabic term has the general meaning of 'blast'. Cf. Ott *nefhai ûlâ* 'the first blast'.

BLK: ح replaces خ (III.5.1.11); additional *fetħe* sometimes added in second syllable in 'mock' pleophony (III.2.1.3); word-finally *fetħe* replaces A ة (III.5.1.4). Not found in obl. cases.

Tri razi zatrubic trubenje, jedna nefecħe, druhoje feži'e, treceja se'ike 18b21-22.

FEŽI'E/FEŽA'I فَزَعٌ / فَزَعٌ 'second blast'. Ott (A) فَزَعٌ 'Consternation of the Day of the Last Judgement'; T *feza*.

BLK: occasional addition of *elif* in second syllable; word-finally 'ay reinforced by *kesre* or *fetħe* (III.5.1.3). Not found in obl. cases; neut. sg. hard stem noun.

Tri razi zatrubic ... druhoje feži'e 18a21-22.

SE'IKE صَعَقٌ 'third blast'. A صَاعِقَةٌ 'thunderbolt'; T *saika*.

BLK: *fetħe* replaces *elif* in first syllable, word-finally *fetħe* replaces ة (III.5.1.1/4). Not found in obl. cases.

Tri razi zatrubic ... treceje se'ike 18b21-22.

Day of Judgement

Many references to Day of Judgement in the Quran, and in Muslim writings in general. Likewise a favourite theme in BLK. Since concept is common to Christianity, the Tatars able to adopt Slav terms. Usual formula is CS *džen* 'day', qualified by SUDNIJ (as in standard BR and P), or other adjectives. No Islamic terms used.

SUDNIJ 'of judgement'. BR-R *sudny*, P *sadny*.

Pan Boh u chalopij Svajej sudnaho dna kulga ruznich pitanje pitac budže 13b15-16; dna sudnaho frasunak i kajeta jim ne pomože 13a25; paznajuc što sudnij džen prišov 16b25; sudnij džen povstane 17a10.

ASTATNIJ 'last'. Skar; BR-R *astatni*, BN, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaś, Ras. P *ostatny*.

Ne veril Bogu i dnu astatnemu 36b12.

PRIČINNIJ 'of intercession'. P *przyczynny*. Cf. BR 'causal, involved in'. Cf. PRIČINA.

Džiś džen pričinnij jest 21a20.

SMUTNIJ 'sorrowful'. SS; BR-R *smutny*, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šciaš (-na), Šat, Var (-na); P.

To jest' smutni džen hatovije tam švetki buduc 48b16.

STRAŠNIJ 'awesome, fearful'. PB, SS; BR-R *strašny*, McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh), Bial, Dob, Kaš; P.

Paznajuc što strašni džen prišov 16b21.

Last Judgement

Notion of Last Judgement is common to Islam and Christianity. For Muslims, crucial elements are 'the Interrogation', 'the Register of Deeds', 'the Rendering of Account', 'the Scales (for Weighing Good and Evil Deeds)' and 'the Sentence'. In BLK these concepts are expressed by standard (secular) Slav terms. No Islamic forms used.

SUD PB, SS; BR-R, BN, McM, Nos, Bial. This BR form occurs far more frequently in BLK than the P form SOND.

Ustavajce na sud božij 19a2; oni zafrasuju na sudže božim 36b6; sud kamu prijdže nihdže ne skrijeca i ne vceče 110a18-19.

SOND P *sad*. See SUD.

Bojceša Boha Kturi bendže pitac na sondže Svojim a rođicah i krevnich 37a21-22.

STRACH 'terror'. Kar, PB; BR-R, BN, McM (BK, F107, SCh; CAN), Bial, Dob; P.

Abaronic jeho Pan Boh ad strachu sudnaha dna 47b17-18; jakvele sudnaha dna maje bic potim pitanev i strachav 20b14.

Interrogation

PITAN(J)E BR-R *pytańnie*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Ras, Šciaš; P *pytanie*. Some BR dictionaries (BR-R, BN, Ras, Šciaš), like Polish, define this word as 'question'. In BLK contexts either meaning is possible.

Takij čelevek uvojdže da raju bez pitane i bez muķi 80b17-18.

PITAC 'to question'. BR-R *pytać*, BN, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Ras, Šat, Da (W); P.

Pan Boh šila pitac ne budže, tilko dvuch slov pitac budže reče: i chalope, Ja biv is taboj a ti s ķim biv? 13b17-18.

Register (of Deeds)

RAJ-/REJESTR Buł (1510), PB, SS; BR-R *rejestr*, Nos; P.

Nekatorim u pravuju ruku belije rajestri daduc, nekatorim u lovuju ruku čurnije rajestr daduc, holas prijdže... kali toj holas prijdže, advtarce rajestri, što činili na švece tam napisano najdzece 20a5-9.

Rendering of Account

LIDŽBA 'account'. PB, SS, HSBM *lidžba, ličba*; BR-R *ličba*, BN, NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob, Šat; P. Usual meaning of this word in BR and P is 'number, figure'. Orthography in BLK is noteworthy as it consistently shows voicing of voiceless consonant before voiced. Used with verb *zdavac* 'to give'.

Ustavajce na sud boži, lidžbu zdavac čas prišov 19a2-3; bez lidžbi zdavane da raju uvojdže 32b10; sudni džen povstav, uše ludži lidžbu zdajuc 42a4.

Scales

VAHA Skar, HSBM; BR-R, Nos, Bial, Kaš, Šciaš, Da (W); P *waga*. BR dialect dictionaries mainly define this word as 'weight'.

Verce raju i peklu i sirat mostu i vstavana (-u) z martivch ... i vase 52b13-14.

ŠALA 'cup of the scales'. Buł, SS; BR-R, BN, NBS; P 'scales'. Cf. BR-R, BN, NBS, Nos, Bial, Šat *šali* 'scales'.

Potim ludžej pažanuc da vahi, vaha pred 'aršam pastavena budže, pa pravaj šali rizvan stajac budže 20a9-10.

Sentence

VIREK/-ROK Buł (1522), PB, HSBM (*vi-/vyrok*); BR-R *vyrak*, Žyd; McM, Nos (all *-rok*); P *wyrok*.

Virek Moj, božij 110a10.

Bridge to Hell

In Muslim teaching the Bridge that dominates Hell is traditionally called *al-Širāt*, though this term is not found in the Quran.³⁵⁰ In BLK the Bridge is usually referred to by the syntagma *sirat* (A 'road') and *most* (Slav 'bridge'). Cf. T *Sirat köprüsü* 'the Sirat Bridge'. MOST is very

³⁵⁰ EI, IX: 670, s.v. *širāt*

occasionally found with PEKELNIJ instead of SIRAT.

SIRAT صراط 'bridge to Hell'. T (A) *sirat* صراط; RT.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Sometimes decl, sometimes not; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u. Used with MOST.

Sirat most ješ za volas tančejši, za britvu astrejši 20b7-8 (NB this is a common Muslim simile); na sirat most iduči nihto nikoha ne vspomnic 20b6-7; Muchemmed Mustefa na kraju sirat mostu stane 20b17; potim ludžej da siratu mostu pašuc (-šl-) 20b7.

MOST 'bridge'. HSBM; BR-R, Nos, Bial, Jur, Kaš; P. Cf. main BR dialectal meaning of this word 'floor'.

Na sirat most iduči 20b6; sudnao dna ... pekelni most jak malanje blišne tak richle jon perejđe da raju 33b5-6.

Heaven

Specific heavens usually designated by Islamic names, but Slav RAJ and NEBA used as general terms for 'heaven', also collectively for 'the heavens'. RAJ is antonym of PEKLA 'hell' and occurs more frequently than NEBA, antonym of ŽEMLA 'earth'. NEBA also refers to specific, but unnamed heavens (cf. *peršaje neba* 'the first heaven').

RAJ 'heaven, paradise'. BR-R, BN, McM, Dob; P.

U raji vidžec abliča bože 10b9; Pan Boh u tom čaše Chebib Nedždžaru raj ukazav 13a2-3; Pan Boh ... ošmi rajov stvariv 29a23; verce raju i peklu 52b13; katorije ludži iz imanem zešljuje bez bitane (p-), bez muķi uvojduc da raju, a bez imanu umerlije bez pachibi prosta pojduc da pekla 53a1-3.

NEBA Skar; HSBM (-bo); BR-R *nieba*, BN, Bial, Dob; P *niebo*.

Na žemli ima jemu Muchemmed, na peršem nebe Achmed, na druhom nebe Chamid 9a19-20; Pan Boh u tich dnach šemkrot neba šemkrot žemli stvariv 46a16-17; na šemi nebosach višic adna velikaje letarna 98a7.

Heavenly

RAJ-/REJSKIJ BR-R *rajski*; P.

Na taho mušelmana ... edžena rajskaja 32a15-16; malako belaje i smačna rajskaje 43b19; pacechi i raskoši rajskije 43b17-18; rejškije panni žemla i neba povni stali švetlašci 100b3-4; rajskije patravi

prinošši u mahile 32a8; na tom švece u raji rajskije pažitki ~~da~~ 75b14-15; Pan Boh rozum stvoril ... z darahich rečej rajskih 109b1-2; da roskaši rajskih pojdže 60b11; iz rajskaj švetlošci na cemnaš ~~šveckuju~~ vihnanuv 75b16-17; sluhi božije rajskije šati uzložac 14b7; ne rovni jest' taviš pekelnij tavišu rajskamu 27b18; rejškije ~~ludži~~ ne pejuc ničoha tilko ja šin 7b4; rajskije ludži katoruju reč pamišac. jezicam ješče ne vimavic, a toja pred nim hatova budže 22a18.

NEBESKIJ Kar, Skar, HSBM; Nos *niebieski*, BN 'light blue'; P. Cf. more typical BR form *niabiesny*.

Pan Boh volej Svajej prikaze šemikrot nebeskim enhelem 34a6-7; varota nebeskije adčenedi 12a7-8; nebeskije žvezdi 101a5.

Names of Heavens

REFE'E رَفَعْ 'the first heaven'. A رَفَع [raf'].

BLK: Arabic orthogr. with vowel points; word-finally 'ayn reinforced by *fetħe* (III.5.1.3). Not found in obl. cases.

Z dimu stvarone nebo peršaje, u kitabe refe'e ime 91a6-7.

NA'URE نَاعُورُ 'the second heaven'. A نَاعُورَة [nā'ūra].

BLK: A orthogr. with vowel points; word-finally *fetħe* replaces َ (III.5.1.4). Not found in obl. cases.

Na'ure jest druhomu nebu ime 92a3.

ŽA'IRE زَائِرُ 'the third heaven'. A زَائِرَة [zā'ira].

BLK: A orthogr. with vowel points; word-finally *fetħe* replaces َ (III.5.1.4). Not found in obl. cases.

Trečja neba Pan Boh stvariv ze srebra, ža'ire ime 92a8-9.

MEŽINE مَزِينُ 'the fourth heaven'. Ott (A) مَزِين [mazīn, muzayyan].

BLK: Ott (A) orthogr. with vowel points; final *fetħe* probably added by analogy with other heavens (see above). Not found in obl. cases.

Čvartaje neba ime mežine 92b4-5.

MUŠTEKERRU مُسْتَقَرُّ 'sun beneath the earth, sunny place'. Cf. Ott (A) مُسْتَقَر ; T *mūstakar(r)* 'permanent abode; settled, stationary'.

BLK: A orthogr. with vowel points. Doubling of ر [r] with *shedde* preserved (III.5.1.15). Not found in obl. cases; final -u marks 'frozen' nominal inflection of Arabic (III.5.1.17).

Nekatorije muvec muštekerru slonca pad žamloj jest 16b5.

muštekerru slonečnaje mejsca 16b5.

FRDEVŠ فَرْدَوْتُش 'Paradise, the eighth heaven'. Ott (Per) فردوس; T *firdevs*. RT: *firdews, firdewsi*; the following inscription from a tombstone is also cited in RT: 'Stwórco Jedyny Day Jego Duszy Wieczne Zbawienie i Ray Firdiews'. This citation, likewise the passage in BLK, suggest that *firdevš* and *raj* formed a syntagma.

BLK: word-finally ث replaces س (III.5.1.12). Decl; masc. soft stem noun, prep. sg. -u.

Hetije ludži ... u firdevšu raju večne zastanuc 51a12-13.

The Throne of God

In BLK 'the Throne of God' usually referred to as 'ERŠ/'ARŠ. **ĶURŠ** occurs less frequently, mostly followed by 'ERŠ/'ARŠ to form a syntagma. Arabic [kursī] occurs twice in the Quran; generally considered to be synonymous with [ʿarsh], though some of the early exegetists held that it referred to the foot-stool of the Throne. A much recited Quranic verse is sura 2: 256, known as the 'Verse of the Throne' (*āyat al-kursī*).

'ERŠ/'ARŠ عَرِشٌ / عَارِشٌ. Ott (A) عرش; T *arš*; RT: *arsz*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. predominates, but occasionally 'ayn + *fethe* [e] replaced by 'ayn + *elif* [a]; cf. Turkish form, also RT (see III.5.1.1).

Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u.

Kali slonca pad 'erš pojdzē 16b8; anheli ... 'arš dđeržac 18b11; 'erš kurš žemla neba uše Tvajo 99a8; padle 'eršu 9b1; až da 'eršu 12a9; pad 'eršam šemerakim ludžam cholad budže 19b13-14; pajeduc k 'aršu 23a14; vaha pred 'aršam 20a10; u 'eršu 9a22; na 'eršu 99a2.

'ERŠOVIJ 'of the Throne'. Adjective derived from 'ERŠ with Slav suff. -ovij. RT: *arszowe drzwi*.

Enheli 'eršovije 18b12; to 'eršovij kur, pa rusku peven 98b11-99a1; 'eršovij mu'žin u noči ažan pejuči 99a1.

ĶURŠ كُرْسِيٌّ; Ott (A) كرسى; T (Irnđ) *kursi*; RT: *kiurs*.

BLK: final ي [i] omitted, probably by analogy with 'ERŠ/'ARŠ; same feature shown in RT. Decl; masc. soft stem noun, prep. sg. -u.

U švece tajemnim ... arš kurš slonca mešonc jest' 15b2-3; kali spitajuc: paludnav kolka jest? adkaži: adžin 'erš, druhij bejt'i al-me'muru... čvartij kurš 54b14-17; 'erš kurš žemla neba uše Tvajo

99a8; ima jemu ... u kurši Chejri 15b19-22.

MAJSTAT Buř (1442); PB, SS, HSBM; P *majstat*.

Neba muvic: Ja jestem u Boha lepšaje za žemlu ... majstat božij na mne stajic 109a11-12.

The Inhabited House

ME'MURU مَعْمُورٌ . Ott (A) معمور [ma'mūr].

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not decl; final -u 'frozen' Arabic nominal inflection (III.5.1.17). When ME'MURU is used with *bejt'* 'house', Arabic article *al-* retained (III.5.1.16); when used with Slav *dom* 'house', omitted.

U dome božim me'muru enheli buduc 55a1; kali spitajuc: paludnaz kolka jest adkaži: adžin 'erš, druhuj bejti al-me'muru 54b14-16.

The Preserved Tablet

In BLK sometimes entire phrase LEVCHI AL-MECHFUZU is used, sometimes only LEVCH 'tablet'. Both expressions can be used alone, or with Slav TABLICA 'tablet'. TABLICA also sometimes used alone.

LEVCHI AL-MECHFUZU لَوْحِ الْمَحْفُوظِ . Ott (A) اللوح المحفوظ; T *Levchi Mahfûz*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Medially, Arabic article *al-* retained; final -i of LEVCHI and -u of MECHFUZU 'frozen' Arabic inflectional endings (III.5.1.16/17). Not decl.

Na levchi al-mechfuzu tablici jest trista imon 8b23-24; na levchu al-mechfuzu čitav 65b19.

LEVCH لَوْحٌ 'tablet'. Ott (A) لوح; T (lrnd) *levch*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Usually decl. when used alone; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a/-e. Not decl. when used with TABLICA.

Na levch tablici napisano jest 11a1; ja pitav u levche, a levch te jest levchi al-mechfuzu, ušelakaja nauka božeje ... jest 29a15-16.

TABLICA 'tablet'. PB, SS, Ziz.

Na levch tablici napisano jest 11a1; zavšehdi na tuju tablicu hledžev 65b19-20; na toj tablici imona jich 93b1; na levchi al-mechfuzu tablici jest trista imon 8b23-24.

The Pen

KALEM/KELEM قَالَمْ / قَلَمْ . Ott (A) قلم; T, RT: *kalem*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points, predominates but in first syllable *elif* occasionally replaces *fethë* (III.5.1.1). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a

Holas prišov: kelem piši; kelem muvil: što maju pisac nešmertelnij Bože? 29b9-10; ja pitav u kalema, kelem ... nauka ušelakaje piše 29a17-18.

Lote Tree of the Extremity

Sometimes whole Arabic phrase ŠIDREŦU AL-MUNŦEHA used in BLK, at other times, only MUNŦEHA, 'an extreme limit'.

ŠIDREŦU AL-MUNŦEHA سِدْرَتُ الْمُنْتَهَى 'the Lote Tree of the Extremity'. Ott (A) سِدْرَةُ الْمُنْتَهَى; T *sidretülmünteh*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Preservation of *elifi maqsure* (III.5.1.18). Not decl.

Ima jemu ... u šidret'u al-munt'eha Chebib 9a19-22.

MUNŦEHA مُنْتَهَى 'an extreme limit'. Ott (A) مُنْتَهَى; T *münteha*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not decl.

Na toje hare adno džerava velmi cherošaje, munt'eha ime taho džerava 97a5-6; da munt'eha prišov 100b1.

Waters of Paradise

DŽEJCHUN جِيحُونُ 'the Oxus'. Ott (A) جِيحُونُ; T *Ceyhun*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u.

Pan Boh taje vadi na četiri čaśc padželic ... adna čaśc da nilu a druhaje da džejchunu 102a3-4.

FURAK فُرَاقُ 'the Euphrates'. Ott (A) فِرَاتُ; T *Furat*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points; final ق surely scribal error for ت. Not decl; used with *reka* 'river'.

Da reki furak 102a4.

NIL نِيلُ 'the Nile'. Ott (A) نَيْلُ; T, also BR, P *Nil*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel point; *kesre* replaces ي (III.5.1.2). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u.

Da nilu 102a4.

ŠEJCHON سَيْحُونُ 'the Jaxartes'. Ott (A) سيحون; T *Seyhun*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun.
gen. sg. -a/e.

Da šejchone 102a4.

RECHIK رَحِيقُ 'wine, a spring in Paradise'. Ott (A) رحيق; T *rahik*.

RT: *rehyk*: 'pic beḏa rechyk' (*Kitab*).

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points; *fethə* in first syllable suggests that Tatars pronounced [e]; cf. RT. NB In Turkish [a] used here.

Reki žendžebil ve šelšebil ve rechik krinici reki tam ceči budac 23a14-15.

ŠELŠEBİL سَلْسَبِيلُ 'wine, a spring or fountain in Paradise'. Ott (A)

سلسبيل; T *selsebil*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points; *kesre* replaces ي (III.5.1.2).

Not found in obl. cases; can be used in syntagma linked by Ott (A) ve.

U Kurane ime taje vadi šelšebil 102a10; šelšebil ve rechik 23a14.

ŽENDŽEBIL زَنْجَبِيلُ 'ginger, a spring in Paradise'. Ott (A) زنجبيل;

T *zencebil* (lrnd), *zencefil*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases..

Pred saboj abačec ... reki žendžebil ve šelšebil 23a14.

IMBER 'ginger'. HSBM; BR-R *imbir*, P. In BLK this word is not used

to describe the tongue of Muhammed's mystical horse, not the river ŽENDŽEBIL. Included here for comparison with preceding entry.

Toj biv ušich konej panem, zubi merdžan, jezik z imberu 89a4.

ŽULAL زُلَالُ 'a delicious drink, the water of Paradise'. Ott (A) زلال;

T *zülal*; RT.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

S pad taho džerava adna vada vichodžic na čvure raždželivšiše — čvartij žulal 102a1-2.

CHEMRI حَمْرُ; 'wine, a river in Paradise'. Ott (A) خمز 'wine', حمري

'pertaining to wine'; T (lrnd) *hamr*, *hamri*; RT: *chamr*.

BLK: ح replaces خ (III.5.1.11); word-finally *kesre* [i] added, perhaps reflecting Ott adjectival form. RT suggests that it was pronounced with [a], as in Turkish. Not decl; used with *reka* 'river'.

Potim iz chemri reki pic budac 23a4.

KEVŠER كَوْثَرُ 'a pond or river in Paradise'. Ott (A) كوثر; T *Kevser*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Kažnij u ruce bardak dđeržic, u adnom žemžem vada a v druhom kevšer 88b11-89a1.

ŽEMŽEM زَمْزَم. Ott (A) زمزم; T *Zemzem*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not decl.

U ruce bardak dđeržic, u adnom žemžem vada a v druhom kevšer 88b11-89a1; prišov da vadi žemžem 88b11.

Heavenly Rewards

Standard BR term for 'reward' is ZAPLAT, but usual word in BLK is SPAŠENNE/SPAŠENJE, literally 'salvation'. This usage is unique to Tatar, not shared by Christian Slavs.

SPAŠENNE/-ENJE 'reward, heavenly blessing'. Cf. BR/P 'salvation'. PB; McM (CAN 5) *spasieńnie*, Nos, Dob, Šat; P *spasienie*.

Chto bi mev pec ja šin Pan Bug napiše jemu spašenje 7b7; zdaleko da mečici ici spašenje velikaje 15a18; Pan Boh reče: i chalope, pri Mne tvajo spašenne 20a20; tamu čelaveku Pan Boh šemdžešat prarokav spašenne i lasku Svaju božeju učinic 32b3-4; chto tije šešdžešat i adžin churf pev ... jakvele u moru kropel, takvele Pan Boh jemu spašenne daśc i takvele hrachov adpušcic, na mejsca hrachov spašenne daśc 30b21-23; chto bi svaju žanu lubeči pacelavav Pan Boh jemu triccac spašenje daśc 63a5-6; Bab: ... a velkašci spašenje ažennaho aznajmuje 82a1.

ZAPLATA 'reward'. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *zapłata*, BN, NBS, Nos, Var; P.

Kažni čelavek svaju zaplatu voźme 19a21; co afaroval i ne chvališe tim i ne vimove i ne trudni jich, dla nich zaplata jest 36b4-5.

ZAPLACENE 'reward'. HSBM; OCS, R *zaplaćenie*. Used once in BLK. Šemenčuj jich proroče adpuščenem hrachov, velikim spašenem, velikim zaplacenem u raji 10b8-9.

Heavenly Joy

RADAŠC/-OŠC 'joy'. PB, SS; BR-R *radašć*, BN, McM, Dob; P *radošć*.

Chto al-chemdu šurej peje, tije u radašci, u zdarovju persunu božuju u raji abačec 29a11-12.

RADOSNIJ 'joyful'. PB; BR-R *radasny*, McM, Dob (-stn-); P *radosny*.

Bo jest' raj dom radosnij 22a12.

RADAVACIŠE/-DOVACIŠE 'to rejoice'. BR-R *radavacca*, McM (BK, F107, Sch; CAN), Dob; P *radować się*.

Da varot rajsčich prijeduc, rajsčije padskarbniije varotniije praciv jich vijduc, radavaciše jim buduc 21b24-22a1.

ABRADOVACCA 'to rejoice' (perf.). BR-R, Bial, Dob; OP *obradować się*.

Adam abradavavše, i za toje Panu Bohu chvalu davac pačav 75b18.

URADAVACCA 'to rejoice' (perf.). Nos; P *uradować się*.

Skora učuv ad Džebra'ila tije slova, uradavavše i tvar na žemlu palaživ 88b3-4.

CEŠICIŠE 'to rejoice'. BR-R *ciešycca*, BN, McM (CAN), Bial, Kaš; P *cieszyć się*.

Sudnaho dna cešiciše budže 61a16-17.

ŠEMENČOVAC 'to make someone rejoice'. Unrecorded elsewhere. Possibly derived from T *sevınc* 'joy', though phonic link is weak. Word occurs quite often in BLK, also in other Tatar texts.

Šemenčuj jich, proroče, adpuščenem hrachov 10b8-9; šemenčuj, proroče, cerplivich katorich Ja navežu pripadkam, škodaj 36a5-6; šemenčuj, proroče, dobrich ludžej mušelman rajem 42b24; Džebra'ıl muvil: šemenčuju tabe, proroče, me'radž noč jest 88a5-6.

Nearness to God

BLISKAŠC 'nearness'. Skar; HSBM (*blizk-/bliskost'*); BR-R *blizkašč*; P *bliskość*.

Kali b pitali: u Pana Boha što za bliskašč jest'? žebi da jeho hatovi bil odpovedž: to jest' ... to bliskašč ništo ne budže meži Pana Boha mež čaloveka, žadnaho zaponu ne budže 19a13-16.

Delights of Heaven

In BLK general terms for 'delight' are PACECHA and ROSKAŠ RASKOŠA. Frequently form a doublet.

PACECHA PB, SS; BR-R *paciecha*, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob 'present', Kaš, Šat; P *pociecha*.

Pacechi i raskoši rajsčije 43b17-18; Muša prarok ... da dobrich

redasnich pacech prišov 77a2-4.

ROSKAŠ/RASKOŠA Both forms exist in BR: PB (-š); BR-R (both), BN (both), McM (both; BK, CB, F107, SCh *roskaš*), Nos (both), Dob (-š), NBS, Kaš, Ras, Šat (all -ša); P *rozkosz*. P meaning is 'pleasure, delight'; in BR often additional sense of 'wealth, abundance' (cf. R *roskoš* 'luxury, splendour'). In BLK both meanings valid.

Nekatorije da raju uvojudc da roskaši 14a19; pacechi i raskoši rajskije 43b17-18; musulmanin spravedlivij ne umre ale ... da roskaši rajških pojdze 60b10-11; mušulmanskaje roskaš šmerc jest 50a16-17.

PANNA 'houri', lit. 'young girl, damsel'. SS, HSBM; BR-R, Nos; P.

U kažnim majstace šemdžešat krot pašcelej budže, bavelnanije (pav-) dvani (div-) na kažnej pa panne rajskaj šedžec buduc a na kažnaj panne šemdžešat adženav budže, pros tuje adžene cela vidac budže a praz cela kości vidac buduc; kali b is tich panen adna na hetij švet hlanula iz jeje švetlašci abo bliska mešec i slonca zacmeli bi 22b15-18.

CHEMRI حَمْرٍ 'heavenly wine'. See also pp. 206, 302.

Not decl; used in this context with Slav *vino* 'wine'.

Vešološc dajušcije chemri vino 22b23.

ŠERAB شَرَابٌ 'wine'. Ott (A) شراب; T *şarap*; RT: *szerab*, 'pic będą szerab, który zapieczetowany fizmą jest' (*Kitab*).

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Retention of *fetħe* in first syllable suggests that Tatars pronounced [e] here; cf. RT. However, modern Turkish has [a]. Not found in obl. cases.

Šerab tahir pic buduc 22a7.

ŠERBET شَرْبَتٌ 'a sweet drink (in Paradise)'. Ott شربت (A -ة); T *şerbet*. In Turkish used for any drink, pleasant or unpleasant. In BLK, too, meaning depends on context (see TORMENTS OF HELL p. 212). RT: *szerbiet*; 'do nich szerbiet będą prynosić' (*Kitab*); 'kupki iz szerbietem napowniajucz się' (*Kitab*).

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Use of final ت as in Ott (III.5.1.5). Not found in obl. cases in BLK; RT indicates that it was declined as a masc. hard stem noun.

Kuflami krištalovimi šerbet' prinasuc 22a4.

Hell

General term is Slav PEKLA; specific hells referred to by Islamic names.

PEKLA PB; BR-R *piekła*, BN, NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaś, Mal, Ras, Šat; P *piekto*.

Duši uvezanije oči zažmureni tak šlepije ulomnije da pekla uvojdac 10a10; u pekle svetlašci ničoha ne zastala 15b16; verce raju i pekla 52b13; šem pekel spelna vidžev 96b4.

AHON/EHON/AGON 'fire (of hell)'. Skar; BR-R *ahon*, BN, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaś, Šciaš; OP *ogoń*.

Jakije ruznije ludži u ahnu pekelnim ne buduc harec 16a14; napovnac živati svaje ehnom i zapalecca polamem pekelnim 37b14-15.

PEKELNIJ 'of hell'. BR-R *piakielny*, NBS, Nos (*piek-*), Dob, Šat; P *piekielny*.

Pred saboj hlan, ahon pekelnij abačiš 13b9; prašic buduc krul pekelnij 24b13; pekelnije ludži ad rajskich adlučac buduc 23b12; pekelnij most 33b5; Bože naš šceraži nas ad pekelnej muķi 24b3; mukarov pekelnich dževevnaccac jest' 33b14; zapalecca polamem pekelnim 37b14-15; staršaho pekelnaho Maliķ prašic buduc 24b12-13; razmišlajše čelaveče jakij strach pekelnij, što maje z nami džejeciše 24b2; ne rovni jest' taviariš pekelnij taviarišu rajskamu 27b18; kali b is trucizni pekelnej adna krapla na švet kapnula 24a24-24b1; Džebra' il muvil: pekelnij vajejvoda to jest 94b5; enhel adčiniv pekelnije varota 95a1-2; kali b pekelnij vecer raz na švet pavejev bi, to bi na žemli žadnaja trava ne rastala 24a21-22.

PATENPONIJ 'damned'. P *potępiony*.

Dla tich nevernikav muku pekelnuju patenponuju 39a1.

Names of Hells

DŽEHENNEM جَهَنَّمَ 'the first hell, the purgatory for Muslims'. Ott (A) جهنم (Heb *geyhinnōm*); T *cehennem*; RT: *džehenniem*; 'idž do džehenniemie'.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points; *shedde* over ن preserved (III.5.1.15). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-ale*.

A kafirev uķidaju u pekla džehenneme 93b11.

LEZZA لَظَا 'the second hell, the hell for Christians'. A لظى [*lazā*].

BLK: *shedde* over ظ preserved (III.5.1.15); word-finally *elif* in place of *elifi maqsure* (III.5.1.18). Not decl; used with PEKLA 'hell'.

Bo lezza pekla jest ... jich Pan Boh ad lezza pekla abaraniv 29a7-8.

DŽEHIM جَحِيمٌ 'the sixth hell'. Ott (A) جحيم [jahīm]; RT: *dzechim*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not decl; usually found with PEKLA 'hell'.

Aplošnije ludži iz kafirimi buduc pospolu u džehim pekle i muke jim velikaje budže 68b18-20; adno pekla ime džehim preto fat'iche pejučije u džehim ne buduc 29a1-2.

HAVIJE هَوِيٌّ 'the Gates of Hell'; according to the explanation in BLK this is the name of the seventh hell. A هَوِيَّة [hāwiyah].

BLK: *kesre* replaces ي, word-finally *fetħe* for ة (see III.5.1.2/4). Not found in obl. cases.

Pekelnije varota havije zavuc 30a21.

FIRAK فِرَاقٌ 'a hell for unbelievers', according to explanation in BLK; cf. Ott (A) فِرَاق [firāq] 'separation'; RT *firak* '(a) hell'.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases; used with PEKLA.

Bo kafiram naleži pekla firak 29a11.

SIDŽINU I VEJLU سِجْنٌ أَوْيْلٌ 'name of a hell', according to explanation in BLK. The form *sijjīn* occurs in the Quran, sura 83.7. Precise meaning of Arabic term uncertain, but could be intensive form of *sijn*, 'a prison'. Cf. A سِجْنُ الْوَيْلِ [sijn al-wayl] 'a bad dungeon'.

BLK: approximate rendering of Arabic [sijn al-wayl]. Decl; final -u of SIDŽINU either 'frozen' Arabic inflection or Slav prep. sg. -u, masc. hard stem noun (III.5.1.17).

Mejsce jich u sidžinu i vejlu pekla 62b15-16.

ŠUBUR ثُبُورٌ 'a hell' (?). Cf. Ott (A) ثُبُور; T *subur*. Redh gives these definitions: 1. 'a destroying; annihilation'. 2. 'a perishing, ruin, perdition'. 3. 'suffering loss; privation; destitution'. BLK context suggests it was understood as name of a hell, or place within hell.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, prep. sg. -u.

U pekle adno zakla jest, zavuc šubur, preto fat'iche pejučije u šuburu ne buduc 28b22-23.

Torments of Hell

MUKA 'torment'. Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R, Bial, Šat. Cf. P *męka*.

Šceraži nas ad muķi pekelnej 9a13; ad ušich muk najcažejšaja muka
holad 24b5; šceraži nas... ad tahošvetnaj muķi 24b3-4.

MUKAR/-KER 'tormentor'. Srez *mukar*" 'tirannos'.

Pa levaj šali mukari stajac buduc, u rukach ahnistije lancuhi dđeržac
buduc 20a11-12; enheli mukari prijduc 23b12; kaźnij mukar razom
adnim šemdžešat t'íšečej hrešnich da pekla ukinec 24a13; 'Eźra'
prijdže iz mukerami pekelnimi 61b14.

MUČICCA 'to be tormented, to suffer'. Skar; HSBM (-*itisja*); BR-R
mučycca, BN. Cf. P *męczyć się*.

U pekle za uše tije pričini mučicca 59a2.

ŠEKĀRAN سُكْرَانُ 'infernal gallows', according to explanation in BLK.
Cf. Ott (A) سُكْرَانُ 'intoxicated, drunk'; T *sekran*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

U pekle adna šibeneca jest, ime šekran 117b8-9.

ŽEKUM زَقُومُ 'infernal poison', according to BLK. Ott (A) زَقُومُ
T *zakkum*. DI says it is the name of a tree in hell. RT explains it as
another name for hell. RT: *ziekum*, 'idź do ziekuma'. According to
Redh, also used for 'the food of the damned'.

BLK: Ott orthogr; *fetħe* in first syllable may reflect Tatar speech (cf.
RT); unusually, *shedde* over ق [k] omitted (III.5.1.15). Not found in
obl. cases, but RT indicates masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a.

Bo jest žekum trucizna 29a4.

ŽERI'E ضَرِيْعٌ 'herb given to the damned'. Ott (A) ضَرِيْعٌ; T *dari*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Rare use of ض. In Ottoman
usually represents [z], but occasionally, as here, [d]. Not recorded in
RT. Not found in obl. cases.

Mukari daduc ješc adnu travu katoruju zavuc žeri'e 24b6.

SUKRAVICA 'ichor, given to the damned to drink in hell'. BR-R, BN,
Šat, Var; P *sukrwica*.

Pic buduc haračuju vadu i sukravicu z cel ludźkich cekučuju u pekle
67a11-12.

ŠERBET شَرْبَاتٌ 'a boiling hot drink for the damned'. Ott شَرْبَاتٌ (A -ة);
T *šerbet* ('sweet fruit drink; medicinal drink esp. laxative'); RT

šerbet. Same word also used for DELIGHTS OF HEAVEN.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points; final *ʿ* as in Ott (III.5.1.5). Not found in obl. cases in BLK, but RT shows masc. hard stem noun.

Mukari ... haračij šerbet' daduc, sukravicu is cel ludźkich 24b7-8.

IV.1.5 Mankind: Body, Soul, Spirit

Human Being

In BLK usual term is BR ČELE-/ČELA-/ČALAVEK; form ČLOVEK seldom used. Ott (A) INŠAN rarely occurs, generally linked to *ja šin*.

ČELE-/ČELA-/ČALAVEK BR-R *čataviek*, BN, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Ras, Šat. In BLK usual orthographic/phonic form is ČELEVEK.

Pana Boha ušimi imonami Jeho spomni čeleveku trudna bilo bi 9a14-15; kali džeme'et'u adžin čelevek budže džum'e nemaž klanecca ... a Imam Šafi v naucce kaže, kali sorak čelavekav ne budže to džum'e nemaž klaneciše ne hože 46b19-21; chto sedeku fitre addašc post prinati budže, toj čelavek ad ušelakich muk volen budže 42b16-17; čeleveče, krivdi škodi nikomu ni čini 125b1.

ČLOVEK Bul (1517-19), Kar, PB; P *człowiek*. See ČELEVEK.

Ja insan človek jest 8b16.

ESABA PB, SS; BR-R *asoba*, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šat; P *osoba*.

Chto bi mev Boha adžinaho da čaho priravnavac, esabu jakuju... mev pristavlac 110b18-20.

PER-/PARSUNA Buł (1388) *persona, parsuna*, PB, SS (both *per-*); BN *persona, parsona*, Nos (*par-*) Dob (*per-*); cf. P *persona* 'character'. In BLK form *persuna* slightly more common than *par-*.

Ten mocnij jest što z adnaje krapli vadi parsunu učinic ... Pan Boh iz vadi pluhavaj ajcovskaj u nutre macerinskam persunu učinic 26b2-6; On jest Bug Stvoricel, duši prikrapicel, u celach persunu činonci 28a9-10.

INŠAN إنسان. Ott (A) انسان; T *insan*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u.

Ja inšan človek jest 8b16; ad inšanu sin užavši to ja šin značiše Muchemmed proroka jeho milošci 8b17-18.

Human

Adjective 'human' rarely used in BLK. Two sets of doublets are used. LUCĀĀIJ/LUDZĀĀIJ more commonly than ČELAVEČIJ/ČLOVEČIJ. No apparent semantic difference between these pairs.

LUCĀĀIJ/LUDZĀĀIJ Kar, Skar; BR-R *ludski*, BN, Nos (-*dzkij*, -*dkij*), Bial (*luc-*), Dob (-*skoj*), Var (-*dzki*); P *ludzki*.

Žicjo luckoje horka bilo 24b1; nad jim kledba božeja i anelskaje i luckaje 38b12; krulovi ludžkamu, Bohu luckamu, u moci Jeho jestešmi 28b7.

ČELAVEČIJ BR-R *čelavečy*, Nos, Ras.

Pan Boh milošerdnij učuvši plač čelavečij ... hrech adpuskaje 125b15-16.

ČLOVEČIJ P *czlowieczy*.

Jege rozum ni anelskij ani človečij 7a3.

Life

Only Slav terms used to express concepts of 'life' and 'death'. Five words found for 'life'; equal frequency, no clear semantic differentiation.

PAŽICJE Nos *požićie* 'long life'; P *pożycie*.

U pažicju na tim švece 13b13.

VEK PB, SS, HSBM; BR-R *viek*, Nos, Bial, Ras, Šciaš; P 'age'.

Čto svajich rodžicav krevnich lubic, tamu Pan Boh daje dovh i vek 38a3-4; tačich ludžej u veku i v majentnasci sporu ne budže 47a2.

ŽICJO Skar; BR-R *žycio*, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob (-*tjo*), Kaš, Ras, Šat; P *życie*.

Žicjo luckoje horka bilo 24b1; za žice i pri šmerci švajej napominane i nauki ne zanechav 13a9.

ŽIVOT Kar, Skar, SS; BN *žyvot*, Nos; P, R, (arch.).

Čto bi precivku bajramav ne spav, nemažem t'ešbichami zabavlavše, tačich ludžej život nikdi ne umre 44b16-18; mušulmanin kažni sam sabe za živocce svajho dobre čini 61a17-18.

ŽITLO Use of this word in the sense 'life' appears to be peculiar to BLK; cf. BR-R (dial.) *žitlo* 'domicile, habitation'.

Ad hetaho času vam zdarovja jest chvarobi nemaš, žitlo jest šmerci

nemaš 22b6-7; lepej tabe šmerc za tvajo žitlo 25a17-18; u raji četiri reki jest ... žitla dajuščije mod jest 22b22-23.

Living

ŽIVU Skar; BR-R žyvy, McM, Bial, Dob (-oj), Kaš (-oj), Ras (-oj); P.

Pan Boh iž živaho martvaho učinic a z martvaho živaho učinic 59a12-13; proroški u Pana Boha živi jest' 48b24; zeslalem Muchemmeda žebi strašil Kuranem, žebi jich nutri živi bili 25b4-5.

Death

ŠEMERC PB, SS; BR-R *šmierc*, Bial, Dob, Šciaš; P. ŠEMERC rare; could be scribal error, but BLK shows several other instances of 'mock'-pleophony, so possibly a feature of Tatar speech (III.2.1.2).

Šmerci bajimše 15a24-25; vek moj končicca, užo maja šmerc bliska prišla 42a23; šmerc jest roskaš mušulmanskaje 50a16-17.

Deadly

ŠMERTELNIJ PB, SS; Nos *šmiertelnyj*, Šat; P.

Taho dna... kali čto zachvareje šmertalnaje paznaka maje bic 113b18-19.

Dead

For terms relating to 'a dead person' see pp. 292-93.

Soul

SERCA and **DUŠA** both used for 'soul' in BLK; SERCA more common. No clear semantic difference; both used literally as well as figuratively.

SERCA PB, SS; BR-R, BN, Mal, Šciaš; McM, Nos (both give the two forms *ser-/sier-*), Dob (*sier-*); P *serce*. In BLK only hard [s-] used.

Serca tvajo švedestva da pu što ti moj pravdživij prarok 8b13-14; ahon rukami užavši na serca svaje uzložic 19a24-25; u kažnej reči jest' nutr i serca a v Kurane nutr i serca ja šin šurej 7b5-6.

DUŠA Kar, PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R, McM, Bial, Dob, Ras, Šat; P.

Pan Boh 'Užeiru dušu kezav užac 27a3; duša jest moc boža 8b4-5.

Of the Soul

SERDEČNIJ PB, SS; BR-R *sardečny*, McM, Dob; P *serdeczny*.

U čistašci serdečne jeje pavažali 28b19.

DUŠNIJ HSBM, Nos, McM; OP. Also Srez.

'Iša rek: i matke maja, dušnuju horkaśc či mela? 86b5-6.

Inner Being

NUTR 'innards, inner being, kernel'. BR-R *nutro*, BN, Nos, Dob, Kaś, Ściaś 'lining', Šat.

Pana Boha nutrami svajimi bajecca 10b6; tuju vadu pic buduc, gušel
brac buduc, tahdi i(z) tich nutrav picha zlaja umišli zlije vijduc
21b23-24; choc bi Kafirin al-chemdu šurej ščirim nutrom pev 33b7;
nutr kuranovij ja šin 7b4.

NUTRANIJ/NETRANIJ 'inner'. BR-R *nutrany*. Dob (-nej), Ściaś, Var.

Pan Boh jest vadomij ušelačkije reči nutranich i tajemnich umislaw
80b2-3.

NATURA 'nature, character, true being'. Buł (1580), PB, SS, HSBM:
BR-R, BN, McM, NBS, Bial, Dob, Kaś, Šat, Var; P.

Čistaje duša ... varocajše adkul višla da Pana svajho i da naturi svajej
60b14-16.

Body

CELA PB, SS; BR-R *ciela*, BN, Bial, Dob, Šat; P *ciato*.

Duša toje učuvši trudna iz cela vijdže i nad celam stanec poķi da
mahili cela ulożec 61b20-21.

CELESNIJ 'of the body, physical'. BR-R *cialesny*, P *cielesny*.

Post budže ačišćenje hrachov celesnich 41a16.

Intellect

ROZUM PB, SS; BR-R, BN, McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh), Nos, Bial,
Dob (*raz-*), Kaś, Ras, Šat; P.

Rozum jest na tri čašci razlučan, u katoraha čeloveke tije tri čašci
napovneni buduc u taho čeloveke rozum zupelne jest 109b13-15; či ne
bilo u vas rozumu že šejtanu uverili? 24a3-4; takij čelovek horšij
bidlaci bo bidla rozum ne maje 56b9-10.

ZMISL SS, Ziz; BN *zmysł*, BR-R (*zmysła* 'quick-wittedly'; dial. only).
McM, Nos, Dob; P.

Toj buduči stari ... rozum i zmysl jak džica maloje budže 25a9.

Desire

ACHOTA PB, SS; McM, Nos (-*ćcie*), Bial, Dob (-*tje*), Jur, Ras; *Pochota*; cf. widespread lit. and dial. BR *achvota*.

Lepšuju achotu mec 8a13-14.

CHENC McM (CAN 3); P *chęc*. McM classes this as a Polonism in BR.

Chenc maja abmilnonc (-nośc) 8b6-7; chto na švece chenci svajej davši volu cheramnije pažitki paživac buduc 14a20-21.

ŽA-ŽEDANE PB, Skar; BR-R *žadannie*, BN, NBS, Nos, Ras; *P żądanie* 'demand'.

Mušelmane, žadanju vašemu vam daju či udžačni jestešce 22a19-20; chto bi trecij džen pošnikav Pan Boh ušelakaja žedanje jeho prijme 44b23-45a1; chto bi taje hadžini jakoje žadanje činiv prožbu da Pana Boha, Pan Boh prijme 48b19-20.

ŽONDŽA *P żądza*.

Lučajcese da žon svajich bo jeni vas zaponej ad zlej žondži 40a14-15.

Intention

UMIŠEL PB; McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh) *umysiel*, Nos. Cf. *P umysł* 'mind, intellect'.

Ušelakije umišli zlije iz halavi majej višli 25a22; Pan Boh vadom umislav nutranich 74b2-3.

Deed

Usual term in BLK is **UČINAK**, a standard MBR word, but not found in nineteenth-century texts.³⁵¹

UČINAK PB, SS; BR-R *učynak*, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Bial; P.

Katorija dobrij učinak staravše dobruju zaplatu voźmic, katorij čelavek zlij učinak činiv zľuju zaplatu voźmic 19a19-21; Pan Boh vedaje što vi činice za učinki 37a11-12; ja buduči na švece meškajuči u dobrich učinkach, u raji mejsca sabe dabila 86b4-5.

DŽELO Kar, PB, Skar, Ziz, HSBM; McM (CAN) *dzięta*, Bial 'work'; P.

Ad lichich džel treba kajetu 107b11.

PASTUPAK SS; McM (BK, F107, SCh; CAN 3); P *postępek*.

U šešci rečach u pastupach Pan Boh čelaveka lubic 29b19-20.

³⁵¹ McM:126, s.v. *pastupak*.

Sustenance

Usual terms in BLK are Ott (A) RIŽK and Slav PAŽITAK. Found in similar contexts and appear to be synonymous; convey concept of 'sustenance' in a material sense, but usually with spiritual overtones. PATRAVA, POŽIVENE and ŽIVNAŠC generally used in a purely physical sense.

RIŽK رِزْق. Ott (A) رِزْق; T *rizk*; RT: *rysk, ryzk*, 'Pan Bóg uradował dom ojca mego ryzkami'.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun. gen. sg. -u.

Tije mocari hardije katorije Moj rižk jeli 18b16; na šom švece rižku chelalnaho dam 33b6-7; kali adklanejeciše nemaž razsipceše pa žemlu žadajući laški božej i rižku sabe 46b11; chto u Mene ustavične veric ... rižku jim snadna dam 99b9-10; rižkam Majim chelalnim adpošnikavše 44a7.

PAŽITAK BR-R *pażytak*, Nos, Šat, Var; P *pożytek*.

Za uše pažitki Panu Bohu chvalu addašc 9a9-10; jeni s Kurane sabe pažitkav dđeržac 25b5; ad balvanov jim pažitku ne budže 25b22; Pan Boh ... na šom švece rižku chelalnaho dašc e na tom švece u raj rajskije pažitki dašc 75b14-15; chto bi mev na cheramnoje pažitki abo napitkav chelalem nazvac ... kafirinam budže 111a6-8.

PATRAVA PB, SS; BR-R (dial.), BN, Nos, Bial, Kaš, Šciaš, Da (W); P *potrawa*.

Boh enhelam razkaže ... rajskije patravi prinošši 32a8; pered nim pa dve patravi ruznije, adna chelal a druhoje cheram 96a7.

POŽIVENE P *pożywienie*.

Pan Boh stvariv pažitki morskije ješče dla ašminaccaci švetov dla poživene luđzem i všelakamu udichanu 29b12-13.

ŽIVNAŠC PB, Skar, SS; BN *żywnaśc*, Nos, Var; P *żywność*.

Kali bolejšc sabe za džen živnašci maješ to sedeku fitre davaj 42b19-20.

Good Fortune

ŠČAŠCE PB, SS; BR-R *ščaście*, BN, McM, Bial, Kaš, Šat; P *szczyście*.

Kali čvartaho dna son vidžic ščašce uvidžiš 116b17-18.

ŠČAŠ-/ŠČEŠLIVIJ 'fortunate'. PB; BR-R *ščašlivy*, BN, McM, Nos.

Bial; P *szczęśliwy*.

Ščašlivije to ludži katorije u patnicu gušel abdeš beruc 47a11; pevne
Ja zeslalem Kuran ščašlivij noči kedir 40b8.

■ Fortune, Tribulation

in BLK this topic occurs more often than 'good fortune'. Different types of tribulation are mentioned, particularly sorrow, care, hardship and want.

BEDA PB, Skar, SS, Ziz, HSBM (also *bida*); BR-R *biada*, McM, Dob, Jan 2, Kaš, Šat; P *bieda*.

Cerplivimi jest u nedastatku, u bedach, u chvarobach 35b6; ad
ušelačkih švečkih bed ... Pan Boh ebaronic 75b12-13.

NAPAŠĆ PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R (coll.) *napašć*, McM (CAN), Nos 'unjust accusation', Dob, Šat; P.

Oddal od nas napašci, pripadki i prigodi 7a10-11.

NEŠČAŠCE PB, Skar, SS; BR-R *niaščaście*, McM, Bial, Dob, Kaš; P *nieszczęście*.

Neščašce naše nas apanovala že mi stali bludnikami 24b16.

NEŠČAŠLIVIJ 'unfortunate, bearing ill fortune'. Only Skar; not recorded in MBR dictionaries; cf. lit. and dial. BR *niaščasny*; P *nieszczęśliwy*.

Dna sudnaha ščašlivij vecer paveje i neščašlivij paveje 14b5.

PRIHODA/-GODA McM (CAN 3) *pryhoda*, Nos, Bial, Dob, Ras; P *przygoda* 'accident, incident'. Other BR dictionaries cite this word with the meaning 'incident', but only those mentioned above indicate an unpleasant or unfortunate type of incident.

Oddal od nas napašci, pripadki i prigodi 7a10-11.

TRUDNAŠĆ/-NOŠĆ 'difficulty'. PB, SS; Var *trudnašć*; R, P *trudność*. Only MBR dictionary to cite this word is Var, but McM, Nos and Dob give adjective *trudny*.

Mežruh konškajje mase ješc ... kali u trudnošci albo u ubostve buduči
može ješc 70a7-9.

NEDASTATAK 'want'. PB, Skar, SS; McM (BK, SCh; CAN 5+1 folk) *niedastatak*, Kaš (pl. only), Šat; P *niedostatek*.

Cerplivimi jest u nedastatku 35b6.

NEN(D)ZA 'want, misery'. Buł (1580), SS; BR-R *nendza* BN, Šat;

P nędza.

Uvojduc u muku a (u) nenzu, u trudnaści buduc 14a19-20.

KLOPAT 'care, worry'. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *kłopat*, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Bial, Kaś, Ras (pl. only), Ściaś, Šat, Var; P *kłopot*.

Kłopat naš i frasunak 19b5-6.

SMUTAK 'sorrow'. PB, SS; BR-R, BN, McM NBS, Nos, Dob (pl. only), Kaś, Ras, Var, Da (S, W); P *smutek*.

Ad hetaho času vam ... radość jest, smútku nemaš 22b6-8.

FRASUNEK 'sorrow, distress'. Buł (1574), PB, SS; McM; P.

Frasunek hrešnim ludžem dna sudnaho budže 13a23-24; Muša u velikam frasunku biv 77a11; ś kim svoj frasunek padželu 85b22.

FRASUNLIVIJ 'sorrowful, distressed'. Buł, Ziz; cf. PB, SS. P *frasowliwy, frasobliwy*.

Bo jest' raj dom radosnij a ne jest dom frasunlivij 22a12.

FRASOVACCA 'to be troubled'. Buł (1596), PB, SS; P *frasować się*.

Muchemmed ne frasujša ti na slov(a) kafirskije 26a2.

ZAFRASOVACCA 'to be troubled' (perf.). PB, HSBM (-*tisja*). P *zafrasować się*.

Ne bendže strachu nad nimi ani se oni zafrasuju na sudže božim 36b5-6.

BAJAŽN 'fear'. In BLK this term is used only for 'the fear of God' and by extension, 'piety'. See p. 233.

LENKANJE 'fear'. P *lękanie*; cf. BR *lak*.

Napušci na cebe Jehuva nendže, krusti i lenkanje 106a21-22.

PERELENKNENE 'great fear'. P *przełękniecie*.

Kedi chto tego dna zachoruje chorobe ad perelenknene ma bic 123b1-2.

STRACH 'fear, terror'. Kar, PB; BR-R, BN, McM (BK, F107, SC, CAN), Bial, Dob; P. In BLK this word is used mainly for the terror of the Day of Judgement (see p. 199).

Abaronic jeho Pan Boh ad strachu sudnaho dna 47b17-18; jakvele sudnaha dna maje bic potim pitanev i strachav? 20b14.

PRESTRACH 'great fear'. P *przestrach*. As with STRACH, in BLK this word is generally used to express fear that is divinely inspired.

Kuranim prestrachem pišem i prikazujem 10b11.

SPALOCHACCA 'to be afraid'. PB, SS; BR-R *spalochacca*, McM, Nos (*vsp-*), Dob (*vsp-*), Šat, Var.

Adam biv u raji i zhrešiv... u noći velmi frasavavše i spalochavše 75b16-17.

ŽLEKACCA 'to be afraid'. BN, Nos, Kaš (*-knucca*), Ras, Šciaš, Šat (as Kaš), Da (S, W); P *zleknąć się*.

Zleklaše duša maje 93a5; ja velmi žlekavše 94a10.

CHETAR حَطَارٌ 'danger'. Ott (A) خطر; T *hatar*; RT: *chetar*; also *chetarliwy*: *chetarliwa choroba*. This is the only T (Ott) word used in the field of 'trouble, suffering, hardship'. Found in relation to illness; probably a random survival from fortune-telling texts; in BLK it occurs in only one short section on this subject.

BLK: ح replaces خ and in last syllable *elif* instead of *fetħe* (III.5.1.11/1); cf. RT. NB Turkish has [a] in both syllables.

Not found in obl. cases.

Taho dna chto zachvareje da džešeci dneĵ chetar trimaje 112b21; chetar i dochtar ne pomože 113a11; velikij chetar bivaje 113a17.

NEBESPEČNAŠC 'danger'. Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. Skar, SS, Nos, P *niebezpieczeństwo*.

Mnoha trudnich zlich frasunkav i nebespečnašci zaživ 77a3.

HORKAŠC 'pain, suffering'. PB, Skar, HSBM; BR-R (coll.) *horkašć*, BN; P *gor(z)kość*. In standard BR and P this word signifies 'bitterness' and can be used in both a literal and a metaphorical sense. In BLK it seems to convey something akin to 'spiritual pain'.

I matke maja, dušnuju horkašc či mela? 86b5-6.

IV.1.6 Faith, Doctrine, Behaviour

Faith

In Arabic (and by extension, Muslim usage in general) a distinction is made between 'religion, the outward observance of faith', for which the term *din* is used, and 'belief, the inward expression of faith', referred to as *iman*.³⁵² In BLK terms used for 'faith/religion' are Slav, but for 'faith/

³⁵²In the Quran used synonymously with 'Islam' to express inner belief (Wensinck: 22).

belief' are mostly Islamic. The usual term for the Muslim religion is VERA/VARA MUŠEL-/MUŠULMANSKAJA, or more rarely, VERA/VARA IŠLAMSKAJA. The word 'Islam' (in the nominal form) does not occur in BLK. DAROHA/DROGA, qualified by PRAVDŽIVAJA (occasionally SPRAVEDLIVAJA), derived from Quranic *al-širāt al-mustaqīm* 'the straight way',³⁵³ is also sometimes used for Islam. Terms SIRAT and SIRAT MUŠTEKIM occur more rarely. ZAKON 'law' is relatively uncommon in BLK. However, it can be qualified by the appropriate adjectives to refer to Christianity and Judaism, as well as to Islam. Two semantic calques are also occasionally used for Islam (the basic meaning of which is 'submission'): CHALOPSTVA and PADDANSTVA. 'Faith/belief' is generally expressed by Ott (A) IMAN, seldom by Slav VERA/VARA or UVERENE. Degrees of faith are expressed by Islamic terms.

VERA/VARA Buř (1539) *viara*, PB, Skar, SS, HSBM (all *vie-*); BR-R *viera*, BN, McM (*vie-* and *via-*; cites one example of the latter form), Nos, Bial, Dob, Šat; P *wiara*.

Kuran jemu danij v kturnim spravuješe vara mušelmanska 7a17-18; tije katorije pomač davali da veri išlamškej 21a5; maje ummet'i na vajne za veru mušulmanškuju bjucca s kafirmi 108b10-11; jak blud učinic to u jom žhine vera 50b12-13 (in this last citation vera could be interpreted as a rare example of a Slavonic term being used as a synonym for IMAN).

DAROHA 'way'. PB, SS, HSBM (*doro-*); BR-R, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šciaš, Šat.

Pevne izvev vas šejtan iz darohi pravdživaj 24a3; adžini Bože moj, ad darohi židovskaj i chrašćanškej nevernaj šceraži, pravdživaj darohaj pravadž, ad kafirskaj šceraži 34b8-10; spravedlivej darohaj chadžic 114a16-17.

DROGA 'way'. Buř *drokga* (1546), HSBM (*droga, drokga*); P.

Ti Muchemmed prorok jest stojnci v drodže pravdživoj 7a18.

SIRAT 'صراط' 'way'. Ott (A) صراط; T *sirat*; RT: *syrat*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases in this sense; for use in other contexts see pp. 47, 201.

³⁵³ EI, IX: 670, s.v. *širāt*.

Sirat jest islamska vara 9b7-8.

SIRAT MUŠTEKIM صِرَاطٌ مُسْتَقِيمٌ 'the straight way'. Ott (A) صراط مستقيم; T *sirati müstakim*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Pevne ti jesteš sirat mušt'ekim 9b7.

ZAKON 'law, rite'. Kar, PB, Skar, Ziz, HSBM; BR-R, BN, McM, Nos (*zak-* stress on first syllable, 'Judaism'), Bial, Dob, Šat; P.

Kali spitajuc: čijho ti zakonu? ti mov: Ibrahim praroke jeho milošci jestem zakonu 51b14-15; ketorij čelevek pjanici šelam dašc abo pjanicu nakormic mušulmanski zakon utracic 117b19-20.

CHALOPSTVA 'bondage'. Cf. Islam 'submission'. BR-R; P *chłopstwo*.

I chalope, ti kamu chalopstva i paddanstva činiš? 34a22.

PADDANSTVA 'submission'. Cf. literal Arabic meaning of Islam 'submission'. BR-R, BN, McM, Nos; P *poddaństwo*.

Bože moj, Tabe ja klanejuša, Tabe ja svajo paddanstva addaju 34a23.

IMAN اِيْمَانٌ / اِيْمَانٌ 'belief in God'. Ott (A) ايمان; T *iman*; RT.

BLK: Ott orthogr. predominates, but in first syllable ي occasionally omitted (III.5.1.2). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u/-e. Compound verb with PEC 'to recite a confession of faith'.

Jon ad taho času iman prinavši 12b22; hetim ludžem daj iman 13a8; ja jich iman naučiv 15a7; chto bi mev iman i veru mušulmanskuju 110b2; iman ad jeho adijdže 66b19; imanu žadali 10a3; oni da imanu prišli bi 13a6; bez imanu 49b4; u imanu či mnoha ražnic jest? 53b4-5; buduc pitac a imanu 20b11; toj čelevek ne mev zničene u imane 84b2-3; iz imanem zešli 19b3; iz šeho šveta z imanem pojdzješ 78b11; treba iman pec 110b12; iman znovu perepec 110b3; iman pejučije 68a21.

UVERENE 'conviction, belief'. OCS *uvěrenie*, R (Da).

Kali spitajuc: iman što jest? ti mov: uverene u Pana Boha adžinaho i v praroke Muchemmeda 52b8-9.

METBU مَتْبُوعٌ . Cf. Ott (A) ايمان متبع 'faith of the angels'; T *imani matbu*; RT: *metbu, mietbu*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. RT indicates that [m-] could be palatalized. Slav phrase in BLK explains it as 'the faith of the Angels'. Not found in obl. cases.

Iman aneľskij taho zavuc metbu' 53b6.

ME'SUR مَعصُورٌ. Cf. Ott (A) ايمان معصوم 'faith of the Prophet';
T *imani masum*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points; final ر [r] surely a scribal error for م [m]. Explained in Slav phrase in BLK as 'faith of the Prophet'. Not found in obl. cases.

Iman prarockij taho zavuc me'sur 53b6.

MEKBUL مَقْبُولٌ. Ott (A) ايمان مقبول 'the true faith', i.e. Islam. T *imani makbul*; RT: *mekbul, miekbul*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Explained in Slav phrase in BLK as 'the Muslim faith'. Not found in obl. cases.

Iman mušulmans'kij taho zavuc mekbul 53b7.

MERDUD مَرْدُودٌ. Ott (A) ايمان مردود 'faith of the hypocrite'; T *imani merdud*; RT: *mierdud*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. RT indicates that initial [m] was palatalized. Explained in Slav phrase in BLK as 'the faith of the unbeliever'. Not found in obl. cases.

Iman nedavarkav taho zavuc merdud 53b7-8.

Of Belief

In BLK two adjectives formed from IMAN: IMANNIJ, found only with *chvala/pachvala* 'praise' and *palec* 'finger' and IMANOV, used in metaphorical expressions, e.g. 'the breath of faith'.

IMANNIJ Adjective derived from IMAN with Slav suff. *-nij*. The phrase *imannij palec* 'the finger of faith/belief' is a semantic calque from T *šehadet parmađi* 'the finger of attestation', i.e. the index finger, held pointing upright during the recital of the Muslim creed.

Nemaž imannaje pachvala jest 31a22-23; imannaja chvala nemaž jest 32b13; palcami imannimi adžin ab adžin zotknuc, kažni šlunak pa tri razi mic 55b12-13; palci imannije 72b2; pahladzic ... imannim i veliķim palcem 73a13-14.

IMANOV Possessive adjective derived from IMAN with Slav suffix *-ov*.

Imanov halini... žikir pec 53a7-8; imanav jezik pravdu havaric 53a8; imanov list... Pana Boha bajicca 53a14-15; imanov mejsca... mušulmans'kij život 53b2; imanova ruka... prožba da Stvaricel Boha

53a17-18; imanova škura... vstidljivošć 53a16; imanova serce... Kuran jest 53a6-7.

To Believe

Slav VERIC used to convey concepts of 'inner' and 'outer' belief.

VERIC Skar, HSBM (-iti); BR-R *vieryć*, McM, Bial; P *wierzyć*.

Kali Kafire tvajmu prooctvu ne verac 8b12-13; verac u jedinstva Jeho 9b10.

UVERIC (perf.). BR-R (coll.) *uvieryć*; P *uwierzyć*.

To kturę uverili, prašice pomači u Pana Boha 35b21-22.

Believer

Usual noun is MUŠEL-/MUŠULMANIN; adjective MUŠEL-/MUŠULMANSKIJ also preferred; ISLAMSKIJ comparatively rare.

Terms derived from VERA/VARA refer only to Muslims.

MUŠEL-/MUŠULMANIN مُسَلِّمَانِ / مُسَلِّمَانِ 'a Muslim' (male).

Noun derived from Ott (A/Per) مُسَلِّمَانِ *müslüman/müsliman* with Slav singulative suffix *-in*. RT: *musiulmanin*; cf. Buł (1562) *biesurman*, *besurmanin*, *busurmianin*; OP *basurman*; MBR *musulmanin*, MP *mušulmanin*. Standard BR and P forms show a hard [-s/-z-], unlike the ~~Tatar~~ variants which consistently show a soft [-š-].

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points, and addition of Slav suffix *-in*. The alternation [-el/ul-] is not unusual in BLK (cf. GUŠEL/-ŠUL), but whereas in some words the choice appears to be random, here the two forms are found in different sections of the manuscript: MUŠEL- is found up to f. 46, both forms are used in the next four folios, but from f. 50 on, only MUŠUL- is found. Since there is no change of hand, ink or paper, this suggests a new exemplar.

Decl; masc. hard stem, gen. sg. *-a*; in the plural, inflections are added directly to the stem: nom. pl. *-e*, gen. pl. zero-ending, inst. pl. *-mi*.

Mušulmanin kažnij ne tilko rabotu rabi ale u patnicu bez nemažu ne rabi 49b14-15; aznajmuja kažnaho mušelmana adžin šacunak budže 22b20; pa džešec anhelej ... prašic buduc Pana Boha adpušćene hrachov mušelmaninu tamu 7b19-21; dobremu mušelmaninu ad Pana Boha padarak šmerc 50b1-2; sam biv mušelmaninam 12b12; mušelmane pejce ja šin 7b17; vedajce mušelmane ažan jest išlamškej

veri velikaje poznake 82a1-2; kedi bi dla mušelman 9b9; ad mušelman 22b3; ušim mušelmanem dav šelam 48a2; ščirim mušelmanem roskaš šmerc 50b2; treba mušelmanmi zastac 12a12-13; iz mušelmanmi zajedna bili 23b8; nad mušelmanmi 107b17.

MUŠEL-/MUŠULMANKA 'a Muslim' (female). Noun derived from Ott (A/Per) *müslüman* with Slav fem. suff. *-ka*. RT: *musiulmanka*; cf. MBR *musulmanka*; MP *muzułmanka*. See MUŠELMANIN.

Pavinni nauki učiciše kažnij mušelmanin i mušelmanka 57a2; vstidljivošc mušelmaninu albo mušelmance to imanova škura 53a16-17; mušelmane i mušelmanki u raj uvojduc 23a1; praroče šemeñcuj mušelman i mušelmanek laskaju Majeju 71a17-18; treba znac i vedac ušim mušelmanem i mušelmankam 81a12-13.

MUŠEL-/MUŠULMANSKIJ 'Muslim'. Adjective derived from Ott (A/Per) *müslüman* with Slav suff. *-skij*. RT: *musiulmanski*. Cf. MBR *musulmanski*, also MP *muzułmanski*. See MUŠELMANIN.

Duši mušelmanskije 43b9; pri mušelmanskich mahilach 32b3; pri mušelmanskich mahilach 50a5; u panstvu mušelmanskim 121a21-22; pasluha Bohu mušelmanskaja 47a14-15; mušelmanske planeti 123a21; mušelmanskaje radašc 34b11; šmerc jest roskaš mušelmanskaje 50a16; šelo mušelmanskaje perejchav 39b3; padac pad sud mušelmanskij 67b12; vara mušelmanska 7a18; mušelmanskij zakon 117b20; čerez žirec mušelmanskuju 39b4; zvičau mušelmansškaho 55b15.

IŠLAMSKIJ **إِسْلَامِي** 'Islamic, Muslim'. Adjective derived from Ott (A) *Islam*, with Slav suffix *-skij*. RT. See MUŠELMANIN, MUŠELMANSKIJ. NB Nominal form IŠLAM not used in BLK.

Da vari išlamskej naležečije patrebi 9b6; išlamska vara 9b8; kral išlamskij 123a4.

VERNIK 'faithful' (only for Muslims). HSBM, BN *viernik*, Nos; P.

Verniki skora prejduc 20b17-18; praroči bili Tvaje verniki 34b6-7; verniki božije mušelmane 46b5.

VERONCIJ '(Muslim) believer'. P *wierący*; cf. BR *vierujučy*.

U tim me'radžu veroncije buduc našic selevat' karonu 102b8.

VERNIJ 'true, faithful (Muslim)'. Skar, HSBM; BR-R *vierny*, McM. Bial; P.

Lack of Belief

NEVERNAŚĆ/-NOŚĆ BR-R *nieviernaść* 'faithlessness, infidelity', Bial 'uncertainty'; OP *niewierność* 'apostasy'.

Nevernaśc z imanım para 14b25; za svajoj nevernašceju idžice da pekla 24a5.

Unbeliever

Usual term for this concept in BLK is *ĶAFIRIN*; applied to non-Muslims, also to Muslims who transgress the religious code. *DŽAHIL(IN)*, *NEVERNIK* and *NEDAVARAK* (or *-VARKA*) are frequently used, but generally for non-Muslims. Ott (A) *MEL* 'UNIN and *MUNAFIK* have specific religious connotations and are applied only to Muslims. Several terms are used to refer to the Jews; mentioned more often than Christians, but neither group receives much attention in BLK

ĶAFIRIN كَافِرِينَ / كَافِرِينَ. Noun derived from T (A) *kâfir* كافر with Slav singulative suff. *-in*. RT: *kiafir*, *kiafiryń*, *kiafiranje*, *kiafirowie*; 'niewiernikaw bożych kafirow' (*Kitab*).

BLK: Ott orthogr. with the addition of Slav suffix *-in*. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, nom. pl. *-e* (RT records two plural forms not found in BLK: *-anie* and *-owie*), gen. pl. *-av/-ev*, inst. pl. *-mi* (attached directly to the root), or *-ami*.

Kali *kařirin* iz levaho boku prijduc 93b8; chto bi mev ne veric *kařirinam* jest 92b11; šunnet' to jest chto činic prarockej pričini budže mec ... a chto ne činic *kařirinam* ne budže, pričini prarockej ne budže 57b18-20; muštedžab chto činic spašenje mnoha budže a ne čineči muštedžab *kařirinam* ne budže ... tilko spašenje mnejšeje 69b8-11; *kařire* movili: Muchemmed ne jest prorokem 8a18; što za pažitak ed *kařirev*? 9b11; Pan Boh holasam da *kařirav* movil 18a5; v *kařirav* nemaš rozumu 25a9-10; kedi bi tim *kařiram* movili 17b17; *kařiram* bliskaje muka budže 25b5-6; maje ummet'i na vajne za veru mušelmanskuju bjucca s *kařirmi* 108b10-11.

BENI ĶAFIRE بَنِي كَافِرٍ 'the tribe of unbelievers'. Ott (A) *بنی کافر*; T *beni kâfir*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases, but verb form indicates that the phrase was regarded as a plural.

Ajca matku šanuj choc bi beni kafire bili 38a9-10.

DŽAHIL **جاهل**. Ott (A) **جاهل**; T *cahil*. RT: *dzahil*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun. gen. pl. -ov.

Džahil neprijacel božij 57b7; džahil jest neučonij, neumelij i v nauce neufalij 59b6; dla nenavčonich džahilov 59b2.

DŽAHILIN Noun derived from DŽAHIL with Slav singulative suffix *-in*. Form is rare in BLK; used synonymously with DŽAHIL sometimes in the same passage. RT: *dzahilin*; 'idz dzhahilinie!'

Džahilin jest nenavčonij 57b4.

NEVERNIK 'infidel'. P *niewiernik*. Cf. Dob *nievierok*, epithet specifically used for the Turks.

Ķafire neverniki božije 9b10; razlučiciše džiš neščašlivij neverniki, na švece iz mušelmanmi zajedna bili i v mahilach na kladaviskach ... ceper razlučiciše 23b8-9; ne jestešmi neverniki 24a6.

NEDAVARAK (or -VARKA) 'unbeliever'. In BLK occurs only in the plural, so not clear whether singular form should be *-ka* or *-ak*; both are found in BR, though only Nos cites the first variant. PB, SS; BR-*niedavierak*, BN, McM (*-via-*), Nos (*-vierka*), Dob, Šciac (as McM. Šat; P *niedowiarek*).

Hetij ajet' dla nedavarkav zeslanij 10a21; nedavarki akrom Pana Boha balvanov za bohi majuc 25b19-20.

MEL'UNIN **ملعون** 'accursed'. Noun derived from Ott (A) **ملعون** with Slav singulative suff. *-in*. T (Ott) *mel'un*; RT: *mel'un*, *miel'un*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Chto zanechaje džum'e to munafik i mel'unin jest 46b9.

MUNAFIK **مُنافِق** 'hypocrite, one who professes Islam but has no internal faith'. Ott (A) **منافق**; T (A) *munafik*; RT: *munafik*, *munafikowie*, also *munaficki*; 'kto zaniechal džuma namaz ten człowiek jest munafik'.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Chto zanechaje džum'e to munafik i mel'unin jest 46b9.

Of an Unbeliever

Usual term is ĶAFIRSKIJ; can be used for impious Muslims. DŽAHILSKIJ and NEVERNIJ only used for non-Muslims.

KAFIRSKÍJ Adjective derived from **KAFIR** with Slav suffix *-skij*; RT.

Bug Kturemu nemaš ruvni iz bogav kafirskich 28a1; duši kafirškije 93b10; Pan Boh ... kafirškije slova univeč abernuv 8a20; kafirškije spravi 112a9; prez ucisk kafirski pamerli 21a14.

DŽAHILSKÍJ Adjective derived from Ott (A) *džahil* with Slav suffix *-skij*. Not recorded in RT.

To zvičaj džahilškij, kafirškij, židovškij 71b1.

NEVERNIJ Skar; BR-R *niavierny* (arch.), BN, McM; P *niewierny*.

Adžini Bože moj, ad darohi židovskaj i chraščanskej nevernaj šceraži 34b8-9.

Jew

Most of the references to 'Jew' in BLK occur in paraphrases of Biblical or Quranic texts. Usual term is Slav **ŽID**.

ŽID Skar; Nos *žyd*, Dob; P.

Žid subotu švetkujuc 49a10; kali Muša prorok umer meži židami ružnica povstala 15a8-9.

IZRAALČIK Noun derived from *Izraal* 'Israel' with Slav suff. *-čik*. Not recorded in this precise form in dictionaries of standard BR or P, or in dialect dictionaries. However, does occur in sub-standard usage in both languages. Cf. HSBM *Izrail' čik*.

Jak muvi Samu'el prarok da Izraalčikov 106b6-7.

JEHUDČIK **يهودچق**. Noun derived from T (Ott) *Yahud* **يهود** 'the Jews', with addition of Slav suff. *-čik*; cf. **IZRAALČIK**.

Židži jehudčikami nazivajonše 104b15.

BENI İŞRAFIL **بني إسرائيل**. Surely a scribal error for **BENI İSRA'IL**.

BENI İSRA'IL 'the Jews' **بني إسرائيل**. Ott (A) **بنی اسرائیل**: T *beni Israil*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases. Phrase treated as a syntagma; only **İSRA'IL** decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. *-ev*. See also **BENI İŞRAFIL**.

Što vi za ludži? rekli: beni İšrafil ludžej 15a8; beni İšrafil židovskaho narodu prišli 118a3-4; meži beni İšra'ilami biv adžin bahatij velmi 118a6; da Šamu prišov da beni İšra'ilev i bahatim stav 119a1-2.

Jewish

Usual term is ŽIDOVSKÍJ; AZRAILSKÍJ, surely a scribal error for IZRA'ILSKÍJ, occurs only once.

ŽIDOVSKIJ PB, Skar; Nos *žydovskij*, Dob; P.

Adnahe dna beni Israfil židovskaho narodu prišli 118a3-4; ~~čim~~ subote šenbe, židovskij bajram 124a16-17.

AZRAILSKÍJ أَظْرَائِلِيّ Cf. Ott (A) اسرائيل; T *Israil*. Cf. BR *izraillskij*.
P *izraelski*.

Meži sinami Azrailskij mnoha rečej stala 27a4.

Christian

CHREŠCANIN 'a Christian'. BR-R *chryścijanin*; P *chrześcijanin*.

Tvaje verniki ne bili židami ani chreščanmi 34b6-7.

CHRAŠCANSKÍJ 'Christian(adj.)'. BR-R *chryścijanski*; P *chrześc-*.

Ad darohi židovškaj i chraščanskej nevernaj šceraži 34b9.

Pious Devotions

BAHA-/BOHOMOLJE HSBM cites this meaning (1524), but also 'pilgrimage' (1507); BR-R follows R in defining it as 'pilgrimage'.

Bahamolja žanockaje: nemaž pevši pošnik pošnikavše može (muža) u avšom sluhac i pavažac treba 62b16-18; peci čelavekav Pan Boh bahamolje ne prijme 117b14-15.

BAHA-/BOHAMOLSTVA HSBM (*bogo-* 1551). P *bogomódlstwo*.

Čto bi lubeči nauku na pašceli lažaciše hadžinu hladžev na knihu lepej čto bez nauki šemdžešat hoť bohamolstva činiv 39b10-12; ketorij čelavek zavždi kušlug nemaž klanejecca iz nauki bahamolstva činiv 64b12-13; Panu Bohu pasluhu velikuju činiv džem bahamolstvam biv pilen 65b20-21.

NABOŽENSTVA PB, SS, HSBM; P *naboženstwo* 'divine service'. Cf. BR *nabožnaść* 'piety'.

Kedir noč ... čto bi jeje ne spav, naboženstvav zabavlavše na sudni džem jeho život živ budže 41a4-5; naboženstva lepšaje id (ad) ihrav muzičkich 46b16; tego dna v domu šedžec kola naboženstva zabaveče 122a6.

PASLUHA 'service'. BR-R *pastuha*, BN, McM (BK, F107), Nos, Dob; P *postuga*.

Cela jeha u Majej paslužde 80a6; pasluha Bohu mušelmanskaja 47a14-15.

Servant of God

Usual word for this concept in BLK is BR CHAL-/CHEL-/CHOLOP; corresponds to Ott (A) عابد [‘ābid], a very common Muslim term in this context. In BLK, ‘ABID found in one text only; SLUHA/SLUGA is rarely used and OCS *rab* only occurs in the feminine form RABA.

CHAL-/CHEL-/CHOLOP BR-R *chalop*, Nos, Dob; cf. P *chtop*. In standard BR and P term used only in a literal sense.

Pan Boh u chalopav Svajich pac rečej pitac budže 13b9-10; ščirij chalop boži 32a5; i chalope, ti kamu chalopstva i paddanstva činiš? 34a22; Pan Boh reče: Moj milij chelope 78a3; ja jestem chalop božij 85a17; chto bi Majich chelopav halodnich kermiv ... takich ludžej daravac budu rajškim adženem i karonaj 100a1-2.

SLUHA/SLUGA ‘servant’. BR-R *sluha*; P *sluga*.

Pevne sluha i posol boži pravdživi Muchemmed prorok 35b11; chto božim sluhoj buduči božije pasluhi addavav Bohu ... nad tim čelavekam budže laska božaja 38a15-16.

RABA ‘slave’ (fem.). Kar; BR-R, Nos; P, OCS.

Matka maja raba božaje jest 76b18.

‘ABID عَابِدٌ. Ott (A) عابد ‘worshipper’; T *abid*, *abit*; RT *abid*; only literal meaning ‘slave’ is given.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Biv adžin ‘abid bahamolca nenavčonij 113b20; skora toj ‘abid uvašov 113b22.

Pious Person

Slav and Ott (A) terms used but no clear preference; none occurs often.

BAHA-/BOHOMOLCA HSBM cites *bohomolec* (1548), also *bohomolca* (1549). BR-R (*bahamolec*), like R, defines it as ‘pilgrim’. Cf. P *bogomódlca*.

Biv adžin ‘abid bahamolca nenavčonij 113b20; sto dvaccac bahamolcav povstala naučali jich prikaz boži 15a10-11; kali javno dajece sedeku dobre, kali movčikam dajece ubohim bohamolcam to ješče lepej 37a9-10; navčonij pjanica lepšij za nenavčonaho

bohamolci ... navčonij prijacel božij choc pjanica 57b1-3.

NABOŽNIJ PB, Skar, SS, Ziz, HSBM; BR-R *nabožny*, McM (BK, F107, SCh), NBS, Nos, Dob, Šciaš; P.

Dna sudnaha nabožnije is pabožnimi ... povstanuc 14b3-4; ustavajce nabožnije ludži 98b9.

PA-/POBOŽNIJ PB, SS; BR-R *pabožny* (*na-* form preferred), McM (BK, F107, SCh), Nos, Dob (adv. only); P *pobožny*.

Nabožnije is pabožnimi ... povstanuc 14b3-4; švetovije ludži plačac buduc, pabožnim ludžem plač jich pažitak učinic a hrešnim ludžem plač pažitku ne učinic 17a4-5.

UHODNIK BR-R 'servant' (rel.); cf. R *ugodnik*.

Abu Bečkir uhodnik boži 33a17-18.

AREFAN اَرْفَانُ Cf. Ott (A) عارف; T *ârif* 'a wise person'; *ârifi billah* 'one who has attained to true knowledge of God'. RT: *arefan*. RT interprets this word as an adaptation of T (Ott) *irfan* 'a knowing intimately; spiritual knowledge'; *ârif* and *irfan* are formed from the same radicals and are close in meaning, but in the context of BLK *ârif* + Per pl. suffix *-an* (interpreted here as a singular) is the likelier derivation. RT gives this citation: '*adžin arefan na hare chadživ*' (*Kitab*). Similar passage in BLK (below), probably from same source. BLK: '*ayn + elif* simplified to *elif*. Not found in obl. cases.

Historija: iz božich prijecelav adžin arefan na haru chadživ 42a1.

ŽAHIDKA زَاهِدًا 'ascetic' (fem.). Noun derived from Ott (A) اهد; with Slav fem. suff. *-ka*. T *zahid*; RT: *zehidka*, also *zehid*, *zehidowa*, *zehidstwo*: '*jeden Zehid ad Ysi Proroka*' (*Kitab*); '*i tuju zahidku i syna bjuczy*'; also '*zehidstwo czynil*'. In BLK, ŽAHIDKA used more often than ŽAHIDOVA but both only occur in one text (cf. RT citation).

Toj rejš z ludžmi prišov i tuju žahidku i sina bjuči da Davida prihnaši 118b5-6; David prarok muvil toj žahidce 118b11; taja žahidka muvila 118b11-12; David muvil da žahidki 119a10.

ŽAHIDOVA 'ascetic' (fem.). as above, with Slav fem. suff. *-ova*. Cf. citation in RT: *zehidowa*; '*ej zehidowa ja wasz pažytak*' (*Kitab*).

Aj žahidove, ja vaš pažitek 118a21.

Pleasing to God

MILA HSBM; P *miło*.

Što Panu Boha mila, to činic 109b17.

PAKORNIJ 'humble'. SS; BR-R *pakorny*, BN, McM, Bial, Kaš, Šat; P *pokorny*. In BLK word often found in conjunction with ŠČIRIJ.

Ščirim pakornim sercam fátiche šurej pec 30a1; chto bi fátiche šurej ščirim i pakornim sercam pev 31a13-14.

PASLUŠNIJ 'obedient'. McM (BK, F107, SCh, CAN 15), Dob, Žyd; P *postuszny*.

Ketorije da žikeru paslušnije 10b5; tije kafire ... ne bili paslušni Panu Bohu 10a6-8.

ŠČIRIJ 'genuine, true'. PB, SS; BR-R *ščyry*, BN, McM, Nos, Dob, Kaš (adv. only), Ras (adv. only), Šciaš, Var, Da (SW); P *szczery*. See PAKORNIJ.

Chto Kuran u čistašci nutrom ščirim budže pec 31b22-23; chto bi fátiche šurej ščirim i pakornim sercam pev 31a13-14; chto bi znaw jak velbic Kuran, toj ščirij chalop boži 32a4-5.

HODŽEN 'worthy (of God's mercy)'. Skar, HSBM (*godno*); P *godzien*. modern BR dictionaries only cite the form *hodny*.

Laski božej hodžen budže 57b18-19.

PRIJECELICCA 'to make friends (with God)'. P *przyjacielić się*.

Katorije s Panem Boham prijeceliliše 19b15-16.

Fear of God

BAJAŽN Kar, PB, Skar; HSBM (*bo-*) cites usage of phrase *bojazn' božjia* in OBR; BN *bojažn'*, McM, Nos; P 'piety'. Cf. BR-R *bojaz*.

Katorije iz bajažni božej plakali 19b17-18; živice v bajažni to vam lepej budže 45b20; chto bi biv iz bajažnej božej zavše u dome božim, abaronic jeho Pan Boh ad strachu sudnao dna 47b16-18; u katoraha lepšaje bajažn božeje, ketorij nemaž pev, toj maje bic imamem 116b4.

BAJAŽNIK '(God-)fearing person'. Unrecorded elsewhere.

U noči bajažnikav božich jak torh ješt 15b20; bajažniki božije ačchnuvšiše abdeš jak zavše sebachu čekajuc 16b14-15; verniki bajažniki maje vizvolani jest ad tajej muki 23b10-11.

BAHABOJNIJ 'God-fearing (person)'. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM (*bogo-*

bokgo-); BN *bohobojny*, Nos (same stress as P); P *bogobojny*.

Jeho nazvac čelevekam dobrim bahabojnim mušulmaninam 68b22-23.
BAJACCA 'to fear (God)'. PB, Skar, HSBM (+ *bojatisja*); BR-R, BN, McM, Dob, Kaš, Šat; OP *bojeć się*.

Pravad tich ludžej katorija bajacca Boha da raju pulkami 21b7-8.

ZBAJACCA 'to fear (God)' (perf.). BR-R, Šat, Žyd. Cf. P *zbać się*.

Nutr jich zbajacca i prijudc da kajeti 9b18.

Honour, Respect

Only Slav words used. Seven terms are found, with a slight preference for ŠA-/ŠENAVANE.

ŠA-/ŠENAVANE BR-R *šanavańnie*, BN, Nos, Bial.

Kali b maje ummeći vedali laski božej za šanavane remezan mešec, prašili b Pana Boha abi biv zavšehdi mešec remezan 44a16-17; *š* šanavane remezana 44a22; Bab: a šanavanu patnici u šureju Džum'eći 46b2-3.

ČEŠĆ PB, SS; BR-R *češć*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šat; P.

Češć i chvala Panu Bohu 27b10.

PAVAHA PB; BR-R, BN, McM (BK, CB), Nos, Kaš, Da (SW). Cf. P *powaga* 'authority, seriousness'.

U čijom damu Kuran mev bic i v pavaze jeha mev, u toj dom Pan Boh spor pavahu šanavane bez meri 32b7-8; chto bi mev činic pavahu ažanu 83b17.

PAŠENAVANJE SS; McM *pašanavańnie*, Nos; P *poszanowanie*.

U pristojnim pašenavanju 28b18.

PAVAŽNAŠĆ Standard BR and P meanings are 'importance, consequence'; however, Nos gives additional meaning 'respect' and this is the sense in which it appears to be used in BLK.

Pavažnašć i šanovane tim zacnim dnom činice 46a2-3.

POŠCIVOŠĆ BR-R *pačcivašć*, McM (BK, SCh); OP *pozcziwość* 'honour, esteem' (e.g. to the Virgin), MP 'goodheartedness'.

Praroķi šahidove ... pošcivošć jim činic buduc 23a16.

UTŠCIVAŠĆ/UŠCIVOŠĆ 'respect' PB, SS (both *učti-*); P *uczciwość*. Cf. Nos *učcivo* 'respectfully'.

Šejtan hlanuvši na Džebra'ila rek: i Džebra'ilu, što tabe ceper utšcivašc činec, a mne pred tim bolšuju utšcivašc činili i lepej za cebe važili 65b10-12.

ŠA-/ŠENAVAC 'to honour'. Buł (1544), PB, SS; BR-R *šanavać*, BN, McM (BK, F107, SCh), NBS, Nos, Bial (-*nuv-*), Dob (-*nuv-*), Kaš, Mal, Ras, Šat, Var, Da (SW); P *szanować*.

Chto bi šanavav Pana Boha i dom boži, pašanuje jeho Pan Boh u raji laskaj Svajej 47b14-15.

PAŠANAVAC 'to honour' (perf.). BR-R, BN, Nos; P *poszanować*.
Pašanuj jeho 93a7.

VŠANAVAC 'to honour' (perf.). BR-R *ušanavac*; Nos, NBS, Kaš; P *uszanować*. Initial [v] for [u] not uncommon in BLK (III.2.1.4).

Ne všanujece švetoj patnici švetskavanem hulanem 49a6.

Adoration

POVELBENJE Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. Buł *uvielbienje* (s.v. *vielbiti*).

Chto tije šešdžešat i adžin churf pev, za povelbenem tich churfav jakvele u moru kropel takvele Pan Boh jemu spašenne dašc 30b21-22; povelbenje Mne činiv 92b3.

POVELBENSTVA Unrecorded elsewhere.

Bože daj Muchemmedu bliskašc da Šebe (Cebe) ... i povelbenstvu jemu 84b18-19.

VELBIC 'to adore'. Buł, PB, SS, HSBM; Nos; P *wielbić*.

Kuran šanovali i velbili, jak prarok prikazav, chto bi znav jak velbic Kuran, toj ščirij chalop boži 32a4-5.

PA-/POVELBIC 'to adore' (perf.). OP *powielbić*.

Božije slava pavelbaj 125b1.

UVELVBIC 'to adore' (perf.). Buł; P *uwielbiać*.

Chto choče Stvaricela Boha uvelbic i chvalic hetij žiker pej 112b5.

Praise

Usual religious term in BLK is CHVALA; PACHVALA is rare, but found in identical contexts, no clear semantic differentiation. CHLOBA has the mostly worldly, literal connotations.

CHVALA Kar, PB; BR-R *chvata*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Dob, Šat; P.

Chvala nezličona temu Stvaricelu 7a20-21; za adžin pažitak žebi meŕ chvalu addac 9a8-9; imannaja chvala nemaž ješ 32b13 (cf. citation below for PACHVALA); dla chvali abdešnej dva reke'ėti nemaž paklanivšiše, u kažnam reke'ētu pa razu al-chemdu 81a2-4.

PACHVALA PB; BR-R *pachvala*, McM (BK, SCh; CAN); P *pochwała*.

Nemaž imannaje pachvala jest 31a22-23 (see 3rd citation above).

CHLOBA PB, SS; P *chluba*.

Ten kturi afaroval skarb svuj na chlobo ludžko 36b11-12.

CHVALIC 'to praise'. Kar, PB, SS; BR-R, McM, Nos, Kaš, Šat; P.

Pana Boha chvalic 15b25.

VICHVALAC 'to praise greatly'. PB, SS, HSBM (*vychvaliti*); BR-R *vychvalac*, BN, McM, Nos, Šat; P.

Jak nastane mešec remezan tedi Pana Boha bez perastanne vichvalajce 44a18.

PAVELIČIC 'to magnify'. BR-R *pavialičyc*, BN.

Ad stvarena cebe paveličiv 88a8.

Attestation

Attestation of the uniqueness of God and the prophethood of Muhammed are central to Islam, but only Slav words used for this concept in BLK.

ŠVADESTVA/ŠVEDESTVA/ŠVEDECTVO 'witness, testimony'.

P *świadectwo*. Cf. T (Ott) *šehadet*.

Ja švedectvu činu što ekrom Boha inšaho nemaš 82b7-8.

ŠVAD-/ŠVEDČIC 'to bear witness'. BR-R *šviedčyc*; P *świadczyć*.

Ja švedču že Muchemmed božij posel i prarok pravdživij 82b12.

VIZNAVAC 'to acknowledge'. HSBM; BR-R *viznavac*, BN, NBS, Nos, Bial; P.

Pana Boha viznavajce 44a19.

Gratitude

DŽENKI 'thanks'. P *dzięki*. Cf. HSBM, Nos *dziaki*.

Mne Bohu chvali i dženki ne činiv 110a11.

UDŽAČNIJ 'grateful'; in BLK this word is also used in the sense of 'blessed' (p. 150). PB (*vdja-*); BR-R *udziačny*, BN (*vd-*), McM (BK, F107, SCh: *vd-*). Cf. UDŽENČNIJ. For [u-/v-] alternation see III.2.1.4

Pan Boh muvil: i prijaceli Maje, Ja ed vas udžačen jestam a vi ad Mine či udžačni jestešce? 22b4-5; ja voli božej jestem udžačna 85a20; v chvarobe i v prihodach udžačne i cerplive bic 109b19-20.

UDŽENČNIJ 'grateful'. Nos *vdzienčnyj*; P *wdzięczny*. Cf. UDŽAČNIJ.

Pan Boh udženčne prijme 46a23.

DŽAKOVAC 'to thank'. PB, Skar, SS, HBMS; BR-R *dziakavać*, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Bial, Kaś, Šat, Var, Da (SW); P *dziękować*.

Za pažitki džakujuc, za nenzu nechaj cerpac 119a14-15.

Commendation to God

PALECANE Buł; P *polecenie*.

Palecane Bohu 14b14-15.

PALECAC 'to commend to God'. McM *palacać*; P *polecać*.

Panu Bohu palecajam 15a21-22.

PALECACCA 'to commend oneself to God's protection'. Buł (1489).

Palecajuša Panu Bohu Stvaricelu, Katorij sebach razružniv ad noči... palecajuša Jemu ad zlich zlošcej ludžkich i žanok čaravnickich 28a20-22; chto Mne Bohu palecajeca Ja jemu bez čisla dabra dam 28b14-15.

Hope

NADŽEJA PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *nadzieja*, BN, McM, NBS, Bial, Dob, Kaś, Šat; P.

Ad laski božej nadžuju straceli 24b19-20; ne tracce nadžeji a miloserdze božim 50b5.

Patience

CERPLIVOŠC/-VEŠC PB, SS; BR-R *ciarplivaść*, McM (BK, CB, F107), Nos, Bial; P *cierpliwość*.

Tije ubohije ketorije cerplivešci ne majuc 65a11-12; 'Iša, Pan Boh tabe spašenje nechaj daśc, budž u cerplivošci 85b19.

CERPLIVIJ 'patient'. BR-R *ciarplivy*, McM, Nos, Bial, Kaś, Šat, Var; P *cierplivy*.

Pan Boh lubic cerplivich ludžej 29b22-23; prašice pomači u Pana Boha prez post cerplivi i prez nemaž, pevne Pan Boh zavše is cerplivimi 35b21-22.

CERPEC 'to bear'. PB, SS; BR-R *ciarpieć*, BN, McM, Bial; P *cierpieć*.

Ti na švece što džen pošnikav a prez noč Panu Bohu pakloni činiv...
za što heta cerpic? 42a8-10.

VICERPEC 'to bear' (perf.). HSBM (*vyterpeti*); BR-R *vycierpieć*; P.

Kedi navedže vas pripadkem, prabujonc vas strachem i glodam...
vicerpi tego 36a3-4.

STRIVAC 'to bear, endure'. BR-R *stryvać*, BN, Nos, Bial.

Nechaj adnu hadžinu strivaju 85a22.

Repentance

Usual term in BLK is KAJETA, but PAKAJANE/-JENJE also occurs quite often. Ott (A) *ĀEVBE* rare, usually found in conjunction with KAJETA. Metaphorical use of LEKARSTVO 'medicine' related to notion of sin as a deadly poison. Cf. ATRUTA.

KAJETA Skar, HSBM *kajata*, McM *kajata* (CAN 2 folk), Nos *kaita*.

Nutr jich zbajacca i prijduc da kajeti 9b18; ad taho času kajeta ne
prinata budže 17a9; za povdna pred šmercej kajetu prijmu 108b11-12;
a(d) chmelnaho napitku daj *tevbe* kajetu 117b22.

PAKAJANE/PAKAJENJE Skar; BR-R *pakajańnie*, BN, Dob, Kaś, OP *pokajanie*.

Pan Boh rek: Ja ummeću jeho pakajenje dla jeho prožbi za hod prijmu
108b2-3; chto bez pakajane umre da pekla pojdže 125b24.

PAKAJETA Unrecorded elsewhere.

Bez pakajeti umirajuc 67a16.

PAKUTA Skar; BN, McM, Nos, Dob, Da (Smolensk); P *pokuta*.
Cf. BR-R, BN, McM, Bial, Kaś, Šat, Var 'anguish'.

Hrech etruta a lekarstva na te pakuta 124b20-21.

ĀEVBE *تَوْبَ*. Ott *تَوْبَه* (A ۀ -); T *tevbe*. RT: *tewbie*; '*tewbie insaf czyni*' *czynić pokutę przedśmiertną*; '*tewbie i istygfar prynosit; do tewbieju prywieści*'; also *tewbiejnik* 'one who repents', *tewbiejna duaja* 'prayer of repentance'.

BLK: word-finally *fetħe* for Ott ۀ (< A ۀ); see III.5.1.4. Not found in obl. cases, but in RT citation (see above) declined as a soft stem neut. noun, with epenthetic [-j-] between stem and case ending. Compound verb with ČINIC 'to perform'; cf. Tat (Bud) *tevbe kılmak*.

Tije katorije tevbe činili 21b2-3; tevbe činoncije 21b3; Pane Bože ...
daj tevbe kajetu 117b22.

LEKARSTVO 'medicine, remedy' (in BLK metaphorical sense). PB,
Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *lakarstva*, Šciaš; P *lekarstwo*.

Ušman sin Efanov bajramnaho dna fitre zabiv addac, čineči lekarstvo
na toje nevolnika na volu pušciv 41b13; al-chemdu šurej ušelačkim
rečam jest lekarstvam 80a18-19.

Of Repentance

KAJETNIJ Unrecorded elsewhere. Occurs once.

Kajetnije varota širini šemdžešat hod darohi, mešec i slonca u tije
varota zajduc 17a7-8.

PAKAJETNIJ Unrecorded elsewhere. Occurs once.

Pan Boh lubic pakajetnich ludžej 71a12.

To Repent

KAJECCA Skar, SS, HSBM *kajatisja*; BR-R *kajacca*, BN, McM
(CAN), Kaš, Var; P *kajać się*. Cf. Nos, Bial, Dob *kaicca*.

Svuj hrech ku Bohu viznavaj i kajše 125a17.

PAKAJECCA (perf.). BR-R *pakajacca*, BN, Nos, (-icca); P *pokajać się*.

Chiba pakajecca to da laski božej i da majej pričini hodni buduc, a ne
pakajecca to ne budže hodni 47a2-3.

ŽALAVAC 'to repent'. P *żałować*. This meaning not found in BR,
though McM cites the related meaning 'to regret'.

Pakajše žaluj taho učiniki lichoha 110a21-22; treba žalavac plakac
tamu hrechu 110b8.

ADPAKUTAVAC 'to cleanse through suffering, expiate'. BR-R, BN,
NBS, Nos (ot-), Var; P *odpokutować*.

Na hetam švece adpakutavac što b na tom švece biv volne ad kerane
božeha 67b12-14.

PRIZNAVACCA 'to confess'. SS; BR-R *pryznavacca*, BN, McM
(CAN); P *przyznawać się*.

Hrachom priznajucca 24a9.

VIZNAVAC 'to admit'. BR-R *vyznavać*, BN, NBS, Nos, Bial; P.

Svuj hrech ku Bohu viznavaj 125a17.

Good

DOBRA/-RE (noun). Skar, HSBM (*dobro, dabro*); BR-R *dabro*, BN, McM, Dob; P *dobro*.

Ketorije pišuc učinonije učinki ... što dobraho i zloha 10b12-13; kažnaje reč što na švece zarobiš to na sudni džen prinaseš is saboj č dobroha či lichoha 14b11-12; učini dobre za toje tabe na onim švece budže odpušk 125b8-9.

DOBRIJ (adj.). Kar, PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *dobry*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šciaš, Šat; P.

Tije katorije boljije učinki činili, iz učinkav jich koni jim buduc 19b8.

Truth

PRAVDA PB, SS; BR-R *praŭda*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šat; P *prawda*.

Takovi luđzi... daleko ad Pana Boga i od pravdi božej 35a15-16.

PRAVDŽIVAŠĆ/-OŠĆ 'righteousness, truthfulness'. BR-R *praŭdzivašć*; P *prawdziwość*.

I Muchemmed, dla pravdzivašci razsudku kurannaho ti jesteš prarošem 8b19; u pravdzivošci ad hrešnich pomste bere 9b16.

SPRAVEDLIVOŠĆ 'justice'. SS; BR-R *spraviadliwašć*, BN, McM; P *sprawiedliwość*.

Hrech velikiĳ kali bajjiceše že ne vistarčice spravedlivošci sirotam vdomam 37b3-4.

True

PRAVDŽIVIJ PB, SS; BR-R *praŭdzivy*, BN, McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh), Nos, Dob, Var; P *prawdziwy*.

Dla ščodrich i pravdzivich mušelman Pan Boh daje raj 38a4-5; ti Moj pravdzivij prarok 8b13-14; ti Muchemmed prorok jest stojonci v drodže pravdzivoj 7a18; kali 'Iša prorok pačav luđzej da veni pravdzivaj navaračac 11a4-5.

SPRAVEDLIVIJ 'just, true'. PB, SS, Ziz; BR-R *spraviadlivy*, BN, McM, Bial, Šciaš; P *sprawiedliwy*.

Iz smačnimi vadami mora stvariv dla dobrich spravedlivich č 29a26; spravedlivej darohaj chadžic vedlug šerieťu 114a16-17.

ADNASLOVLIVIJ 'one who keeps his word, honest'. Var *adnastoŭlivy*.

Sto (chto) ne adnaslovliv u taho veri net 63b7.

Generosity

ŠČODRAŠĆ BR-R *ščodrašć*, BN, Nos; P *szczodrość*.

Enhel ... da paklonav božich i da ščodrašci privodžic 33a1.

ŠČODRIJ 'generous'. PB; BR-R *ščodry*, BN, McM, Nos, Kaś; P.

Ščodrim mušulmanem padarak ad Pana Boha raj 50a14-15.

Kindness

DOBRAŠĆ/OŠĆ BR-R (coll.) *dobrašć*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Dob, Var; OP *dobrość*. See also p. 158.

Kali chto ejcu i matce pracivnim budže ... choc bi všemu švetu ludžem dobrašć činiv Pan Boh ad jeho ne budže udžačen 38a12-14.

DABRAT-/DOBROTLIVIJ 'kind'. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *dabratlivy*, BN, Nos (both *dabrot-*); P *dobrotliwy*.

Tego dna kedi beliglove plodam zepadne radošnik i dobrotlivij ma bic 121b13-14.

DOBRESLOVNIJ 'good, benign'? Cf. Uk *dobreslovne* 'peace-loving'; *dobroslavnyj* 'known for goodness' cited in Skar, P (L), R (Da).

Kali džica rodžica taho dna dobreslovnij pavažnij pobožnij budže 124a8-9.

ZIČLIVIJ 'benign'. Bul, PB, SS; BR-R *zyčlivy*, BN, NBS, Nos, Bial, Kaś, Var; P.

Dobrije slova zičlivim mušelmanem muciv lepej važnej sedeki davane 37a4-5.

Friendship

PRIJAŽN PB, SS; BN *pryjažń*, McM (BK, F107, SCh; CAN 26), NBS; P *przyjaźń*.

Bab: čitaj a zhadlivej prijažni 37a17.

ZHADLIVIJ 'obliging, peaceable'. PB, SS, HSBM; BR-R *zhodlivy*, BN, NBS, Nos; P *zgodliwy*. In BLK the stress appears to be on the second syllable, as in P, but use of [h] instead of [g] indicates BR influence.

A zhadlivej prijažni 37a17.

To Love

LUBIC Kar, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R, McM, Bial, Kaś; OP. Usual term in BLK; widely used in nineteenth-century BR.³⁵⁴

Chto svajich rodžicav krevnich lubic, tamu Pan Boh daje dovhi vek 38a3-4; chto što lubic na hetam švece i što činic ... is tim na sudnij džén ustane 61b6-8; kali žena muža lubeči hľadzić jakobi nemaž i řešpich pela 63a2; tich katorije ubohich nenavidželi ne lubili 21b16; chto ubohich ne lubic 32b17.

ULUBIC (perf.) BN, Nos, Kaś; P (L). Cf. BR-R 'to fall in love'.

Chto lubic Pana Boha i dom boži ulubic jeho Pan Boh samoha 47b16.

KACHACCA In BR and P this word has a reciprocal meaning, 'to love one another'. Recorded in this sense in: SS, HSBM (- *tisja*); BR-R, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Kaś, Da (Smolensk, W). Cf. P *kochać się*. In BLK not used reciprocally but in sense of 'to love, be in love with'.

Tich ketorije prikaz Pana Boha lubec i veri mušulmanskej kachajuca 68a7-8; aj praroke, bez cebe nam ne treba šoj švet, mu (mi) u šom švece ne kachajemše, s taboj na toj švet pojdžem 108a3-4; čeleveče u skarbe ne kachajše 125b13.

Consideration

ABAČNOŚĆ Šat *abačnaść*; P *obaczność* 'Providence'. Cf. Nos, NBS *bač-*.

Chto bi mev uzhlad i abačnoś na ubohich ludžej i široť i nevolnikav ... Pan Boh jeho u raji rajsķimi patravami nakormic 38a20-23.

UZHLAD 'concern, care'? Unrecorded elsewhere in this exact form. Cf. McM *uzhłond*; P *wzgląd* 'consideration'.

Chto bi mev uzhlad i abačnoś na ubohich ludžej... Pan Boh jeho u raji rajsķimi patravami nakormic 38a20-23.

Innocence

CNOTA Buł (end 15th cent.), PB, SS; BR-R, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Var; P.

Vstid u (i) cnota dve halini ješć imanovi 25b9.

CNOTLIVIJ 'innocent'. Buł, PB, SS, Ziz; BR-R *cnatlivy*, BN, McM.

³⁵⁴ McM: 216.

Nos; P *cnotliwy*.

Ketorije is tich cnotlivije 68b8.

NEVINNIJ 'innocent, guiltless'. PB, Skar, SS; BR-R *niavinny*, McM (BK, CB, SCh; CAN), Dob, Kaš, Var; P *niewinny*.

Chto vinen, chto nevinen 100a9.

Modesty

VSTID/USTID 'modesty, shame'. PB, SS; McM (BK, F107, SCh) *ustyd*, Nos *vstydy*; P *wstydy*. For [v/u-] alternation see III.2.1.4.

Vstid u (i) cnota dve halini jest imanovi 25b9.

VSTIDLIVOŠĆ/-VUŠĆ 'modesty, shame'. PB; P *wstydlivość*.

Četiri reči čeleveku dobrich ketorimi laski božej hodžen budže, to jest rozum i vera i vstidlivušć i učinek dobrij 50b8-10; vstidljivość mušulmaninu albo mušulmance to imanova škura 53a16-17.

USTIDLIVIJ 'modest'. SS (*vst-*); Nos *vstydlivy*; P *wstydlivy*.

Chto ustidlivij pri tom iman 63b4.

SKROMNIJ 'humble'. PB, SS; BR-R *skromny*, McM (F107); P.

Boh lubic dobrich i skromnich ludžej 36b14.

USTID-/VSTIDACCA 'to be ashamed'. PB, SS; P *wstydać się*. Initial [v/u-] alternation not uncommon (III.2.1.4).

Chto Pana Boha bajavšiše prikaz Jeho spelnic, ustidajučiše pered Panem Boham staci lidžbu zdavac 36a17-19; Pan Boh muvi: ustidajceše aplošnije ludži iz lenivstva svajeho 68b16-17.

SAROMECCA 'to be ashamed'. BR-R *saromecca*, McM (CAN 8), Kaš, Šat; BN *saromicca*, McM (CAN 4), Nos, Bial (-*myc-*); P *sromać się*.

Džebra'il muvil: brace saromejše 94b6.

Striving

STARENJE PB, SS; BR-R *starańnie*, McM, Nos (-*reńnie*), Šat, Var; P *staranie*.

Čujuči u navčonich starenja da pecja 8a13.

STARACCA 'to strive (for)'. PB, SS; BR-R, McM (BK, F107, SCh), Dob; P *starać się*.

Pan Boh muvil: starajceše Mojej udžačnašci i starajceše ajcovskaj i matki svajich va všistkim jich sluchajce 37b20-21.

Knowledge

The pursuit of knowledge is highly prized in Islam. In BLK much attention is devoted to this topic. Principal term is NAUKA.

NAUKA PB, Skar, SS, Ziz, HSBM *nauka, navuka*; McM, Dob, Kaš; P. Cf. literary and central dialect BR *navuka*; epenthetic [-v-] typical of MBR, but not found in BLK.

Chto bi mev lubeči nauku na pašceli lažachiše hadžinu hledžev, lepej nižli bez nauki šemdžešat hod Boha maliv 51a18-20; chto bi iz navčonim dla nauki hadžinu šedžev lepej nižli hod nemaž pev 39b9; mušulmaninu kažnamu treba nauki učiceše 51a13; kali zanechav i ne učiv muž žani to žane volne bez mužnaho dazvalene da školi pajdžici nauki učiciše 53b16-17; Asaf prarok ustav, na munber uzišov, nauku ludžam kazav 42b1-2; vedaj apisane nauki božej 28b16-17.

VADO-/VEDOMOŠĆ/VADOMAŠĆ PB, SS, HSBM (*vedomost'*); Nos. P *wiadomość* (cf. *drzewo wiadomości złego i dobrego* 'tree of evil and good' i.e. the tree of knowledge). Usual BR meanings 'fame; news'.

U toj džen prorok jeho milošć ad Pana Boha vadomašć mev 45a5-6.

NAPOMINANE 'admonition, precept'. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR *napaminańnie*; P *napominanie*.

Napominane i nauki ne zanechav 13a9.

PASTANAVENTE 'instruction'. PB 'dogma', SS; Nos P *postanowienie*.

Učonich ludžej pastanavene iz nauki ketorije reč jest chelal ješć puc 111a4-5.

ŠVETLAŠĆ-/LOŠĆ/ŠVATLOŠĆ 'light'. In BLK used as a metaphor for 'wisdom, enlightenment, knowledge'. Kar, PB, SS; BR-R *śvietlaść*; P *światłość*.

Tich učonich švetlašć tamu čelaveku dojdže, jak šablej višeče, ačišćac jich ad hrachov 39a24-39b1; kuranav švetlašć švetlejšaje za hetuju čaru 114a20.

JASNAŠĆ 'light, brightness', another metaphorical term that is used for 'wisdom, enlightenment, knowledge' in BLK. PB; BR-R *jasnaść*; P.

Prarok muvil: Pan Boh mne dav jasnašć, dvajim inšim prarokam ne davav 29b17-18; u jich barodach jasnašć Maje božeja 39a5.

Learned Person

NAVČONIJ HSBM *navčonij, naučonij*; cf. Skar *navčenyj, Šat navučny*.

Usual form in BLK. **NAUČONIJ** and **UČONIJ** less common.

Kali čelavek navčoni čerez šelo mušelmańskaje perejehav ... tim ludžem laska bože budže 39b3-4; kažnaho navčonaha pavažaj i šanuj 39a7-8; prarok muvil: chto bi navčonaha čelaveka lubeči na jeho hľadzev jakobi šešdžešat hod Bohu malivše 39a8-10; navčonim ludžem najviššaje mejsca budže u raji 39a13-14.

NAUČONIJ HSBM *naučonij*; Nos *naučenyj*, Bial (-čon-), Dob (*naučen-*), Kaś (as Nos), Var (as Bial); OP *nauczony*. Cf. entry above.

Dla naučonich ludžej prožbi uše hrachi izhlažaje Pan Boh 59b3-4.

UČONIJ SS; McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh) *učony*, Dob; P. Cf. lit. and dial. BR *vuč-*.

Prorok muvil: učonije ludži padobni jest da daždžu, jak doždž umerluju žemlu aživic 39a21-22.

RAZUMNIJ 'clever'. PB, SS (both *roz-*); BR-R *razumny*, McM, Bial, Kaś, Mal, Šat; P *roz-*. Cf. OCS *raz-*.

I 'Elej, ja cebe za razumnaha mev 25a19.

To Teach

NAUČAC PB, Skar, HSBM; BN *naučač*, McM (-čyc), Nos (-čyc), Bial (-čyc), Dob (-čyc); P *nauczyc*. Cf. lit. MBR *navučač*.

Chto mušelmaninam patrabuj nauki sam i žanu i džeci naučaj, kažnaho čeleveke da veri mušelmańskaj naučaj 56b21-57a1.

To Learn

UČICCA McM *učycca*; P *uczyć się*. Cf. lit. and dial. MBR *vuč-*.

Kažnij mušelmanin i mušelmanka nauki učiciše dovh jest 69a11-12.

NAVČICCA (perf.) Skar; HSBM *naučitisja, navčatisja*; BR-R, BN, Bial *navučycca*; Nos, Kaś, Dob *nauč-*; P *nauczyc się*.

Chto Kuran navčivše a potim zabiv Pan Boh jeho na sudni džen šlepim učinic 31b20-21.

Comprehension

VIRAZUMENE HSBM; OCS. Cf. P *wyrozumienie*.

Trudna kažnamu da virazumene pišma božeho 68b6.

RAZUMEC 'to comprehend'. PB, SS (*roz-*); BR-R *rozumieć*, BN, McM, Nos (*roz-*), Bial, Kaś, Šat; P *rozumieć*.

Chadžej Chezir beķ Dželabej ... žadav taho sabe ad Pana Boha abi moh ja šin šurej na jezik tureķij viložic abi ludži pospolite moħi lepej razumec 8a11-13.

VIRAZUMEC 'to comprehend' (perf.). HSBM; OCS. Cf. P *wyrozumieć*.

Bab: to jest s tureckaho ķitabu 'Ebdul Kanju imama na polśķij jeziku viložona abi ludži pospolitni virazumeli 121a9-10.

ZRAZUMEC 'to comprehend' (perf.). PB (*zroz-*), Skar, SS; BR-R *zrozumieć*, BN, McM (CAN), Nos (*zroz-*), Bial, Šat; P *zrozumieć*.

Ķafire prišli da cerkvi ... zaraz zrazumeli što to Ibrahim 76a4.

Sin

In BLK usual term is HRECH/HRACH, though BLUD also found quite often. Other words used more rarely, some only once. No Islamic terms.

HRECH/HRACH Kar, PB, Skar, HSBM (*grech, grich, khrech*); BR-R *hrech*, McM, Bial, Dob, Šat; P *grzech*.

Mi hrachov malo činim 15a21; tije katorije noč aplosenštvam prapuščajuc a džen hrechami hubec 16a13; chto veliķich hrachov śceražacca 116b13-14; tajemnij svuj hrech 125a17.

BLUD 'sin, error, wrong'. PB, Skar, HSBM (*blud, bljud*); OCS; BN *blud* 'fornication', McM (CAN 3), NBS, Nos, Bial. Cf. P *błąd* 'error, mistake'. The meaning 'fornication' is quite widespread in standard BR; according to Da (speaking of Russian), 'sin' is the popular meaning and 'fornication' the learned meaning.

I Bože moj, priveli da bludu mine zle hrachi maje 13b22-23; i Ķafira jesteće u javnim bludže 18a5; takovi ludži u velķim bludže, daleko ad Pana Boga i ad pravdi bożej 35a15-16; jak blud ućinic zahine vera 63b12-13.

ABMILA 'error, mistake'. Cf. Nos *obmył*; Uk *obmyła*. P *omyła*. It is used in BLK with reference to doctrinal error.

Nauke jeha pevnejšaje jest bo abmili nemaš a u inšich imamov abmila jest 70a15-16.

ABMILKA 'sin, error'. BR-R *abmyłka* (dial. for *pamyłka*), BN, McM (CAN 5), NBS, Nos, Bial, Kaś, Ściaś, Šat, Var. Cf. Buł (1588);

Pomyłka.

Abmilki i učinki naši u noći chto kajecca, učinki dobrije činic
15b17-18.

ABMILNOŚĆ 'sin, fault'. Cf. *P omyłność*.

Chenc maja abmilnonc (-ność) 8b6-7.

AHRECH 'sin, fault'. BR-R, BN, Ściaś, Šat, Var. Modern BR dictionaries, except BR-R, define this word as 'a fault in ploughing'. BR-R, like R, gives it as 'flaw, blemish' in a general sense.

Kali b ummeckich ahrechov vedav, pevne za nimi ne pričinváše
100a10-11.

MILANE 'the making of mistakes, erring, sinning'. Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. BR-R *mylacca* 'to make mistakes'. See MILOVANJE.

U nemaže milanem nemaž psuješ 79b15.

MILOVANJE 'the making of mistakes, erring, sinning'. Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. BR-R *mylacca* 'to make mistakes'. See also MILANE.

Bože milošćivij ad milovanje šeho švetu nas chelapov šceraži
121a7-8.

SGREŠENE 'sinning'. Srez; cf. BR *hrasyć*, P *grzeszyć* 'to sin'.

Pan Boh jich v liški obrucil prez sgrešene 124a18.

VINA 'fault'. PB, Skar, Ziz, HSBM; BR-R, BN, McM (BK, F107, SCh; CAN), Bial, Dob; P.

Chto kamu svaju vinu i žal adpušćic Pan Boh jemu hrachi adpušćic
37a13.

ZAVADA 'blemish, fault'. BR-R, BN, NBS, Nos, Dob. Cf. P 'hindrance'.

Zavada jest chto davši sedeku chvalicca abo pred ludźmi daje dla pachvali ludźej 37a6-7.

AT-/ETRUTA 'poison' (in BLK metaphorical term for 'sin'). BN *atruta*, NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaś, Šat, Var; P *truta*.

Na cužije žoni hledžec atruta jest 63a12; hrech etruta a lekarstva na te pakuta 124b20-21.

Sinner

A number of terms are used for 'sinner' in BLK, but none occurs often.

BLUDNIK Skar, HSBM; cf. P *blędnik*.

Vi nepravdživi jestešce bludniki 18a3.

BLUDŽAŠČIJ OCS form of pres. part. act. of *bluditi* 'to wander, err'; HSBM. Cf. BR *bludzić*, P *blądzić* 'to err'.

Ja jestem is tich daroh bludžaščeij 34b10-11.

ČARNALIČNIJ 'black-faced'; according to Islamic tradition, the faces of s will turn black on the Day of Judgement. Unrecorded elsewhere.

Potim Leba, sina Jehudi priveduc čarnaličnaho ... i da jeho ušich tich žberuc ketorija pravdu tulumili 21b13-14.

HREŠNIK Kar, Skar, HSBM; BR-R, McM (BK, F107), Dob; P *grzesznik*.

Šešcsoť hrešnikav s pekla vizvalic 123b12; hrešniki razlučiciše 23b10.

VINNIJ 'guilty'. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R (folk) *vinny*, BN, Bial, BM, Jan 2, Var; P.

Vešac tich vinnich na sloncu ktur balvanum ufarovali 106a13-14.

Sinful

ABLUDNIJ SS; BR-R *abludny*, BN, Nos; P *obludny*. In BR and P this word has strong overtones of 'deceit' and 'hypocrisy'. In BLK it is used as an equivalent of **CHERAM** 'forbidden', i.e. sinful in the sense of 'someone who has strayed, erred' from the true way.

To jest abludnije abo addalonije 29a2.

HREŠNIJ Skar, HSBM; BR-R *hřešny*, McM (BK, F107, SCh; CAN), Dob; P *grzeszny*.

Pabožnim ludžem plač jich pažitak učinic a hrešnim ludžem plač pažitku ne učinic 17a4-5; ja chalop Tvaj, u hrešnaja mora utarav 31b10.

To Sin

HRAŠIC Skar, HSBM (*grešiti*); BR-R *hrašyć*, McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh; CAN); P *grzeszyć*.

Kali budžem znov hrašic 24b17.

ZHRAŠIC (perf.) HSBM (*zgre-*); McM *zhrašyć*; P *zgrzeszyć*.

Ne zhrašiv precivku prikezane božeho 70a2-3.

IZBLUDŽIC Skar (*zablud-*); McM (CAN 3) *zbludzić*; P *zblądzić*.

Iz darohaj pravdživaj izbludživ 13b20-21.

ABMILICCA 'to make a mistake'. BR-R *abmylicca* (dial.; *pa-* preferred), BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob (-*lacca*), Kaš, Ras, Ściac, Var, Žyd. Cf. P *omylić się*. In BLK this and the following verb **MILACIŃSE** are used with reference to mistakes made in prayer.

Perepeje dobre a ne abmiliŃse 66b7-8.

MILACIŃSE 'to make mistakes'. HSBM *myljatisja*; BR-R (folk) *mylacca*, BN (-*icca*), Nos, Jur (-*icca*), Kaš, Var; OP *mylić się*.

U nemaže milaceŃse abo milaciŃse u pecju kuranovim 79b14.

Temptation

ZNOŃŃENE Unrecorded elsewhere. See **ZNUŃŃAC**.

Ńceraži mene Pane Bože ad znoŃŃenav Ńejtanskich 28b8.

ZNUŃŃAC 'to tempt, to tease?' meaning not clear. Cf. Uk *znuŃŃatisia* 'to make fun of'.

Bo Ńejtan zloŃŃ ċinic znuŃŃaje 28b10.

(I)ZVODŃZIC 'to lead astray'. Usual BR meaning is 'to lead someone somewhere', but following dictionaries, like Polish, define it as 'to lead astray': McM *zvadzić*, Nos, Ńat 'to deceive'; P *zwodzić*.

Ńceraži mene Bože moj ad Ńejtana Ńto ċelaveka ludžej zvodzić 28b13.

(I)ŃZVEŃSCI 'to lead astray' (perf.). As with (I)ZVODŃZIC, most BR dictionaries define this word as 'to lead away', but the following, like Polish, cite 'to deceive': Nos *źwieŃć*, Ńat, Var (*źviaŃci*); P *zwieŃć*.

Ńejtan rek: ja tich ludžej ne mahu źveŃci ketorije nedbajuc e majentnoŃŃ a (i) ŃehoŃŃvetnuju roskaŃ za niŃto majuc 65a13-14; iźvev jich Ńejtan 73b19-20.

Evil

Usual terms for this concept in BLK are **LICHA** and **ZLO/ZLE** and affectival derivatives; no clear semantic difference, but in opposition to **DOBRO** 'good', **ZLO/ZLE** slightly more common; **ŃERRI** occurs once.

LICHA HSBMBR-R, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Ńat; P *lichu*.

Ĉto faćiche peje toj na tom Ńvece licha ne budže 29a6-7; ċi dobraha ċi lichoha, toje budžeŃŃ znac 14b12.

ZLO/ZLE HSBM *zlo, zle*; BR-R *zło*, McM (BK, CAN), Bial, Dob; Nos, P *złe*.

Što dobroho i zloha 10b13; pahledaje duša što zarobila, či zle či dobre 36a11; ad zloha višcerahaciše 55a9.

ZLOŠĆ PB, Skar, Ziz, HSBM; BR-R *zlość*, BN, McM, NBS, Bial, Kaš, Šat; P 'malevolence, anger'.

Palecajuša Jemu ad zlich zlošcej ludžkich 28a21; šejtan zlošč činic 28b10.

LICHIJ 'evil' (adj.). Skar, HSBM; BR-R *lichi*, BN, McM, Nos, BM 2, Kaš, Mal, Jan 1, Šat, Var; P *lichy*. According to McM, less usual than *zły* in 19th-century BR texts; in BLK, two words equally common.

Četiri reči lichich 50b11; ad lichich džel treba kajetu 107b11; žaluj taho učinki lichoha što činiv 110a21-22; kali trinastaho dna son viděti lichij sedeku daj 117a2; chvala Bohu što mene švinoj stvariv a ne lichim čelevekam 117b2-3.

ZLIJ 'evil' (adj.). PB, Skar, SS; BR-R *zły*, BN, McM, NBS, Bial, Ras, P. Zle hrachi maje 13b23; zlije ludži i(z) zlijmi povstanuc 14b3-4; picha zlaja, umišli zlije 21b23-24; ad zlich zlošcej ludžkich 28a22; ad zlich duchav 28a23; ne budže mec žadnej zloj reči 29a7; učinkam dobrim i zlim 52b14-15; to zla reč 120b10.

ŠERRI شَرٌّ 'evil' (adj.). Ott (A) ش; T *şerri*; RT: *szarri*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Bo šerri lichu jest 29a5.

Ignorance

NEVEDOMAŠĆ Nos *nievedomość*; OP *niewiadomość*. Cf. BR-R 'unknown-ness, obscurity'.

Priveli da bludu mine zle hrachi maje v nevedomašci majoj 13b22-23.

NEU-/NEVMAJENTNOŠĆ Cf. OP *nieumijętność* 'sin arising through ignorance'. For alternation [u/v-] see III.2.1.4.

Para nauka iz neumajentnošcay, para noč z dnom 15a1.

CEMNAŠĆ/OŠĆ 'darkness'. Used in BLK as metaphorical term for 'ignorance'. PB, SS; McM (only BK, CB, F107) *ciemność*; P *ciemność*. Cf. MBR *ciemnata*.

I kafira, jestešce u javnim bludže i v cemnašci nepravdu muvic 18a5-6; toj nemaž pevši hrechi pazbili i cemnašč ušelakuju pazbili 75b20-21.

Ignoramus

NENAVČONIJ Unrecorded elsewhere. Usual word in BLK.

Džahilin jest nenavčonij 57b4; chto šedžic iz nenavčonim hine u jom iman 39b13-14.

NEUČONIJ McM (BK) *nieučony*, Nos (*nieučen-*); P.

Džahil jest neučonij 59b6.

NEUMELIJ/NEVMILIJ Skar; BR-R *niaŭmiety* 'clumsy'; BN and Nos 'inexperienced'. For alternation [u/v-] see III.2.1.4.

Džahil jest neučonij neumelij 59b6; nevmilich uči 81b8-9.

Unrepentant

BEZPAKEJATNIJ Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. Nos, P *bezpokutny*.

Toj napitek ... Pan Boh naznačiv pjancim bezpakejatnim 67a12-13.

UPORNIJ 'stubborn, recalcitrant'. PB, SS; BR-R *uporny*, BN; P.

Ketorij upornije svavolnije, imamov svajich ne sluchajuc 68b12.

Lack of Patience

NECERPLIVAŠC PB; BR-R *nieciarplivašc*, BN; P *niecierpliwośc*.

Necerplivašej duši svaje 40a16.

NECERPLIVIJ 'impatient'. BR-R *nieciarplivy*, BN (adv. only), McM, Kaš, Šat; P *niecierpliwy*.

Vi necerplivi iz radžice svajej 40a16.

Doubt

WONTPENE PB, SS, HSBM; Nos *vontpieńnie*, Žur. Cf. P *wątpienie*.

Pošle taho hrech bez vontpena ... na sudnij džen i s tim kafirmi povstac 112a11-13.

WONTPLIVOŠC PB, SS, HSBM. Cf. P *wątpliwośc*.

Nemaš v nej žadnej vontplivošci, od Pana Boga zeslana jest 35a4-5.

WUNTPIC 'to doubt'. PB, SS; HSBM *von(t)piti*; Nos *vontpić*, Šciac *womp-*; Žur *vuntpiti*; P *wątpić*.

Dla čeho frasuješe i vuntpiš u lasce božej? 115b7-8.

Leisure

LENIVSTVA Skar, PB, SS, HSBM; Nos; OP *leniństwo*.

V lenivstve snom živuči prikazu bežeho (bož-) ne trimajuc 68a8-9;

Pan Boh muvi: ustidajceše aplošnije ludži iz lenivstva svajeho
68b16-17.

APLOŠNAŠC 'negligence'. OCS, R *oplošnost*'.

Ad aplošnašci ušelakaj višcerehaciše treba 52b7-8.

APLOŠENSTVA 'negligence'. Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. Nos, Dob
oploštvo.

Kali Pan Boh u mene spítaje dna sudnahe: što cebe z darohi žvein.
rekne: aplošenstva majo 13b23-24; tije katorije noč aplošenstvam
prapuščajuc a džén hrechami hubec 16a13.

AP-/OPLOŠNIJ 'lazy, negligent'. OCS, R *oplošnyj*.

Ustidajceše aplošnije ludži iz lenivstva svajeho ... pevne aplošnije
ludži iz kafirimi buduc 68b17-19; ti Muchemmed pastraš jich bo jeni
ludži aplošnije, ne znajuc veri ani šerij'etu 9b22; mušelmane ne buče
aplošnije 41b18.

ESPALIJ 'lazy'. Buł (1593); Nos *ospatyj*, Dob; P.

Čeleveče ne budž espalij 125b19.

BESPEČNIJ 'careless, negligent'. Unusual usage. Cf. HSBM (*bezpeč-*
/bezpeč-), BR-R *biašpiečny*, P *bezpieczny* 'safe'.

Čeleveče ... ne budž bezpečnij, budž zavždi hatov bo maješ umerca
125b19-20.

Disobedience

NEPOSLUŠENSTVA PB, SS; BN *niepastušenstva*, Nos, Šat;

P *niepostuszeństwo*.

Virekališe za neposlušénstva jich 106b15.

SVAVOLNIJ 'wilful, disobedient'. PB, SS; BR-R *svavolny*, BN, McM.
Nos, Bial; P 'wanton, licentious'.

Ketorije upornije svavolnije, imamov svajich ne sluchajuc 68b12.

Impious

NEPOBOŽNIJ PB, SS; BN *niepabožny*, Nos, Dob. Main BR meaning is
'pitiless'; Nos also gives 'without fear of God'.

Tego dna albo večora kedi džece rodžiše nepobožnij oplošnij bendže
123a7-8.

To Lose Faith

In BLK this idea is expressed by verbs HINUC and HUBIC, followed by nouns such as ROZUM, VERA or IMAN.

HINUC 'to disappear, die'. PB, Skar, HSBM; BR-R, BN, McM, Bial, Kaš, Ras, Šat; P *ginqć*.

Jak zazlujecca to hine rezum 63a12.

ZH-/ZAHINUC 'to disappear, die' (perf.). Skar (*za-*), SS (*zg-*), HSBM (*za-/zg-*); the following dictionaries give both forms: BR-R, BN, Bial, Kaš, Šat; NBS (*za-*), Nos (*zahinać, zhinuć*), Dob (*zh-*), Var (*zh-*); P *zginąć, zaginąć*.

Jak blud učinic zahine vera ... jak na što pakvapicca žhine u jaho vstidljivość ... jak perehavor učinic tak zahine učinek dobrij 63b12-15.

HUBIC 'to lose; to spoil, ruin'. Both meanings found in BR and P ('to lose' being more common in BR than 'to spoil') and both occur in BLK. In the former sense used with an object such as IMAN in the accusative case, in the latter sense with the instrumental case (either general term HRECH/HRACH, or with a specific type of sin). HSBM; BR-R, BN, McM (CAN), Nos, Kaš, Šat; P *gubić*.

Džen hrechami hubec 16a3.

ZHUBIC/IZHUBIC 'to lose; to spoil, ruin' (perf.). HSBM (*z-/iz-*); BR-R *zhubić*, McM (CAN), Nos, Šciaš, Var; P *zgubić*.

Iman čim zhubiš? ... chto nepravdu havoric toj iman izhubic 53a10.

Pride

HARDAŚC PB, Skar, SS, Ziz; BR-R *hordaść*, BN (*hard-*), Dob; P *hardość*.

Pitac buduc: hardaśc či činili? 19b23; Achirez šejtanom preklentim zastav za hardaśc svaju 77b16-17.

PICHA 'arrogance'. PB, SS; BR-R *pycha*, BN, Nos, Kaš, Var; P.

Tije kafire ... u pichu padnešliše 10a6-8; i(z) tich nutrav picha zlaja, umišli zlije vijduc, uveš čelavek čistij stane 21b23-24.

HARDIJ 'proud'. PB, SS, HSBM (all *gar-*), Skar (*gor-*); BR-R *hordy*, BN (*hardy*), McM (BK, SCh; CAN), Dob, Kaš (as BN), Šciaš; P *hardy*.

Tije mocari hardije katorije Moj rižk jeli peli (pili) inšim boham

balvanom klaneliše 18b16.

PIŠNIJ 'haughty'. PB, SS; McM (one source only in this sense) *pyšny*. Nos, Bial, Dob; P. Cf. BR-R, BN 'magnificent', Var 'powerful'.

Pišnije ludži fera'ona 21b9; Pan Boh ne lubic chto jest pišnij hardi sam šebe vichvalaje 38b19-20.

CHVALICCA 'to boast'. BR-R, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Šat, Var. P *chwalić się*.

Chto co afaruje skarbav svojich na drogo bože ... i ne chvališe tim i ne vimove i ne trudni jich, dla nich zaplata jest 36b3-5.

VICHVALACCA 'to boast' (perf.). BR-R *vychvalacca*, BN, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šat, Var; P *wychwalać się*.

Chto bi ... šivot i nevolnikav karmiv svajimi patravami ne žaluči, ač jich plati ne brav ani vichvalavše nakarmivši jich, Pan Boh jeho u raji rajskimi patravami nakormic 38a20-22.

Shamelessness

NEVSTIDLIVOŠĆ SS. Cf. Skar *nestydlivost'*, P *niewstydl.*

Nevstidljivošć jest čeradžejstva 25b9-10.

SAROMŠKIJ 'shameful'; this word is used only for the private parts of the body. Srez *sorom-*. Cf. BR *saromny*, *saramlivy*; P *sromotny*.

Na saromškije reči ne gledži 59b20; šlunek saromškij mic treba 72a10-11.

Deceit, Injustice

CHITRAŠĆ 'cunning'. PB, SS; BR-R *chitrašć*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Dob; P *chytróść*.

Pitac buduc kamu činiv chitrašć 20a3.

FALŠ 'falsehood, falsity'. Buł (16th cent.), PB; BR-R *fałš*, Nos, Dob. P *falsz*.

U meri i v vase biv u jich fałš 65a1-2.

FIGEL/FIGLJA 'trick'. Nos *figlia*; Buł (1627), P *figiel*. In BLK only occurs in instrumental plural, so not possible to determine whether the nominative form would have been as recorded in Nos, or as in P.

Ne žjedajce skarbi jich zbitečne zamenami figlami 37b12.

KRIVDA 'injustice, wrong'. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; BR-R *kryıda*, BN.

McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh), Nos, Bial; P *krzywda*.

Pan Boh nikomu krivdi ne učinic 19a21.

NEPRAVDA 'untruth, lie'. Kar, PB, Skar; BR-R *niapraŭda*, McM, Šat; P *nieprawda*.

I Kafira, jestešce u javnim bludže i v cemnašci nepravdu muvic 18a5-6; katorije pravdu tлумili a nepravdaj žili 21b14.

Deceitful, Unjust Person

KRIVDNIK 'unjust person, wrongdoer'. HSBM, but not in modern dictionaries. Occurs in other Tatar manuscripts; e.g. Francis Skaryna Library *Tefsir*, ff. 10a-10b, in BR/P text of sura 2, verses 51-57, this word used to translate Arabic concept *ظلم* 'wrongdoing, oppression'. Cf. BR *kryŭdziciel*, P *krzywdziciel* 'wrongdoer'.

Krivdniki pišnije hardije 21b10.

LHAR 'liar'. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; P *lgarz*; cf. BR (*i*)*lhun*.

To chto jest že takvele muki cerpac? rek enhel: to lhari 95b4-5.

NEPRAVDŽIVIJ 'false, untruthful (person)'. BR-R *niepraŭdziviy*, BN, Nos, Dob; P *nieprawdziwy*.

'Iša prorok ... poslali dvuch tovarišav do mesta Antakiji tedi za nepravdživich meli 11a22-24.

ŠALBER 'swindler'. Buł (1597); BN *šalbier*, Nos; P *szalbierz*.

Šalberam nazivali 21a22; to chto jest že takvele muki cerpac? rek enhel: to lhari šalberi 95b4-5.

Deceitful

KLAMLIVIJ PB, HSBM; P *ktamliwy*.

Ludži jezikav klamlivich 95b5.

NEVERNIJ 'false, untrue'. Skar; BR-R *niavierny*, BN, McM; P *niewierny*.

Ušich nevernich slov višcerehajše 110b18.

FALŠIVE 'falsely'. Buł, PB, SS; BR-R *falšyva*; McM; P *fałszywy*.

Chto falšive meric i važic 64b16.

To Cheat, Treat Unjustly, Oppress

KRIVDŽIC PB, SS; BR-R *kryŭdžić*, McM, Nos, Bial, Var, Da (W); P *krzywdzić*.

Chto nevinne musulman krivdžic 117b16.

To Curse

KLÁŠCI Skar, HSBM (-tisja); BR-R *klašci*, BN, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šca, Šciaš; P *kláč*.

Chto kline praroka jak bi klav Pana Boha 38b11.

PRIKLINACCA (perf.) BR-R *praklinać*, P *prekлинаć*.

Ne priklinajše Mnoju Bogem tvojim naprasno 105a16-17.

BOŽICCA 'to blaspheme'. Ziz, HSBM (-itisja); BR-R *bažycca*, McM. Nos *božacca*; P *bożyć się*.

Ne božše i ne priklinajše 105a16; chto božiše naprasno 105a18.

Gossip, Criticism

PERA-/PEREHAVOR/-HAVER BR-R *pierahavory*, Dob (sg. only).

Pitac buduc: perahavor či činiv? 20a3-4; jak perehavor učinic žhine jeho dobrij učinek 50b14-15; razumnij to čelevek što sam svaju rabotu robic a svaj jezik ad perehaveru i ad šila movene višcerehaje 54a19-54b1.

PEREHAVORCA (or -EC) 'one who gossips'. Unrecorded elsewhere. Only occurs in acc./gen. plural in BLK, so not possible to determine whether nominative form would have been *-ca* or *-ec*.

Da jeho žberuc... perehavorcav i da pekla pažanuc 21b19.

PEREHAVARIC 'to gossip, criticise'. BR-R *pierahavaryć* 'to discuss'. Nos 'to criticise'. Cf. Dob *pierehavaryvać* 'to criticise'.

Ne perehavari 37a5.

Slander

OBMOVA PB, SS, HSBM; BN *abmova*, Nos 'accusation, condemnation', Dob 'condemnation', Var; P *obmowa*.

Od obmovi strežše 123a7.

ABMOVCA 'slanderer'. Buł (early 16th cent.), PB, SS, HSBM (*ob-* P *obmówca*).

Abmovci ludžej abmavlajuc 62b14-15.

ABMAVLAC 'to slander'. SS; BN *abmaŭlać*, McM, Nos, Dob. Cf. BR-R *abmaŭlacca* 'to make a slip, say the wrong thing'.

Abmovci ludžej abmavlajuc 62b14-15; hetije na švece ... ludžej

zaočne havarili abmavlati 96b2.

OBMAVAC 'to slander'. P *obmawiac*.

Ludži jeho ne majo obmavac 124b5.

Envy

ZAJZDROŚC PB, HSBM (*zaz-/zajz-*); BR-R *zajzdraśc*, BN, McM (*zazdraśc*), Nos (as McM), NBS, Bial, Kaś, Šat; P *zazdrośc*. Each form used once in BLK.

Panu Bohu palecajuša ad zajzročivich zajzdroścav 28b4-5; pitac buduc a lokomstve a zazdroścach 20a2-3.

ZAJZROŚNIK 'an envious person'. HSBM *zazros(t)nik*; BR-R *zajzdrošnik*, BN, NBS, Nos, Šat; P *zazdrošnik*.

Tije zajzrošniki Kabila priveduc, na šije ahnistija lancuhi buduc, ušich zajzrošnikav da jeho žeberuc i da pekla pažanuc 21b11-12.

ZAJZROŚCIVIJ 'envious'. HSBM *zajzdrostivij*; BR *zajzdrošny*; P *zazdrošny*.

Zajzročivich zazdroścav 28b4-5.

Covetousness

ŽADAŚC Skar; BN *žadaśc*, NBS, Nos, Bial.

Ad inšich buduc viścerehaciše, ne buduc inšich žadaśc 51a2-3.

LOKOMSTVA 'greed'. PB, SS, HSBM; Nos; P *łakomstwo*.

Pitac buduc a lokomstve 20a2.

PAŽIDLIVOŚC 'lust'. Cf. P *pożądliwość*.

I chelapije božije katorije vek svuj zbitečne tracili na pažidliwość chenci svajej 50b3-4.

PAKVAPICCA 'to covet'. BR-R, McM, Nos. P *pokwapić się* 'to hurry'.

Jak na što pakvapicca žhine u jaho vstidliwość 63b13-14.

ULAKOMICCA 'to covet'. P *ułakomić się*.

Kali na što ulakomicca to žhine u jom ustid 50b14.

ŽADAC 'to desire, want'. PB, Skar, SS, Ziz; BR-R, BN, McM (BK, F107, SCh), NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob, Ras.

Žednej reči ne žadaju bo ušo jest bužeje 8b7.

PAŽADAC 'to desire, want' (perf.). PB; BR-R, BN, Nos.

‘Iša prarok muvil: ne hledžice na čužije žoni kali b ne pažadali, kali

pažadaješ to užo iscuđzoložiš 63a13-14.

POŽONDAC 'to covet' (perf.). Cf. P *požadac* 'to demand', BR *pažadac* 'to desire, want'.

Ne požondaj domu bližnego 105b1.

Discord

NEPRIJAŽN PB, SS; P *nieprzyjaźń* 'enmity'.

Šejtan ... ukinov meži vas neprijažn 66b1.

RUŽNICA P *różnica*.

Kali Muša prorok umer meži židami ružnica povstala 15a8-9.

ZAPALČIVOŠĆ 'quick temper'. SS, HSBM; BR-R *zapalčyvašč*; P *zapalczywość*.

Šejtan ... zводи hnev i zapalčivošč 66b1.

SVARICCA 'to quarrel'. SS; BR-R *svarycca*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šat, Var, Da (SW); P *swarzyć się* (dial.).

Peci čelavekav Pan Boh baham(o)lje ne prijme: peršej žonki ketoreja z mužem svaricca a muž pravdživej dobrij budzé 117b14-16.

HNEVACCA 'to get angry'. Skar, SS, HSBM (-*tisja*); BR-R *hnievacca*, BN, McM, Bial, Kaš, Šat, Var; P *gniewać się*.

Ne hnevajše 37a5.

HNEVIC 'to anger'. Skar, HSBM (-*iti*); BR-R *hniavić*, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Kaš; P *gniewać*.

Čto bi hneviv širatu prašaščaho jako bi hneviv praroka 38b2-3.

PAHNEVIC 'to anger' (perf.). Nos *pohnievit'*, Šat *pahniavić*; P *pogniewać*.

Stvaricelskaje dobrošč u ejca u matki u serce ješt, tak hnev boži za ejca za matku kali jich pahneviš 38a10-12.

RAZHNEVIC 'to anger' (perf.). BR-R *razhnievać* (*uhniavić* preferred); P *rozgniewać*, R *raz-*.

Šejtan muvi: maje bracije radžonije ketorije ludžej radi razhnevic 64b3.

UHN-/VHNEVIC 'to anger' (perf.). BR-R *uhniavić*, McM, Bial, Šat; P *ugniewać*. For alternation [u/v-] see III.2.1.4.

Čto ajca abo matku uhnevic jakobi Mene Boha uhneviv 37b24.

NENAVIĐZEC 'to hate'. Skar, SS; BR-R *nienavidzić*, McM (źnie-only).

Tich katorije ubohich nenavidželi 21b16.

Murder, Assault

ZABOJSTVA HSBM; BR-R, BN, Nos, Dob, Kaś, Ras; P *zabójstwo*.

Tim ludžem Fatma adpuścic zabojszta 21a23-21b1.

GVALT 'violence'. Buł *kgvalt* (1423-38), PB, SS, HSBM (*gv-/kgvalt*); BR-R *hvalt*, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Bial, Kaś, Mal, Šat, Var, Da (SW); P *gwalt*. In OBR pronounced with plosive [g], as in P (source language); this is reflected here. Cf. MBR form with fricative [h].

Gvalt i krivdu činic 43a15-16.

ZABOJCA 'murderer'. HSBM; BR-R, BN, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaś; P *zabójca*.

Zabojca zabil Habila 104a1.

KRIVAVNIK 'murdered, bloodstained person'? Unrecorded elsewhere in sense that would fit BLK context (murders of Hasan and Husain). Cf. BN 'tick, bloodsucking insect'; Kaś, Ściaś 'achillea millefolium' (yarrow); Ukr 'a plant'.

Fatma pred nimi budžec ... i reče: i Bože uśomahušči pomstva čini nad krivavnikami majimi 21a15-17.

ZABIJAC 'to kill' (perhaps 'to assault?') BLK context sometimes suggests this interpretation). HSBM (-*ti*); P *zabijać*. Cf. BR *zabivać*.

Kažnaje pjanstva cheram, ludžej zabijac i najevšiše jeśc, ušo to cheram 70a5-6.

PAZABIJAC 'to kill' (perhaps also 'to assault?' see above) (perf.). P *pozabijać*. Cf. BR *pazabivać*.

Prarokav pazabijali 15a11.

ZABIC 'to kill' (perf.). Skar, HSBM; BR-R, BN, NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob, Kaś, Ras, Šat, Var; P.

Hrech druhij čeleveke zabic bez pričini 111b2-3.

Criminal Action

LOTROVSTVA Buł, HSBM; P *łotrowstwo, łotrostwo*.

Meži židami... povstala lotrovstva zabojszta 15a9.

LOTR 'criminal, scoundrel'. Buř, PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; P *totr*. Cf. *tr* and dial. MBR *totr(a)* 'lazy good-for-nothing person'.

Takije ludži za lotrav pačitanije 27b17; chto urodžica čelovekam lichim lotram prikezane božej lamaje ne sluchaje 50a21.

RAZBOJNIK 'criminal'. SS (*roz-*); BR-R, BN, Bial; P *rozbójnik*.

Jich buduc karmic razbojniki 62b14.

Drunkeness

PJANSTVA BR-R *p'janstva*; P *pijanstwo*.

Bab: a cherame a pjanstve 66a15-16; kažneje pjanstva cheram 66b8-9.

CHMEL BR-R *chmiel*, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šciaš; P.

Šejtan privodžic da chmelnaho napitku katorij prez chmel da ušic hrachov pabužaje 32b23-24.

PJANICA 'drunkard'. BR-R *p'janica*, BN, Nos, Bial; P *pij-*.

Pjanica na sudnij džen ustane u persune švinoj 67a8-9; navčonij pjanica lepšej za nenavčonaho bohamolci 57b1-2.

CHMELNIJ 'intoxicating'. PB; BR-R *chmielny*; P.

Prarok muvil: chto bi mev vina abo chmelnaho nabitku (nap-) adžim kufel vipec iman ad jeho adijdže 66b18-19; chto ... mev bi pic piva, harelki, mod, vino abo jekij kolvek chmelnij trunek 67b8-11.

PJANIJ 'intoxicating'. BR-R *p'janij*, BN, Bial, Šciac; P *pij-*.

Pjanij napoj ... to jest preklentij cheram 66a18-20.

UPICCA/-CIŠE 'to get drunk'. BR-R *upicca*, Bial, Kaš; P *upij-*.

Kali dla prahnene napjecca raz abo dva, nevpecca, a zvlašče taho picja što iz pšenici, iz ječmenu, iz prosa, to kali nevpecca to ne cheram, tilko mekruh a kali upjecca to cheram 66b9-11; chto bi mev upiciše jakoha kolvek napitku Pan Boh jemu dašc na sudnij džen tišeče mest iz ahnu a v kažnim mešce tišeče damov iz ahnu 66b21-67a1.

Adultery

CUDŽOŠTVA Buř *-lož-* (1634), PB *čužoloz-*; P *cudzołóstwo*.

Cudžolostva činili 95b8.

NEROND 'fornication'. P *nierzqd*. Cf. Skar, Da (Pskov, Tver) *nierjad*.

Tak majuc nad kažnim čelovekam vistempnim činic v nerondže jakim

v cudžolostve i v lamenu kajeti svajej 67b18-19.

CUDŽOLOŽNIK P *cudzotožnik*.

A cudžoložniki majuc ustavac na sud božij u parsune sabačej 63a14-15.

BLUDNICA 'fornicatress'. HSBM; OCS. also R.

Trecij hrech patšcivuju belaglovuju bludnica nazvac 111b3.

BLUDNIK 'fornicator'. Skar, HSBM; R. Cf. P *błędnik*.

Lučajceše da žon svajich bo jeni vas zaponej ad zlej žondže, što b ne bili bludnikami 40a14-15.

BLUDNIJ 'wanton'. Skar, HSBM; BR-R *błudny*, McM (CAN). P *błędny*.

Vidžev adžin pulk bludnich žanok 95b5-6.

CUDŽULOŽIC 'to commit adultery'. Buž; P *cudzotožyc*.

Ne cudžulož 105a20.

ISCUDŽULOŽIC 'to commit adultery' (perf.). OP *scudzotožyc*.

'Iša prarok muvil: ne hledžice na čužije žoni kali b ne pažadali, kali pažadaješ to užo iscudžuložiš, ne ti sam ale serca tvajo 63a13-14.

Gaming

IHRANE HSBM; BR-R *ihrańnie*; BN, Nos (both *hrań-*); P *igranie*; OP *granie*.

Dla ihrane karcomnaho ... to cheram 66b12-13; u napoju pjanim i v hranu kostkach kartach 66b2.

Fortune-Telling

VAROŽKA 'fortune-teller' (fem.). HSBM (*voro-*); BR-R (arch.), Bial, Ras, Žur.

Pjanij napoj, tanci, plasi... varožki, to jest preklentij cheram 66a18-20.

LOS 'lot, fortune'. PB, SS, HSBM; BR-R, BN, McM (Sch; CAN), Kaš; P.

Pjanij napoj ... losi, varožki, to jest preklentij cheram 66a18-20.

Wizardry, Magic

ČARA-/ČERA-/ČEREDŽEJSTVA 'trickery, wizardry, magic tricks'. BR-R *čaradziejstva*; P *czarodziejstwo*.

Šostij hrech čeredžejstva činic 111b4-5.

ČARA-/ČEROVNIK 'wizard, magician'. PB, SS; Nos *čarovnik*, Bial Dob, Kaš *čaraŋnik*, Var; P *czarownik*.

Ķafire muvic na Muchemmeda ne jest prarokem, čeravnik jest 82b11-12.

ČARNAVICĶIJ 'magic' (adj.). Unrecorded in this sense elsewhere.

Ad zlich zlošcej luđžkich i žanok čarnavicķich palecajuša Panu Bohu 28a21-22.

Money-Lending

INTERES 'interest on money lent' (practice forbidden under Islamic law). In MBR word usually means 'profit', or 'business'. Occurs only once in BLK, with meaning close to OBR; cf. HSBM 'percentage interest'. For modern usage see BR-R *interas*, McM (CAN), Nos, Kaš, Šat; BN *intares*, McM, NBS, Dob (-*tiar-*), Kaš; P *interes*.

Što za džive činili že takvele cerpac muķi? muvil: to tije bahatije ketorije devali skarb na interes 96a3-4.

Miserliness

SKUPSTVA Cf. P *skapstwo*.

Iskupstva (is skup-) svajeho žebi ne davali na chvalu božuju 18a3-4; tije ketorije skupujuc i prikazujuc luđžem da skupstva 38b22.

SKUPAŠC BR-R *skupaśc*, McM, Var. Cf. P *skapośc* 'deficiency'.

Šejtan mne u nutr moj skupaśc uķinuv, fitre spelna ne addav 42a11-12; katorije fitre ne davali dla skupašci svajej sam sab(e) gvah i krivdu činic 43a15.

SKUPIJ 'miserly'. BR-R *skupy*, BN, McM, Bial, Var. Cf. P *skapy*.

Ti ne budž pišnim i skupim 125b11.

SKUPAVAC 'to be miserly' BN, Nos. Cf. P *skapić*.

Tije katorije skupujuc i prikazujuc luđžem da skupstva 38b22.

IV.2 Worship

IV.2.1 Prayer, Ablutions and Other Religious Obligations

Pillars of Faith

PADPORA 'support, prop'. BR-R, BN, McM, Šat, Var; P *podpora*.

Veri padpora nemaž, post, žekoť džešecina, čistaśc gušel abdeš. ■

jedinostva božeje veric 62a5-7.

Practice

AB-/OBIČAJ PB, Skar, SS, HSBM (*ob-*); McM *abyčaj*, Nos, Bial, Dob, Šat; P *obyczaj*.

Kafire muvili: Muchemmed ne jest prorokem ... nauki ne učivše i abičajev 8a18-19.

ZVIČAJ PB, Skar; BR-R *zvyčaj*, BN, McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh), NBS, Nos, Bial, Kaš, Ras, Šat, Da (SW); P. According to McM this word is more typical of BR than *abičaj* and more widely used in nineteenth-century texts.³⁵⁵ In BLK neither term occurs very often.

Zvičaj mušulmanskij perešcerahac 55a10-11; zvičajju mušulmanskaho perešcerahac 55b15.

SPOSOB 'manner, way'. PB, SS; BR-R *sposab*, BN, McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh), NBS, Var; P *sposob*.

Vedaj i znaj što za sposob i priklad da veri mušulmanskej 51b4-5; kali spitajuc: da veri mušulmanskej sposabav kolka jest? adkaži: dvanašce jest, peršaje Pana Boha adžinim pavinen viznavac, Muchemmed praroka pošlem božim pravdživim viznavac, z ludžmi dobre žic, druhoje abdešt brac, treceje pa pac raz na džen nemaž klaneciše ... dvanaccataje zvičaj mušulmanskij perešcerahac 55a2-11.

SPRAVA 'way'. Usual BR and P meaning is 'affair, matter'. PB; BR-R, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Bial, Kaš, Ras; P.

Muvil Pan Boh: chto budže trimac spravi tvaje a Ja jemu učinu lasku Svaju 99b5-6.

Prayer

In BLK the concept of 'prayer' is divided into ritual prayer and private prayer. For ritual prayer, usual term is NE-/NAMAŽ; less common is SELE-/SELAVAT'/SELOT' (as is also the case in Turkish). Slav PECJE and PEVANE refer specifically to the ritual chanting or reciting of prayer. Particular religious services, including the five daily prayers, are expressed by NEMAŽ/NAMAŽ and a qualifying noun or adjective. For private prayer, DU'A'I and PROŽBA are equally common, though DU'A'I generally introduces a particular prayer, while PROŽBA is

³⁵⁵ McM: 105.

found in less precise contexts. MOD-/MADLITVA is comparatively uncommon and has the vaguest field of reference.

NEMAŽ/NAMAŽ نَمَازُ / نماز. Ott (Per) نماز; T *namaz*. RT: *namaz*.

BLK: in first syllable *elif* [a] occasionally replaces *fetħe* (III.5.1.1). This reflects Turkish pronunciation; it also coincides with transcription in RT, so may reflect actual Tatar pronunciation.

Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -e, gen. pl. -av. Compound verbs with PEC 'to chant the ritual prayer', and KLANECCA 'to perform motions of ritual prayer'. Cf. T *dua okumak* 'to chant/read a prayer' and *namaz kılmak* 'to perform the prayer'.

Prarok u Kébeju nemaž klanevše 10a16; namaž klanevše 31a2-3; 'Isa prarok achšam nemaž pev 75b8; idžice nemaž adklanevšiše druhoha nemažu čekajce 10b22; ne znaje nemažu 81a8; ad nemažu 66b3; bez nemažu 69a4; meži nemažu 65b5; až da bajram nemažu 43a18-19; pošle nemažu bajramnaho 45b6; pa nemaže prašice u Mene Boħa žadane 75a6; chto jich pa namaže budže pec uvojdže da raju 31a8; buduc pitac ... a nemaže 20b11; pavažni džen patnica, treba jeje pavažac nemažem 48b6; nemažem řešbichami bavivše 44b12; pred bajram nemažem 42b18-19; uše nemaži holasam pevali 55b1; jakvele nemažev 58b11; u džennich nemažach 55b1.

Particular prayers: achšam nemaž 58a14; avle nemaž 58a8; pa bajram nemaže 43a19; pošle nemažu bajramnaho 45b6; dženaže nemaž 15b4; džum'e nemaž 15a16; jetći nemaž 75b5; kedir nemaž 75b7; kušlug nemaž 64b12; nočnij nemaž 98b7; rannij nemaž 58a5; sebach nemaž 58a20; umur nemaž 60a14. See also SELEVAŤ.

NEMAŽNIJ 'of prayer'. Adjective derived from Ott (Per) *namaz* with Slav suff. -nij.

Nemažnije uše pastupki vedac 116b12-13.

SELE-/SELEVAŤ/SELOT صَلَاتٌ / صَلَاواتُ / صَلَّاتٌ. Ott (A) صَلوة / صَلات (sg.), صَلوات (pl.); T *salât* (sg.), *salâvat* (pl.). RT: *salawat*.

BLK: three graphic variants are found, based on singular and plural Ott forms; usual form is SELEVAŤ. Rarely decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a. Compound verb with PEC 'to chant ritual prayer'.

Tri razi selevať pej 80b9; mnoha selevať pejce 48b20; u tim me'radžu veroncije buduc našic selevať karonu 102b8; Pan Boh ... iz selevať

stvoric ptacha 97b1; vi praroku seloť pejce 84a5.

SELEVAŤNIJ 'of prayer'. Adjective derived from SELEVAŤ with Slav suffix *-nij*. Palatalized [-t'] preserved before [-n-] of suffix. RT 'salatne spasienio', 'salawatnoje spasiennio'.

Selevatneje spašenje 97b3.

PECJE 'chanting'. Srez *pětie*.

Mnohim pecjom dobrošc jest 8a1; kuranova pecjo jemu charošuju parsunu učinic 32a12-13; ad pecja al-chemdu šureju šejtan niščeje 32b21; u pecju kuranovim 79b14.

PEVANE 'chanting'. Srez *pěv-*.

Chto bi s pevanem chvalu božuju azdobiv, priazdobic Pan Boh jeho na šom švece 47b13.

DU'A'I دُعَاء 'private prayer, petition' (cf. NEMAŽ, SELEVAT). Ott (A) دعاء; T *dua*. RT: *dua, duaja, duaji*.

BLK: word-final *ayn* reinforced by *kesre* (III.5.1.3). Usually not decl; in a small number of cases treated as hard stem fem. noun. Compound verbs with PEC 'to recite a prayer' (cf. T *okumak*, Tat *aitmak*), less often with ČINIC 'to perform a prayer' (cf. Tat *kılmak*).

Što režeš du'a'i pej 45b14; u patnicu heta du'a'i pev 48a9; prošec Pana Boha za cebe du'u činec 88b2-3; kali chto heta du'a'i ne vmeje nechaj mucic raz bišmillah 72a3-4; chto zachvareje to heta du'a'i napisavši pajic 124a10-11.

DVALAR/DU'ALER 1. 'prayers' 2. 'amulet, collection of prayers'. Derived from T (Ott/A) *dua* + pl. suff. *-ler/-lar*. RT: *duatar, duatary, datawary, datawaty, dwaraty*. Common in colloquial usage in the sense of 'amulet, scroll of prayers'. Tatars usually carried such a scroll as protection against evil and misfortune; it was buried with them when they died. RT records several phonetic variants, but in BLK it only occurs twice: once as *du'aleri*, in Turkish syntagma *abdeš du'aleri* 'the ablution prayers'; and once as *dvalar*, meaning 'amulet'. In the phrase *abdeš du'aleri* the two nouns are linked by Turkish *izafet* suffix *-i* (but may have been understood as Slav pl. suffix *-i*). Form *dvalar* not recorded in RT. Decl; nom. pl. *-i* (?), gen. pl. *-ev*.

1. Abdeš du'aleri chto ne umeje nechaj mnoha raz peje bišmillah 80b7.

2. Bez dvalarev ne chodžic 113a18-19.

PROŽBA 'prayer, petition'. PB, Skar, SS; BR-R *prošba*, McM; P. BLK shows regressive voicing in this word, a BR phonetic feature not reflected in standard BR.

Kali prožbu čeneči da Boha budže pec, Pan Boh prožbu prijme 8a5-6; Pan Boh tich anhelej prožbu prijme 34a8-9; imanova ruka što jest? ... prožba da Stvaricela Boha 53a17-18; iz hrešnaho za prožbami navčonich švetim učinic 59a13-14.

MAD-/MODLITVA/MODLITKA Buř (1593), HSBM (*modlitwa*). Cf. BR *malitva*.

Zmocnil go u modlitvach 7a15; uspominajce Mne Boha modlitkami 35b19; čeleveče Boha madlitvami prikazem božim uznava j i vichvalaj 125a25.

BIŠMILLAH بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ 'in the name of God', the pious ejaculation pronounced by Muslims at the commencement of any undertaking. Ott (A) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ; T *bismillah*. Cf. RT: *bismillach, basmala*; 'niemówiwszy *bismillach* zaczął jeści' (*Kitab*).

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points.

Kali chto heta du'a'i ne vmeje nechaj muvic raz bišmillah 72a3-4; tije ketorije ne muvivši bišmillah Pana Boha spomnevši vetr vidžec 64b5-6.

AMIN آمين 'Amen'. Ott (A) آمين; T *amin*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel point. Decl; masc. hard stem noun.

Muvic amin šunneť jest 33a15; matka du'a'i pela, sin amin kezav 118a19-20; Bože milościvij ad milovanje šeho švata nas chelapov šceraži, amin 121a7-8; u kažnam nemaže al-chemdu šurej z aminam pev 34b11-12.

One Who Prays

NEMAŽKAR 'one who performs five prescribed prayers exactly' نَمَازَكَار. Ott (Per) *namaz-güzar* نمازگار; T *namaz-güzar*. RT: *namazkier*; 'namazkiery, które biesz wachty namaz kłaniają się' (*Kitab*). In BLK word occurs only in BR version of bilingual text of Mi'rāj; Turkish text does not use this word, but has instead *namazkiler kilanlar* 'those who pray'. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. pl. -ev.

Toj enhel ... nočnich nemažkarev budžic 98b1-5.

PROŽBITAR Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. BR-R *prošbyt* (arch.) 'a petitioner'.

Chadžej Chezir Beġ Dželabej: u hetaho prožbitara nedužaho žadav taho sabe ad Pana Boha abi moh ja šin šurej na jezik tureckij viložic abi ludži pospolite mohli lepej razumec ... nedužij prožbitar Chadžej Chezir Beġ Dželabej, na žadane jeho Pan Boh jemu z lasġi pomač uġniv da vipisane hetaho šureju ja Sin starajučemu i pejučemu i sluchajučemu 8a11-15.

To Pray

Main terms in BLK are PEC 'to chant, recite' (cf. T *okumak* 'to read, recite'), and KLANECCA 'to bow, perform obeisances' (cf. T *kılmak* 'to perform'). Derived forms from both verbs also used. MALIC and MALICCA are rare. PRAŠIC 'to request', UZIVAC 'to invoke' and ABRAKACCA/-CIŠE 'to appeal to' can also sometimes mean 'to pray'.

PEC BR-R *pieć*, Nos, Bial, Šat; P *piac*. Cf. usual Slav meaning 'to sing'.

Du'a'i pej 45b14; nemaž pev 75b8; selevat pejce 48b20; aštechijašu pejuġi 81b1; pej ažan holasam 78a12; chutbe peje 123b13; treba iman pec 110b12; kamet pej 81a15; Kuran borzda peli 16b19; pej hože da gušlu nijjet 71b11; peršij reke'eš kali budžeš pec 78b9; šureji pec 7b13; žikir pejce 46b11.

SPEC (perf.) BR-R *špieć*; P *špiac*.

Adžin raz selevat speje 100a5.

VIPEC (perf.). 'to recite in full to the end'.

Čhto šġirim i pakornim sercam ... tije ġetiri knihi vipev 31a16-17.

PEVAC (iter.) 'to recite repeatedly'. Srez *pěvat*'.

Pered tim uše nemaži holasam pevali, tilko u avle, aġindi mnoha zavšehdi prešġod i uciskav ad ġafirov meli 78a7-8.

DAPEVAC 'to recite to the end'. BR-R *dapiavać*.

Kali imam ferz dapevaje to palecajše za imamem 81a21.

KLANACCA 'to bow, make obeisance'. Skar, HSBM (-*tisja*); BR-R *ġlaniacca*, McM, Bial (-*icca*); P *ġlaniać się*. Used only with terms indicating ritual postures or motions of prayer (cf. PEC).

Nemaž klanevše 10a16; kali b adžin ġelavek iz majich ummešev umišle džum'e nemaž ne klanevše to taġije ludži ne maje ummeši

47a1-2; chto Kuran peje a nemažu ne klanejecca to ne jest mušelmanin 32b12; pri imame klanecca 46b20; inšim boham balvanom klaneliše 18b16; dva reke'eti klanevše 75b6-7; šedže klanejecca 91a4.

PAKLANACCA 'to bow, make an obeisance' (perf.). BR-R *paktaniacca*. P *pokłanić się*.

Peršij reke'et paklanivše 76b16; ja za jeje Bohu paklanuše 85b5.

ADKLANACCA 'to finish praying'. Unrecorded elsewhere in this sense. Cf. Dob, Nos *otkłanacca* 'to say goodbye'; P *odkłonić się* 'to return a greeting'.

Kali adklanejeciše nemaž razsipceše pa źemli 46b10-11; nemaž adklanevšiše druhoha nemažu čekajce 10b22.

MALIC 'to pray' (general term). PB, Skar; BR-R, BN, Nos, Dob, Bial. P *modlić*.

Šemdžešat hod Boha maliv 51a19-20.

MALICCA 'to pray' (general term). PB, Skar, SS, HSBM *modlitijsca*. BR-R, BN, McM, Nos, Dob, Šat, Var; P *modlić się*.

Chto bi navčonaha čelaveka lubeči na jeho hledžev jakobi šešdžešat hod Bohu malivše 39a9-10.

AB-/EBREKACCA/AB-/EBRAKACIŠE 'to appeal to, to call upon'. P *obrzekać*. Cf. dial. BR *abrakacca* 'to promise'.

Kali učiš jak maje abrakaciše, kali pa tatarsku ne umeje nechaj ebrekajecca pa rusku 81a10-11.

PRAŠIC 'to make a request, entreat, pray'. PB, SS; BR-R, McM, Bial. Dob; P *prosić*.

Pana Boha prošim, akrom Jeho kaho lepšaha majem prašic 24b14-15; džen noč Boha prašili 118a10.

UZIVAC 'to invoke'. Nos *uzyvać* 'to summon'; P *wzywać*.

Uzivajce Jego timi imonami 9a5.

Parts of the Ritual Prayer

Not surprisingly, Islamic terms used for constituent sections of ritual service. However, some Slav words used as explanation or as alternative terms. Most of these refer to postures and motions of the ritual prayer e.g. PAKLON, UKLON 'obeisance', STAJANE 'standing', but a few, such

KEZAN 'sermon', are used for particular sections of the service.

AŽAN/AZAN اَذَانُ / اِظَانُ 'the call to prayer'. Ott (A) اذان; T *ezan*.

RT: *azan*; *azan dawać*, *azanić*, *poazanić*.

BLK: ظ [z] occasionally replaces ڙ [ž] probably reflecting Tatar pronunciation; cf. RT. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u/e. Compound verb with PEC 'to recite' (cf. T *ezan okumak*).

Pered nim holasam pej ažan 78a12; u šele ažan ne pevši nemaž peli 82a4; da ažanu što jest naležna vedajce 13a10-11; bez ažanu 82a3; pošle ažanu 83a4; chto bi ažanu činic pavahu Pan Boh tamu čeleveku raj chelalem učinic 84a11-12; nechaj pri ažane šehošvetnije slova hutaric 84a22; nechaj hetije slova buduc u ažanu 82b19-20; zavšehdi nemaž iz azanem treba klaneciše 82a6; ažan skončic 84a2; ažan spelnicca 84a5.

AŽANNIJ/AŽEN-/AZAN- 'relating to call to prayer'. Adjective derived from AŽAN with Slav suff. -nij.

A tom čaše holas čuv ažannij 84a16; abičaj ažannij 82a20; ad holasu azannaho 32b19; a velkašci spašenje ažennaho 82a1; šejtan rek: ažannaho holasu ne lublu 84b4.

AŽANOV 'relating to call to prayer'. Poss. adj. from AŽAN with Slav suff. -ov. Less common than AŽANNIJ, but used in identical contexts.

Kali učujece holas ažanov pejuči, što muežin rečec slova vi za nim muvce tije slova 83b22-23.

NIJETْ نِيَّةٌ 'intention' recited at commencement of prayer. Ott نیت (A ۵ -); T *nijet*. RT: *nijjet*; 'z *nijjetem któren masz czynić*' (*Chamait*).

BLK: *shedde* preserved, also Ott ت (<A ۵) (III.5.1.5/15). Not found in obl. cases in BLK, but in RT declined as masc. hard stem noun. Compound verbs with PEC and ČINIC.

Pej hože da gušlu nijjet 71b11; nijjet učiniv 100a4.

PRIRAČENE 'promise'. Occasionally used in place of NIJET'. PB; Nos, P *przrzeczenie*.

Stavajon u nemaže i vidajon žekoť i džešencinu i činic priračene 35b3-4.

AB-/EBREKANJE/EBRAKANJE 'prayer, religious formula, utterance'. Unrecorded elsewhere.

Pac abrekanje zupelne učinic 55b14; vedaj šunnet da abdeše abrekanje činic 72a22; peršaje ebrekanje učinic na halavu 72b4.

IFTACH **إِفْتَاْحُ** 'formal opening of worship by chanting and touching the ears with the hands'. There is an A form *iftaḥ* **اِفْتَاْح**, but usual term for this part of the service is *iftitaḥ* **اِفْتِيتَاْح**; cf. RT: *iftytach*. Also called *takbīrat al-taḥrīm*. See **TEKBIR**.

BLK: as for Ott (A) *iftaḥ*, with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases. Compound verb with PEC.

Iftach čini, iftach to jest tekbir 75a1.

TEKBIR **تَكْبِيرُ** 'a reciting of the phrase "God is great"'; formula used at the opening of the service. Ott/T **تَكْبِير**; T, RT *tekbir*.

BLK: in second syllable *kesre* replaced **ي** (III.5.1.2). Not found in obl. cases. Compound verb with ČINIC 'to perform opening of formal worship' (chanting set formula and touching hands to ears).

Upered učinic tekbir 79b4; tekbir činic 43a1; tekbir učinivši rukami da ušu dakraniše 78b23.

KAMEŤ **قَامَتْ** 'muezzin's call at the beginning of prayer'. Ott (A) **قامت**; T, RT *kamet*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-u*. Compound verb with PEC 'to chant the call to prayer'.

Pered kažnim ferzem kamet nechaj peje 81a13-14; ne treba da džinažeju ažanu i kameťu 55a12.

SEF/SAF **صَفْ / صَافْ** 'line, row', specifically row of worshippers in communal prayer. Ott (A) **صف**; T *saf*. RT: *saf, y*; 'u *safie siedziec*'.

BLK: mostly written with *elif* [a], probably reflecting pronunciation; cf. RT transcription, also Turkish pronunciation; unusually, *shedže* over **ف** omitted (III.5.1.15). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-e*, prep. sg. *-e*, nom. pl. *-i*, gen. pl. *-av*, inst. pl. *-ami*.

Kali možna u safe stac a jon adžin bez safu budže stajac 79b1; u safi nechaj stanuc 60b1; semdžesat tišečej safav 98a1; pered chvorim safami stanuc 7b19; uše sefami sefami stavši 85b12.

KIJAM **قِيَامٌ** 'standing position'. Ott (A) **قيام**; T *kıyam*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, prep. sg. *-e*.

U kijame stoječi ... ferz vam jest 74b18-19; džeme'eť budže stajac

kijame abo u ruke'i 79b23; jak budže džeme'et u kijame abo u reke'i abo u šedždeju 80a7.

STAJANE 'standing position'; occasionally used in place of KIJAM. BR-R *stajannie*; P *stajanie*.

Paklonav činiv i stajane u namaže 16a10.

RUKE'E/REKE'I رُكْعَ ارْكَعَ 'bending forward posture'. Ott (A) رُكْعَ; T *rükû*. RT: 'rukiea, rukiei; 'do rukieiu išć'.

BLK: in second syllable و [u], representing Arabic long vowel, replaced by vowel points *damma* or *fetħe*; final 'ayn reinforced by *fetħe* [e] or *kesre* [i] (III.5.1.3). RT records similar features. Not decl. in BLK, but RT shows masc. noun, gen. sg. -u.

Izchilajćeše da ruke'e 74b17; u rukee pa tri razi muv ... čistij chvaloncij Bože 79a7-8; jak u rukee pachilivšiše ruķi na kaleni džerži 79a12; učinic ťekbir ... abo ruke'e upered za imama 79b4-5; u kijame abo u reke'i 80a7.

REKE'ET' رَكَعَتْ 'complete act of worship with prescribed postures'. Ott (A) رَكَعَات; T *rekeat*. RT: *rekieat*, y. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, prep. sg. -u, nom. pl. -i.

U kažnem reke'etu fátiche šurej pejuc 30a14; pošle nemažu dva reke'eti nemaž pev, u peršem reke'etu raz al-chemdu 48a6-7; dva reke'eti klanevše 75b6-7; četiri reke'eti 75a23; v četiroch reke'etach aťtechijjaťu zupelne pevši, šelam daj 79a15-16.

ŠEFER سَفَرُ 'time of repetition'. Ott (A) سَفَر; T *sefer*. RT: *siefer*.

RT defines this word as 'journey' but citation illustrates the same meaning (in a similar passage) as in BLK, namely 'a time of repetition of an act of worship': 'po dva rekieaty siefierom kłaniajsia' (*Kitab*).

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun.

Avle, aķindi i jeťci pa dva reke'eti ferz šeferem i sebach i achšam vitr spelna treba 81b16-17.

KLANENJE 'bow, obeisance'. HSBM (-*njanje*), Nos *klaniennje*; OP *klanianie*. Same basic meaning as RUKE'E, REKE'ET' and ŠEDŽDE, but used in more general contexts. Cf. PAKLON, UKLON

Ti Pan Boh adžinij ušahomahučij, hodžen ad ušeho stvarenej Svajeho klanenje chvali 109b5-6; kažnij nemaž klanenje is Panem Boham razmovu činic 31b8.

PAKLON 'bow, obeisance, homage'. BR-R *paklon*, McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh), Bial; P *poklon*.

Akrom Boha inšim boham paklon ne činice 12b13-14; prarok Pana Bohu u noči takvele paklonav činiv i stajane u namaže nohi jemu papuchli 16a9-10; katorije ad malich hod Panu Bohu pakloni činili 19b14-15; u paklone ležic 85a22; žikir paklon nechaj činic 100a4.

UKLON 'bow, obeisance'. BN *uklon*, NBS, Nos, Dob; P.

Tabe chto činic ukloni 56b2.

ŠEDŽDE سَجْدَ 'prostration'; Muslims sometimes use this word as a synonym for A *rak'a* 'portion of the ritual prayer'. Ott سجده (A ٤ - ٥); RT: *sieczde, siedzde*; 'do sieczdeju iść'.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points added; word-finally *feris* replaces Ott ھ < A ة (III.5.1.4). Decl; neut. soft stem, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u; case endings separated from root by epenthetic [-j-] (III.2.2.7). Compound verbs with KLANACCA and ČINIC, both 'to perform (ritual prostration)'.
Pana Boha prošil, šedzde činil 11b10; u nemaže šedzde adno činil 77b7; adžin iz nas šedzde Jemu ne učinic 77b10; druhoje šedzde činil učiniv 77b15-16; ad šedzdeju ustali 77b11; da šedzdeju 74b17; promak u šedzdeju ležav 10a15; u kažnem reke'etu pa dva šedzdeju činic 78b17-18; znovu šedzde druhoje uklaniliše 77b14-15; šedzde klanejecca 91a4.

AŤTEHIJJAŤU اِتَّحَاتُ 'the greetings canticle'; this prayer is repeated after every two *rak'a*. Ott (A) التحيات; T *ettahiyat*. RT: *attechyatu*; 'w *attechyatu* siedzeć'.

BLK: phonetic representation of Arabic article, showing assimilation of ت [t], but in standard Ott orthogr. Arabic *al-* retained; خ replaces ح (III.5.1.11). Not decl; final -u marks 'frozen' Arabic nominal inflection; not found in Turkish, but RT indicates that Tatars did retain it (possibly understanding it as Slav masc. prep. sg. -u). Compound verb with PEC 'to chant the greetings canticle'.

Pej aŭtechijjaŭ 81a23; aŭtechijjaŭ zupelne pevši šelam daj 79a15-16; da aŭtechijjaŭ ševši 78b18.

ŠELAM سَلَامُ 'peace'. Ott (A) سلام; T *selam*. Used in closing formula of ritual worship, i.e. 'the peace and mercy of God be with you'. Also

the customary greeting between Muslims. RT: *sielam, sielam dač*. Compound verbs with DAC 'to give a greeting' and PRINAC 'to receive a greeting' (cf. T *selam vermek, selam almak*).

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Usually assimilated into Slav grammatical structures and decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -e. However, greetings such as *selamu 'elejk'um, selamu 'elejk'e, asselam 'elejk'um* treated as Arabic quotations, surmounted by a wavy line, and not decl.

1. 'part of the ritual service': pa šelame ruki padnavši pej 60a19; pa šelame tišeče raz heta du'a'i pej 81a4.

2. 'greeting': šelam jemu dali 11a7-8; praroka Muchemmeda dačekaje, ad mene šelam jemu dajce 15a14-15; ad mene vam nechaj šelam budže 22a23; 'Ezra'il u dvor uvažov, praroku šelam dav: šelamu 'elejk'um 108a12; da matki prišov... i rek: aššelamu 'elejke 85b8-9; 'Iša prarok ... rek: aššelam 'elejk'um 86a22-23.

PAZ-/POZDROVENE/BOZDROVENE 'greeting'. P *pozdrawienie*.

Sometimes used in place of ŠELAM in sense of 'greeting', but never with reference to ritual prayer. Occasional substitution of [b] for [p] could be scribal error, but may reflect Tatar pronunciation (III.2.2.10).

Adžin enhel prišov, varota adčinov, šemdžešat tišečež enhelov ž nim sipališe, pazdrovene tabe moveči 91a10-91b1; praroka švanta laska Boga visokego nad nim i pozdrovene švanta 120a7 (cf. A *šalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa'l-sallam* 'may God bless him and give him peace', traditional blessing pronounced on the Prophet).

CHUTBE حُوطَبَ 'prayer and homily in Friday midday service'.

Ott خطبه (A ة -); T *hutbe*. RT: *chutbe, chutbie; 'chutbieju sluchať*'.

BLK: ح replaces خ and word-finally, *fetħe* [e] for Ott ة /A š (III.5.1.11/4). Not found in obl. cases. RT indicates that it could be declined as neut. soft stem noun. Compound verb with PEC 'to chant Friday homily' (cf. T *hutbe okumak*).

Chto bi u patnicu ... achotne dušoj chutbe sluchav 47a6-8; u patnicu jak imam chutbe peje 123b13.

KEZAN 'sermon'. HSBM, BR-R *kazań, Da* (SW). Occasionally used as synonym for CHUTBE. Substitution of [e] for [a] in stressed first syllable untypical of standard BR (III.2.1.3).

Anheli kezan kezali 77b8; preto bez lidžbi 'erabove, čuvši kezan ad

praroka da veri mušulmanskeje pristupali 78a20-21.

SALACH صَلَاحُ 'chanting before services on Fridays and other holy days'. Ott (A) صَلَاح; T *salâh*. RT: *salach*; 'kiedy *salach* będą pieć...'. BLK: *elif* [a] replaces *fetħe* in first syllable (III.5.1.1). Not found in obl. cases. Compound verb with PEC 'to chant'.

Kali *salach* pec buduc tarhovli raboti zanechac ne każe 48a19-20.

TEŠBICH/TEŠPICH تَسْبِيحُ / تَسْبِيحُ 'a proclaiming of the praises of God'. Ott (A) تَسْبِيح; T *tesbih*, *tespich*. RT: *tesbich*, *tespich*.

BLK: occasionally پ [p] used in place of ب [b]. RT indicates that Tatars used both forms (cf. Turkish). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u. Compound verb with PEC 'to chant the praises of God'.

Tešbich žiker pejce 43a1; pej jakij chočeš kuraniј šurej abo ajet u nemaže a chto ne umeje nechaj tešbich peje 74b22-23; mesta tešbichu budže 22b9-10; Pan Boh ... tešbichi prijme 43a2-3; učinki i nemaži tešpichi jich 47a25; tešbichami bavivše 44b12.

ŽIKER/-KIR ذِكْرُ / ذِكْرُ 'a remembering', recitation of litanies praising God. Ott (A) ذِكْر; T *ziker*, *zikir*. RT: *zikier*, *zikr*; 'zikier pieć'.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u. Compound verbs with PEC 'to chant litanies', and with ČINIC 'to perform recital of litanies'.

Tije katorije tajemne muvčikam žiker činili 21b5; žikir rano i v večer pejce 75a4; žikir pakloni nechaj činic 100a4; ketorije da žikera paslušnije 10b5; i Bože moj, uzivaju ime Tvajo ... klanenje Tabe žikerem i praroku prijecelu Tvajmu žikerem 84b15-16; ad pabožnich žikerav helasu 32b19-20; pavažnij džen patnica, treba jeje pavažac nemažem, tešbichami, žikirami 48b6-7; Pana Boha chvalec žikerem, tešpichami 64a16-17.

Types of Daily Ritual Prayers

FERZ/FARZ فَرَضُ / فَرَضُ 'ordained by God'. Ott (A) فَرَض; عَيْن 'incumbent on each individual'. T *farz*. RT: *farz*; *farzowy*.

BLK: ظ replaces ض, *elif* [a] occasionally replaces *fetħe* (III.5.1.107). In one text used with 'ejn عَيْن.

Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u/e. Compound verbs with PEC 'to chant the obligatory prayer', and KLANACCA 'to perform the obligatory prayers'.

Kali imam ferz dapevaje to palecajše za imamem 81a21; ustan sebach ferz klaneciše 85b10; pošle farzu zaraz šunneť pej 81b4; pered kažnim ferzem kameť nechaj peje 81a13-14; u ferze po al-chemdu šureju, šurej jakij abo ajeť pec ferz 80a13; kali prijdžeš da mečici e znajdžeš imama u ferzu 81a20; pa ferzu peršij šunneť a potim jene šunneť 81b6-7; tije što pa ferze to jest muv'ekidi 81b21; adna pavinnaśc 'ejn ferz, to konečne treba vipelnic 54b 5-6.

ŠUNNEŤ سُنَّتْ 'founded on the practice of the Prophet'. Ott سنت (A ē -); T *sünnet*. RT: *siunniet*. See also p. 297.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points; word-finally Ott ت in place of A ē (III.5.1.5). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u. Compound verbs with PEC 'to chant', and KLANACCA 'to perform' (prayers).

Pa ferzu šunneť pej 81b2; jak slonca uzijdže tahdi šunneť klanecca 81b3; jak ažan buduc pec da šunneťu tahdi uše raboti šehošvetnije cheram jest 48a20.

NAFILE نَافِلَةٌ 'supererogatory'. Ott نافله (A ē -). T *nafile*.

RT: *nafile*, also *nafilejnny*; 'u *nafilejnych* namazach azanu ani kamietu nie pejuc'; 'nafilejny – post, namaz'.

BLK: word-finally *fethē* [e] replaces Ott ه /A ē (III.5.1.4). Decl; neut. soft stem noun, gen. sg. -u; case endings separated from root by epenthetic [-j-] (III.2.2.7).

'Umur nemaž ne treba pec, tilko *nafile* pec 60a14; muštedžab *nafile* nemaž, *nafile* post čecverhi, panedželki 69b11-12; džum'e patnični džen pavelbonij i najlepšij da *nafile*ju 49a12-13. See also p. 299.

VÍTR/VÍTRE/VÍTRI/VITR وَتْرٌ / وَتْرٌ / وَتْرٌ 'an odd number (one, three, etc) of *rak'a*, as said after 'the night prayer'. Ott (A) وتر; T *vitr*. RT: *witr*.

BLK: four spellings found, apparently used at random. Form with ط, representing Tatar non-palatalized [t], is rare; forms with word-final vowel points representing [i] or [e] occur most frequently. Not found in obl. cases. Sometimes used with NEMAŽ, sometimes alone.

Vitr vadžib 69a23; tri reke'ėti vítri vadžib 78b9; što za spašenje pa peci raz na džen nemaž abo vítri nemaž 78b5-6; a vítr nemaž peršij reke'et kali budžeš pec to toj džen što budže abmili i proškodi u farzu to Pan boh prijme zupelne 78b9-10; a tri reke'ėti vítre vadžib 75b6.

Times of Prayer³⁵⁶

VACHT واخط 'time, hour (for prayer)'. Ott (A) وقت; T *vak(i)t*, *vah(i)t*. RT: *wakt*, *wacht*; 'aby pieł namaz wachtem' (Kitab); 'do domu pospieszajce aby wacht nie preszed' (Kitab).

BLK: only letter in common with standard Ott form is initial *v*. Fricative [ch] replaces plosive [k] (III.5.1.20). Use of *elif* to represent [a] is common in BLK, but substitution of ط for ت is odd. Possible influence of Slav (<Ger) *wachta* 'watch', or Karaim *vacht* 'time'. Decl; masc. hard stem, gen. sg. -u, nom. pl. -i, gen. pl. -ov. Used alone, or with qualifying noun.

Kali vacht nastupic 75a18; avle vacht 26b21; akinde vacht 76a16-17; śceražice vachtu 58b7; nemaž kažnij vedlug vachtu klanejceše, vachtu ne apuščajceše 75a18; podčas jełci vachtu 77a3; tije tri vachti sebach, achšam, jełci holasam pevali 78a8-9; pac vachtov nemažu 58b8; u peci vachtach 34b16-17.

SE-/SABACH صباح / صباح 'the morning (prayer)'. Ott /A صباح; T *sabah* 'morning' (a general term with no special religious significance). RT: *sabach*; *utanski sabach* 'a late morning prayer'.

BLK: in first syllable *elif* occasionally used in place of *feche* (III.5.1.1); cf. Turkish pronunciation, also form cited in RT.

Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u. Term used alone or with NEMAŽ. Occasionally found with VACHT.

Chto bi zanechav ne klanevše sebach nemaž adrećecce ad jeho iman 58a19-20; tije tri vachti sebach, achšam, jełci holasam pevali 78a8-9; sabachu nedačekajuc 16b16; abdeš jak zavše sebachu čekajuc 16b15; až da sebachu 40b21; pered sebachem 71b17; kali pa sebachu budže pec 8a6.

RANNIJ 'morning'. SS; BR-R *ranni*, NBS, Bial; P *ranny*. Sometimes used in place of SEBACH.

Chto bi mev rannij nemaž iz džeme'etem klaneceše 58a5; u rannem nemaže budže pec 84a7.

AVLE اول 'the midday (prayer)'. Ott اوله [öğle] (<OT *ödleg*).

³⁵⁶The names used for the prayer-times in BLK are Turkish: cf. Arabic *ṣalāt al-ḡar*, *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr*, *ṣalāt al-‘aṣr*, *ṣalāt al-maghrib*, *ṣalāt al-‘iṣhā*; Persian *namāz-i-subh*, *namāz-i-peshīn*, *namāz-i-dīgar*, *namāz-i-shām*, *namāz-i-khuftan*.

T *öğle*. RT: *awle*; 'do *awleju iŝci*'.

BLK: rare example of a Turkic word; form recorded here, as in RT, probably the result of an early a mis-spelling (III.5.1.19). Decl; neut. soft stem noun, gen. sg. *-u*; case endings separated from root by epenthetic [-j-] (III.2.2.7). Used alone or with NEMAŽ; occasionally occurs with VACHT (cf. T *öğle namazı*, *öğle vakti*).

Avle *nemaž* 58a8; avle *vacht* 26b21; avle *aķinde nemaži niskom pej* 78a6; *kali da avleju prijdžeš* 81b5; *pered avlejem* 71b19.

AVLEJNIJ 'relating to the midday prayer'. Adjective derived from AVLE with Slav suff. *-nij*; epenthetic [-j-] between root and suffix.

Dva *reke'eti sebach a šešć avlejnich* 81b20; *avlejnij čas* 124a19.

KUŠLUG/KUŠLUK *قُشْلُغْ / قُشْلُكْ* 'the midday (prayer)'. Ott *قوشلق* 'noon'. T *kuşluk*.

BLK: word-finally *غ* [g] sometimes replaces *ق* [k]; possibly an archaism or dialectal form. Not found in obl. cases. Very occasionally occurs in place of AVLE. Used with NEMAŽ. See also p. 334.

Kušlug nemaž 64b12.

AĶINDE/-DI *اِكِنْدَ / اِكِنْدِ* 'the afternoon (service)'. Ott *اكندى*;

T *ikindi* (< T *iki* 'two'). RT: *akinde*; '*iŝci do akindeju*'.

BLK: usual form AĶINDE; /-DI rare. Like AVLE, this is a word of Turkic origin. Use of initial [a] for [i] probably an early mis-spelling (III.5.1.19); cf. citations in RT.

Neut. soft stem noun, gen. sg. *-u*, prep. sg. *-u*; case endings separated from root by epenthetic [-j-] (III.2.2.7). Used alone or with NEMAŽ, occasionally also with VACHT (cf. T *ikindi namazı*, *ikindi vakti*).

Chto bi mev aķinde nemaž iz džeme'etem klaneciše 58a11; *aķinde vacht* 76a16-17; *aķindi nemaž* 76a15; *kali da aķindeju epoźniše* 81b7; *pered aķindejem* 71b20; *po aķindeju* 122b17.

ACHŠAM *اَحْشَامْ* 'the evening (prayer)'. Ott (Per) *آخشام / آخشام*; T *akşam*, *aħşam* 'evening' (general term). RT *achszan*.

BLK: form *aħşam* quite common in provincial Turkish, though usually spelt with *ح* not *خ* (III.5.1.20/11). Word-final [-n] recorded in RT but not found in BLK. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-u*. Used alone or with NEMAŽ, occasionally also with VACHT (cf. T *akşam namazı*, *akşam vakti*) or REĶE'ETĪ.

Jak achšam prijdže gergere ažmi 40a19-20; ne klanevše achšam nemaž 58b3; achšam peršij reke'et paklanivše 76b15-16; tije mi vachti, sebach, achšam, jetci holasam pevali 78a8-9; až da večara da achšamu cheramnahe picja jedžena višcerahajceše 40b2-3; peral achšamem 71b21.

ACHŠAMNIJ 'relating to the evening prayer'. Adjective derived from ACHŠAM with Slav suffix. *-nij*.

Dva reke'eti sebach ... dva achšamnije 81b20-21.

JETCI/JETŠIG **يَتَسِعُ / يَتَسِعُ** 'the last prayer of the day'. Ott **يَاتِسِي**
T *yatsı* (T *yat-* 'to go to bed'). RT: *jaccy, jeccy*; 'pred jeccejem'.

BLK: another rare example of word of Turkic origin. Use of *jetce* instead of *elif* in first syllable possibly reflects Tatar speech (III.2.1.3); final *-g*, which very occasionally appears in BLK, may be a remnant of an older form, possibly a dialectal feature (cf. KUŠLUG). Neut. soft stem noun, gen. sg. *-u*; case endings separated from the root by epenthetic *[-j-]* (III.2.2.7). When used alone usually declined; when used with NEMAŽ, or (less frequently) with VACHT, mostly not declined (cf. T *yatsı namazı*).

Jetci nemaž 48a5; 'Iša prarok pev jetci nemaž 75a21-22; jetci nemaž klanevše 77a20-21; kali da akindeju epožniše abo da jetciju, imama zastaneš u ferzu 81b7; podčas jetci vachtu 77a3; poše jetšig nemažu 46a5-6; u jetci kali imamam budžeš to ferz u dvuch reke'etach holasam pej 78b21-22.

JETCEJNII 'relating to the last prayer'. Adjective derived from JETCI with Slav suff. *-nij*; epenthetic *[-j-]* between root and suffix.

Dva reke'eti sebach ... a dva jetcejnich 81b20-21.

Cleanliness

AČIŠČENJE 'purification'. Skar, SS; BR-R *ačyščeńnie*, Dot. P *oczyszczanie, oczyszczenie* (*-anie* preferred).

Post budže ačiščenje hrachov celesnich 41a16.

ČISTAŠC/-OŠC 'purity' (physical and spiritual). PB, SS; BN *čystašč*, Nos; P *czystość*.

Dna sudnaha čistašč, vernašč, nevernašč, picha, palecane Bohu ... toja ušo javno budže 14b14-15; čto bi pev Kuran u čistašci 33b8; ... tak ... budžeš čistašč zupelnuju mec 72a5-6.

ČISTIJ 'pure, clean'. PB, SS; BR-R *čysty*, BN, McM, Nos, Bial, Dob, Šciaš, Žyd; P *czysty*.

Pevne Pan Boh lubic pakajetnich ludžej i lubic čistich 71a11-12.

TAHUR/TEHUR طَاهُورُ / طَهُورُ 'clean, pure'. Ott طهور; T *tahur*.

BLK: in first syllable *fetħe* [e] occasionally used in place of *elif* (III.5.1.1). Not found in obl. cases. Used only with ŠERAB to describe 'wine of paradise'.

Šerab tahur pic buduc 22a7; u tich kuflach šerab tehur budže 23a19.

AČIŠCIC 'to purify'. Skar; BR-R *ačyścić*; P *oczyścić*.

Kali budžece nečistije ačiścice ušo cela svajo 70b3-4.

Lack of Cleanliness

For specific states of 'uncleanliness' Islamic terms used, but for the general concept, Slav words are used.

NEČISTAŠC 'uncleanliness'. PB, SS; P *nieczystość*; cf. BR *niečystata*.

Skora ožmuc gušel ad nečistašci 63a9.

CHEJJIZ حَيْضُ 'menstruation'. Ott (A) حيض; T *hayiz*. RT: *chaid/z*.

BLK: doubling of ي preserved, word-finally ظ replaces ض (III.5.1.15/10); according to RT, pronounced as [z] or [d], but cf. Turkish [z]. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u.

Chejjiz u žanok pošle kažnaho mešeca 70b13; gušul ferz ... pošle chejjizu 70b11-12.

DŽUNUB جُنُبُ 'canonically unclean by reason of some physical emission'. Ott (A) جنب; T *cünüb*; RT: *džuniub, džunub*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -e.

Džunub to jest kali malženskiy učinak učiniš 70b12-13; vedaj že što tehreť ferz pošle džunubu 71b4; ad džunubu 56a15; ne hože u džunube buduči slov zacnich uspaminac 71b8-9.

NIFAŠ/NIFAŠ نِ فَاسُ / نِ فَاتُ 'period of forty days after childbirth'. Ott (A) نفاس; T, RT: *nifas*.

BLK: confusion of س / ث, sometimes in a single line (III.5.1.12). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u.

Jak chejjiz tak i nifaš 71a3-4; vedaj že što tehreť ferz ... pošle nifašu 71b4-5; ad nifašu 56a14; nifaš pošle režena džicaci 70b13-14.

NEČISTIJI 'unclean'. PB, Skar, SS; BR-R *niačysty*, McM (BK, F107, Sch), Nos, Dob, Kaš, Ras (only adverb), Šat (as Ras); P *nieczysty*. Nečistij cheram 37b2-3; kali budžece nečistije ačišcice ušo cela svazgo 70b3-4.

PAHANIJI 'unclean'. PB, SS; BR-R *pahany*, BN, McM, Nos, Dob, Kaš, Šat, Var.

Pavinni mušulmane adžežu čistuju mec da nemažu štob ad pahanič rečej višcerahavše 73a22; ad tich pahanič slov nevernich heta duša treba pec 110b13-14.

SPLUGAVICCA 'to be defiled'. Nos *pluhavicca*; BN, Bial (*sp-*), Dob (not refl.); P *splugawiać*.

Kedi splugaviceše do konca čitaj 105b8.

Ritual Ablutions

Specific types of ritual ablution are referred to by Islamic terms, but to convey the general sense of 'washing' the Slav words MIC, MICJO are occasionally used. The types of ritual ablution that are most often referred to in the BLK are 'ABDEŠ/'EBDEŠ/ABDEŠŤ/ABDEŠ, and GUŠUL/-EL; as in Turkish, the two words sometimes used as a doublet. Arabic words for ablution not used.

'ABDEŠ /'EBDEŠ /ABDEŠŤ/ABDEŠ عَابَدَتْ / عَبَدَتْ / آبَدَتْ / آبَدَتْ 'minor ablution'. Ott/Per آبدست; T *abdest, aptes*; RT: *abdest, abdes*.

BLK: word-initially, *elif* often replaced by 'ayn + *elif*, or by 'ayn + *fethe*; typical alternation of ث and س (III.5.1.12); forms with ث predominate; final ت [t] generally omitted, as in spoken Turkish.

Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u. Compound verbs with BRAC/UŽAC 'to take a ritual wash' (cf. Turk *aptēs almak*), and P SOVAC 'to nullify ritual wash' (cf. Turk *aptēs bozmak*).

Abdeš jak zavše sebachu čekajuc 16b15; abdeš brac 55a5; u zimnaski i v ceple abdeš spelna berice 10b21; abdeš užavši 72a11; abdeš u ašmi rečach šunneť ... šunneť da abdešu abrekanje činic 72a21-22; u abdešem spašenje velikaje 73b14; u ebdešu ferzov kolka jest? 55b6-7.

ABDEŠNIJI 'relating to the minor ablution'. Adjective derived from ABDEŠ with Slav suff. -nij. RT: 'dla chwały abdesnej' (*Chamañ*).

Dla chvali abdešnej dva reke'eti nemaž paklanivšiše 81a2-3.

GUŠEL/-SUL **غُسْلُ / غُسْلٌ** 'major ablution'. Ott(A) **غسل**; T *gusl*, *gusul*. RT: *gusl*, *gusiel*; also *guslować się*, *poguslić się*, *zguslować się*, *guslowanie*. The derived forms cited by RT may have been colloquial rather than literary, since no supporting citations from textual sources are given and none of these forms is found in BLK.

BLK: spellings -EL/UL used in free alternation throughout BLK (cf. MUŠEL-/MUŠUL-, where two forms occur in different sections) Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u; vowel in second syllable treated as fleeting vowel (as in Turkish) and usually dropped in obl. cases. Compound verbs with BRAC/UŽAC 'to take a wash'.

Gušel brac buduc 21b23; gušel ožmi 59a16; kali ačišćica gušul ožme 71a10; gušul brac vadžib 71b2; pej hože da gušlu nijjeť 71b11; bez gušulu da nemažu ne idžice 70b10; pered gušelem upered ruži umi 71b5; u gušlu mekruh 72b12.

TEH-/TAHREŤ **طَهْرَتٌ / طَاهِرَتٌ** 'prescribed ablution'. Ott **طهارت** (A آ-) 'cleanliness', 'canonical purification'. T *taharet*. RT: *tahret*.

BLK: occasional use of *elif* in place of *fetħe* in first syllable (III.5.1.1); in second syllable *elif* [a] lost, as shown by *sukûn* over ڤ (cf. RT); word-finally Ott **ت** in place of A آ (III.5.12). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u. Compound verbs with BRAC/UŽAC.

Pravaj rukoj tehreť brac 56a1; tehreť jemu ežmice 59b14; vedaj što tehreť ferz pošle džunubu 71b4; bez tahreťu 32a3; bez tahrecu 32a2; řešpich može is tehreťem pec 73b13-14; v tehreťu mekruh 72b13.

TEHTERNIJ 'relating to the ritual ablution'. Adjective derived from TEHREŤ with Slav suff. -*nij*. Metathesis, a feature of Slav phonology, found in second syllable: TEHREŤ > TEHTER; palatalized final consonant of TEHREŤ (ت) replaced by the non-palatalized form (ط). Cf. RT: *tahretny palec*; citation in RT is almost the same as in BLK: 'tahretnym palcem u pupie pawaruszyć' (*Kitab*).

Tehternim palcem u pup pavarušic potim is taho mejsca žišovši nohi pamij 72a2-3.

TEJEMMEM/-MIM **تَيْمَمٌ / تَيْمَمٌ** 'ablution performed with sand or dust in absence of water'. Ott (A) **تيمم**; T *teyemmüm*.

RT: *tajemmum*; 'tajemmumem abdes brać'.

BLK: doubling of م (III.5.1.15) preserved; curiously, in last syllable *fetħe* [e] or *kesre* [i-] used in place of *vav* [u]. However, Radloff cites

form with *-im*.

Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-u*. Compound verbs with BRAC/UŽAC (cf. T *tejemmüm etmek*).

Tejemmim użac čistim peskom abo suchim dđeravam abo pilem čistim 73a5-6; kali ne jajdžece (naj-) vadi tejemmim berice, a besok (p-) čistij pahladce tvar vaše i ruķi vaši 73a7-8; ne budžec vaši tejemmem berce 70b5; da tejemmimu ebrakanje 73a8.

GERGERE غَرَّغَرٌ 'gargling'. Ott غرغره (A ة -); T *gargara*.

RT: *gargare, gargarej; 'pred gargarejem' (Kitab)*.

BLK: word-finally *fethę* replaces Ott ة /A ة (III.5.1.4). Not decl in BLK, but RT indicates that it could be treated as a neut. soft stem noun, with case endings separated from root by epenthetic [-j-]. Compound verbs with BRAC/UŽAC (cf. T *gargara etmek*).

Gergere użavši 71b9; gergere ne beri 40a19; bez gergere guşul brac mekruh 72b12-13; pred gergere 71b8.

MEŞICH مَسَحٌ 'gesture of wiping with the palms of the hand'.

Ott (A) مسح; T, RT: *mesh, mesih*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases. Compound verb with ČINIC.

Meşich činic 72b2.

MIŠVAK مِسْوَاكٌ 'the toothpick', implement used in ritual ablutions. Ott (A) مسواك; T *misvak*. RT: 'czyścić zęby miswakiem'.

BLK: word-finally ق [k] used in place of [k̄] ك. Not found in obl. cases, but RT indicates it could be declined as a masc. soft stem noun. Kamu treba ahnu s tich dđerav adžin mişvak urežec i v cekuščeј vadže adno a druhoje pacerc, to ahon vijdže i zapalicca 26b10-11.

MICJO 'ablution'. This Slav term is rarely used and refers more to the process of 'washing' as a general action rather than to any specific ritual aspect. HSBM *myt'je*; BR-R *myćcio*, BN, NBS, Dob; P *mycie*.

Až boķi (p-) iz šeho šveta zijdže tak i da micja hatovi buduc i da džinažeju pojduc 7b21-22.

MIC 'to wash, perform the ritual ablutions'. HSBM *myti*; BR-R *myć*, BN, Nos, Bial, Dob; P.

U 'ebdesu ferzov kolka jest? ... četiri jest, ruķi mic, tvar mic, helavu mic, to jest meşich činic 55b6-8; mice tvari vaši i ruķi vaši da lokceј.

pahlacce vadoj helovi, mice nohi, mice da kostak bo abdeš u ašmi rečach šunnēt 72a19-21.

Verbs used with Terms Relating to Ritual Actions

With terms relating to the ritual ablutions, BRAC/UŽAC 'to take' (cf. T *almaz*) are the most commonly used verbs. ČINIC 'to perform' (cf. T *zmetik*) found mainly with motions or actions of prayer. PSAVAC 'to spoil' (cf. T *bozmak*) used with NEMAŽ 'prayer' and 'ABDEŠ 'ablution' to signify that ritual has been nullified and must be performed again.

BRAC 'to take'. Skar, HSBM; BR-R, BN, McM, NBS, Bial, Kaš, Šat; P. Used with 'ABDEŠ, GERGERE, GUŠEL, TEHREŤ, ŤEJMEMM.

U zimnašci i ve ceple abdeš spelna berice 10b21; gergere ne beri 40a19; gušul brac vadžib 71b2; pravaj rukoj tehreť brac 56a1; ťejmimm berice 73a7.

PABRAC 'to take' (perf.). This form is used far less frequently than UŽAC. BR-R (coll.); P *pobrać*.

Upred sami abdeš paberice 59b12.

U-/A-/O-/EŽAC 'to take' (perf.). Skar (*vs-*); BR-R *uziać*, McM, NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob (*vs-*), Kaš, Ras, Šat, Var; P *wziąć*. In BLK this is usual perfective form of BRAC; initial vowel recorded as [a/e/o/u].

Abdeš užavši 72a11; gergere uzavši 71b9; gušel ožmi 59a16; tehreť ežmice 59b14; ťejmimm užac čistim peskom 73a5.

ČINIC 'to do, perform'. BR-R *czynić*, BN, McM, Nos, Var; P. Used with IFTACH, MEŠICH, NIJJEŤ, RUKE'E, ŠEDŽDE, ŤEKBIR.

Iftach čini 75a1; mešich činic 72b2; ruke'e činic 78b17; pa dva šedždeji činic 78b18; ťekbir činic 43a1.

UČINIC 'to do, perform' (perf.). BR-R (coll.) *uczynić*, BN, Var; P.

Nijjeť učiniv 100a4; učinic ... ruke'e 79b4-5; šedžde Jemu ne učinic 77b10; ťekbir učinivši rukami da ušu dakraniše 78b23.

PSAVAC 'to spoil'. PB, SS; BR-R, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob, Mal, Šat, Var; P *psować*. Used with 'ABDEŠ and NEMAŽ.

U nemaže milanem nemaž psuješ 79b15; kali ebdeš užavši krov pojdže z nosa to muvi Abu Chenife Imam abdeš psuje 79b16-17.

ZAPSAVAC 'to spoil' (perf.). SS, HSBM; P *zapsować*. Cf. Nos *so-*,

BR-R *pa-*.

Tim ušim nemaž zapsuje 79b11; na čužije žonki ne hladži umišle i holasam ne šmejše zabavviše bo abdeš tim zapsuješ a tehreš ne zapsuješ 73a19-20.

Perfect

ZUPELNIJ Buł (1498), HSBM; P *zupelny*; cf. Skar *zupol-*. Used to describe 'complete' or 'perfect' performance of ritual.

Nechaj tešbich peje u nemaže, nemaž zupelen budže 74b23-75a1; to jest ne zupelnij nemaž 78b14; budžeš čistašc zupelnuju mec 72a6.

Alms-Giving

General term is Slav DAVAN(J)E, but Islamic terms are used for specific types of 'alms': FITRE, SADAQA/SEDEKA/SEDEKE/SEDAKA and ŽEKŌŤ/ŽEKĀŤ/ŽEKĚVAŤ. These terms have distinct meanings, but in BLK are frequently used synonymously (even in general Muslim usage, *zakat* and *šadaqa* are often confused); often occur together as doublets. Slav ABROK and DŽEŠECINA/DŽEŠENCINA also widely used, the latter frequently in conjunction with one or more Islamic terms.

DAVAN(J)E Skar, HSBM (*-nje/-nie*); BR-R *davańnie*, BN, NBS, Da (cen. dials.); P *dawanie*.

A davanu fitre za post remezan 41a13.

ABROK 'offering, due'. Modern BR and P meaning of this word is 'feed for horses', but the following BR dialect dictionaries define it as 'a church offering' and this is close to the sense in which it is used by the Tatars: Bial, BM, Dob 'oath to give something up', Jan, Var. Cf. OR 'quit-rent'.

Abroki sedeku ne davavši, ubohich u damu svajom ne karmivši, ne abdarivši, kurbanav ne rezavši, to laski Majej ne budže 45b2-3; činice dušam svajim i krevni svajim kurbanu i abroki 45a16.

DŽEŠECINA 'tithe'. Skar, HSBM; BR-R *dziesiacina*.

Vidavajce iz skarbav svajich žekŏŧ i džešecinu 35b13-14; dajece ubohim bohomołcam ... žekŏŧ i džešecinu 37a10; vizvoloni tije luđi ... fitrejcam, žekātem, džešecinaju 41b8-9.

DŽEŠENCINA 'tithe'. P *dziesięcina*; cf. Šat *dzisianścina*. This form occurs far less frequently in BLK than DŽEŠECINA.

Džešencinu addac 109b18.

FITRE فِطْرَ 'alms given at the close of the fast of Ramazan'.
Ott فِطْرَه; (A) فِطْر [fitr]; T *fitre*. RT; also derived adjective:
fitrejna duaj; adjectival form not found in BLK.

BLK: word-finally *fetħe* replaces Ott ة (III.5.1.4). Decl; neut. soft stem noun, gen. pl. -ov; case endings separated from root by epenthetic [-j-] (III.2.2.7). Compound verb with DAVAC 'to give'.

A davanu fitre 41a13; fitre davac 69b1; sedeku fitre davaj 42b20; jakvele fitrejov ne davav 58b12.

SEDEKE/SEDAKA/SADAKA/SEDEKA صَدَقَ / صَادَقَا / صَادَقَا / صَدَقَ 'the voluntary alms'. Ott صدقه (A ة -); T *sadaka*. RT: *sadaga*, *sadoga*, *sadaka*. According to RT, this word was also used for the distribution of food to commemorate the dead ('*po sadagie chodzić*').

BLK: vowels represented in various combinations with *elif* or *fetħe*, possibly indicating different pronunciations. Citation in RT shows alternation between [g/k] in last syllable, but this is not found in BLK. Decl; fem. hard stem noun. Compound verb with DAVAC 'to give'.

Ķafiram muvili: sadaku dajce 17b24; tije katorije sadaku davali 21a9; a davanu sedeka 36a20; abroki sedeku ne davavši 45b2; choc bi chto jejco sedeĳi dav, to ušo toje enheli napišuc 47b1; chto sedeku fitre addašc post prinati budħe 42b16; ĳeĳoť sedeku dajuc 92a11; treceju ĳašc masa i škuru ... addaj sedekoju 45b18.

ĴEĴOŦ/ĴEĴAŦ/ĴEĴEVAŦ زَكَاةٌ / زَكَاتٌ / زَكَاةٌ 'obligatory alms', (1/40 of a person's property dispensed to poor to purify remainder).
Ott (A) زَكَاةٌ / زَكَاتٌ (sg.), زَكَاةٌ (pl.). T *zekât* (sing), *zekevat* (pl.).

BLK: different spellings reflect singular and plural Ott (A) forms. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, prep. sg. -u. Compound verb with DAVAC 'to give'.

Vidajon ĳeĳoť i džešencinu 35b3-4; ĳeĳoť i džešecinu davac 54b12; ĳeĳoť sedeku dajuc 92a11; ĳeĳoť davac budħe 99b11; vidaju džešencine, ĳeĳevať, sedeku 35a8-9; vizvoloni tije ludħi katorije uĳizcami (aĳišĳ-) buduc cela svaje ad hrachov i majentnošc svaju fitrejam, ĳeĳaťem, džešecinaju 41b8-9; buduc pitac ... a ĳeĳoťu 20b11.

JALMOŴNIJ (adj.) 'alms'. *Nos jaťmuųnaja*; *P jaťmuųniczy*.

Bab: a davanu sedeka jalmoųnaho 36a20.

Fasting

One of the five obligatory duties for Muslims. In BLK terms relating to this concept are Slav derivations, except for REMEZAN 'Ramazan', name of month in which principal fast is observed.

POST 'fast'. PB; BR-R, Bial, Šat; P.

Prašice pomači u Pana Boga prez post cerplivi 35b21-22; mušulmane, napisan vam post remezan 68a16.

POŠNIK 'fast'. Usual meaning is 'one who fasts' (cf. BR-R *pošnik*, P *post*-) but in BLK used as equivalent of POST. In this sense unrecorded elsewhere.

Pošnik nechaj pošnikaje 71a20; bahamolja žanockaje: nemaž peviš, pošnik pošnikavši, može (muže) u avšom sluhac i pavažac treba 62b16-18; jakvele nemažev i jakvele kurbanov, jakvele pošnikav ne pošnikav, jakvele fitrejov ne davav 58b11-12.

ADPOŠNIKAVANJE 'the breaking of a fast'. Unrecorded elsewhere.

'Iša prarok dla adpošnikavanje pa kerenje travnoje pašov 85a8-9.

POŠCIC 'to fast'. BR-R *pašcić*, Da (Novgorod, Kursk, S); P *pošcić*.

Mušulmane, napisan vam post remezan i raskazav pošcic jak napisav 68a16-17.

POŠNIKAC 'to fast'. Uk *postnikati*; cf. R *postničat*'.

Pošnikajce mešec remezan 35b14; gušel užavši pošnikaj 40a19; redžebe i še'bana mešeca mušelmaninam buduči treba pošnikac 43a20.

ADPOŠNIKAC 'to complete a fast'. Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. P *odpošcić*, R (Da) *otpostničat*'.

Chto bi biv chvori albo u darože nechaj ješc e takvele dnež inšič adpošnikac treba 40a1-2.

ADPOŠNIKACCA 'to break a fast'. Unrecorded elsewhere.

Jak achšam prijdže gergere ažmi potim adpošnikajšša 40a19-20; Bože moj, Tabe pošnikav i v Cebe veru i Tabe palecajuša i na hetam danim rižku adpošnikajuša 43b22-23.

Pilgrimage

Reference to pilgrimage to Mecca rare in BLK. Only Islamic terms used.

CHADŽDŽ / CHEDŽDŽ حَاج / حَج . Ott (A) حج; T *hac*.

BLK: form with *elif* predominates, but *fethe* found occasionally, doubling of *ç* preserved (III.5.1.1/15); . Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-u*, prep. sg. *-u*. Often used with verbs *chadžiclişci da* (+ gen. case) lit. 'to go to the Hajj' (cf. T *haca gitmek*, lit. 'to go to the Hajj').

Pasluha Bohu muşelmanskaja ubohich chedž jest 47a14-15; da chedždžu chadživ 42b2; da chadždžu idžice 35b14; da chadždžu pojdze 99b11; u chadždžu biv 46a9; a chadždžu ... pitac buduc 20b12.

CHADŽIJ/-DŽEJ حَاجِي / حَاجِي 'one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, a haji'. Ott (A) حَاجِي; T *haci* RT: *hadzej, hadzeji*.

BLK: alternation of suffix [-i/ej], possibly indicates different source texts; RT gives only *-ej(i)*. Development -I>EJ common E Slav feature (III.5.1.9). Not found in obl. cases.

Chadži Muchemmed 102b8; chadžej Chezir Bek Dželabej 8a11.

Holy War

Rarely mentioned in BLK. Concept expressed by Slav VAJ-/VOJNA, also hybrid form GAZEJSTVA.

VAJNA/VOJNA 'war'. PB, Skar, HSBM (*voj-*), SS; BR-R *vajna*; P *vojna*.

Na vajne za veru muşulmanskuju bjucca s kafirmi 108b10-11.

GAZEJSTVA 'war, the waging of war' (against others and against one's own sins). Cf. Ott (A) غَازِي, T *gazi*; with Slav suffix *-stvo*.

Katorije na chvalu božuju gazejstva adpravujuc 16a16; to velikaje gazejstva chto svaju chenc izvajuje 16a17; na gazejstve rani šemerci 35b6.

GAZIJOV 'of a ghazi, a Muslim warrior'. Possessive adjective derived from T (A) *gazi* with Slav suff. *-ov*. Suffix separated from root by epenthetic [-j-] (III.2.2.7).

Gazijovove (-jove) ricerskije koni 64a8.

Circumcision

Circumcision not mentioned in the Quran, but is a custom based upon the practice of the Prophet, i.e. *sunnah*. In Turkish the term *sünnet* is used specifically for 'circumcision'; there are also several nominal and verbal derivations relating to the act of circumcision in Turkish e.g. *sünnet etmek, sünnetlemek* (Bud); *sünnetçi*. The Tatars, according to RT, also

formed derivations of *sünnet*: *siunniecíc*, *posiunniecíc* 'to circumcise'; *siunniedzej* 'one who performs the circumcision'. In BLK there is no direct reference to circumcision. Slav words for 'circumcised' and 'non-circumcised' are used in a single Old Testament passage (see below).

OBRAZANIJ 'circumcised'. HSBM; P *obrzazany*.

Obrazanij i čistij lud 105b18.

NEOBRAZANEC 'an uncircumcised man'. OP *nieobrzazaniec*.

Jeruzalime ... juž ne vniđe do cebe neobrzazanec ani nečistij 105b17-18 (Isaiah chapter 52, verse 1).

Sacrifice

Muslims celebrate the 'Feast of the Sacrifice' in commemoration of Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son at God's command. In BLK the usual term for the 'sacrificial animal' is Ott (A) KURBAN, but occasionally Slav AFARA is used instead. The act of sacrifice is most commonly expressed by KURBAN REZAC, but the idea of sacrificing in general is often conveyed by Slav AFAROVAC/UFAROVAC 'to make an offering, a sacrifice'. The 'Feast of the Sacrifice' is referred to as KURBAN BAJRAM (cf. T *Kurban Bayrami*).

KURBAN قُرْبَانُ. Ott (A) قربان; T *kurban*. RT: *kurban*; *kurbantyk*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, gen. pl. -av. Compound verbs with *rezac* lit. 'to cut (a sacrifice)' (cf. Turk *kurban kesmek*), or *činic* 'to perform (a sacrifice)' (cf. Turk *kurban etmek*). If used with BAJRAM usually not declined.

Kurban činic vedajce 45a15; kurban činečije 45a20; chto na kurban bajram kurban reže 45a9-10; chto bi kurban sposab mev činic a ni činiv to ne moj ummeť 45a18; ja vas ušich kurbanom učinuše 76a23; te kurban prez sirat most perenesuc vas 45b5; kurban i abroki 45a16; kurbanav ne rezavši 45b3; preciv kurban bajramu 43a23; preciv kurban bajrama 43b8.

AFARA Buł (late 15th cent.), PB, SS; BN *afiara*, McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh; CAN 2), Nos, Kaš; P *ofiara*.

Ne prinata budže podlaje afara 45a24; afaru činic 71a3.

AF-/UFAROVAC 'to sacrifice'. Buł (1457), PB, SS; BN *afiarovač*, McM (CAN 2), Nos, Kaš; P *ofiarować*.

Ne aferujce s podlich rečej 45b1; ktore afaruje skarbi na božuju

darohu 36a23-24; afarujce što vam samim milo i lubo 45a24.

Slavery

Subject rarely mentioned in BLK. Only Slav terms used.

NEVOL-/NEVUL-/NEVELNIK 'slave, captive'. PB, SS; BR-R *niavolnik*, McM (BK, F107, SCh), Nos, Bial, Šat; P *niewolnik*.

Pitac buduc a nevelnikach ... jak z nimi abchodžiliše 19b24-20a1; širat i nevolnikav karmiv svajimi patravami 38a21; nevolnika ... imamstva nehože 116b8-11; prarok muvil: kali b sto nevolnikav na volu pušciv bajramnaho dna 41b16.

NEVOL-/NEVULNICA 'slave, captive' (female). BR-R *niavolnica*, BN, Nos, Šat; P *niewolnica*.

Nevolnikam i nevolnicam i sušedam Bože laska budže 32b8-9.

RAB 'slave'. BR-R, McM, P; OCS. No semantic difference between this word and NEVOLNIK in BLK, but used less frequently. Female form RABA only occurs in the sense 'a slave of God' (p. 231).

Pitac buduc a nevelnikach a rabach, jak z nimi abchodžiliše 19b24-20a1.

Will

Islam requires believers to make a will. Only Slav terms used in BLK.

DEST-/DASTAMENT Buř (1506); HSBM (*dasto-/desta-/dosta-*); PB, SS, BN, NB (all *testa-*); P *testament*.

Muša prarok nam dastamat (-mant) činiv 15a14; šila ne budže dastamenta činic 18a17; pri kananu šmerci svajej čini destament 61a18-19; prarok muvil: užo ja iz šeho šveta zijdu, tilko vam jeden dastament adkazuju 107b20.

RASPORANDŽIC 'to dispose of'. P *rozporządzić*.

Čhto bi mev umerci bez dastamentu, ne rasporandživši živich a ne včiniv duši svajej dobre, takij čelavek jak sabake zdochne 61b9-10.

UDŽEDŽIČAC 'to inherit'. Buř (*ded-*), PB, SS; P *wdziedziczyć*. In BLK this word is only used in a religious context ('these people will inherit heaven'), not a secular, legal sense. It is included here for the sake of completeness.

Hetije ludži udžedžičac raj buduc 51a12.

Marriage

Only mentioned indirectly in BLK. No reference to ceremonial or legal procedures. Ott (A) NIKACH 'betrothal' used once; other terms are Slav. NIKACH نِكَاح; 'betrothal'. Ott (A) نِكَاح; T *nikâh*. RT: *nikiach*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Čto hetije šešć rečej ne znaje i ne veric i ne činic, što jest dobrojše učiniki, iman iž žanoj nikach, choc bi i da chadždžu chadživ, to uše tije reči univeč tracic 57a17-19.

ŠLUB 'wedding'. BR-R, BN, NBS, Nos, Bial (-p), Dob (-ba), Kaš, Mal (-p), Šat, Var, Da (SW).

Prarok iz Chadičoj u patnicu šlub brav 47a17; iž žanoj šlub brac 110b9.

MALŽENSTVA 'marriage'. PB, SS, HSBM; BN, Nos; P *matženstva*. Cf. Buł *matžonka*, Da (SW).

Kali tich rečej ne znajuc u malženstva ne pazvalac takich lučej 57a19-20.

MALŽENSKIJ 'conjugal'. PB, HSBM, BN, Nos; P *matžeński*. In BLK word used specifically for 'sexual relations'.

Džunub to jest kali malženskič učinak učiniš ... kali prez son vidžič malženskič učinak učiniš gušul brac ferz 70b12-15.

ŽANICIŠE 'to marry'. PB, SS; BR-R *žanicca*, BN, Bial, Dob, Kaš, Šciaš, Šat, Var; P *ženić się*.

Učice jich nauki ... až poķi prijduc da stanov i žaniceše zachočuc ... toj čas addajce jim skarbi jich 37b10-11.

Death

Much space devoted to this topic in BLK. All the terms are Slav, except those relating directly to ritual observances. There is a section on instructions for washing the dead, but nothing on grave-digging (Muslim graves are constructed differently from Christian ones). Some mention of burial rituals, also several references to DŽIN-/DŽENAŽE, the Muslim burial service. For 'graveyard', Slav KLADAVISKA and Tat (A) ŽIREC used. Only Slav terms found for 'The Interrogation of the Grave', an important stage in the life after death, according to Muslim teaching.

Š(E)MERC Occasional use of 'mock' pleophony (III.2.1.2). PB, SS:

BR-R *śmierć*, Bial, Dob, Ściaś; P. See also p. 215.

Užo maja śmerc bliska prišla 42a23.

KAN-/KENANE 'death agony'. HSBM *konan'e*, BR-R *kanańnie*, BN, NBS, Nos, Ściaś, Šat; P *konanie*.

Pri kanaanu śmerci 49a20; pri kanaanu na pravaj bok paverni, ku paludnu tvaram paverni 59a20.

KANAJUČIJ 'dying' (person). Present participle active from BR *kanać* 'to die'; HSBM (*kon-*); P *konający*.

Vedaj jakim sposobam maješ da kanajučaho čeleveka prijce abo umerlaho mic 59a14-16.

To Die

↳ BLK usual term UMERCI; PAMERCI less common, other verbs rare.

UMERCI (perf.). Nos, Dob (-*ret'*), Ras, Ściaś, Da (W, Uk).

Kali Muša prorok umer, meži židami ruźnica povstala 15a8-9; chto bi mev u patnicu umerci šehidom budže 47a21-22; kali čelavek hrachi čineci nutri jich umruc 39a22-23; chto bez pakajane umre da pekla pojdze 125b24; na zachod slonca krul umere 123a3-4.

UMIRAC Kar, SS; Bial, P *umierać*. Cf. Skar, Nos *vm-*.

Kali kafirin umiraje 61b12; ketorije bez pakajeti umirajuc 67a16; džeci ne umirajuc 123b23; male džeci tego roku bendo umirac 124b7-8.

PAUMIRAC (iter.). BR-R *paŭmirać*, BN; P *poumierać*.

Ludži paumirali 114b21; s trucziznaj jeli i paumirali 121a5; potim jemu džeci paumerali 124a2.

PAMERCI (perf.). PB; BR-R *pamierci*, BN, NBS, Nos, Bial, Kaś, Ras, Šat.

Ad Pana Boha holas prijdze: feljemuť, pamrice, enheli 'ersovije pamruc 18b12; džeci maje pamerli 124a3.

VIMERCI (perf.). HSBM (*vymeriti*); BR-R *vymierci*, Bial, Šat; P *wymierać*.

Ludži vimerli 67a15.

KENAC BR-R *kanać*, BN, NBS, Nos, BM, Dob, Kaś, Šat, Var, Da (Kursk, Smolensk); P *konać*.

Kenacime bez imamu 49b4.

KONČICCA HSBM (-*tisja*); BR-R *končycca*, Dob; P *konczyć się*.

Kali vek mušulmaninu končicca 60b11-12; vek moj končicca 42a23.

SKONČICCA (perf.). BR-R *skončycca*, Nos 'to be finished', Dob; P *skonczyć się*.

Čeleveče, vek tvuj skončica 125b21.

PAZDICHAC (used of animals). BR-R *pazdychać*, Nos; P *pozdychać*.

Bidla pazdichali 26b21.

ZDOCHNUC (used mainly of animals). HSBM; BR-R, BN, NBS, Nos. Bial, Kaš; P *zdechnąć*. In BLK used as an insult, or as a curse on those who have failed in their religious duty.

Chto bi mev umerci bez dastamentu ne rasporandživši živich a ne učiniv duši svajej dobre, takij čelavek jak sabake zdochne 61b9-10.

HINUC (ŽHIN-/ZAHINUC) Only figurative use in BLK. See p. 253.

Dead Person

All words used in BLK to refer to a dead person are Slav, except for MEJJIĆ, which is used only when describing the ritual washing of the corpse. Slav UMER-/UMARLIJ and MARTVIJ are the usual terms, but are carefully differentiated: MARTVIJ represents 'dead' as opposed to 'alive' and is almost always used in a context where it is contrasted with 'life' or 'resurrection'; UMER-/UMARLIJ is 'dead' as an absolute, without reference to an alternative state. ZMARLIJ and ZEŠLIJ are close in meaning to UMER-/UMARLIJ but occur rarely in BLK.

MARTVIJ HSBM; Šat *miartvy*, Var; P *martwy*. Cf. Skar, Dob. R *mjortvyj*.

I krulu, balvani naši (vaši) nechaj martvaho aživec 12a10; Pan Boh ušomahušćij martvuju zemlu aživaje 14a3; martvich aživic mocen 26b16; Pan Boh dna sudnaha martvich aživic mocen ješt 27a17-18; Pan Boh iž živaho martvaho učinic e z martvaho živaho učinic 59a12-13.

UMER-/UMARLIJ PB, SS; Nos *umiertyj*; P *umarły*. In BLK usual form is UMERLIJ.

Tije cela u pesok aberneni, umerlije 18b23-24; uše umerlije maho (→) času žadajuc 25a21; bez imanu umerlije bez pachibi prosta pojduc 26

pekla 53a2-3; imam vidžic prez son taho umerlaho 41b23; Ja nad tim umarlim žmilujemše 122b1.

ZEŠLIJ HSBM; P *zesty*.

Prarok jeho milošc muvil: chto zešlaho pravažaje i špešicca da džinažeju Pan Boh jemu kaže napisac za kažnij stupen tišeče tišečej spašenje 50a12-13; za navežanije mahil adpuščonije hrachi tim zešlim i tabe 50a7.

ZMARLIJ P *zmarły*.

Zmarli Jušuf ve Muchemmed ve 'İsa 124a17.

MEJJIŤ مَيِّتٌ 'corpse'. Ott (A) میت; T *meyyit*. RT *m(i)ejjit*.

BLK: doubling of ي (III.5.1.15) preserved. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a.

Kali budžeš mic mejjiŭta to na čistaj dosce palažic i čistaja palatno paslac, mejjiŭta futaj nakric ad pupa až da kelen 59b9-11; pri pachevanu mejjiŭta serdečne nechaj Pana Boha prošec, is Kuranu ajeŭti nechaj pejuc 60b2-3; Pan Boh tamu mejjiŭtu ulži 8a9; kali mejjiŭtu petnaccaci hod ne budže to umur nemaž ne treba pec 60a13-14; kali nad mejjiŭtem budže pec 817-8.

Burial Service

DŽEN-/DŽINAŽE جَنَازَ / جِنَازَ. Ott (A) جنازه; T *cenaze*. RT: *džanezie, dženzazie*.

BLK: DŽE- and DŽI- found in free alternation, often in close proximity; word-finally, *fethē* replaces Ott ه / A ة (III.5.1.4). Decl. neut. soft stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u; case endings separated from root by epenthetic [-j-] (III.2.2.7). Used alone or with NEMAŽ.

Dženaže nemaž pev imam 41b21; džinaže nemaž peli 109a2; dženaže nemaž peli 109a4; da džinažeju pojduc 7b21; ne treba da džinažeju ažanu i kameŭtu 55a12; u džinažeju 55a14; pa dženažeju da mahili pašov 15b4.

UMUR/'UMRE عُمْرٌ / عُمْرَةٌ 'burial prayer'. Cf. Ott (A) عمرة; T *umre* 'minor pilgrimage to Mecca at any time of the year'. This meaning does not make sense in the contexts in which it occurs in BLK. It is possible that the word was understood by the Tatars as a derivation of BR UMERCI 'to die'. Not found in obl. cases. Used with NEMAŽ.

Pered pachevanem 'umre nemaž ne budže 58b21-59a1; 'umre nemaž

treba pec 58a19; kali mejjita petnaccaci hod ne budže to 'umur nemai
ne treba 60a13.

CHEŤIM حَتِيم 'prayer after repetition of the Quran'? 'requiem
prayer'? Meaning not clear. Ott (A) خْتِم; T *hatim* 'completion of
recitation of the whole Quran'; *hatim duası* 'prayer said after
completing repetition of the Quran'. Radloff comments that amongst
the Crimean Tatars this word means 'commemorative, requiem
prayer'; this accords with the contexts in which it is used here,
although it is in fact always found in conjunction with Quran.
Implication is that it was the custom for all, or possibly a portion, of
the Quran to be recited as a memorial act. No entry in RT.

BLK: word-initially ح replaces خ (III.5.1.11). Not found in obl. cases.
Compound verb with PEC 'to chant'.

Kali b pri mušelmanskich mahilach ... lepej niž Kuran cheťim pev
43b14-15; Kuran cheťim pa jich dušach palecaj i pej 43b12; Kuran
cheťim pej 49b16.

Burial

FUTA فُوطَا 'kerchief, scarf laid on the corpse'. Ott فوطه (A ٤-٤)
'apron, wrapper, napkin'. RT: *futa*; "bez futy do tazni išć charam".

BLK: word-finally *elif* + *fetħe* replaces Ott ه /A ٤ (III.5.1.4).
Decl; fem. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -i.

Futu vipalašči na mejjita 59b20; bez futi mičiše ne hože 63b; mejjita
futaj nakric 59b10.

SAVAN 'shroud'. BR-R, Dob.

Dadajce mne svajej pomači da schavanje i u savan naradžic, dol
vikapac 86a8-9.

CHAVANE 'burial'. BR-R *chavańnie*, BN, Nos, Dob; P *chowanie*.
Usual BR meaning of this word is 'hiding'.

Pered chavanem mejjita Kuran pej 60a15.

PACHAVANE/-CHEV- 'burial'. BR-R *pachavańnie*, BN; P *pochowanie*.

Učinic pred pachevanem mejjita dva reke'eti 60a17; pri pachevanu
mejjita serdečne nechaj Pan Boha prošec 60b2.

SHAVANJE 'burial'. P *schowanie*.

Dadajce mne svajej pomači da schavanje ... dol vikapac 86a8-9.

To Bury

CHAVAC SS; BR-R, BN, McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh), Nos, Dob, Kaš, Mal, Ras, Šat, Var, Da (SW, Pskov, Kaluga); P *chować*. Standard BR and P meaning is 'to hide', but 'to bury' is common in dial. usage.

Takich ludźej meži mušulmanškich mahil ne chavajuc 53b14.

S-/ZHAVAC SS; Nos *schavać*, Kaš, Da (SW). P *schować*, *zchować*. See CHAVAC.

Enheli dženaže nemaž peli i zchavali 86a17.

PACHE-/PACHOVAC BN *pachavać*, Nos, Šat, Da (SW); P *pochować*.

Až poķi pachevajuc duša pri cele budže 60b21.

Grave

MAH-/MAGILA Skar, HSBM (*mo-*); BR-R *mahila*, BN, Bial; P *mogita*. In BLK usual term for 'grave'. Forms with [-h-] predominate.

Pri mušelmanškich mahilach 32b3; u mahile jim muka prestanecca 19a7-8; adijduc ludźi ad mahili 60b22; jeho mahilu jak najlepšij i nacherošij palac Pan Boh miłošcivij iz moci lasķi Svajej ućinic jemu 61a10-11; u tich dnach abaraniv is magil 46a20.

HROB/GROB Kar, PB, Skar, SS, HSBM; Bial *hrob*, Dob; P *grób*.

Kto tego dna abo u vecar umre v ten džén v grob uložen Ja nad tim umarlim źmilujuše 122a23-122b1.

DOL PB, SS, HSBM; BR-R (coll.) *doł*, NBS, Nos, Bial, Šat, Ściaš, Var, Źyd; OP. Word occurs in only one text in BLK.

Dol vikapac 86a9.

Of the Grave

The two adjectives used to convey meaning 'of the grave' have different spheres of use in BLK: MAHILNIJ found only for the religious concept of 'torment of the grave'; HRABOVIJ used in a purely concrete sense.

MAHILNIJ BR-R, BN; P *mogilny*.

Verce raju i peķlu ... i mahilnaj muķi 52b13-15; jich adpušču ad mahilnich muk 33b4; cažšaje muka mahilnaje 49b8; cemnaš mahilnaje 49b9; ad mahilnaj muķi volen budže 31a19-20.

HRABOVIJ HSBM *grobovij*; P *grobowy*.

Pojdžeš da hrabovaj dosķi 57a4.

Cemetery

In BLK, Slav KLADAVISKA is general term for 'graveyard'. ŽIREC used specifically for Muslim cemeteries; term is a semantic extension of T (Ott) *ziyarat* 'visit'. Similar usage amongst Volga Tatars.

ŽIREC زِرْعِي. Cf. Ott (A) زيارت; T *ziyarat* 'visit; voluntary pilgrimage'.

RT: *zireć, ziereć; K zeret.*

BLK: hybrid form with Tatar ص [ts]. Fem. soft stem noun, prep. sg. -i.

Kali čelavek navčoni čerez šelo mušelmańskaje perejehav abo čerez žirec mušelmańskuju, tedi tim ludžem laska bože budže a umerim Pan Boh ad mahilnaj muķi volnimi učinic 39b3-4; *duš* mušelmańskije nasledajuči tich zacnich mešecav majuc pevne bir volni, redžeba meseca u damach ... remezana na žireci 43b9-11.

KLADAVISKA OP *kladowisko*. Cf. Nos *kladovišče*.

Za jedna bili i v mahilach na kladaviskach 23b8-9.

IV.2.2 Islamic Law

Law

ŠERI(J)‘ÉT شَرِيْعَةٌ / شَرِيْعَاتُ 'the totality of Allah's commandments'.

Ott شريعت (A ة-); T *şeriat*. RT: *szeriat, szeryjat*.

BLK: forms with and without medial ي used in free alternation; word-finally ت as in Ott (III.5.1.5). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, gen. pl. -v.

Ja jich ... šeri‘ét naučiv 15a7-8; Tvoj šeri‘ét zlamec 65a11; ne znajuc veri ani šerij‘étu 9b22; vedlug šerij‘étu 114a17; trista i dvaccac šerij‘étev ješt 21b6.

ŤERTĪB تَرْتِيبٌ 'a settled form of order'. Ott (A) ترتيب; T *tertib*, *tertip*. RT *tertyb*.

BLK: *kesre* usually replaces ي in second syllable (III.5.1.2). Not found in obl. cases.

Ja jich iman naučiv, ťertib i šeri‘ét naučiv 15a7-8.

Obligation

Prescribed obligations in Islam are graded in importance. Some are defined as indispensable; others are voluntary, but carry greater or lesser merit. In BLK, Islamic terms are used for the different degrees of

obligation (or prohibition). However, Slav terms are also widely used, sometimes in conjunction with Islamic terms, sometimes alone. TREBA has the most general sphere of application; DOVH, PA-/POVINNOŚĆ and PRISTOJNAŚĆ are more specific and often used as synonyms or explanations of FERZ/FARZ and MUŠTEDŽAB.

FERZ/FARZ فَرَضٌ / فَرِظٌ 'act ordained by God'. Ott (A) فرض; T *farz*.

RT: *farz*; also adj. *farzowy*. (For slightly different use see p. 274).

BLK: ظ replaces ض, *elif* sometimes replaces *fetħe* (III.5.1.10/1). Forms cited by RT, as in Turkish, have [a]. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u/e, gen. pl. -ov.

Fitre davaj, to ferz jest 42b20; ferz činice, laski božej hodžen budže a ne činec, kafirinim budže 57b12; tvar mic ferzem 74a11; napisav vam farzam post remezan 39b16; pa ferzu 81b2; pa ferze 81b21; ferzov pavinnich kolka? 54b5.

MUŠTEDŽAB مُسْتَجَابٌ 'act worthy of acceptance'. Ott (A) مستجاب; T *müstecab*. RT.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Pac rečej muštedžab 72b4; u ašmi rečach šunneť a u inšich muštedžab 72a21; muštedžab to jest prarok jeho milość raz abo dva činiv, muštedžab kafirinam ne budže, muķi mec ne budže, prarockaje pričina ne addalecca, tilko spašenje mnejšeje 69b8-11.

ŠUNNEŤ سُنَّتٌ 'act founded on the practice of the Prophet'. Ott سنت (A ة -); T *sünnet*. RT: *siunniet*. See also p. 275.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points; word-finally Ott ت, *shedde* over ن (III.5.1.5/15). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u.

Gušel brac šunneť 47a6; šunneť zavdzačne prinavši 8b11; šunneť to jest čto činic prarockej pričini budže mec i laski božej hodžen budže, a čto ne činic kafirinam ne budže, pričini prarockej ne budže 57b18-20; šunneťu prarorskaho 58b18.

VADŽIB وَاجِبٌ 'act incumbent by inference'. Ott (A) واجب; T *vacib*. RT *vadžyb*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Vadžib to jest Pan Boh raskazav 69a23; aŕtechijjaťu pec vadžib 74b19; v troch rečach šunneť ... a u adnoj vadžib 56a12-14; abdeš užavši ferz vadžib i šunneť spevnivši ničoħa švečkaho slova ne muvivši dva

reke 'ėti nemaž budže klanecca 73a23-73b1.

ĶĪFAJ(E) كَفَايَ / كِفَايَ 'a sufficient quantity'. Ott كَفَايَه (A ٤ - ٤
T *kifaje*; cf. *farḍ al-kifāya*, 'a command which is imperative (*farḍ*)
upon all Muslims, but which if one person in eight or ten performs it,
it is sufficient (*kifāya*), or equivalent to all having performed it'.³⁵⁷

BLK: word-finally Ott ة /A ٤ omitted, or replaced by *fetħe* (III.5.1.4).
Not found in obl. cases. Used with PA-/POVINNOŠC.

Druhoje pavinnašc ķifaj ferz jest 54b7; pavinnašc ķifaje ferz jest
54b9.

MUV'ĒĶIDI مُوَعِدٌ 'certain, confirmed'. Ott (A) مَوَعِدٌ [mu'akkad].
RT: *muekkid*.

BLK: word-final *kesre* [i] possibly 'frozen' Arabic inflection,
unusually *shedde* over ك omitted (III.5.17/15). Not found in obl. cases.

Vedaj što jest muv'ekidi šunneť a što muštedžab muv'ekidi 81b17.

DOVH 'duty'. HSBM (*dovg, dolg*); OP *dtug*, R (arch.) *dolg*. Cf. BR
'debt'.

U troch rečach pavinnašc ferz dovh jest 56a12; nauki učičiše dovh jest
69a12.

PA-/POVINNOŠC 'duty, obligation'. PB, SS; BR-R *pavinnašc*, McM
(BK, SCh), Nos, Bial; P *powinność*.

Pitac buduc a pavinnašci malženstva i džecej 19b24; tamu ušemu
veric ferz pavinnašc 52b16-17; mušulmaninu dobremu i pastiru
navčonamu naleži pavinnašc sluchac 69a8-9.

PRISTOJNAŠC 'that which is becoming, fitting'. PB, SS; BR-R
prystojnašc; P *przystojność*. Cf. MUŠTEDŽAB.

U abdešu kolka pristojnašci jest? ti mov: pac abrekanje zupelne učinic
a na halavu statične mešich činic 55b13-14; u troch rečach pavinnašc
ferz dovh jest a v troch rečach šunneť a u adnoj muštedžab pristojnašc
56a12-13.

T-/TREBA 'to be necessary'. Form with ت [t'] unusual, as BR, and P
(standard and dialectal) have hard [t]; possibly a scribal error. PB, SS,
Ziz; BR-R, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob, Ras, Šciaš, Šat, Var, Da
(W, Uk), all *treba*; P *trzeba*.

Kažnaja nevasta iman treba u cistošci pec 62b3; što šunneť što ferz

³⁵⁷ DI, s.v. *farḍ kifā'ī*; EI, II: 790, s.v. *farḍ*.

nechaj znaje, kali dva reke'eti kali četiri reke'eti treba znac 81a11-12.

Voluntary, Supererogatory Act

NAFILE نافلة. Ott نافله (A ة -); T *nafile*. RT: *nafile*; also *nafilejny*; 'nafilejny post, nemaz'.

BLK: word-finally, *fethe* replaces Ott ه /A ة (III.5.1.4). Decl; neut. soft stem noun, gen. sg. -u; case endings separated from root by epenthetic [-j-] (III.2.2.7). See also p. 275.

Muštedžab nafile nemaž, nafile post 69b11; sedeku tajemne lepej bo jest nafile, adverne Pan Boh hrachi vaši 37a11; kali u tich mešecach adpošnikavše ... nafile 44a9.

Licit

CHELAL حلال 'a canonically lawful thing'; 'that which is accessible, open'. Ott (A) حلال; T *helal*. RT: *chelal*; 'Pan Bóh temu człowieku dženniet chalalem uczynic' (*Chamail*); *chylal* 'pošle džuma namazu raboty chylal jest' (*Kitab*). Citations in RT show same division of meaning as in BLK, i.e. 'lawful', and 'accessible', but distinguished by different spellings (*chelal*, *chylal*). No explanation given as to why the different forms (phonic variants?) are used. Noteworthy that in the first citation in RT, Ott (A) *dženniet* used for 'heaven', but in BLK version of the same phrase (see 2. below), Slav RAJ is found.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun.

1. Ketorije reč jest chelal ješc pic 111a5; chto chelal pakinuvši cheram jedali 96a9; razlučajuči chelal ad cheramu 39b22; pošle džum'e nemažu raboti rabic chelal jest 48a21.

2. Chto bi ažanu činiv pavahu Pan Boh tamu čeleveku raj chelalem učinic 84a11-12.

CHELALNIJ 'licit, accessible'. Adjective derived from CHELAL with Slav suff. -nij. RT: *chalalne potrawy*. In BLK used mainly with RIŽK and PAŽITEK, both 'sustenance'.

Na šom švece rižku chelalnaho dam 33b6-7; u Boha chelalnaho rižku prašili 118b13; chelalnij pažitek 118b14; iz chelalnej praci svajej 61b2-3.

CHELALIKDUR حلال ليقدور 'it is lawful'. Ott حلال ليقدور, T *helalik* ('that which is lawful') + T *dur* ('it is'). Occurs once in BLK, mistakenly

used in place of CHERAM 'forbidden', as is clear from the context.
BLK: Ott orthogr. Not found in obl. cases.

Chelalikdur to jest abludnije abo addalonije 29a2.

Illicit

CHER-/CHARAM/CHRAM حَرَامٌ / حَارَامٌ / حُرَامٌ 'that which is canonically unlawful'; 'that which is set apart, inaccessible, closed' (cf. CHELAL). Ott (A) حَرَامٌ; T *haram*. RT: *charam*; 'to jest *charam*' (*Kitab*); also *charamić sie* 'to do that which is forbidden'. In BLK CHER-/CHARAM/CHRAM has wider sphere of application than CHELAL; used with reference to food and drink, as is CHELAL, but also for prohibited activities e.g. gaming, consumption of alcohol. BLK: standard Ott orthogr. predominates, but occasionally in first syllable *fetħe* replaced by *elif* (III.5.1.1); cf. RT, Turkish. CHRAM occurs once, probably a scribal error. Decl; masc. hard stem noun. gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -e.

1. Dve patravi ruznije, adna chelal a druhoje cheram 96a7; praca taja cheram i pažitak toj cheram 49b1; u patnicu rabotu chram jest 49a12; chto bi mev adžin hroš chelalnij na cheram dac 66b14-15; u karni ihrac ... to jest prekrentij cheram 66a19-20; cheram jedali 96a10; kažneje pjanstva cheram, kali dla prahnene napjecca raz abo dva nevpjecca a zvlašče taho picja što iz pšenici, iz ječmenu, iz prosa, to mekruh a kali upjecca, to cheram; razlučajuči chelal ad cheramu 39b22; cheramem vam ... toje što režuc Boha ne uspaminajuči, na ima balvanškaje, i utoplana i šilom zdavlena 69b15-17; Bab: a cherame, a pjanstve 66a15-16.

2. Pan Boh prorockajo cela charamam učinic žemli 48b8-9; cheram jemu raj 58a1; Ja jemu cheramem učinu pekla 99b7.

CHERAMNIJ/CHRAMNIJ 'illicit, forbidden'. Adjective derived from CH(E)RAM with Slav suff. -nij. CHRAMNIJ rare. RT: *charamny*.

Cheramnije pažitki paživac buduc 14a21; cheramnije reči či ne zaživali? 19b22-23; ad cheramnahe picja, jedžena 40b3; oči svaje ad chramnaho hledžene, vuši svaje ad cheramnaho sluchane zachavav 44b18-19.

ADDALONIJ 'set apart'. BR-R *addaleny*, BN; P *oddalony*.

To jest abludnije abo addalonije 29a2. See ZAKAZ-/ZAKEZANIJ.

ZAKAZ-/ZAKEZANIJ 'forbidden'. Buř, HSBM; BN *zakazany*, Nos, Dob; P. This word, also ADDALONIJ, occasionally used in place of, or as explanations for, CHERAMNIJ.

Či ne moŹice vi bic pahamavanije ad tich zekazanich i prekrentich rečej to vi bili volnimi ad pekla 66b3-4.

ZABARANIC 'to forbid'. PB, Skar, SS, HSBM (*zaboroniti*); BR-R, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Kař, řat, Var; P *zabronić, zabraniać*.

Pan Boh zabaraniv 70a6.

MEKRUH مَكْرُوْه 'action not expressly forbidden by God, but looked upon as disgusting by Muslim teachers'. Ott (A) مَكْرُوْه; T *mekruh*. RT: *miekruch*. According to the explanation in RT, the prohibition on the eating of horse-meat was the chief meaning of this word for the Tatars in north-eastern Europe (Tatars in other regions, however, did not regard horse-meat as a forbidden food; in the Volga region, for example, it is considered to be a great delicacy.)

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Transcription in RT shows [m] regarded as soft consonant. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u.

Kali ne vpjecca to ne charam, tilko mekruh 66b10-11; mekruh to jest prarok taho ne činiv 78b13-14; aŹan pejuči řelam prinac mekruh jest 84a18-19; treba viřcerahiciře ad mekruhu 72b7.

MUFřID مُفْسِدٌ 'that which corrupts'. Ott (A) مَفْسِدٌ; T *mufřid*. RT: *mufřid*; 'od *mufřidu waruj řie'* (*Kitab*).

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u.

Mufřid to jest ne zupelnij nemaŹ 78b14; ad mufřidu varuře 78b13.

Forbidden Food and Drink

ZDECHLINA 'carrion'. HSBM; BN *zdychlina*, Nos, Kař, Ras, řat, Var; P *zdechli(z)na*.

Chto bi patničnuju rabotu i pracu bez namaŹu uŹivav jakobi zdechlinu i krov svinuju masa uŹivav 49b14; Pan Boh muvi: cheramem vam uřim zdechlina 69b15.

NAPITAK/-BITAK 'drink', usually 'strong drink'; often qualified by CHMELNIJ or PJANIJ. Form with [-b-] rare in BLK; could be a scribal error, but possibly reflects Tatar pronunciation (III.2.2.10). BR-R *napitak*; P *napitek*.

Četiri reči šejtanu hožije, peršij chemelni napitak 32b15-16; pjanij napitek 111b10; chto bi mev upiciše jakoha kolvek napitku Pan Bož jemu dašč na sudnij džen tišeče mest iz ahnu 66b21-22; chto bi mev vina abo chmelnaha nabitku adžin kufel vipec (-pic) iman ad jeho adijdže 66b18-19.

CHEMRI حَمْرُ 'wine; that which intoxicates'. Ott (A) حَمْرُ; T *hamr*. RT: *čaḥmr*. See also pp. 206, 209.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Chemri cheram 112a9.

IV.2.3 Community Worship

Community

Term used in BLK for 'community, people' in a general sense is Slav NAROD, but when reference is made specifically to 'the Muslim people' Ott (A) UMMET' is used. DŽEME'ET/DŽEME'AT/DŽME'ET used for local Muslim community or congregation, also for public prayer service.

NAROD PB, Skar, HSBM; BR-R, McM (BK, CB, F107, SCh), Bial; P.

Kali spitajuc: čijho ti narodu? ti mov: Adam praroka jeho milošci jestem narodu 51b12-13; ad takich narodav šceraži mene Pane Bože 28a24; beni Išrafil židovskaho narodu prišli 118a3-4.

UMMET' أُمَّة. Ott امت (A ē -); T *ümmet*. RT: *ummiēt*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points; *shedde* over [m] preserved word-finally Ott ت in place of A ē (III.5.1.15/5). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u, nom. pl. -i, gen. pl. -ev/av.

Prorok muvil: chto bi kurban sposab mev činic a ni činiv, to ne mož ummeť 45a17-18; toj hrešnjij ummeť 94b11; is taho ummetu 83a15; vam ušimu ummetu prarockamu 32a4; chto ummetem prarockim 32a1-2; nad ummetem Muchemmeda 92a1; kali b maje ummeti veđať 44a16; ščašlivije to ummeti da katorich hetije šureji zeslanije buduc. ščašlivije to ludži ketorije hetije šureji pri sabe našic buduc 7b11-13; bajuše takich ummetav 42b5; ušich ummetev prarockich nakarmiv 46a13; ummetam svajim raskazav štob da mečicej išli 31b7; laski božej stalo Muchemmedu praroku i ummetam Muchemmedovim 40b12.

UMMEČKIJ 'of the people'. Adjective derived from UMMET' with

Slav suff. *-skij*; as is usual in Belarusian, [t] and [s] assimilated, thereby producing [ts]. RT: *ummiecki*.

Kali b ummeckich ahrechov vedav 100a10.

DŽEME'ÉŤ/DŽEME'ÁŤ/DŽME'ÉŤ جَمَعَتْ / جَمَعَاتْ / جَمَعَتْ .

Ott جماعت , جمعيت (A ۀ -); T *cemiyet, cemaat*. RT: *dzemie(a)t*.

BLK: commonest form as in Ott جماعت , but in third syllable *elif* is replaced by *fetħe* (III.5.1.1); scribal error probably accounts for DŽME'ÉŤ and DŽEME'ÁŤ, though latter may have been a reflection of Tatar pronunciation (cf. first form cited in RT); use of word-final ت as in Ott (cf. A ۀ). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-u*, nom. pl. *-i*.

Kažnij džeme'ét iz svajim imamem povstane 42b6-7; treba ici da džeme'étu 84a10; ad džeme'étu 54b9; chto bi učuvši ažan a ne hatavavše da džeme'étu cheram jemu raj jest 58a1; kali džeme'étu adžin čelevek budže 46b19; jeŭci nemaž z džeme'étem klanevše 48a5; iz džeme'étem nemaž pej šunnet 78a21; iz džeme'átem nemaž pev 47a12; na sudnij džen prizvani buduc uše džeme'éti 116b1.

Mosque

MEČIC/MEČIT مَچِيسْ / مَچِيطْ . Ott (A) مسجد ; T *mescid, mescit*.

RT: *mieczec, mieczet*. Cf. Buł (1540), P *meczet*; MBR *miačeć*.

BLK: form with final ط [t] occurs once. Usual orthography is MEČIC, with Tatar letter چيس [ts]. Hybrid of Ott, BR and P elements: medially, devoicing of Ott [d₃] > [tʃ] (ج/چ) and loss of [-s-]; word-finally, as in standard BR, though not P, [d/t] becomes [ts]; in last syllable [-i] retained, as in Ott, but unlike standard BR and P, which have [e] in this position. Forms cited by RT reflect OBR/P influence. Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. sg. *-i*, prep. sg. *-i*, nom. pl. *-i*, gen. pl. *-ej*.

Šventi mečic 35b1; meškanej jich daleka bilo ad mečici 10b15; da mečici izdaleka iduc 10b16-17; chvalice Pana Boha u mečici 74b13-14; jeni chaceli pri mečici dami sabe budovac 10b15; mečici ad damov daloka 15a17; da mečicej išli 31b7; katorije a mečitach starališe 19b15.

MEČITNIJ 'of the mosque'. Adjective derived from MEČIC/MEČIT with Slav suff. *-nij*; final affricate of stem assimilated to [-n-] of adjectival suffix (-c[ts]>-t). Not in RT.

Šejch Šelbi mima mečitnich varot išov 13b16-17; enheli ž neba zijduc

u mečitnich džverach 47a23.

MICHRAB مِحْرَابُ 'niche in mosque'. Ott (A) محراب. T *mihrab*. RT: *michrab, muchrab*; 'u *muchrabie sidziew*' (*Kitab*).

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, prep. sg. -e.

U michrabe šedžeči nemaž klanelaše 85a10; na michrabe upavši ležič 85a21.

MUNBER مُنْبِرٌ 'pulpit. Ott (A) منبر; T *minber, mimber*. RT: *munbier, mumbier, minber*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, prep. sg. -u.

Na munber uzišov 42b1; David prarok šev na munberu 118a5-6.

PALUDEN 'meridian'. Usual meaning in BR is 'midday': BN *patudzien*, Nos, Dob, Šciac (all except BN have stress on first syllable). Cf. P *południe*, R (arch.) *polden* 'south'. However, the Tatars use it instead of A *qibla* (not found in BLK) for 'direction in which one must turn to pray', specifically 'direction of Mecca'.

Kali spitajuc: paludnav kolka jest? adkaži: adžin 'erš, druhij bežti al-memuru, trecij bežti al-mukeddeš, to jest Jeruzalim, čvartij kurš, patij Ķe'bej, dom božij 54b14-17; režuči adverni da paludna i vspomni ime bože 45b13-14; abdeš ažmi preciv paludna tvaram stavši 82a21-22.

Clergy

No ordained clergy in Christian sense in Islam, but there are offices connected with running the mosque and conducting services. In BLK main term for 'community leader' is IMAM but some Slav terms used.

IMAM إِمَامٌ / إِيْمَامٌ. Ott (A) امام; T *imam*: 1. 'a prayer leader'; 2. 'a leading religious authority'; 3. 'a successor to the Prophet'; 4. 'a guide'. Citation in RT illustrates meaning 'prayer leader': '*imam z džemieatem pieje duaję tewbiejnę pred ramazanem*' (*Chamait*). This meaning found in BLK, but term also used as a title of respect for a teacher, or religious authority (e.g. IMAM ŠAFIJ, IMAM JUŠUF). The other meanings found in Turkish (3, 4) are sometimes conveyed by Slav equivalents: cf. NAMEŠNIK 'successor', PAVADIR and PRAVADNIK 'guide, leader'.

BLK: initial *elif* + ي used in free alternation with *elif* + *kesre*.

Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-a*, nom. pl. *-i/ove*, gen. pl. *-ov*.

1. 'prayer leader': imam šelam dašč 81a22; bliska imama šev 47a7-8; kali da avleju prijdžeš e zastaneš imama u ferzu 81b5-6; jak maje davac choc bi imamu pa čirvonamu zelatem 41a13-14; toj maje bic imamom 116b6; chto imamem jest takij pavinim umec viklad chediši prarockije 116b11-12; džemeet iz svajim imamem povstane 42b7; pej za imamem 81a20; imamov svajich ne sluchajuc 68b12; u inšich imamov 70a16; iz jich pavadirami, imamami 21b20.

2. 'leading religious authority': imam Maliķ abo imam Jušuf 70a13; ad imama Abu Chenife 70a13; četiri imami, laska Boha adžinaho nad ušimi 52a4; kali imam Abu Chenife švetij ... albo inšije imamove kezali, to ketoreho kolvek imama povešč učuvši treba veric 70a12-15.

IMAM(O)STVA 'office of imam'. Abstract noun derived from **IMAM** with Slav suff. *-stva*. RT *imamstwo*. Cf. T (Ott) *imamet*.

Dla udžačnašci božej imamstva činili 83a17; takovich ušich imamstva ne hože 116b11; imamostva jich ... jermom kažkim 68a9-10.

IMAMSKÍJ 'of an imam'. Adjective derived from **IMAM** with Slav suffix *-skij*. RT *imamski; imamowa*.

Napaminana imamškaho 68a10.

NAMEŠNIK 'deputy (to the Prophet)'. Skar, HSBM; BR-R *namiešnik*, BN, Šat 'helper'; P *namiestnik* (cf. usage *namiestnik Chrystusa* 'Vicar of Christ'). See **IMAM**, meaning no. 3.

Kali namešnik mušelmanskij 'Elej hetij ajet pev 13b21-22.

PASTIR 'pastor'. Usual BR meaning of this word is 'shepherd'; only BR-R gives it in religious sense: BR-R *pastyr*. Cf. P *pastor*.

Pastirov svajich ne šanujuc 68a19; mušulmaninu dobremu i pastiru navčonomu naleži pavinnašč sluchac 69a8-9.

PAVADIR 'guide'. In BR this word frequently has specific meaning of 'a guide for a blind person' or 'a cattle-herd': BR-R *pavadyr*, BN, NBS, Nos, Bial, Dob, Jan 2, Kaš, Šciaš, Šat, Var; P *powodyr*. See **IMAM**, meaning no. 4.

Dna sudnaha valac buduc ušich ludžej iz jich pavadirami imamami 21b19-20.

PRAVADNIK 'guide'. BR-R. See **IMAM**.

Imama svajho ne najduc, sudnaha dna bez pravadnika buduc 42b8.

AŽANČEJ/-ČI(J) اذَانْچِي / اذَانْچِي 'caller to prayer'. Synonymous with MU'ĒZIN, but in BLK less common. Cf. Tat *azanči* اذَانْچِي (A *adhān* + Turkic *-ci*). One of the few specifically Tatar words in BLK (term does not appear to have existed in Ottoman Turkish). RT: *azanczej, azandzej*. 'Namaz odkłaniawszysia da chutbeju azanczej pieje' (*Chamait*).

BLK: word-finally *fetħe* often replaces *kesre* (I>EJ), a typical E Slav feature (III.5.1.9). Decl; masc. soft stem noun, nom pl. *-ove*.

Ažančijove na sudnij džen stanami za vsích ludžej stvorencav božich vižšije majuc bic 82a13-14; neketorich ažančejov dla ažanu u raj upušec... neketorije ažančejove dla ažanu pecja u pekle ukineni buduc 83a14-18; šejchove ažančijove 64b1; kali b čelevek džešec hoč ažančejom biv 82a19.

MU'ĒZIN مُؤَذِّن 'caller to prayer'. Ott (A) مؤذن; T *müezzin, mezzin*. RT: *muezzim, -u, miezim*; 'miezim z džemieatem zaczynają tekbur pieć'. See AŽANČEJ/-ČI(J).

BLK: unusually, *shedde* omitted over *z* [III.5.1.15]. RT indicates that [mie-] could replace [mu-]; not in BLK. Not found in obl. cases, but RT shows gen. sg. *-u*.

Što mu'ežin rečec slova vi za nim muvce tije slava 83b22-23; kali mu'ežin ažan peje 84b4.

CHETIB حَطْبُ 'preacher'. Ott (A) خطيب; T *hatib/p*.

BLK: word- initially ح replaces خ, in second syllable *kesre* replaces ي (III.5.1.11/2). Not found in obl. cases.

Na toj čas jak chetib chutbe peje 47b2.

ČITELNIK 'reader, preacher'. Buł (1580), Var; P *czytelnik*. Cf. BR-R, BN, *čytnik*. Occasionally used as synonym for CHETIB.

Čitelniku kažni vedaj apisane nauki božej 28b16-17; da imanav (imamav) i da čitelnikav kažnich 69a17; kažnamu imanu (imamu) i čitelniku treba vedac sbosab (sp-) da čistašci da nemažu 69a18.

CHAFIZ حَافِظ 'a guardian; one who knows the Quran by heart'. Ott (A) حافظ; T *hâfiz*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Chafiz kurannij budže 121b14.

STRUŽ 'a guardian'. Buł (1501) *strož*, PB, SS; P *stróż*. Used

synonymously with CHAFIZ (cf. above citation).

Struž Kuran bendže 121b15.

MUFTEJ مُنْتِي 'Muslim canon lawyer. Ott (A) مفتى; T *mufti*.
RT: *muftěj*; also *muftijowa*, *muftejski*.

BLK: word-finally (-TEJ), as in RT (III.5.1.9). Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. sg. -ov.

Sluchajce učonich muftejov 68b1.

IV.2.4 Holy Days, Nights and Months

Holy

Adjectives used to signify 'a holy day', 'a holy night' etc. are all Slav.

PA-/POVELBONIJ 'adored'. Unrecorded elsewhere. Cf. Buł (1507) *uvielbienyj*; OP *powielbić*.

Prarok muvil: patnični džen pavelboni jest 47a14; patničnij džen povelbonij i najlepšij da nafileju 49a12-13.

ŠVETIJ 'holy'. BR-R *šviaty*, BN, McM, Dob (-toj), Šat; P *święty*.

Bab: a nočach švetich 43b6.

ZACNIJ 'worthy'. Buł (1438), PB, SS, HSBM; McM (one modern source + BK, CB, F107); P *zacny*. Cf. Nos *zacnenij*.

Duši mušelmanskije našledajuči tich zacnich mešecav majuc pevne bic volni 43b9-10; tije dni 'ešure dla taho zacnimi zavuc što Pan Boh laskaj Svajoj na mušelman hleđić 46b2.

To Observe (Holy Day etc.)

ŠVENCIC P *święcić*. Only found once in BLK.

Šabat švencil 105a18.

ŠVETKAVAC BR-R *šviatkavać*, BN, McM, NBS, Nos, Dob, Kaš, Ras, Šat; cf. P *świętować*.

Chreścijanin nedželu a žid subotu švetkujuc, raboti ne robic, hulajuc, a mušelmanem u patnicu ne rabivši švetkavac, to podobnij buduc chreścijanem i židom 49a10-12.

Sabbath

ŠABAT Buł (early 16th cent.) *šabat*, *šabas*; MBR, P *szabas*.

Šabat švencil 105a18.

Friday

In BLK reference is often made to Friday, the Muslim sabbath. Usual terms are Ott (A) DŽUM'É and BR PATNICA. DŽUM'É generally used with NEMAŽ 'prayer', referring to main Muslim service of public worship on Fridays. PATNICA found only with reference to the day itself, not the service. P PONTEK and Ott (Per) AŽINE rarely used.

DŽUM'É جُمُعَة. Ott جمعة (A -); T *cuma*. RT: *džuma kun* 'Friday', *džuma namaz* 'Friday service'; 'do džuma namazu hatowi budžie' (*Kitab*).

BLK: word-finally Ott ة (<A) replaced by *fetħe* (III.5.1.4).

Not decl; usually found with NEMAŽ, which is declined.

Adklanejucca džum'e nemaž, pośle džum'e nemažu raboti rabic chelal jest 48a21; džum'e nemaž holasam pev 78a17.

PATNICA BR-R *piatnica*, Dob.

Iz nemažem budže patnicu šenavac 48b13; ščašlivije to ludži katorije u patnicu gušel abdeš beruc i da džum'e nemažu iduc 47a11-12.

PATNIČNIJ 'Friday' (adj.). BR-R (coll.) *piatničny*.

Džum'e patnični džen pavelbonij i najlepšij da nafileju 49a12-13.

PONTEK P *piątek*.

Džen pontek ažine pobožnij 123b7.

AŽINE أَذِينَة. Ott (Per) أَذِينَة; T (learned) *azine*.

BLK: *kesre* in place of ي, word-finally Ott ة replaced by *fetħe* (III.5.1.2/4). Not found in obl. cases.

Džen pontek ažine pobožnij 123b7.

Other Days of the Week

Usually referred to by Slav names, but in a treatise on auspicious and inauspicious days learned Ott (Per) names are given, together with Slav equivalents. Although of no particular religious significance, they are included here for the sake of completeness.

JEKŠENBE يَكْشَنْبَة 'Sunday'. Ott (Per) يَكْشَنْبَة; T *yekšenbik*, *yekšembe*.

BLK: word-final ة replaced by *fetħe* (III.5.1.4). Not used in obl. cases.

Džen nedžala jekšenbe povedajon targovij džen, bajram chreščijanskij 121a11.

- DOŠENBE** دَوْشَنَبَ 'Monday'. Ott (Per) دوشنبه; T *düşenbih, düşembe*.
 BLK: word-final ه replaced by *fetħe* (III.5.1.4). Not used in obl. cases.
 Džen ponedźalkovij došenbe 121b8.
- ŠEŠENBE** شَشَنَبَ 'Tuesday'. Ott (Per) سَشَنَبه; T *sişenbih, si-/seşembe*.
 BLK: mostly adheres to standard Ott/Per orthogr. but initial س replaced by ش (scribal error?); word-final ه replaced by *fetħe* (III.5.1.4). Not used in obl. cases.
 Džen vtorek šešenbe 122a6.
- ČIHARŠENBE** چَهارشَنَبه 'Wednesday'. Ott (Per) چَهارشَنَبه; T *çarşenbih, çeharşenbe, carsamba*.
 BLK: word-final ه replaced by *fetħe* (III.5.1.4). Not used in obl. cases.
 Džen sroda čiharšenbe, zlij neščenslivij džen 122b7.
- JENČIŠENBE** يَنْچَشَنَبَ 'Thursday'. Ott (Per) پَنْچَشَنَبه; T *pencşembih, persembe*.
 BLK: initial پ [p] replaced by ي [ye] (probably scribal error); word-final ه replaced by *fetħe* (III.5.1.4). Not used in obl. cases.
 Džen cvartek jenčišenbe 123a11.
- ŠENBE** شَنَبَ 'Saturday'. Ott (Per) شنبه; T *şenbih, şenbe*.
 BLK: word-final ه replaced by *fetħe* (III.5.1.4). Not used in obl. cases.
 Džen subote šenbe, židovskij bajram 124a16.

Feast Day

- BAJRAM** بَايرَامُ . Ott بايرام; T *bayram*. RT *bajram*; also *bajramować*.
 BLK: standard Ott orthogr. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -al u, prep. sg. -e. When used alone, or qualified by KURBAN, always declined; when used to qualify NEMAŽ usually not declined (cf. T *Kurban bayramı, bayram namazı*).
 Džen subote šenbe, židovskij bajram 124a16-17; luďzem kezav na bajram zebraciše 118b16-17; praciv bajrama 'erefe, preciv kurban bajrama 'erefe mucherrema mešeca adžinaccataja noć 'ešure 43b8-9; preciv kurban bajramu 43a23; pavažnašć činic ... bajramu 45a14; sedeku choc bi pa bajrame u kolka dnejj addav hožė 42b18; chto bi precivku bajramav ne spav, nemažem, řešbichami zabavlavše, takich luďzej život nikdi ne umre 44b16-18; fitre kali pred bajram nemažem

addaši to hože jest 42b18-19.

BAJRAMNIJ 'of the feast day'. Adjective derived from **BAJRAM** with Slav suff. *-nij*. RT: '*bajramny dzien*'; also *bajramowy*; '*bajramowy wieczor*' (second adjectival form not found in BLK).

Chto bi mev bajramnaho dna fitre addac 41b4-5; chto bajramnich ludžej budže častavac 42b22; kali bajramni mešec ne pakažecca s pahodaj 40a5-6; pošle nemažu bajramnaho 45b6.

Particular Holy Days, Nights and Months

BERA'ET بَرَاءَةٌ 'the 15th night of the month Šaban' (lit. 'being free, innocence'). Ott بَرَاءَةٌ (A ۵-); T *berat*. RT: *beraet*, *beraet*; '*Pana Boh jemu dva bereaty to jest prywileji dašć*' (*Kitab*). RT also cites derived adjectival form: *beraetova noc* (not found in BLK).

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points; word-finally Ott ت in place of A ۵ (III.5.1.5)). Not found in obl. cases. Used with *noč* 'night' (cf. Turk *berat gecesi*).

Še'bana mešeca betnaccataja noč beraet 43b7.

'EREFÉ/ARAFE عَرَفَ / اَرَاْفَ 'eve of a (Muslim) festival, particularly Kurban Bayram'. Ott عَرَفَهُ (A ۵-); T *arefe*. RT *arafa*; *arefa giun*; '*toj czas budzie kali sorak arefie giunow u piatnicu wypownitca taždy sudny dzien zaczniecca*' (*Kitab*).

BLK: word-finally Ott ه (A ۵) replaced by *fetħe* (III.5.1.4); occasional use of word-initial *elif* [a], probably a phonetic rendering (III.5.1.1); cf. RT and modern Turkish. Decl; neut. soft stem noun; case endings separated from root by epenthetic [-j-] (III.2.2.7)). Occasionally used alone, but more often found with Slav *džen* 'day' or *noč* 'night'.

'Erefe noč ne spav, Pana Boha chvaliv 44b15-16; praciv bajram 'erefe 43b8; v 'erefe dni gušul brac šunnet 70b19; nad arafe džen 48b18; pavažnašć činic tim dnom 'erefejom 45a14.

'EREFEV 'of the eve of a festival'. Possessive adjective derived from 'EREFÉ with Slav suffix *-v*. RT does not record this form, but gives two other forms: *arafiejny*, *arafiejowy*. These do not occur in BLK.

Chto 'erefev džen oči svaje ad chramnaho hledžene vuši svaje ač cheramnaho sluchane zachavav 44b18-19.

EŠURE/AŠURE عَشُورَ / اَشُورَ 'the 10th day of the month of Muharram'. Ott عَشُورَهُ (A ۵-); T *Ašure*. In Turkish *ašure* is also

name of a sweet dish made of cereals, raisins etc. This meaning not found in BLK, but cf. RT: *aszura*; 'aszura gotować X-tej nocy m-ca Muharrema'. RT also gives adjectival form: *aszurejna noc*.

BLK: usually Ott orthogr. with vowel points; AŠURE rare, but possibly reflects Tatar pronunciation; cf. RT, Turkish; word-finally Ott ه (<A ة) replaced by *fethë* (III.5.1.1/4). Not decl. Used with *džen* 'day' or *noč* 'night'.

Mucherrema mešeca adžinaccataja noč 'ešure 43b9; mucherrema mešeca džešec dnež 'ešure 44b11; tije dni 'ešure dla taho zacnimi zavuc 46b1-2.

KEDIR كَدِيرُ 'Night of Power, the 27th night of the month of Ramadan (when the Quran was revealed)'. Ott (A) كَدِير; T *kadir*. RT: *kadyr*. RT gives an adjectival form and supports it with a citation from an unspecified Kitab: *kadyrna noc*; 'hetoj noci kadyrnoj' (Kitab); 'kadyrny namaz'. This is not found in BLK.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not decl. Used with Slav *noč* 'night' (cf. T *Kadir Gecesi*).

Noč kedir jest lepšaje ad tišeče mešecav u katorich kedir noči nemaš 40b17-18; Ja zeslalem Kuran ščašlivij noči kedir 40b8.

REGA'IB رَغَائِبُ 'the night preceding the 1st Friday of the month of Rajab'. Ott (A) رَغَائِب; T *ragaib*; RT: *regaib*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Vedaj peršaja noč redžeba peršaho čecverha preciv peršej patnici rega'ib 43b6-7.

MUCHERREM مُحَرَّمُ 'Muharram, the 1st month of the Muslim year'. Ott (A) مُحَرَّم; T *Muharrem*; RT: *mucharrem*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points; doubling of [r] with *shedde*. Usually decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a. Used with *mešec* 'month'.

Mucherrema mešeca adžinaccataja noč ešure 43b9; mucherrem mešeca džešec dnež peršich ašure 46a2-3.

REDŽEB رَجَبُ 'Rajab, 7th month of the Muslim year'. Ott (A) رَجَب; T *Receb*; RT: *redžeb*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a. Can be used alone or with Slav *mešec* 'month'.

Katorije redžeb še'ban pošnikali 43b21; redžeba ... mešeca mušelmaninam buduči treba pošnikac 43a20; chto bi mev pošnikavac mešeca redžeba 43b3-4.

RE-/RAMEZAN/REMAZAN رَمَازَانُ / رَمَازَانُ / رَمَازَانُ.

1. 'Ramadan, the 9th month of the Muslim year'. 2. 'the fast of Ramadan'. Ott (A) رمضان; T *Ramazan*. RT: *Ramazan*.

BLK: substitution of ظ for ض (III.5.1.10); occasionally *elif* replaces *fetħe* in first syllable (III.5.1.1), *elif* added in second syllable. Decl: masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a, prep. sg. -e. Can be used alone or with *mešec* 'month', or POST 'fast'. When used with these words it is sometimes not declined.

1. Chto bi mev vedlug prikazu božeho zachavavši remezan mešec i pristojnim pašanavanu v čistašci nemažem e pošle remezana umrec, to šehid budže 44a23-44b1; remezan mešeca dvaccac šomaje noč keđir 43b7-8; mešec remazan 39b23; mešeca ramezana tricccac dneĵ 40a5; chto bi ... pa ramezane umre 44b3.

2. Nijjeť da postu remezan 44a12.

REMEZANNI 'of the month Ramadan'. Adjective derived from REMEZAN with Slav suff. -nij. RT gives two adjectival forms: *ramazanny*, *ramazanowy*. Second form not found in BLK.

Post remezanni i bajram budže zavešani meži neba i žemli 41a23-24.

ŠE'BAN شَعْبَانُ 'Shaban, the 8th month of the Muslim year'. Ott (A) شعبان; T *Şaban*; RT: *szaban*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Usually decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a. Used alone or with BR *mešec* 'month'; when used with *mešec* sometimes not declined.

Katorije redžeb še'ban pošnikali 43b21; še'bana mešeca betnaccataja (p-) noč bera'et 43b7; še'bana mešeca mušelmaninam buduči treba pošnikac 43a20.

ŽI AL-CHEDŽDŽE/ŽI AL-CHIDŽDŽE ذِي الْحِجَّةِ / ذِي الْحِجَّةِ 'the 12th month of the Muslim year'. Ott (A) ذى الحجة (A -); T *Zilhicce*. RT: *zil chadž*.

BLK: word-finally *fetħe* replaces Ott ه / A ة, *shedde* preserved over ح (III.5.1.4/15). Not decl. Used with *mešec* 'month'.

Ži al-chedždže mešeca chto peršij džen pošnikav 44b15; jak pošnikav

IV.3 Proper Nouns

IV.3.1 Prophets and Other Scriptural Figures

Prophets and other scriptural figures are mostly referred to by Islamic names.³⁵⁸ This is also the case in unattributed passages from the Bible, but when actual Biblical references are cited (e.g. 'the Books of Kings') Christian forms are generally used. MOSES is usually referred to as MUŠA, except in one Old Testament passage where MOJŽEŠ is found (though textual reference not given). Christian/Slav form DAVID occurs in one text, though context suggests an (unidentified) Islamic source.

Aaron

HARON هَارُونُ. A هَارُون [Hārūn].

BLK: Arabic orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, prep. sg. -e.

Muša ... ucok iz Jehiftu, z bratem Haronam rastavše 77a2-5; Ja vedaju a bratu tvajem Harone 77a18-19.

Abel

HABIL هَابِيلُ. A هَابِيل [Hābīl].

BLK: in second syllable *kesre* replaces ي (III.5.1.2). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a.

Zabojca zabil Habila 104a1.

Abraham

IBRAHIM اِبْرَاهِيمُ / اِبْرَاهِيمُ. A اِبْرَاهِيم [Ibrāhīm].

BLK: in final syllable *kesre* sometimes replaces ي (III.5.1.2). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a, voc. sg. -e. Used alone or with PRAROK 'prophet', in which case often not declined.

Ibrahim prarok 15b21; Ibrahime, kali mene ne žadaješ, Pana Boha žadaj 8b3-4; Džebra'il jeho milošč da Ibrahima prišov 8b1-2; Ja budu is taboj choc bi tabe uveš švet neprijecelami bili, žednaj trudnašci tabe

³⁵⁸ Only the names which occur most frequently are given here. Other names e.g. in genealogies (taken, for the most part, from the Old Testament) occur rarely and, for the purposes of this study, are of little linguistic interest.

ne učinic jak predku tvajmu Ibrahimu praroku 8a24-25; iz Ibrahim prarokam 58a9.

IBRAHIMOV 'of Abraham'. Possessive adjective derived from **IBRAHIM** with Slav suffix. *-ov*.

Ti Muchemmed Ibrahimov dzedav šunnét zavdzačne prinavši cerplive na šebe znoš 8b10-11.

Adam

ADAM آدم. A آدم [Ādam]; BR, P *Adam*.

BLK: *elif* used in both syllables. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-a*, voc. sg. *-e*. Used alone or with **PRAROK** 'prophet', in which case often not declined.

Adam Chavi pasluchav 74a2; i Adame, ne približajse da taho dzerava pšeničnaho 73b19; ad Adam praroka 73b14-15; ad Adama praroka 75b15; iz Adam prarokam 58a5-6.

ADAMOV 'of Adam'. BR, P. Possessive adjective derived from **ADAM** with Slav suffix *-ov*. Typical of BR and P, but very rare in BLK. See **ADAMSĀIJ**.

Džeci Adamove 104a1.

ADAMSĀIJ 'of Adam'. Adjective derived from **ADAM** with Slav suffix *-skij*. Often used in BLK, but appears not to exist in standard BR or P. See **ADAMOV**.

AdamsĀkiji džeci 74b12; AdamsĀkije ludži 15a5.

Cain

KABIL قابيل / قابيل. A قابيل [Qābīl].

BLK: in final syllable *kesre* sometimes replaces ي (III.5.1.2). Not found in obl. cases.

Džeci Adamove bil Kabil i Habil 104a1.

David

DAVID داود. Cf. Ott (A) داود [Daūd]; BR, P *David*.

BLK: *kesre* [i] in second syllable reflects BR/P form. Decl; masc. hard stem. Sometimes used with **PRAROK**.

David prarok šev na munberu 118a5-6; Džebra'il muvil da David tamu rejšu muv či vedaješ kali iz Šamu da Misiru jechav 118b19-20.

DAVIDOV 'of David'. Possessive adjective with Slav suffix *-ov*.

A holasam Davidovim 22b12.

Enoch

IDRIŠ ʾIDRIŠ. A ادريس [Idrīs].

BLK: standard A orthogr. with vowel points. Used with PRAROK. Not found in obl. cases.

Idriš prarok naprod na švece u ruči kelem užavši pačav pisac 54a5-6.

Eve

CHAVA ʾHAWWA. Ott (A) حواء [Ḥawwāʾ].

BLK: unusually, *shedde* over *و* omitted (III.5.1.15), also final *hemze* [ء] omitted. Decl; fem. hard stem noun.

Potim Adam Chavi pasluchav, jev skora s taho džerava 74a2.

Ezra

ʾUZEIR ʾUZAIR. Ott (A) عزير [ʿUzāir].

BLK: standard A orthogr. with vowel points. Sometimes found with PRAROK. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, voc. sg. *-u*.

ʿUzeir prarok adnaho dna ja(k) jechav na ešle ušševši da adnaho pustoha šela 26b20; i ʿUzeiru, mnoha ti spav 27a6; Pan Boh ʿUzeiru dušu kezav užac 27a3.

George

DŽIRDŽIŠ ʾJIRJIS. A جرجيس [Jirjīs].

BLK: standard A orthogr. with vowel points. Used with PRAROK. Not decl.

Džirdžîš praroke tego dna zabice 122a9.

Hagar

HAGAR ʾHĀJAR. BR, P Agar. Cf. A هاجر [Hājar].

BLK: medial [g] suggests influence of BR/P, but initial [h] probably Arabic. Text based on Genesis 16: 15-16. Decl; fem. noun.

Sina ... kturego jemu uradžila Hagar 106b17-18; Ibrahimu uradživše Išma'il ... z Hagari malodšej žani 104a17-18.

Heber

HUD ʾHÜD. A هود [Hüd].

BLK: standard A orthogr. with vowel points. Sometimes used with PRAROK. Decl; masc. hard stem noun. Text from Genesis 11:14-16, but Islamic names used.

Salichu... uradživše Hud prarok a Hudu u sorak četiri hadi uradživše Beleg 104a12-13.

Isaac

İSCHAK اسحاق. A اسحاق [Ishāq].

BLK: standard A orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun. Citation from Genesis 25:20-24, but Islamic name used.³⁵⁹

Iščaku dva sini naradžiliše u šesdžešat hod... bližnata bili 104a18-20.

Isaiah

IZEJAŠ P *Izaiasz*; Skar, OCS *Isaja*; Lat *Isaia*; cf. A [Sha'yā].

Jak muvi Izejaš prarok u roždzele pendžešont drugim 105b15

Ishmael

İS-/IZMA'IL اسماعيل / اظماعيل. A اسماعيل [Ismā'il].

BLK: occasionally ظ [z] replaces س [s]. Sometimes used with PRAROK. Not found in obl. cases. Text from Genesis 16:16, but Islamic names used.

Ibrahimu uradživše İsmā'il u ešmidžešat šešć hod z Hagari, malodšež žani 104a17-18; Izma'il prarok sina staršego Ibrahima prarokakturego jemu uradžila Hagar 106b17-18.

İS-/IZMA'ILOV 'of Ishmael'. Poss. adjective with Slav suffix -ov.

I Muchemmedu, zeslalem cebe žebi strašil... ludzej 'erabskich, patomkav İsmā'ilovich 9b19-21; Pan Bug nazval kšonžentami sinov Izma'ilovich 107a1.

IZMA'ILIT 'Ishmaelite'. Skar *Izmailit*; cf. P *Ismaelit*.

Uše sinove pradali Jusuf praroke, brata svego Izma'ilitom, Izma'ilic predal jeho do Jehif tu 104b17-18.

Jacob

JE'KUB يَعْقُوب. A يعقوب [Ya'qūb]. Cf. Skar *Jakov*, P *Jacob*.

BLK: standard A orthogr. with vowel points. Sometimes found with PRAROK. Decl; masc. hard stem noun. NB Paraphrase of Genesis

³⁵⁹Note that in the Bible (Gen. 25:20) Isaac's age is given as 40 years old.

36:22, but Islamic name used.

Je'kub prarok prišed ... da Jehiftu 105a2-3; Je'kubu uradžiloše dvanašce sinov z dvuch žon a z dvuch nevolnic 104a20.

JE'KUBEV 'of Jacob'. Possessive adjective with Slav suffix *-ev*.

Rubin sin Je'kubev 104b7-8.

Jesus

ʾĪSA عيسى/عيسى A عيسى; T *Isa*.

BLK: initially long and short [i] used interchangeably, word-finally *elifi maqsure* retained (III.5.1.2/18). Not decl. In obl. cases usually found with PRAROK.

'Īsa plakac pačav 85b20; i 'Īsa, Ja tvoj Boh 85b17; mi poslani ad 'Īsa proroka do tego masta 11a8-9; iz 'Īsa prarokem 58a14; prorocstvo 'Īsa proroka 11a9.

CHEBIB NEDŽDŽAR حَبِيبُنَجَّار 'the Beloved Carpenter', a Muslim name for Jesus. A حبيب النجار [Ḥabīb al-Najjār].

BLK: standard A orthogr. with vowel points, but unusually, *al-*omitted (III.5.1.16). The two words form a syntagma, only *nedždžar* decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-a*.

Chebib Nedždžar rek: i Bože ušahomahušcij, hetim ludžem daj iman 13a7-8; potim tije ludži Chebib Nedždžara pajmali 12b24; Pan Boh u tom čaše Chebib Nedždžaru raj ukazav 13a2-3.

Jethro

ŠU'EIB/ŠE'IB شُعَيْبُ / شُعَيْبُ A شعيب [Shu'ayb].

BLK: sometimes *fetħe* replaces *vav* in first syllable. Not decl. Used with PRAROK. Text based on Exodus 2:21, but Islamic names used.

Muša prarok ... Še'ib praroka (u) šelam dav, u Še'ib praroke kolka hod služiv potim Šu'eib prarok za Muša praroke dačku svaju Sefuru addav 77a2-6.

John (the Baptist)

JECHJA يَحْيَا A يحيى [Yaḥyā].

BLK: standard A orthogr. with vowel points; word-finally *elifi maqsure* replaced by *elif*. Not found in obl. cases.

Dva mladženci ... tvari jich cherošije vlašne jak mešec, adžin 'Īsa,

Jonah

JUNUŠ ْيُونُسْ. A يونس [Yūnus].

BLK: standard A orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u. Used alone or with PRAROK, in which case often not declined. Text from Jonah 2:1, but Islamic name used.

Junuš praroka razmova bila is Panem Boham u ribnim nutre 31b5-6. Pan Boh rek da ribi abi Junušu prehlina žebi jeho ne vkušila zubami. zaraz riba palknula a Junušu šmerci ne bilo 76b1-2.

Joseph

JUŠUF ْيُوسُفُ / يُوْسُوفُ. A يوسف [Yūsuf].

BLK: in second syllable *vav* [u] sometimes inserted. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a. Can be used alone; if used with PRAROK often not declined. Texts from Genesis, but Islamic names used.

Ja vidžev Jušuf praroke 92b1; potim povstal krul fere'on u Jehifce kturij ne znal Jušufe 105a5-6; otec Jušufe İsa'il 105a1-2.

JUŠUFOVIJ 'of Joseph'. Possessive adjective with Slav suffix -ovij.

Brace Jušufovi prijechali do Jehiftu 104b20; na renkach Jušufovič 105a1; u charastve Jušufovim 22b12.

Lot

LUT ْلُوطُ. A لوط [Lūt].

BLK: standard A orthogr. with vowel points. Used with PRAROK. Not found in obl. cases. Text Genesis 11:27, but Islamic names used.

Terachovi... narodžiloše trech sinov, staršij Ibrahim prarok, druhij Nachur, trecij Haron, a Haronu uradživše Lut prarok 104a15-17.

Mary

MERJEMA ْمَرْيَمَ. A مريم; T *Maryam*. Cf. SCr *Merjema*.

BLK: word-final *elif* [a] added, reflecting influence of Slav form; cf. SCr (see APPENDIX 1). Decl; fem. hard stem noun.

'İsa i Merjema, matka jeho 82b8; Merjema u michrabe šedžeči nemaž klanelашe 85a10; historija a Merjeme 85a1.

MERJEMIN 'of Mary'. Possessive adjective with Slav suffix -in.

Ja 'İsa, sin Merjemin 86a7 (cf. A 'isā ibn Maryam 'Jesus, the son of

Mary', one of the titles by which Jesus is referred to in the Quran).

Muhammed

MUCHEMMED مُحَمَّدٌ. A محمد [Muḥammad]. RT: *Muchammied*.

RT indicates palatalisation of *-m-* in final syllable.

BLK: standard A orthography, with vowel points; *shedde* over medial [-m-] retained. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-a*, voc. *-u*. Used alone or with PRAROK 'prophet', in which case often not declined.

Muchemmed prarok jeho milość po rodźicu svojim v opecce Abu Taliba biv 107a18; i Muchemmed praroče, Pan Boh tabe šelam daje 78b1; i Muchemmedu, zeslalem cebe žebi strašil hetim Kuranem tich ludžej katorich ajsove (ajc-) jich ne bili strašeni 9b19-20; da Mene, Boha svajho i da Praroke svaho Muchemmeda verce 68a21-23; Džebra'il... muvil ad Pana Boha Muchemmedu 108b4-5; Pan Boh... Muchemmed praroku i nam ummešem jeho toj nemaž ferzem učiniv 76a10-11; iz Muchemmed praročem 58a17-18.

MUCHEMMEDOV 'of Muhammed'. Poss. adjective with Slav suff. *-ov*.

Pan Boh Stvaricel daje dva reke'ėti nam ummešem Muchemmedovim ferzem učiniv 75b21.

Moses

MUŠA مُوسَى. A موسى [Mūsā].

BLK: word-finally *elifi maqsure* retained. Not decl. Often used with PRAROK.

Muša prarok na hare Šinajškej jak pjanij biv 15b23-24; Muša u velikim frasunku biv 77a11; i Muša, Ja jestem tvoj Boh 77a17-18; iz Muša praročem 58a11-12.

MUŠIN 'of Moses'. Possessive adjective with Slav suffix *-in*.

Brat Mušin staršij Haron 105a9.

MOJŽEŠ P *Mojžesz*; cf. Skar *Moisej*.

Mojžeš tego dna na Šinaj Gure z Bogem rozmaval 121b12; rekl Jehova da Mojžeša 106a9.

MOJŽEŠOV 'of Moses'.

Vture kšengi Mojžešove, rozdžal dvanastij virš četrdžešce peršij 105a11-12 (note use of MUŠIN on f. 105a9; see above).

Nimrod

NEMRUD نَمْرُودٌ. A نمرود [Nimrūd]; T *Nemrud*.

BLK: in first syllable *fetħe* [e] reflects Turkish pronunciation, not Arabic. Not found in obl. cases.

Nemrud Ibrahima kezav u ahon uķinuc 76a5-6.

Noah

NUCH نُوْح. A نوح [Nūh].

BLK: standard A orthography, with vowel points. Not decl. Used alone or with PRAROK. First text from Genesis 5:32, but Islamic name used throughout BLK.

Nuch u pac sot hod spladźiv troch sinov 104a8-9; kali spitajuc: Ćijmo ti ludu? ti mov: Nuch praroke jestem ludu 51b14.

NUCHAV 'of Noah'. Possessive adjective with Slav suffix *-av*.

Adamova patomstva u Nuchavim karablu šešć mešecej sćeroħ 17b6.

Pharoah

FERE-/FERA'ON فَرَاعُونُ / فَرَاعُونُ. A فرعون [fir'awn]. BR, P *faraon*.

BLK: in first syllable *fetħe* [e] replaces *kesre* [i]; in second syllable *elif* [a] sometimes inserted before *hemze*, possibly reflecting BR, P influence. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-a*.

Potim povstal krul fere'on u Jehifce 105a5-6; fera'ona priveduc 21b6; ad fere'ona 46a23; budže tabe pomoćnikam nad fere'onem 77a19.

FERE'ONOVIJ 'of Pharoah'. Poss. adjective with Slav suffix *-ovij*.

Izma'ilici predal jeho do Jehiftu Botifarovi achmistrovi fere'onovemu hetmanovi dvurnemo 104a17-19.

Salech

SALICH صَالِح. A صالح [Šāliħ].

BLK: standard A orthography, with vowel points. Used alone or with PRAROK. Decl; masc. hard stem noun. Text from Genesis 11:12-14, but Islamic names used.

Arfechšadu u triccac pac hod uradźivše Salich prarok a Salichu uradźivše Hud prarok 104a11-12.

Samuel

SAMUEL P *Samuel*; Skar, OCS *Samuil*. Cf. A [Ishmawīl, Shamwīl].

Muvi Samuel prarok da Izraalčikov 106b7.

SAMUELOV 'of Samuel'.

Kšengi Samuelove 106b7.

Seth

ŠĪT شِيث . A شِيث [Shīth].

BLK: final ت used in place of ث (scribal error?). Used alone or with PRAROK 'prophet'. Decl; masc. hard stem noun. Text from Genesis 5: 3-6, but Islamic names used.

Adamu u sto tridžeće lat urodžilše jemu sin Šit prarok a Šite... urodživše Anuš 104a2-3.

Simon Peter

ŠEM-/ŠEME'UN شَمْعُونُ / سَمْعُونُ . A شمعون [Sham'ūn].

BLK: free alternation within a single text of word-initial ش [sh] and س [s]. Cf. BR *Symon/Syamyon*, P S-/Sz-. In one place (f.11 a) margin note explains that 'Simon is Peter'. Used alone or with PRAROK. Decl; masc. hard stem noun.

Potim 'Iša prarok ješče jednego poslal do nich, na ime Šeme'un 11a22-23; Šeme'un prožba činil do Pana Boga 12a1; Šeme'un jest Potr (margin 11a); trecim Šeme'unem 11a25.

Solomon

ŠULEJMAN سُلَيْمَان . A سليمان; T *Suleyman*.

BLK: Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a, voc. -e.

Šulejman prarok prašiv Pana Boha 115b10; toj džnen uše ... preklinali Šulejmane 116a9; Pan Boh rek: ustan Šulejmane 116a9.

Terah

Forms Terah and Azer both used. In one text (f. 104a) explained that 'Terah is in our language Azer'.

AŽER أَزْر . A آزر [Āzar].

BLK: standard A orthgr. but no *medde* on *elif*. Not found in obl. cases. Text from Genesis 11:24.

Nachuru... uradživše Terach e pa našemu Ažer 104a14-15.

AŽEREV 'of Terah (Azar)'. Possessive adjective derived from AŽER with Slav suffix -ev.

Ibrahim sin Ažerev 76a4.

TERACH Biblical form of AŽER (see above).

A Terachovi... narodžiloše trech sinov, staršij Ibrahim prarok
104a15-16.

Zachariach

ŽEKERIJA زَكَرِيَّا. A زَكَرِيَّا [Zakarīyyā].

BLK: *shedde* preserved, *hemze* lost. Not decl. Used with PRAROK.
Pan Boh Žekerijja praroka prožbu prinav 45a1.

IV.3.2 Companions of Muhammed and Other Revered Figures

Arabic Personal Names

In BLK the Arabic form *ibn* 'son of' is usually rendered by Slav *sin* 'son', used in conjunction with the name of the father, to which is added Slav possessive suffix *-ov/-av/-ev*; *sin* can either follow or precede the father's name. Possessive form sometimes used alone as personal name e.g. *Abasov*. Arabic article in names generally omitted e.g. 'Abū al-Darda' rendered as *Abu Derde*.

'EB(B)AŠ-/EBAS-/ABASOV (SIN) عَبَّاسُ / عَبَّاسُ / اِبَّاسُ. Cf. ابن عباس 'Ibn 'Abbās', eldest son of 'Abbās, Muhammed's cousin and notable Companion; leading authority on the Traditions.

BLK: *sin* ('son') sometimes omitted. Form AB- uncommon but may reflect Tatar pronunciation; *shedde* over ب [b] often omitted (III.5.1.13/15); ص [s] sometimes replaces س [š], possibly under influence of [a]; decl. as hard stem masc. noun.

Abasov sin muvil ad praroka čuv 44b9; sin 'Ebašov muvil ad praroka 83a18-19; milij 'Ebasov 108b21.

'EBDULLAH SIN MEŠ'UDEV عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنِ مَسْعُودٍ. A عبدالله ابن مسعود 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd', one of the great Traditionists.

BLK: 'EBDULLAH (rarely 'AB-) not decl; MEŠ'UDEV poss. *adq* with Slav suff. *-ev/ov*, decl. as hard stem masc. adj; gen. sg. *-aho*.

'Ebdullah švetij sin Meš'udev ad praroka muvil 45a13; ad sine Meš'udovaho učivše 52a10-11.

ABU BEKĀKIR أَبُو بَكْرٍ. A ابو بكر 'Abū Bakr' (T *Abu Bekir*), first Caliph.

and father of Muhammed's wife Ayesha.

BLK: doubling of [-k-] occurs throughout, possibly reflecting a hyper-correction in original source.

Abu Bekkir svetij aznajmuje 83b8; Abu Bekkir na majom mejscu nechaj budže imamam 107b22.

ABU CHENIFE أَبُو حَنِيفَةَ النعمان. A 'Abū Ḥanifah al-Nu'mān', founder of the Hanafī school, and a renowned Sunni Imam. He was the son of Thābit al-Kufa, rendered in BLK as *sin Sabitovij*.

BLK: treated as a syntagma, CHENIFE declined as masc. soft stem noun, gen. sg. -a; case endings separated from root by epenthetic [-j-] (III.2.2.7). Sometimes preceded by *ajcec* 'father', a term of respect.

Šurej s Kurana pec ferz, tak Abu Chenife svetij muvil 80a8-9; kali spitajuc: čijej ti nauki? ti mov: imama velikaho ajca Chenifeja Kufejskaho, sina Sabitovaho jestem nauki, laska boža nad nim 51b17-19.

ABU DERDE أَبُو دَرْدَاءَ. A 'Abū al-Dardā', a noted Quranic scholar, one of the younger contemporaries of Muhammed.

BLK: word-finally *fetħe* replaces *elif+hemze*. Not found in obl. cases.

Abu Derde udžačnašć božaj nad nim aznajmuje ad praroka 24b4.

ABU HUREJRE أَبُو هُرَيْرَةَ. A 'Abū Hurayrah', a Companion of Muhammed; related greatest number of Traditions of the Prophet.

BLK: word-finally *fetħe* replaces ة (III.5.1.4). Not found in obl. cases.

Abu Hurejre, udžačnašć božaje nad nim aznajmuje ad praroke 82a7-8.

ABU TALIB(OV) أَبُو طَالِبٍ / أَبُو طَالِبُونَ. A 'Abū Tālib', Muhammed's uncle and guardian.

BLK: sometimes Slav poss. adjectival suff. -ov added to TALIB; TALIB, TALIBOV both decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a.

Muchemmed ... Abu Talibov širatu jest 8a18-19; pošle Abu Taliba 107b5; ad 'Eleje, sina Abu Talibova 33a16.

ABU ŽER أَبُو ذَرٍّ. A 'Abū Dharr', a Companion of Muhammed, one of the great Traditionists.

BLK: standard A orthogr. with vowel points; unusually, *shedde* over ر [r] omitted (III.5.1.15).

Aznajmuje Abu Žer, udžačnašć božeja nad nim 16b6.

ANIŠ SIN MALIK(OV) أَنَسُ بْنُ مَالِكٍ / مَالِكُونَ. A 'Anas ibn Malik',

ibn Mālik', a Companion of Muhammed and authoritative transmitter of Traditions.

BLK: curious change of 'Anas' to ANIŠ; MALIK often used without Slav suffix *-ov*; see ABU TALIB(OV).

Aniš sin Malik, udžačnašč božeje nad nim, muvil ad 'Eleje, sina Abu Talibovaha 33a15-16.

AŠAF SIN PERECHEJAŠEV اساف ابن برخيا. A 'Āsaf ibn Barkhiya', identified by some as Solomon's wazir (sura 27:40).

BLK: name *Barkhiya* has been radically transformed: 1. پ [p] replaces ب [b]; 2. E Slav pleophonic treatment of vowel + [r] (*bar-* > *pere-*); 3. *fetħe* [e] replaces *kesre* [i]; 4. Slav possessive adjectival ending *-(š)ev* added to stem. Not found in obl. cases.

Za Šulejman praroke adzin vajoveda imem zvane Ašaf sin Perechejašev 42a20.

BILAL بِلَال. A 'Bilal', first Muezzin, appointed by Muhammed.

BLK: standard A orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-a*.

Bilal jeho milošč adnaho dna da sebach nemažu ažan pev — Muchemmed ačchnuvše i muvil da Bilala heta charošije slova 82b16-19.

CHADIČA خاديجا. A 'Khadijah', Muhammed's first wife.

BLK: final *elif* replaces A ة (III.5.1.4). Decl; fem. hard stem noun.

Šlub brav Muchemmed prarok iz Chadičoj 47a17.

CHEŠEN حَسَن. A 'al-Hasan', eldest son of Ali and Fatima, Muhammed's daughter.

BLK: no article *al-*; standard A orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. *-u*.

Tije kotorije prez ucisk kafirski pamerli Chešen i Chušejjin adzavecca 21a14-15; Fatma adpuščic zabojsstva zabojcav Chešenu i Chušejjinu 21a23-21b1.

CHEŠENOV 'of Hasan'. Possessive adjective derived from CHEŠEN with Slav suffix *-ov*.

U adnoj rucce dđeržac budže Chešenove ačaravanuju kašulu 21a15-16.

CHEŠEN BESERI حَسَنٌ بَصْرِيّ . Cf. A الحسن البصري 'al-Hasan al-Basrī', an esteemed transmitter of the Traditions of the Prophet. Named as a 'link' in the *silsilah* ('chain of transmission') of several Sufi orders, but was not himself a member of a Sufi order.³⁶⁰

BLK: no article *al-*; 'mock' pleophony in *Basri* (III.2.1.2). Not decl. Adžin ubohij prišov da Chešen Beseri 42a16-17.

CHUŠEJJIN حُسَيْنٌ . A الحسين 'al-Husayn', the brother of Hasan and second son of Ali and Fatima.

BLK: no article *al-*; doubling of [-j-] hyper-correction, possibly retained from original source. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u.

Tije katorije prez ucisk kafirski pamerli, Chešen i Chušejjin adzavecca 21a14-15; Fatma adpušćic zabojsstva zabojsav Chešenu i Chušejjinu 21a23-21b1.

CHUŠEJJINAV 'of Husayn'. Possessive adjective with Slav suffix -av.

V druhoj rucce budže dđeržac Chušejjinave krivavuju kašulu 21a16.

DŽABIR جَابِرٌ . A جابر 'Jabir', one of Muhammed's Companions.

BLK: standard A orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Džabir, udžačnašc bože nad nim muvil ad praroke 84b11-12.

*EJŠE/AJŠA عَيْشَا / اَيْشَا . A عايشة 'Ayesha', wife of Muhammed.

BLK: word-initial [aj-] rare, but may reflect Tatar pronunciation; word-finally *elif* replaces A ة (III.5.1.1/4) Not found in obl. cases.

'Ejše jeje milošc ad praroka muvila 44b14-15; Ajša tajemnij doždž vidžela 15b7; 'Ejše... praroscakje žena 107b13-14.

*ELEJ عَلِيٌّ . A علي 'Ali', fourth Caliph; Muhammed's cousin and son-in-law.

BLK: standard A orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. soft stem noun, gen. sg. -a; case endings separated from root by epenthetic [-j-] (III.2.2.7).

'Elej švetij muvil 41b6; ad 'Eleje sina Abu Talibovaho 33a16.

*ELEJEV 'of Ali'. Possessive adjective with Slav suffix -ev.

Chušejjin sin 'Elejev 44b16.

FATMA فَاطِمَا . A فاطمة 'Fatima', Muhammed's daughter, wife of Ali.

BLK: final *elif* replaces A ة (III.5.1.4). Decl; fem. hard stem noun.

³⁶⁰ EI, III:247, s.v. *al-Basrī*.

Fatmu addav za 'Eleje 107b1.

IMAM CHENBELI إِمَامٌ حَنْبَلٍ. Cf. A امام حنبل 'Ibn Ḥanbal', founder of the fourth school of law of the Sunnis.

BLK: word-final [i] possibly a 'frozen' Arabic inflection (III.5.1.17). Both elements decl; treated as masc. nouns, gen. sg. -a; case endings separated from root by epenthetic [-j-] (III.2.2.7).

Čvartaje nauke imama Achmeda Chenbelija 52a3-4.

IMAM MALIKُ إِمَامٌ مَالِكُ. Cf. A مالك ابن أنس 'Mālik ibn Anas', founder of one of the four schools of law of the Sunnis.

BLK: simplified style of name; both elements decl; both treated as masc. hard stem nouns, gen. sg. -a.

Trecija nauka imama Maliķe 52a3.

IMAM ŠAFI إِمَامٌ شَافِي. Cf. A الامام الشافعي 'al-Imam al-Shāf'ī' founder of one of the four schools of law of the Sunnis.

BLK: only IMAM is decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a.

Druhaje nauke imama Šafi 52a2-3.

IMAM ABU JUŠUF إِمَامٌ أَبُو يُوسُف. Cf. A أبو يوسف 'Abū Yūsuf', famous early Muslim scholar, disciple of Abū Ḥanifah.

BLK: only IMAM decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a.

Vedlug nauki Abu Jušuf imama 46b18.

IMAM MUCHEMMED إِمَامٌ مُحَمَّدٌ. Cf. A امام محمد 'Imam Muhammed', a famous early Muslim scholar, disciple of Abū Ḥanifah.

BLK: only IMAM decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a.

Vedlug nauki Abu Jušuf imama i Muchemmed imama, laska bože nam ni 46b18-19.

'UMMER عُمَرُ. Cf. A عمر 'Umar', second Caliph, father of Muhammed's third wife, Hafsa.

BLK: doubling of [-m-] hyper-correction, perhaps retained from original source. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a.

'Ummer švetij muvil ad praroka čuv 41b9-10; sin švetoħa 'Ummera 82a18.

'UMMERAV 'of 'Umar'. Possessive adjective with Slav suffix -av.

Abdullah sin 'Ummerav, udžačnaš božeje nad nim muvila ad praroka 83b19-20.

‘UŠMAN SIN AFANOV عُثْمَانُ بْنُ أَفَانُوْ . Cf. A عثمان ابن عفان ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān’, third Caliph, son-in-law of Muhammed.

BLK: ‘UŠMAN used alone or followed by SIN AFANOV (‘son of ‘Affan’). Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a. In AFANOV *elif* replaces ‘ayn; *shedde* omitted over ف (III.5.1.15); Slav possessive adjectival ending -ov added. Not found in obl. cases.

‘Ušman sin Afanov... fitre zabiv addac 41b13-14; ‘Ušman, udžačnašc boža nad nim muvil ad praroke 73b2; Umkelšum addav za ‘Ušmana 107a23-107b1.

VEHEB SIN MUNEBEHEV وَهَبُ بْنُ مُنَبَّهُوْ . Cf. A وَهْبُ بْنُ مِنْبَهُوْ ‘Wahb ibn Munabbih’ (AD 654 - c. 728); prolific narrator of Traditions; credited (not always reliably) with authorship of many works, including a collection of ‘Stories of the Prophets’ (*Qiṣaṣ al-‘Anbiyā’*), which draws on Christian and Judaic sources.³⁶¹ One text that is ascribed to him occurs in several Tatar manuscripts (see III.8.2), but the attribution is unproven.

BLK: *Veheb* shows ‘mock’ pleophony, in *Munabbih*, *shedde* over ب omitted (III.2.1.2/15); *fetḥe* [e] replaces *kesre* [i] in third syllable; Slav poss. adj. ending -ev. Not found in obl. cases.

Veheb sin Munebehev muvil, udžačnašc božaje nad nim 85a1-2.

IV.3.3 Place Names

Antioch

ANTAĀIJE أَنْطَاكِيْ . Ott أَنْطَاكِيْ (A ة -); T Antakya.

BLK: word-finally *fetḥe* replaces Ott ة <A ة (III.5.1.4). Decl; fem. soft stem noun, gen. sg. -i. Often used with Slav *mesta* ‘place, small town’. ‘Iša prorok ... razeslav svajich tovarišav, dvuch paslav da Antakijji mesta 11a4-6.

ANTAĀIJSĀIJ ‘of Antioch’. Adjective derived from ANTAĀIJE with Slav suff. -skij.

Aznajmiv Muchemmed Meĳkejškim luđzem Antakijjškich luđzej, što nad nimi džejaše 11a3.

³⁶¹ EI, XI: 34, s.v. *Wahb b. Munabbih*.

Damascus

ŠAM شَام. Ott (A) شام; T *Šam*.

BLK: Ott (A) orthogr. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -u.

Iz Šamu da Misiru jechav 118b20; da Šamu prišov 119a1-2.

Egypt

In BLK the usual word for 'Egypt' is Slav JEHIFT/Ī; Ott (A) MESIR/MIŠIR occurs in two texts, one a story concerning David, the other a text on auspicious times and days.

JEHIFT/Ī Word-final soft [-t'] (ت) usual in BLK, though Slav languages use hard consonant [-t]. Skar, OCS *Jegipt*; P *Egipt, Egypt*.

Kedi brace Jušufovi prijechali do Jehiftu 104b20; ucok iz Jehiftu 77a4; bili sinove Izra'ilove u Jehifce četirista dvanadžešce lat 105a5.

MESIR/MIŠIR مَصْرُ / مِثْرُ. Ott (A) مصر; T *Misir*.

BLK: in one text form with ث is used, in another ص, probably reflecting orthography of source text. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a/u.

Iz Šamu da Miširu jechav 118b20; da Mišira pašov 119a1; Jušuf tegndna do Mesira dostalše 123a12.

MICRAIMKA 'an Egyptian' (fem.) < Hebr. *mitsraim* 'Egypt' with Slav suffix -ka. Cf. RT: *misramski* (<A *Miṣr*). Not found in Karaim.

Izma'il prorok, sina staršego Ibrahim praroke kturego jemu uradila Hagar micraimka 106b17-18.

Jerusalem

In BLK the usual term for 'Jerusalem' is an orthographic/phonic form of A *al-bait al-muqaddes*; JERUZALIM is rarely used. In one place an explanation is given that '*Bejti al-mukeddis is Jerusalem*' (f. 54b).

BEJTŪ AL-MUKEDDIŠU/ MUKEDDIŠU/ BEJTĪ AL-MUKEDDIŠU بَيْتُ الْمُقَدَّسِ / مُقَدَّسُ / بَيْتِ الْمُقَدَّسِ. A البيت المقدس [al-bait al-muqaddas] lit. 'the Holy House', the form used in religious contexts to refer to Jerusalem. Cf. Turkish *beyti mukaddes*.³⁶²

BLK: final -u/-i of BEJTŪ and -u of MUKEDDIŠU 'frozen' Arabic inflections (III.5.1.17), but -u possibly understood as gen. and prep.

³⁶² Persian, Urdu etc. also use forms derived from *bayt al-muqaddas*.

sg. respectively of Slav masc. hard stem declension.

U dome božim mukeddišu praroči buduc 55a1-2; bejti al-mukeddišu iz čirvonaha jachentu 54b19; čistij Bože Katorij tajemne pravadživ sluhu Svajho v noči da bejtu al-mukeddišu 9b4.

JERUZALIM Skar, OCS *Ierusalim*; P *Jeruzalem*; Lat *Jerusalem*.

Bejti al-mukeddiš to jest Jeruzalim 54b16-17; dom bežij (boz-) ... co krul Šulejman buđoval v Jeruzalime 106a2-3.

The Ka'aba

ĶE'BE / ĶABE كَعْبَة / كَابَة. A كعبة [Ka'bah]. RT: *kiewbe, kiewbie*; 'u *kiewbieju byt'*.

BLK: word-finally *fetħe* replaces A ă, occasionally *elif* replaces 'ayn + *fetħe* (III.5.1.4/1). Decl; neut. soft stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u; case endings separated from root by epenthetic [-j-] (III.2.2.7).

Choc bi da Ķe'beju chadživ 110b10; preciv Ķe'beju klaneciše 79b13; addavali ukloni ku Ķe'beju 68a17; pri Ķabeju ne statečne činic 111b6; prorok u Ķe'beju nemaž klanevše 10a18.

ĶE'BEJNI(J) 'of the Ka'aba'. Adjective derived from ĶE'BE with Slav suffix -ni(j).

Kurejšov ludži a (u) Ke'bejnich varotach šedželi 10a18; vera jeho haspadaj Ke'bejni 89b6-7.

Mecca

MEĶĶE مَكَّة. A مكة [Makka].

BLK: word-finally *fetħe* replaces A ă, *shedde* preserved (III.5.1.4/15); case endings separated from root by epenthetic [-j-] (III.2.2.7). Decl; neut. soft stem noun, gen. sg. -u, prep. sg. -u, voc. -e.

Aj mesta MeĶkeje 109a9; hetij šurej da MeĶkeju zeslani 102b1; iz MeĶkeju da Medineju 21a3; naradživše u MeĶkeju dvanaccatej noči 62a13.

MEĶĶ-/MEĶEJSĶIJ 'of Mecca'. Adjective derived from MEĶĶE with Slav suffix -skij. Form with single [-k-] rare.

Ubbej sin Dželefev z MeĶkejskim vujskam prišov skora 26a13; na dachu MeĶkejskem ažan pev 83a5-6; aznajmiv Muchemmed MeĶejskim ludžem 11a2-3.

Medina

MEDINE مَدِينَة. A مدينة [Madīna].

BLK: in second syllable *kesre* replaces ي, word-finally *fetħe* replaces A ĩ (III.5.1.2/15). Decl; neut. soft stem noun, gen. sg. -u; case endings are separated from root by epenthetic [-j-] (III.2.2.7).

Mesta Medine muvic: aj mesta Mekkeje, ne chvališe 109a9.
muhadžirove iz Mekkeju da Medineju s prarokem naprod višli 21a3.

MEDINEJEC 'inhabitant of Medina'. Noun derived from MEDINE with Slav suffix -ec.

Medinejci 'erabove ... majo činic kurbanı 106a1-2.

MEDINEJSKIJ 'of Medina'. Adjective derived with Slav suffix -skij.

Abičaj tam taki biv u ludžej Medinejškich 65a1.

Mount Caucasus

KAF قَاف. A قاف [Qāf].

BLK: standard A orthogr. Not decl. Used with Slav *hara* 'mountain'.

Za Kaf haroj šemdžešat takich hor jest 15a3-4.

Mount Lebanon

LIBNAN لُبْنَان. A لبنان [Lubnān]. Cf. OBR HSBM *Livan(on)*; P *Liban*.

BLK characteristics: use of *kesre* [i] in first syllable reflects Slav influence. Not decl. Used with Slav *hara* 'mountain'.

Matka maja na hare Libnan adna buduči z hetaho šveta zišla 86a7-8.

Mount Sinai

ŠINAJ سَيْنَاي. cf. A سينا [Sīnā]; Heb *Sīnāi*; BR, P *Syon*.

BLK: word-finally ي replaces *hemze* (ء). Not decl. Used with Slav *hara* 'mountain'.

Mojžeš tego dna na Šinaj gure z Bogem rozmaval 121b10.

ŠINAJSKIJ 'Sinai' (adj.). Derived from ŠINAJ with Slav suffix -skij.

Muša ... prichadživ da Šinajškej hari 77a8-10.

Mount Qubais

KUBEJŠ قُبَيْس. A قبيس [Qubays].

BLK: standard A orthogr. Not decl. Used with Slav *hara* 'mountain'.

Muchemmeda ... pabjem na haru Kubejš 10a19.

Plain of Arafat

Reference in BLK ambiguous; either *al-A'rāf* 'a limbo between heaven and hell' for prophets and other revered figures, or Mount 'Arafāt, Holy Hill outside Mecca. Context indicates the former, orthography the latter.

*ARAFÁTْ عارافات. A الاعراف [al-A'rāf], عرفات ['Arafāt].

BLK: orthography an amalgam of cited A forms. Not decl. Used with Slav *pole* 'field, plain'.

Dna sudhaho ebacimše na 'Arafāt polu 86b10.

ŽEMŽEM زَمَزَم. Ott (A) زمزم; T *Zemzem*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not decl.

U ruce bardak džeržic, u adnom žemžem vada a v druhom kevšer 88b11-89a1; prišov da vadi žemžem 88b11.

IV.3.4 Other Proper Nouns

ABU DŽAHIL أبو جَاهِل. A ابو جهل 'Abū Jahl', the name given to 'Amr ibn Hishām, one of Muhammed's opponents.

BLK: *elif* inserted in first syllable of DŽAHIL; two elements treated as a syntagma, only DŽAHIL decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a.

Abu Džahil, kledba božeja nad nim... chacev praroka u halavu udaric 10a13-14; ten ajeť jest dla Abu Džahila 10a13.

BURAK بُرَاق. A براق Burak, the horse which bore Muhammed on his Miraculous Journey to the Heavens (the Mi'rāj).

BLK: A orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Burak pašov jak okeť mhnuc da hari Sinaj 90b2.

DE-/DADŽDŽAL دَجَالُ / دَجَالُ. A دجال; T *Deccal*

BLK: in first syllable *elif* [a] and *fetħe* [e] used in free alternation within same text. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a.

Dadždžal preklentij povstane na mušulman 86b13; 'Iša prarok jeho milość ž neba zišovši Dedždžala praklataho zabje 86b15-16.

*ERABIN عَرَابِينُ 'an Arab'. Ott (A) عرب; T *Arab, Arap*. None of the BR or P dictionaries cite this precise form; cf. HSBM *arap, arab, aravitin*; BR-R *arab, Bial arap* 'a dark-skinned person'; P *arab*.

BLK: orthography of the root indicates that it was borrowed from Ott (A) and given Slav singulative suffix -in (cf. KAFIRIN).

Decl; masc. hard stem noun, nom. pl. -ove, gen. pl. -ov.

Prišov adžin 'erabin 108a9; 'erabove Kurejšane 28a13; 'erabove
Ķedarove 106a1; da tich 'erabov ketorije imanū žadali 10a3.

'ERAB-/ 'ARABSKĪJ 'Arabian, Arab'. Adjective derived from 'ERAB
with Slav suff. *-skij*. Form 'ERABSKĪJ more common in BLK.
Cf. HSBM (*arabski/-pski*); BR-R, P *arabski*.

Abičaj 'arabskij 8b16; 'arabskich ludžej 9b20; u 'arabskam panstve
26b9.

GEFFAR غَفَّارٌ. Cf. Ott (A) غفّار, T *Gaffar*, 'the Pardoner', one of the
ninety-nine Muslim names for God. RT: *gaffar* 'God'. However, in
BLK it is the name of a tree (see citation below).

BLK: orthography as for cited Ott (A) term. Not found in obl. cases.

U 'arabskam panstve jest džerava ... Geffar zavuc 26b9-10.

GEJBETْ غَيْبَتْ. Ott غيبَة (A -); T *gaybet*. Redh defines it thus:
'absence, invisibility, loss'; myst. 'a being lost to material things'. In
BLK the Turkish interlinear translation which accompanies this
passage uses the following phrase: *gejbet' ceke ceke jerlerdi*. T *çek-*
can mean either 'to pull' or 'to experience an emotion' (e.g. pain,
excitement). The accompanying BR text gives a literal rendering of
the phrase: *ludži gejbet' rvuči rvuči jeli*, translating *çek-* by *rvac* 'to
pull'. Thus, the Tatars apparently understood *gejbet'* as something
tangible. In RT it is explained as 'a plant found by Muhammad during
the Miraj'; cf. RT citation '*gajbiet jeduč' (Chamait)*.

BLK: orthography as for cited Ott (A) term. Not found in obl. cases.

Ludži gejbet rvuči rvuči jeli 96b3.

KUREJŠAN 'a member of the Quraish tribe' (from which Muhammed
was descended); A قريش [Quraish], with Slav suffix *-an(in)*.

Muchemmed kurejšanom to jest kurejšane 'erabove stri i brace
Muchemmeda 28a13; ad Ķedara pošli kurejšove... a kurejšove inše
bili strijove Muchemmed praroka 107a1-3.

KUREJŠOV 'Quraish' (adj.). Possessive adjective with Slav suffix *-ov*.

Kurejšov ludži 10a18; hetij ajeť dla kurejšovich ludžej 10a17.

MEREDŽْ مَرَجْ. Cf. Ott (A) مرج, T *merc* 'meadow, plain'. In BLK
explained as the name of a tree. However, this meaning is not found
elsewhere; EI lists various battles in which this word forms part of the
name (e.g. *marj al-šuffar*, *marj rahit*), but no tree of this name.

BLK: orthography as for cited Ott (A) term, but with E Slav pleophony [-ere-]. Not found in obl. cases.

U 'arabskom panstve jest dđerava zavuc Meredith 16b9.

NAR نَار 'pomegranate'. Ott (Per) نار; T (Per) *nar*.

BLK: Ott (Per) orthogr. Not found in obl. cases.

Dđerava bilo, nazivali nar 118a12.

REFREF رَفْرَف 'last of the four vehicles which carried Muhammed on Journey to the Heavens' (the Mi'rāj). Ott (A) رَفْرَف; T *Refref*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Ime Refref da mene adno kresla prišlo 97b5.

'URDŽUN عُرْجُون. Cf. Ott (A) عرجون, T *urcun* 'a stump of a bunch of dates left on the tree when the bunch is cut off'. In BLK, understood as the name of a tree (see below). RT states that the meaning of this word has been lost and gives the following citation: 'człowiek jak wietchi urdżun będzie' (*Kitab*).

BLK: orthography as for cited Ott (A) term. Not found in obl. cases.

'Urdżun značiše funiku vahu, Kuran dđerava abo kara jest 17a12; toja nedačataje dđerava 'urdżun nazivajuc 17a14; mešecu mejsca naznačonije jest, mešecu dveccac ošim mejscav jest, tije mejsca perejđe barzdo izniščeje 'urdżun budžec 17a11-12.

IV.4 Miscellaneous Ottoman Words

AJ/EJ اِي/اي 'o!', vocative invocation. Ott آي; T *ey!* See I, JA.

BLK: Ott orthogr. Not found in obl. cases.

Aj tevarišu! 91b2; ej brace! 87a5

AŠAŠ آساس. 'basis, principle'. Ott (A) اساس; T *esas*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. but word-initially *medde* over *elif*. Not found in obl. cases.

Levchu šurej ašaš zavuc 30a19.

BARDAK بَارْدَاق 'glass'. Ott بَارْدَاق; T *bardak*. In Turkish interlinear text T (Ott/A) *ibrik* 'ewer' is used in place of *bardak*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Kažnij u ruce bardak dđeržic 88b11-89a1.

BEJŤ بَيْت 'house'. Ott بيت; T *beyt*. RT: *bejt*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not decl; sometimes found

with 'frozen' Arabic inflections nominal *-u*, genitive *-i* (III.5.1.17).
Used only in set expressions (e.g. BEJŤI AL-MUKEDDIŠ).

Bejti al-me'muru... bejti al-mukeddeš 54b16; čistij Bože Katorij
tajemne pravadživ sluhu Svajho... da bejtu al-mukeddišu 9b4.

DIVANE دوان 'foolish, insane'. Ott (Per) دیوانه; T *divane*.

BLK: in first syllable *kesre* replaces ی; word-finally *fetħe* replaces ا
(III.5.1.2/4). Not decl.

Historija a Pehlul divane 19a22.

'EKIK عقیق 'carnelian, agate'. Ott (A) عقیق; T *akik*. RT: *akik*.

RT defines it as 'something of worth', illustrating this meaning with
same passage as found in BLK: 'z czerwonego akyku było na jom
adzienio' (*Kitab*).

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; masc. hard stem noun.
gen. sg. *-u*.

Z čirvonaho 'ekiku bilo na nom adžene 88a3.

'EMANAŤ امانات 'surety; safe-keeping'. Ott (A) امانت (Aة-ا);

T *emanat*. RT: *emanet, amanat, amanet*; 'i Panu Bogu emanetom
polecal' (*Kitab*); 'niechaj moj amanet majo' (*Kitab*).

BLK: word-initially 'ayn + *fetħe* replaces *elif*, word-finally Ott
treatment of ا < Aة (III.5.1.6/5). Not found in obl. cases.

I tije ketorije vcale 'emanat addajuc 51a4-5.

FETVA فتوا 'legal opinion'. Ott (A) فتوا; T *fetva*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Decl; neut. hard stem noun.
prep. sg. *-u*; case endings separated from root by epenthetic [-j]
(III.2.2.7).

U fetvaju piše 111a9.

I 'o!'. Ott ای; T (arch.) *i!* Usual vocative particle in BLK, occurs with
Turkish (A/Per) and Slav words alike.

I 'Ejša! 15b7; i kafire! 18a5; i matke! 85b9.

JA 'o!'. Ott (A) یا; T *ya!* Rare in BLK; I and AJ/EJ preferred.

Ja Mustefa 108a13.

KUŠLUK/-G قوشلوق / قوشلوق. Ott قوشلوق; T *kuşluk* 'morning'. In

BLK mostly used for 'the morning prayer' (p. 227), but in a text on
auspicious times, which shows distinct Turkish influence, found with
the general meaning 'morning', as in Turkish.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points; word-finally [k>g] typical of Turkish development when suffixes added. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, prep. sg. -u.

U kušlugu šate krajec barzo dobre 123a15.

MERDŽAN مَرَجَان 'coral'. Ott (A) مرجان; T *mercan*.

BLK: Ott orthogr. with vowel points. Not found in obl. cases.

Zubi merdžan 89a4.

RE'JŠ/RE'JŠ رَيْسٌ / رَيْسٌ 'chief, commander'. Ott (A) رئيس; T *reis*.

BLK: found in one text only; random alternation of س/ث (III.5.1.2/12).

Decl; masc. hard stem noun, gen. sg. -a, voc. sg. -u.

Toj re'jš z ludźmi prišov 118b5; David muvil: aj re'jšu 118b9; z voli božej taho re'jša ruķi hevarili 119a4; taho času re'jšu virek učiniš 118b17.

SA'E صَاع 'a measure of weight used in Qu'ran'. A صاع.

RT: *saa*; 'saa jest miara jedynaście funtów waży' (*Kitab*).

BLK: final 'ayn reinforced by *fetħe*. Only occurs in one text. Decl; fem. noun, gen. -i; sometimes combined with *pul* ('half').

Sa'e tak mara jedinašće funtav važi a pulsa'i pulšustu funtav 41a 20.

ŠATIR سَاطِرٌ 'a line of writing'. Ott (A) سطر; T *satır*. RT: *satyr*; 'na pierwszym satyre pierszaho churfu' (*Kitab*).

BLK: *alif* in first syllable. Decl; masc. hard stem noun, nom. pl. -i.

Na toj charonge (-gve) tri šatiri napisani buduc 20b20-21.

TAKHJE طَاحِي 'skull cap (worn by the Prophet)'. A طاقية 'skull cap' (no special significance). RT: *tachja* 'item of clothing worn by the Prophet Muhammad on the Day of Judgement'.

BLK: fricative ح [ch] substituted for plosive ق [k]; word-finally *fetħe* replaces ة; epenthetic [j] inserted before case ending. Decl; fem. noun.

Ajša, halavu čim prikrila? muvila: tvajej tachjeju 15b8.

USTO أُصْطَوٌ 'master, teacher'. Ott (P) استاذ; استاد; T *usta*, *ustad*. RT *ustu*; 'ustu swajeho szanuj (*Kitab*); *usta budu prasić* (*Kitab*).

BLK: word-finally *vav* with *fetħe* [o]; 'hard' ص [s] and ط [t] replace Ott (P) 'soft' consonants س [ś] and ت [t']. Decl; epenthetic [j] inserted before case ending.

Jak Šulejman džicem biv Asaf jeho ustoju biv 42a21-22.

PART V CONCLUSIONS

V.1 General Conclusions

This study has two defining characteristics. Firstly, it is based on a line-by-line examination of an entire manuscript, consisting of 125 folios. Secondly, it focuses on a fairly large cross-section of the vocabulary used in this manuscript (just over 1,000 words). Both these features are relevant to the interpretation of the findings presented below.

The manuscript is written in a single hand (possible exceptions are very minor and could perhaps be explained by a change of pen rather than a change of scribe), and on paper bearing the same watermark throughout. Thus, it is reasonable to suppose that it was copied by a single individual within a fairly short period of time. Nevertheless, there is a high degree of linguistic variation within the manuscript. In particular, some sections show a stronger Polish influence than others. Thus, while it is possible to identify predominant characteristics, this must be qualified by the awareness that, within the space of few pages (or even a few lines), a somewhat different picture might be observed. (The same variation is found within other Tatar manuscripts, and also between the same texts as recorded in different Tatar manuscripts.) Consequently, although some general conclusions may be drawn, based on such criteria as the frequency of occurrence, they must be set within this context of micro-level variation.

The use of a broad semantic concept to define the field of study has yielded a critical mass of research material that is etymologically and stylistically fairly diverse. This has provided the basis for a detailed investigation of the etymological structure and semantic composition of the vocabulary of BLK. Specifically, it has been possible to examine such questions as the function, scope and adaptation of the various lexical elements (Slav and non-Slav), the extent of semantic differentiation, the incidence of graphic/orthographic alternation, the incidence of phonological and morphological variation (reflecting Belarusian/Polish variation, as well as literary/dialectal variation) and the comparative degree of preference for one form over another. These findings throw light on other issues, such as the probable geographic origin of the manuscript as indicated by the predominant linguistic features. Moreover,

they have socio-linguistic implications, because they reveal that the Tatars were well integrated into the majority culture, but nevertheless preserved a degree of 'distance' as a result of their religious affiliation, which in turn gave rise to a distinctive 'jargon' or 'sociolect'. These issues are discussed more fully in the sections below.

V.2 Etymological Conclusions

This study identifies 1,094 words (doublets and proper nouns included) that may be regarded as constituting the religious vocabulary of the British Library Belarusian Tatar Kitab (BLK). Of this total, 741 (67.7%) items are Slavonic and 353 (32.3%) are Turkish (using this term to include words of Arabic and Persian origin). Of the 741 Slavonic words, 467 (63.0%) are found in both Belarusian and Polish, 137 (18.5%) only in Belarusian, 62 (8.4%) only in Polish; 15 words (2.0%) show OCS influence, 60 words (8.1%) are not cited in any of the dictionaries that were consulted.³⁶³ It is possible that some of these words will figure in future sections of *Historyčny sloŭnik biełaruskaj movy* (main ed. A. I. Žuraŭski), which began to appear in Minsk in 1982, but at the time of writing this multi-volumed work was still incomplete.

V.2.1 Belarusian and Polish Segmentation

Close study of BLK reveals that the basic language of this manuscript is Belarusian: this is true of the bulk of the vocabulary, likewise of the morphology, phonology and syntax. However, there is also a strong Polish element, particularly in the vocabulary. In order to assess the significance of this Polish influence, it is necessary to look at the wider historical context of the relationship between Polish and Belarusian. Two factors are of particular significance: firstly, that these languages share a not inconsiderable common lexical fund; secondly, that Polish loans were absorbed into Belarusian from the 13th century onwards. This trend not only continued, but gained in strength over the next few centuries, until by the mid-seventeenth century Belarusian was thoroughly permeated by Polish.³⁶⁴ Thus, words such as the following belong as much to the one

³⁶³ Figures in this section must be taken as approximate, as the Arabic script orthography of Slav words is often not exact enough to allow for more than a subjective decision as to whether a particular word represents a previously attested form or a hitherto unrecorded variant.

³⁶⁴ Bułachaŭ: 51-103; Bułyka, 'Pałanizmy': 16-24; also Šakun: 1-177.

language as to the other: *kryvda, ličba, pomsta, pożytok, učinok and zvičaj*.

Another group of words, though of Polish origin, had entered Belarusian so long before BLK was copied (c. 1835), that they cannot be regarded as an indication of a contemporary Polish bias in the language of the Tatars. Rather, the use of such Polonisms reflects the lexical composition of literary (and possibly colloquial) Belarusian from the late seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. Several of these words are no longer used in modern Belarusian, thus unless BLK is considered in its historical context, it appears to be more directly influenced by Polish than was likely actually the case.

Polish loans recorded in standard OBR and found in BLK include:

13th century: *cnota* (1206), *pečentar* (1276), *pycha* (1296);³⁶⁵

14th-15th centuries: *moc* (1423-38), *mocar* (late 15th cent.), *pac* (1340), *prištyj* (1492), *obecati* (1489), *svjadectvo* (1388), *tamtyj* (late 15th cent.), *vekuistyj* (1498), *vontpiti* (late 15th cent.), *zacnyj* (1438), *zupelnyj* (1498);

16th-17th centuries: *chluba* (1580), *cudzołozstvo* (1634), *čtovek* (1517-19), *modlitva* (1593), *nendza* (1580), *obrona* (1540), *ospaťnyj* (1593), *oznajmati* (1563), *šventyj* (1612), *šalber* (1597), *velbiti* (early 16th cent.), *vjara* (1539), *zešty* (1509), *zmarly* (1563).

Words from other European sources, particularly from Latin and German, are also found in BLK. All such terms are loans found in Belarusian of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Some may have entered the language directly, but the majority came via Polish (which itself received some of the Latin words through German).³⁶⁶

Latin loans recorded in standard OBR and in BLK include:

cesar (BR late 15th cent.), *dekret* (BR 1456), *destament/testament* (BR 1506), *figel* (BR 1627), *interes* (BR late 16th cent.), *maistat/majestat* (BR 1442), *natura* (BR 1580), *oferal/offjara* (BR late 15th

³⁶⁵ Dates cited here are those established by Bułyka (*Daŭnija zapazyčaŭni*), but Žuraŭski indicates that some of these words may have been borrowed much earlier ('Zapazyčana ja leksika ŭ starabiełaruskaj movie': 1-104).

³⁶⁶ Kiedajtenie: 46-50; Žuraŭski, 'Leksika niemieckaha pachoždaŭnia': 60-73; cf. Bułyka, 'Inšaŭmoŭnyja leksičnyja elementy ŭ Vislickim Statucie': 52-57; *ibid.*, 'Leksičnyja zapazyčaŭni': 28-35.

cent.), *rejestr* (BR 1510), *virš* (BR 1580).

German loans recorded in standard OBR and in BLK include:

falš (BR 16th cent.), *frasovati* (BR 1598), *kgvat* (BR 1423-38), *imber* (BR 1582), *totr* (BR late 15th cent.), *šala* (BR early 17th cent.), *šanovati* (BR 1544), *škoda* (BR 1423-38), *vaha* (BR 1401).

Another factor that must be taken into account when attempting to draw a distinction between Belarusian and Polish elements in BLK is the phonological anarchy of the manuscript. Phonological doublets abound, often in one and the same text, sometimes even in the same line. A simple word-list is misleading, as some phonological variants occur far more frequently than their corresponding equivalents. This may have been the result of external factors, such as the origin of the particular text that was used as an exemplar (there is some indication in the text that different exemplars were used). The unstable nature of the orthography is also a problem, making it impossible, in some cases, to identify genuine phonetic/phonological variants. This is particularly true of the alternation [a/o] in unstressed position: [a] should represent the Belarusian form, [o] the Polish form. However, in this text, the vacillation between the two symbols is so frequent that it is unlikely that they represent phonetic/phonological variants (though this may have been the case at an earlier stage), but rather that they are orthographic variants: e.g. *astatni/ostatni*, *bahamoljel/bohomolje*, *cemnaśc/cemnośc*, *dazvalene/ dozvolene*, *paznaka/ poznaka*, *stvaricel/stvoricel*.

Similarly, the use of [u] in place of [o] could indicate Polish influence, but without further supporting evidence this feature is inconclusive, since at an earlier period the symbol for [u] was used for both [o] and [u]. In this manuscript symbols representing [u] are found in positions in which Polish has [u], corresponding to BR [o], as well as in positions in which Polish has [o]: e.g. *Bug* for P *Bóg*, but also *vula* for P *vola*. It is therefore probable that the use of [u] in place of [o] in BLK owes something to the conservative graphic system of the manuscript and does not necessarily indicate a Polish influence (see III.3). The nasal vowels of Polish are represented by [en] and [on]. They are not uncommon in BLK, but forms with the oral vowels of Belarusian are more common: e.g. *mudrij*, *praklatij*, *sud*, *švetij* are found more often than *mondrij*, *preklientij*, *sond*, *šventij*. It is also noteworthy that some of

these Polish nasal forms were already established in Belarusian by the seventeenth century or earlier: e.g. *śventyj* (BR 1612). The nasal vowel of the Polish reflexive particle *-się* is not found in BLK. Even Polish verbal infinitive forms which do not appear to have been assimilated into standard Belarusian are in this text given the BR suffix *-cca* (or *-śe*): e.g. *prijecelicca* for P *przjacielić się*, *zafRASOVACCA* for P *zafRASOWAĆ się*.

Doublets with Polish [a] for Belarusian [e] rarely occur in BLK and when they do, the Polish equivalents are generally forms that had been assimilated into Belarusian by the sixteenth century or earlier: e.g. *varz* for P *wiara* (BR 1539); cf. BR *viera*. In all such cases, the Belarusian forms predominate. This is also true of the metathesized Polish forms that are found alongside the pleophonic forms of Belarusian: not only do the latter predominate, but the former (the metathesized forms) are often those which were already established in Belarusian: e.g. *krol* (BR 1351), *drokga* (BR 1546), *čłovek* (BR 1517-19); cf. BR *karol*, *daroha*, *čłaviek*. Preservation of the cluster CS *dl, typical of Polish, is found only in *modlitva* (cf. BR *malitva*); this form is also found in 16th-century Belarusian. In all other cases the Belarusian development of CS *dl > lv is exhibited: e.g. *prišov* (cf. P *przyszedł*).

Doublets formed with the Belarusian velar fricative [h] and the Polish velar plosive [g] are found in BLK: e.g. *mahila/magila*, *hrob/grob*, *hnev/gnev*. Forms with Belarusian [h] far outnumber those with Polish [g], but [g] is preserved in words which in OBR were pronounced with this sound: e.g. *gvatt* (cf. OBR *kgvatt* (1423-38), MBR *hvatt*). No alternation is found in BLK between BR liquid *r* [r] and P fricative *rz* [ʒ]. Only *r* is used, even in words of Polish origin (see III.3). This was also the case in OBR. Many such Polish words were in fact old loans that had been absorbed into Belarusian before the sixteenth century: e.g. *cesar* (BR late 15th cent.), *mocar* (BR late 15th cent.), *prištij* (BR 1492); cf. P *cesarz*, *mocarz*, *przyszły*.

No special preference is shown for word-forming morphemes of either language. Polish *-ca*, which was widely used in OBR,³⁶⁷ is found in BLK: e.g. *karca*, *stvorca*. The BR suffix *-ec* may be present in such words as *bahamolcav*, *stvorencav*, but as they do not occur in the nominative singular it is impossible to tell which form is intended.

³⁶⁷ Viarchoŭ: 110-18; Žuraŭski, *Histaryčnaja leksikałohija*: 99-100.

Neither word is recorded in Belarusian or Polish dictionaries with both the same meaning and the same morphological form as in BLK (cf. P *bogomódlca*; BR *bahamolec* 'pilgrim', while the meaning in BLK appears to be 'a pious person'). The prefixes *pere-* (BR) and *pre-* (P) are both used: *perelenknene*, *prestrach*; cf. P *przeleknienie*, *przestrach*. There may, nevertheless, be a degree of semantic differentiation in some fields. Epithets used for God are quite often in the Polish form, while those used for mortals and other divine creations are generally in the Belarusian form: e.g. *mondrij* (God)/*mudrij* (the Prophet), *śventij* (God)/*śvetij* (Abu Bakr), *krul* (God)/*keral* (latter also used for God, but only once), *strož* (God)/*storož* (angel). This distinction is not adhered to very rigorously and could be no more than a coincidence, but it is possible that the Polish forms were felt to be more 'elevated' than the Belarusian. Moreover, the Tatars appear to have been familiar with the Polish translation of the Bible and to have used this as the basis for their paraphrases of Biblical passages rather than the Skaryna translation into Belarusian (1517-19), though even this work contains several Polonisms.

V.2.2 Old Church Slavonic

The uniquely Old Church Slavonic element in BLK is very small (see III.4). Words of CS origin, such as *Boh/Bug*, *blud*, *hnev/gnev*, *vera/vara* and *žemla/žeme* are not the exclusive heritage of OCS, hence such forms cannot be attributed to any direct OCS influence. The distinctively OCS contribution in this work is seen rather in such features as the occurrence of the present participle active in *-uščij*: e.g. *mahuščij*, *viduščij*, *dajuščij*; also in the reflex of CS *ort- > rat: e.g. *razumnij*, *rab*. The use of such forms is not restricted to particularly elevated contexts and most of the OCS forms are found in free alternation with Belarusian and Polish forms, particularly in the case of the present participle: cf. BR *dajučij*, *čujučij*, P *dajoncij*, *vidžoncij* (the last three, for example, are used to refer to attributes of God in BLK).

An initial *je-* in place of *o-* (or *a-*) is as much due to Polish as to OCS influence: e.g. *jedinij*, *jedinostva*. Such forms are usually outnumbered by those with the corresponding BR *a-*: cf. *adžinij*, *adžinostva*. The demonstrative adjective *onij* 'that', used in conjunction with *śvet* to indicate 'the other world' is OCS, but apart from this there are very few examples of the influence of OCS in BLK, even in areas

most closely linked with religious belief: e.g. the use of in BLK *pekla* for 'hell', not OCS *ad*"; *pan* for 'Lord', hardly ever OCS *gospod*.

V.2.3 Dialectal Components

Given the nature of the subject matter of BLK, with its focus on religious beliefs, moral precepts and ritual practice, it is not surprising that the vocabulary should be drawn mainly from the standard literary language, since these are topics which are best conveyed by the 'high style' level of the language. Yet dialect terms are occasionally used for familiar, homely concepts, e.g. *baba pupareznaja* 'midwife', *iskrak* 'mucus', *šlunk* 'innards', *varoška* 'female fortune-teller'. Such words occur very infrequently and are thus the exception rather than the rule. The percentage distribution of the words that constitute the religious lexicon of BLK (as defined in this study), as recorded in dictionaries of Belarusian, provides an insight into the lexical balance of this manuscript. The highest percentage shares are found in dictionaries of OBR, the next highest in those of the standard modern language and the smallest in the dialect dictionaries. These percentages are related in some measure to the size of the dictionaries. Most of the dialect dictionaries are smaller than those devoted to the standard language and the choice of material is usually somewhat restricted, devoted mainly to 'exotic' local realia. The highest correlation between terms used in BLK and those recorded in dictionaries of Belarusian is found, not surprisingly, in the largest dictionaries. As regards the dialect dictionaries, these are the ones that focus on such areas as Smolensk (Dob) and Mahiloŭ (Bial). The Tatar settlements are, however, concentrated in a different part of the country, roughly speaking in the rectangle formed by Hrodna, Vilna, Minsk and Lahavičy, thus the area in which the South West Belarusian dialects are found. There are distinct traces of SW features in the phonology and morphology of BLK, but a very low percentage of the terms used in this work is cited in the dictionaries of this region. This is probably because such dictionaries are relatively small and consequently tend not to deal with the topics discussed in BLK. The percentage distribution of the terms included in this study of BLK, as cited in larger dictionaries of Belarusian, is shown below in **Table 1**.

Table 1: Percentage distribution of terms cited in BR dictionaries

Categories of Dictionaries	Number of words from BLK	% of BR	% of Slav
OBR Dictionaries:			
Buř, PB, Skar, SS	430	71.2	58.0
MBR Dictionaries:			
BR-R (90,000 entries)	412	68.2	55.6
BN (~10,000 entries)	281	46.5	37.9
McM (3,378 entries)	253	41.9	34.1
Nos (~43,000 entries)	295	48.9	39.8
Main BR Dialect Dictionaries:			
Bial (Mahiloŭ region; 20,000 entries)	180	29.8	24.3
Dob (Smolensk region; 20,500)	200	33.1	27.0
Kaś (Viciebsk region; 8,500 entries)	134	22.2	18.1
Šat (Červien region; ~7,700 entries)	151	25.0	20.4
Var (Lahojsk area: ~5,700 entries)	95	15.7	12.8

The other dialect dictionaries consulted are very much smaller and contain a correspondingly lower percentage of the BLK vocabulary; most cite about 1% of the total (10 words) or less. This includes dictionaries such as Ściac (Zelva area), Ściaš (Hrodna region) and Žyd (Maładziečna-Minsk region), which record the dialects of the areas in which the main Tatar settlements are found. The percentages for these three dictionaries are shown below in **Table 2**.

Table 2: Percentage distribution of terms cited in west-central BR dialect dictionaries

Dictionaries	Number of Words	% of BR	% of Slav
Ściac (Zelva district)	7	1.2	0.9
Ściaš (Hrodna district)	44	7.3	5.9
Žyd (Minsk and Maładziečna districts)	11	1.8	1.5

V.2.4 Ottoman Turkish (Arabic and Persian) Components: Adaptation and Integration

The Turkish words (overwhelmingly Ottoman, of Arabic origin) used by the Tatars in BLK constitute 32.3% of the total religious vocabulary. The majority are names of personages, holy months and days, and rituals. It is extremely difficult to differentiate between common and proper nouns in BLK, since in some sense virtually all the non-Slav words are proper nouns, since they designate things that for the Tatars were unique and particular. However, if personal names and other specific labels are set aside, a small group of some 120 Turkish lexemes (34.0% of the whole loan vocabulary) is left. These relate to the most essential features of

Islamic practice, namely: faith, ritual obligations (especially prayer and ablutions), canon law (obligations and prohibitions) and community worship. Some of these words were quite productive.

As discussed in **PART III (section 6)** new forms were derived by adding Slav morphemes, an indication of the extent to which they had become integrated into the language of the Tatars. In BLK by far the most commonly derived forms are adjectives. In fact, in some instances the original noun is not found in this manuscript, only the derived adjectival forms. Feminine and abstract nominal derivatives are very rare and verbal derivatives non-existent in BLK. Woronowicz does, however, record several such forms in RT, suggesting that they occur in other manuscripts, or were used in colloquial speech.³⁶⁸

It has been suggested that the Turkish words used by the Tatars are remnants of their former language(s).³⁶⁹ This would imply that they represented a residual form of bi-lingualism. In view of the lack of linguistic and cultural unity that, from its very inception, characterized the Tatar community in the Grand Duchy, it is unlikely that this could have been the case. More probably, such words were introduced, possibly even re-introduced, as part of the attempt to pass on Islamic instruction by means of translations of religious literature. The immediate source of the great majority of such works was undoubtedly Ottoman Turkish. The translators did insert some words and phrases from Arabic into the Slav text but their knowledge of this language was usually weak. The loan vocabulary of a few hundred words that was borrowed to express specialised religious concepts (discussed below) was certainly taken from an Islamic source. In most cases the written form of these loanwords would have been the same whether they were taken from Ottoman, Chagatai, or indeed Arabic or Persian sources. However, as discussed in **Part 3, section 5.1**, there are some orthographic features that clearly indicate Ottoman origin.

By contrast, very few morphological and syntactic markers of the source language(s) are preserved. It is clearly demonstrated in BLK is that such terms had been thoroughly assimilated into the Slav linguistic fabric. Not only were these 'alien' elements integrated grammatically,

³⁶⁸ Woronowicz, 'Szczątki'.

³⁶⁹ E.g. title of Woronowicz's article 'Szczątki językowe Tatarów litewskich'.

taking on the guise of 'native' Slav words, but in the contexts in which they appear in the Tatar manuscripts they are almost wholly devoid of any trace of the structure of the donor language. Thus, for example, the *izafet* link, a basic feature of Turkic syntax, has disappeared in such expressions as *kurban bajram*, *bajram nemaž*, *achšam vacht* (cf. *T kurban bayramı*, *bayram namazı*, *akşam vakti*). The inflectional endings of Arabic, however, are often preserved. There are two probable, and to some extent complementary, explanations for this. Firstly, the Arabic words in which such inflections are maintained were used quite infrequently and were regarded as titles or set expressions, therefore would be likely to be preserved in their original form; secondly, the ending of the nominal inflection of Arabic coincides with the Slav prepositional ending *-u* and thus phrases such as *u bejfu al-mukeddešu 'in Jerusalem'* could be understood as a standard BR/P construction.

Obvious parallels to the assimilation of Turkish lexemes (including Arabic/Persian loans) into Belarusian/Polish are found in several East European languages. Comparison with the South Slav languages (Serbo-Croat, Bulgarian and Macedonian) is particularly interesting, since the problems of morphological and syntactic adaptation were very similar. In these languages, as in the Belarusian/Polish of the Tatars, the Turkish loanwords were fully integrated. They were grammatically assimilated, syntagmas were formed with Slav verbs, and new forms were derived with Slav morphemes (see **APPENDIX 1** for examples). The difference between the role of the Turkish (Arabic/Persian) element in the language of the Tatars and that of the South Slav languages is primarily one of scope: for the Tatars, such loans formed a very small and specialised part of their total vocabulary, but in these other languages, the loan element represented an important lexical constituent, contributing to many different semantic fields. In Serbo-Croat, for example, it is estimated that there are almost 7,000 Turkish loanwords, in subjects ranging from cookery to warfare, administration to sport.³⁷⁰ The majority of such terms are used by a broad cross-section of the population, not by a small, exclusive group.

For the Tatars, by contrast, the use of such loanwords was a boundary marker of cultural separateness. This specialized vocabulary

³⁷⁰ See for example Škaljić: *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom*; Popović: 1-275.

did not form part of 'normal' conversational intercourse: it was used only by the 'initiated' to refer to those beliefs and practices which set them apart from their Christian Slav neighbours. The difference in function and level of general cultural integration of the Turkish (A/Per) loanwords in these various languages is illustrated by the number of derived forms to which they gave rise. In the material that is available on the language of the Tatars (manuscripts and Woronowicz's wordlist in RT), there is usually only one for each Turkish lexeme; three are the most that have been recorded. In Serbo-Croat, however, three, four and even five derivatives are not uncommon (not counting Turkish derivatives formed with Turkish morphemes, which are also found in Serbo-Croat and the other South Slav languages).

V:3 Semantic Conclusions

V.3.1 Doctrine

Islamic doctrinal teaching is conventionally divided into two sections: 'the roots' (the doctrine) and 'the branches' (the practice). For a Muslim, knowledge of both is necessary. Thus, when the Belarusian Tatars came to compile their religious manuals, they needed to describe the ritual as well as the doctrinal tenets of their faith. A language is not an abstract collection of words, but the product of a particular physical and cultural environment. Belarusian and Polish, the languages adopted by the Tatars, were 'Christian' languages, so the Tatars were confronted not simply with the problem of translating words, but with the far more difficult task of transferring ideas from a linguistic context in which they constituted the intellectual and spiritual norm to one in which they were, for the most part, alien.

In the area of doctrine the problem was less acute than might have been supposed. The basic beliefs of Islam, to the untutored layman, are close to those of Christianity. Moreover, the Tatars themselves, living in the midst of a Christian society and familiar with Christian beliefs and practices, were predisposed to adopt Christian terminology (possibly even ideas), whether or not this was entirely accurate or appropriate. At the same time, they believed themselves to be good Muslims and were devout in their allegiance to Islam. The use of Christian terminology was

a matter of convenience, an indirect and possibly not wholly conscious assimilation of the majority culture rather than a deliberate attempt to bring the two religions closer together. On the contrary, the Tatars were careful to differentiate between that which they perceived as belonging to the general sphere of religion, and that which, in their estimation, was essentially and uniquely Islamic. This distinction was reflected linguistically through the use of Islamic terms for specifically Islamic concepts, and Slav/Christian terms for those of a more universal nature.

V.3.2 Supreme Being

The area in which the Tatars encountered the least difficulty in adopting Slav/Christian terminology is the one in which the two religions are perhaps closest: the monotheistic concept of the Supreme Being. In most languages (and indeed in standard Belarusian and Polish) a distinction is made between the Christian 'God' and the Islamic 'Allah'. The Tatars, however, do not make this differentiation: almost all the terms used for God in BLK coincide with those that are found in Christian writings. The most usual title is Slav/Christian *Pan Boh*. Old Testament *Jehova* is also found occasionally, but Islamic Allah, which most Muslims hold to be untranslatable and therefore irreplaceable by equivalent terms in other languages, hardly ever occurs except in quotations and prayers in Arabic or Turkish. It is worth noting that in the earliest extant East Turkic translations of the Quran *Allāh* is rendered by T *tangri*; in fact, these early translators used very few Arabic words, substituting instead native Turkish words whenever possible, just as the Belarusian Tatars later attempted to find Slav equivalents in similar contexts.³⁷¹

The attributes and epithets accorded to God in BLK and other Tatar manuscripts are probably of Quranic inspiration, but they are also those which are the most familiar to Christians: e.g. *Krul* 'the King', *Hospodar* 'Lord', *Stvaricel* 'Creator', *laskavij* 'gracious', *milaščivij* 'compassionate', *peršij i astatnij* 'the First and Last' (cf. *Alpha et Omega*), *velikij* 'great'. The only Ottoman (A) expression used in BLK is *ismu a'zem* 'the great and secret name'; it occurs once. The Divine qualities mentioned in BLK are also those recognised by Christians: *volja* 'Will', *moc* 'Power', *hnev* 'Anger', *adžinnostva* 'Oneness'. The sole Islamic term to be used in this context is *čevchid* 'Oneness, Unity'; it is

³⁷¹ Eckmann, *Middle Turkic Glosses*: 13; Borovkov: 299.

found in one text, but appears to have been misunderstood (see IV.1.1).

Divine attributes which the Tatars appear to have borrowed from Christianity are those of an anthropomorphic nature, e.g. *božeje abliče* 'God's face', *iz ust božich* 'from the Lips of God'. Such a physical vision of God is contrary to orthodox Islamic belief, but as explained above, these expressions are understood by Muslims in a metaphoric sense, without the physical import that they might appear to have in BLK (see **Part IV.1.1**, section on Divine Attributes). Paraphrases of Old Testament passages are the source of such phrases as *duch šventi* 'the Holy Spirit' and *duch božij* 'the Spirit of God'. The most notable example of Christian influence in this field is the use of the terms *laska* and *milaśc* 'grace' as equivalents of the Islamic concept of 'mercy'. Although the two ideas are close, and in some interpretations may even overlap somewhat, the Christian understanding of 'grace' is far wider than that of Islamic 'mercy' and, in its fullest implication, is unique to Christianity. Nevertheless, for the Tatars, these terms appear to have had the right 'aura': whether or not they represented Islamic belief in a strictly orthodox way appears to have been less important than the fact that they conveyed the appropriate religious sentiments. These terms, *laska* and *milaśc*, are core elements of the Slav Christian vocabulary and it is very possible, therefore, that the Tatars were influenced by analogy to incorporate them into their own religious language. A similar extension of meaning is found in the use of the Slav Christian term *spašenje* 'salvation' to represent the Islamic concept of 'reward, blessing'. The linking of these two ideas is not without a certain internal logic, but it gives rise to a usage that, from the literal point of view, is most curious, namely, the use of *spašenje* in the plural: e.g. *Pan Boh jemu triccac spašenje daśc*, literally 'God will give him thirty salvations'. The term can also be qualified with adjectives, e.g. *velikaje spašenje* 'a great salvation'.

V.3.3 Heaven and Hell

In broad outline, the Muslim and Christian concepts of life after death have much in common: belief in the resurrection of the body, the day of judgement, and the existence of heaven and hell. They also share a belief in angels and devils. For the Tatars, therefore, standard Slav terms (BR and/or P) provided an acceptable vocabulary for the discussion of these

topics: e.g. *neba* 'heaven', *pekla* 'hell', *enhel* 'angel', *ustavane* 'resurrection', *sud* 'judgement'. Where Islam differs from Christianity is in the detailed realization of these general ideas. Islamic cosmogony is based on a complex system of heavens and hells, each with its own particular features. In BLK and other Tatar writings these are, of necessity, referred to by Islamic names, since there are no Christian equivalents: e.g. *refe'e* 'the first heaven', *na'ure* 'the second heaven', *firdes'v* 'the eighth heaven, paradise', *džehennem* 'the first hell', *lezza* 'the fire, the hell for infidels', *šidre'fu al-munte'ha* 'the Lote-tree of the Extremity', *žekum* 'the tree that grows in hell', *žeri'e* 'the bitter herb that is eaten by the damned in hell'.

The names of the rivers which flow from heaven to earth, also of the beverages that the righteous will drink in heaven could, in theory, have been translated, but the Tatars were either unfamiliar with the Slav terms or consciously preferred to use the Islamic form because of specific religious connotations: e.g. *šejchon* 'Oxus', *džejchun* 'Jaxartes', *chemi* 'wine', *šerbet* 'sweet drink', *žulal* 'pure water'.

The names of angels are also usually given in the Islamic form, even when Slav equivalents are available; thus, for example, *Džebra'il* 'Gabriel' plays as important a role in Christianity as in Islam and, had the Tatars wished, the Slav designation could have been used, but in fact this is not recorded in BLK or any other known Tatar texts. Satan, too, is almost always referred to by the Islamic version of the word, *šejtan*, although BR/P *šatan* is very similar in both form and meaning. The names of angels that are not known in Christianity cannot, of course, be translated, but explanatory Slav terms are occasionally used as substitutes: e.g. *Ežra'il* 'the angel of death' is sometimes referred to as *dušajemca* 'the soul-taker', an invented word that translates literally and vividly T *can alici*; *Munkir ve Nekir* 'the angels of the grave' who interrogate the dead are sometimes referred to as *pitalniki* 'the questioners', a semantic extension of a word that is otherwise only used in BR for 'a question-mark'. The 'King of Hell' is occasionally called *malik' pekelnij* (a combination of a T (A) noun and a Slav adjective) but also *vajevoda pekelnij*, using here a secular Slav term for 'leader'. The use of *vajevoda* in a religious context also occurs occasionally in Christian writings. See, for example, Skaryna's edition of the *Acatistas*.

Hymn to the Virgin: *Vozbrannoj vojevode pobeditelnaja* ('To thee, protectress, leader of my army, victory'), where *vojevoda* translates Greek *stratēgos*; see also the hymn in honour of the archangels: *Radujsja angelom preslavny voevodo*.³⁷² Belief in the jinns and the peris, beings intermediate between humans and angels, is peculiar to Islam and no attempt is made to translate these terms in BLK.

Other features of the Islamic theory of heaven are also translated occasionally: e.g. the phrase '*erš kūrš* 'the Throne of God', is sometimes replaced by Slav *majstat*; *levchi al-mechfuzu* 'the Preserved Tablet', by Slav *tablica*. In neither of these cases do the Slav terms convey the full import of the Islamic terms, which have a mystical significance that goes far beyond the concrete images, but the Slav words do have connotations that are appropriate, even if not identical. Thus 'the Throne of God' is a concept known and revered in Christianity; though its meaning for Christians is different, it evokes a similar range of spiritual responses. Similarly, the main religious association for Christians of the word *tablica* is of Moses and the Ten Commandments; this is not the same 'tablet' as the Islamic 'Preserved Tablet', but falls within the accepted sphere of religious terminology. It is possibly due to the lack of a Slav Christian term with the appropriate religious connotations that Islamic *kalem* 'the Pen' is not translated in BLK.

V.3.4 Religious Leaders and Scriptures

On a lower plane than the Prophets, but nevertheless much revered, are the other holy men of Islam: *ansari* 'the Helpers', the early Medina converts, *muhadžirove* 'the Emigrants', those who went with the Prophet from Mecca to Medina, *sebikuve* 'the First to join the Faith', *sechabejove* 'the Companions of the Prophet'. These terms are specific to Islam and are not translated. They have been assimilated grammatically and are used as Slav nouns.

In this semantic field even terms for which equivalents could conceivably have been found are left untranslated: e.g. *šejch* 'a learned old man, head of an order', *šehid* 'a martyr'. Islamic terms are used here presumably because they stood for something that was felt to be innately Islamic. Christian influence is evident, however, in the use of the epithet *svetij/šventij* 'holy', which is often used as a title for the Prophets and

³⁷² Skaryna, *Małaja padorožnaja knižka* (1522).

other revered figures. In standard Belarusian/Polish, i.e. for Christians, this word stands for 'Saint', a category which is not acknowledged by Islam in the specific, formal sense in which it is used in Christianity. As with *laska* 'grace', the term *śvetij/śventij* was such a common expression of Christian piety that it is likely that the Tatars adopted it by analogy, whether or not the full theological implications of the term were understood or accepted. Interestingly, however, Turkish syntax is reflected in the way in which the term is used in BLK, with the title (or attribute) following the personal name rather than preceding it, as would be usual in Slav languages: e.g. '*Elej śvetij* 'Holy Ali'.

In BLK, when speaking of the written records of divine revelation in a general sense, Slav and T (A) terms are used interchangeably, with no apparent stylistic or religious differentiation. To refer to specific Holy books, however, only Islamic terms are used: e.g. *T'evrit* 'Pentateuch', *Žebur* 'Book of Psalms', *Indžil* 'Gospel'. The Bible is never mentioned by name, even though passages from it are paraphrased and identified by the correct Biblical references: e.g. *vture kśengi Mojžešove, rozdział tridźeśce drugij, virše dźeśontij* 'the second book of Moses, chapter thirty-two, verse nine', *perše kśengi krulevske, rozdział uśmij, viri čterdźeśce peršij* 'the first book of Kings, chapter eight, verse forty-one'. Divisions of the Quran are always referred to by Islamic terms: e.g. *ajet* 'verse', *šurej* 'chapter'.

V.3.5 Prayer and Other Prescribed Ritual Practices

Islamic doctrine subsumes all Man's actions under the heading 'the branches'. In BLK, from a linguistic point of view, everything that is not specifically Islamic in belief or practice is expressed by standard Belarusian/Polish terms and this includes such areas as the moral and ethical precepts that govern Man's relationship with Man. The one area of practice that is specific to Islam, and in which, therefore, the use of special terms was required, is that of ritual. The key words in this section are Islamic, although, as in other parts of BLK, Slav terms are also found, usually in a generic, explanatory capacity. Thus, prescribed ritual prayer is referred to as T (Per) *nemaž* or T (A) *selevat'*, but Slav *modlitva* is used for 'prayer' in a non-specific sense. Similarly, T (A) *du'a'i* is used to introduce a private prayer or petition, e.g. *heta du'a'i pej* 'chant this prayer' (prayer in Arabic follows), but Slav *prožba* is used when

speaking of the general necessity of praying, also for a prayer that is not specified: e.g. *Seme'un prožba činil do Pana Boga* 'Simon made a prayer to God', *Pan Boh prožbu prijme* 'God will accept a prayer'.

The sections of the canonical prayer and the motions that accompany it are designated by Islamic terms, but Slav terms are sometimes used when a general physical action, as opposed to a specific section of the service, is implied: e.g. *paklon, uklon* 'obeisance', *klanenje* 'bowing', *stajane* 'standing'. Prayer-times, too, are usually referred to by Turkish (A/Per) names: e.g. *sebach nemaž* 'morning prayer', *achšam nemaž* 'evening prayer'; also other special services: e.g. *nafile nemaž* 'voluntary service', *džum'e nemaž* 'Friday service'. The use of *džum'e* here is noteworthy, since in BLK in all other contexts Slav *patnica/pontek* is found for 'Friday'; T (Per) *ažine* 'Friday' occurs only once, in a text in which the other days of the week are also given in T (Per), followed by a Slav translation.

The ritual of the canonically prescribed prayers is discussed at some length in BLK, but great attention is also paid to ritual purity and cleanliness. The general terminology used in this field is Slav, while specific terms (which, by extension, are those with physical implications) are Islamic: e.g. Slav *čistašč* 'purity', *ačišćenje* 'purification', *čistij* 'pure, clean', but T *abdeš* 'minor ablution', *gusul* 'major ablution', *chejjiz* 'menstruation', *nifaš* 'unclean period after childbirth'. However, there is no mention of childbirth as such in BLK. Marriage and death are touched on comparatively rarely and all the terms used for rituals connected with these events are Slav, with two exceptions: *nik'ach* 'betrothal' and *mejjiť* 'corpse'. *Nik'ach* is found only once, but *mejjiť* is more widely used. The latter illustrates an interesting semantic division, for it differentiates between the idea of the corpse as a person, i.e. 'the deceased' (Slav terms used), and the corpse as the focus of certain prescribed ritual actions (Islamic term). The burial service is referred to by the Islamic term *džinaže nemaž*; so, too, is the kerchief, *futa*, laid on the body of the dead (though for 'shroud' the Slav word *savan* is used); a Muslim cemetery is called *žirec* < T (A) *ziyaret*, while a Christian or non-specific cemetery is referred to by the Slav term *kladaviska*.

The degrees of obligation and prohibition imposed by Islamic canon law cannot be translated satisfactorily, hence T (A) terms are used: e.g. *chelal* 'licit', *cheram* 'forbidden', *ferz* 'obligatory', *nafile*

'voluntary', *šunnet* 'prescribed in imitation of the Prophet's example', *mek'ruh* 'disgusting, abhorrent'. Explanatory Slav terms are sometimes found in conjunction with the above: e.g. *pavinnašč ferz dovh jest* 'the duty (that is) *ferz* is obligatory'. In less precise contexts Slav *treba* 'it is necessary' is often used. No equivalents or translations are found for the terms *šeri'et* 'the canon law of Islam' and *tertib* 'order, classification'. For major Islamic duties such as alms-giving, fasting, pilgrimage and holy war, the majority of terms used are Slav. When Islamic words are used, they are generally accompanied by a Slav equivalent: e.g. *a davana sedeka jalmožnaho* 'on the giving of the *sedeka* ('alms') alms', *vidavajce ... žekoť i džešecinu* 'give ... the poor-tax and the tithe'. No Islamic terms are used for the duty of fasting, except the name of the month (although this is sometimes used symbolically to refer to the fast itself): *remezan* 'Ramadan'. The word *gazejstva*, derived from T (A) *gazi*, is found in alternation with Slav *vajna mušulmanskaja* for 'holy war', i.e. a struggle with an external enemy also with oneself (cf. A *jihād*). For 'pilgrimage', however, only the term *chadžž* is used, presumably because the pilgrimage to Mecca is a fundamental Muslim duty, hence only an Islamic term was felt to be appropriate to convey this precise meaning.

V.3.6 Community

The formal practice of Islam is closely connected with community worship and a regular calendar of events. Most such terms cannot be adequately translated: e.g. *ažanči* 'the muezzin, caller to prayer', *imam* 'the leader of prayer', *mečic* 'mosque', *michrab* 'prayer-niche in mosque', *munber* 'steps from which sermon is recited in mosque'. In BLK the term *qibla* 'the direction of prayer' is not used, its meaning being rendered by Slav *paluden* 'south'. Another semantic calque is *strač* 'guard', which is sometimes used as an alternative to *chafiz* 'a guardian of the Quran', one who knows the Quran by heart. Slav *namešnik mušelmanskij* is also found for imam in the sense of 'viceroy, Caliph', leader of the Muslim community. In a very general sense, Slav *pavadiť* and *pravadnik*, both 'leader', are sometimes used as equivalents of *imam*, but never when the context requires the precise term 'leader of prayer in a Muslim community'.

The semantic distinction between the Islamic community and other peoples is emphasised by the use of Islamic *ummet'* for the former and

Slav *narod* for the latter: e.g. *mušulmanskij ummet* 'the Muslims', but *židovskij narod* 'the Jews'. This distinction is further underlined by the fact that even when 'Muslim' terms exist in the standard language, these are usually not the forms used by the Tatars: e.g. BR/P *mecet* (Buř 1540), MBR *miaceć*, TBR *mećic* (cf. T *mescit*, K *medžit*; Bulg, SCr *mecit*, Hung *mescit*); also BR/P *besurman*, *besurmjanin* (Buř 1562), MBR *musulmanin*, MP *muzułmanin*, TBR *mušulmanin/ mušelmanin* (cf. T *müslüman*). The characteristic feature in the Tatar version of the latter term (noted also by Woronowicz³⁷³), is the palatalized [s], possibly due to the influence of the rounded central vowels of Turkish; BR and P have hard consonants in this position.

V.1.7 Proper Nouns and Esoteric Terms

Names of special days, nights and months are proper nouns and are treated as such in BLK; they are left untranslated, but generally coupled with appropriate Slav terms: e.g. *kedir noć* 'the Night (Slav) of Power (Islamic)', '*erefe džén* 'the Day of the Eve of the Feast of the Sacrifice', *remezan mešec* 'the Month of Ramadan' (cf. T *Kadir Gecesi*, *arife günü*, *Ramazán ayı*). Place-names and names of the Prophets are usually given in their Islamic form, except when they occur in a Biblical context, in which case they are sometimes used in the Christian form. In the story of Joseph (APPENDIX 2:5), for example, a paraphrase of the Biblical (not the Quranic) account is given. Throughout, Joseph is referred to as *Jusuf*, the Islamic form of the name, but the action is said to occur in Slav *Jehift* (although *Misir* is used elsewhere in BLK for 'Egypt'). Curiously, the female form of 'Egyptian' is derived from Hebrew *mitsraim* with Slav suffix *-ka*. It occurs only once in BLK and is not recorded in RT. It does not appear to exist in Karaim.

Jesus is always referred to as *Tsa* and Mary as *Merjema*; Moses is usually called *Muša*, but in episodes translated from Biblical sources is referred to as *Mojžeš*. In the section on genealogy, based on Genesis, chapters five to eleven, Islamic names are substituted wherever possible for the Christian, but where appropriate equivalents do not exist, or were not known to the Tatars, then the Christian names are left unaltered. Occasionally a name is explained: e.g. *bejtú al-mukkediš to jest Jeruzalim*, 'Bejtú al-mukkediš is Jerusalem'; *Terach, pa našemu Ažer*

³⁷³ Woronowicz, 'Szczątki': 365.

'Terah, who for us is Azer'; *Šeme'un jest Potr* 'Šeme'un is Peter'. Such instances would indicate that the Tatars were more familiar with Christian scriptures than with Islamic.

Finally, there are a few Ottoman Turkish (A/Per) words which do not fall into any specific category. Most of these are either exclamations such as *!*, '*o!*', *bīsmillah!* 'in the name of God', or esoteric terms that the scribe either could not or did not wish to translate, such as '*ekik* 'carnelian', *merdžan* 'coral', *nar* 'pomegranate'. It is unlikely that such words could have survived as part of the 'original' vocabulary of the Tatars when so much else was lost. Hence, despite the fact that they do not conform to the pattern of borrowings exhibited elsewhere in BLK, they do not provide serious evidence for being considered survivals of the Tatars' former language(s).

V:4 Socio-Linguistic Conclusions

The language of BLK, and more generally of other writings of the Tatars of Belarus, Lithuania and Poland, provides an interesting example of languages in contact. Yet it does not fit easily into standard classifications of linguistic interaction. The historical background is complex: immigration, followed by a high degree of assimilation and acceptance, yet the maintenance of a separate, alien religious identity, also of some cultural markers. These conditions might have favoured the possibility that some form of pidgin or creole language would have emerged, combining a substratum of an original 'native' Turkic language with a superstratum of subsequently acquired Slav languages. This type of development usually results in the emergence of a rudimentary secondary language or dialect, with a simplified grammar, phonology and lexicon.³⁷⁴ This is not the case here. All the evidence, literary and oral, shows that the Tatars spoke standard Belarusian and/or Polish, with no additional 'secret' language of their own. They do use a certain number of loanwords, but as discussed previously, these are almost always fully assimilated and treated in accordance with Slav grammatical and

³⁷⁴There are no generally accepted definitions of 'pidgin' or 'creole', but however loosely or widely these concepts are interpreted they have no discernible bearing on the language use of the Tatars. See further Romaine: esp. 23-24, 38-41.

phonological norms.

The concept of 'diglossia', i.e. a type of 'unstable bilingualism' comprising two or more varieties of the same language used by a group of speakers under particular circumstances – is closer to describing the linguistic behaviour of the Belarusian Tatars.³⁷⁵ However, it suggests a greater degree of knowledge and use of the Tatars' original language (or languages) than was actually the case. What the documents suggest (and this seems to coincide closely with spoken practice) is a far more limited use of terms for specific concepts.

The most appropriate analytical framework within which to locate Tatar usage is that of a social group ('network') who identify closely with one another and who have a fund of common understandings and assumptions. These shared concepts are only relevant in particular situations where there is a need to communicate, or jointly partake in, a communal act (e.g. of worship or instruction). In other situations they use the standard language.³⁷⁶ In this sense, the religious language of the Belarusian Tatars may be classified as a 'jargon'. This is a conveniently broad concept that encompasses a wide range of specialised types of usage.³⁷⁷ In the loosest sense it refers to the verbal shorthand, or 'sociolect' used between members of a social group (ethnic, professional, religious and so on) to allude to a fund of common, but exclusive and specific, knowledge. In this perspective these are 'parasitic' or 'partial' languages that develop as a supplement, not an alternative, to the standard language.³⁷⁸ Typically, existing terms may be re-defined, either semantically widened to acquire new meanings or semantically narrowed to exclude unnecessary implications and thereby to be made more specific; new terms may be introduced through either the coining of neologisms or the borrowing of foreign words. In every other way the group language conforms to the norms of the standard language of society.

This is the case with the religious language of the Belarusian Tatars: as this study of BLK illustrates, the resources of the standard

³⁷⁵ Ferguson: 232-51.

³⁷⁶ Fishman: 45-58; Hymes: 21-44 (esp. 26); Bernstein: 157-78. All three writers provide insights into the type of mixed language use found among the Tatars.

³⁷⁷ See Burke: 2-6, on the historiography of the term 'jargon'.

³⁷⁸ *ibid.*: 6.

language were used whenever possible. The semantic shifts that are found in BLK include the following:

- a) administrative and legal terms which acquired a religious significance: e.g. *pečentar* 'seal-keeper' > 'the last of the Prophets' (cf. A *Khātim al-Nabīyīn* 'the Seal of the Prophets'), *pisar* 'scribe, clerk' > 'Recording Angel' (cf. T/A *kiramun kātībūn* 'the Noble Writers'), *švedak* 'witness' > 'one who bears witness to God's existence' (cf. T/A *šahīd* 'witness, martyr'), *chalopstva* 'bondage', *paddanstva* 'bondage', both > 'Islām' (cf. T/A *islam* 'submission');
- b) Christian terms used in a different sense: e.g. *laska* 'grace' > 'mercy', *spašenje* 'salvation' > 'reward', *švetij* 'saint' > 'holy';
- c) standard terms adapted: e.g. *pec* 'to sing' > 'to chant (the ritual prayer etc.)', *pitalnik* 'question-mark' > 'questioner', possibly also 'torturer' (in BR/P *pytać* is found only in the sense 'to question', but cf. OR *pytka* 'torture'; OR *pytati* 'to torture' may have had some influence here, particularly as the 'questioners' are the Interrogating Angels of the Grave, who also torture the dead).

The Tatars also used a number of words not recorded elsewhere (8.1% of the total number of words under review). Some, such as *mukar* 'torturer' (another term used for the 'Interrogating Angels'; cf. *pitalnik* above), are not cited in BR or P dictionaries, but are found in OR (Srez). Words such as *ušeomahuščij* 'all-mighty', *milane* 'mistake', 'error', *adposnikacca* 'to break a fast', and *epersunic* 'to fashion a human being' have not yet been identified in other BR texts, but they are compatible in form and meaning with analogous terms in the standard language, hence it is not improbable that they were in colloquial use, even though unrecorded in literary texts. This is all the more likely since they express concepts that accord with Christian thinking. Some of the other unrecorded terms appear to be neologisms of the Tatars' own invention. A few, such as *dušajemca* 'the soul-taker' (an epithet used for the 'Angel of Death') are clearly calques from T (A) terms (cf. T *can alici*); here T and BR syntax and meaning coincide unusually well, making possible a literal transfer of the Turkish term. In some cases the calque is semantic only: cf. *radašnik* for A *al-bashīr* 'the bearer of joy'; *adpusklivij* for A *al-'afū* 'the Pardonner'; *prikrapicel* for A *al-muqīt* 'the Nourisher'.

The religious language of the Tatars, as recorded in their

manuscripts, incorporates a higher concentration of Turkish (A/Per) loanwords than is found in standard Belarusian or Polish. Moreover, it is the only systematic attempt by believing Muslims to convey Islamic ideas in an East/West Slav medium. To this extent it is unique. Viewed in a wider context, however, it is not unique: as mentioned above, parallels for the adaptation and integration of Turkish loanwords can be found in other languages, notably of the South Slav group.³⁷⁹

In north-eastern Europe, the nearest analogues are found in Jewish communities which have adopted the language of their co-territorial, non-Jewish neighbours, and evolved their own variants of the language of the majority.³⁸⁰ A close comparison is not yet possible, since much work remains to be done on Tatar sources, but even at this preliminary stage the following points of resemblance may be noted. The most obvious is that Jews and Tatars alike were able to supplement their vocabularies by drawing on a highly developed linguistic tradition (Hebrew-Aramaic and Arabic-Persian-Turkish respectively), outside that which was provided by their adoptive languages. This additional source furnished a specific religious-cultural terminology; it also enabled a semantic distinction to be made in concepts with important confessional associations (e.g. both Jews and Tatars use different terms for their own cemeteries, as opposed to those of other faiths). The enrichment of the vocabulary could take place by direct loans (usually syntactically and morphologically integrated into the recipient languages), as well as by the creation of calques. The calques could be either neologisms, or semantic extensions of existing words. In the Jewish languages, the use of calques is very typical of written translations of Biblical texts and exegesis.³⁸¹ It is not so common in Tatar texts, which probably indicates a higher level of acculturation among them.

By the early 19th century, the period during which BLK was copied, Tatars had been settled in this region for some three hundred

³⁷⁹ See, for example, Škaljić. See also Appendix 1 below.

³⁸⁰ Wexler, 'Jewish Interlinguistics': 99-149.

³⁸¹ Weinreich, 'Yidishkayt and Yiddish': 481-514. Also Wexler, 'Jewish Interlinguistics'. In private correspondence Paul Wexler has drawn my attention to interesting parallels between Jewish Eastern Slavic usage and Tatar Belarusian in the semantic extension of the existing, standard Slav lexis; cf. Jewish E Slav *daroha* 'faith', *milošnik* 'beloved one', *bahamolje* 'prayer shawl'.

years or more. Hence Belarusian was not a newly-acquired tongue, but had become in a very real sense the Tatars' 'mother-tongue'. This is clearly demonstrated in BLK, where the language is used with the facility and assurance of native speakers. The work has its idiosyncrasies of style, grammar and vocabulary, but these fall within the range of personal, local or communal variation. They do not in any way suggest a foreigner's lack of familiarity with the complexities of the language. Thus, BLK is an important socio-linguistic monument, for it not only illustrates the state of Belarusian during the period prior to the re-birth and revival of the mid-nineteenth century, but it also records the level of literacy and the 'dialect' of a social class, information which no other contemporary source provides so vividly.

Finally, the manuscript bears witness to a remarkable cultural fusion. It demonstrates the range of linguistic devices (morphological, semantic and graphic) that were employed to transmit the beliefs and practices of Islam from one cultural environment to another. This linguistic vehicle provided the vital link that allowed the religion to survive and flourish over the centuries, even when contacts with the world of Islam were very limited. Consequently, it is not only the body of religious literature that the Tatars produced that represents a monument to their faith. The religious language that they fashioned is in itself an important cultural monument of Islam in Europe.

Appendix 1: Turkish Loanwords in East European Languages

This list comprises the commonly used Turkish (including those of Arabic and Persian origin) loanwords in the BLK, with equivalents and derived forms in Eastern European languages. These languages represent different groups: Bulgarian, Macedonian and Serbo-Croat belong to the South Slav group; Hungarian to the Uralic group and Albanian and Rumanian to the Indo-European group. The Turkish lexical influence on these languages was primarily the result of the expansion of the Ottoman empire. The length of the period of Ottoman rule and the nature of the interaction between the Ottomans and the local populations resulted in different levels of lexical penetration. The strongest impact was on Serbo-Croat, which acquired the largest number of loanwords and showed the greatest proclivity for producing derived forms, as well as dialectal variants.³⁸²

The examples below do not illustrate the full scope of Turkish borrowings in these languages (which in most cases encompasses a far greater range of semantic fields than is the case in BLK), but merely show comparative patterns of adaptation and integration. In all the languages cited here, Arabic loanwords borrowed through Turkish generally retain the characteristics of the Turkish form. Thus, for example, Arabic monosyllabic words become disyllabic; cf. A *Misr*: T *Mısır*; Alb, Bulg Scr *Misir*; Hung *Miszir*, *Muszur*. Similarly, in Turkish the reflex of the Arabic feminine ending *-at* is sometimes *-at*, sometimes *-ale*; cf. A *amana*: T *emanet*; Bulg, Mac, Rum, SCr *amanet*; A *tauba*: T, SCr *tevbe* (see III.5.1.4/5). Where relevant, Karaim forms are included in this list, to illustrate usage in another Turkic language from the same geographic area as that in which BLK was produced. The headword below is given in the form(s) used in main study; compound verbs are in brackets, derived forms separated by colons.

³⁸² Citations in Serbo-Croat from Popović: 1-275.

ABDEŠ/ABDEŠŤ (UŽAC, BRAC; IZGUBIC, PSAVAC): ABDEŠNU 'minor ritual ablution (to perform; to spoil): of the ablution'. T *abdes*, *aptes* (*almak*); Bulg *abdes*, *abdest* (*zimam*); Hung *abdeszt*; Rum *abdes*; SCr *abdes*, *avdes*, *havdes*, *abdest*, *avdest* (*uzeti*, *uzimati*; *izgubiti*, *pokvariti*): *abdesšana* (*avdes-*); *abdeslija* (*avdes-*); *abdes(t)luk* (*avdes-*); *abdesli* (*avdes-*); *abdesni* (*avdes-*); *avdesnica*; *abdestati se* (*avdes-*).

ACHŠAM: ACHŠAMNIJ 'evening (prayer); of the evening prayer'. T *akşam*, *aḥşam* (provincial); cf. K *akşam*, *achşam*; Alb, Bulg *akşam*; Hung *akşam*; SCr *akşam*, *aḥşam*: *akšamdžija*: *akšamlija*: *akšamlučar*: *akšamlučenje*: *akšamlučiti*: *akšamluk*: *akšamović*.

AJEŤ 'verse of the Quran'. T *ayet*; SCr *ajet*.

AĶINDE/AĶINDI 'afternoon (prayer)'. Not found in this precise form in any other language (see p. 277). T *ikindi*; Alb *iṯšindi*; Bulg, Mac *ikindija*; Hung *ikindi*; Rum *chindie*; SCr *ikindija*.

AMIN 'amen'. T *amin*; SCr *amin*: *aminaš*: *aminati*: *aminkovati*.

AVLE: AVLEJNIJ 'noon (prayer): of the noon prayer'. Not found in this precise form in any other language (see p. 276). Cf. T *ögle*.

'AVLIJA 'saint, holy man'. T *evliya*; SCr *evlija*: *evlijaluk*.

AŽAN (PEC): AŽANČEJ/AŽANČI: AŽANNIJ/AŽANOV 'call to prayer (to recite): muezzin: of the call to prayer'. T *ezan* (*okumak*); Rum *ezan*; SCr *ezan*, *jezan* (gen. -a).

BAJRAM: BAJRAMNIJ 'feast-day: of the feast-day'. T *bayram*; cf. K *bajram*; Alb, Bulg, Hung, Mac *bajram*; Bulg *bajram-namaz*; *kurban-bajram*; *bajramski*; SCr *bajram* (*provoditi*, *proslavljati*): *bajramluk*: *bajramovanje*: *bajramovati*: *bajramski*: *bajram-namaz*: *kurban-bajram*. Cf. BR *bajram* (1680); OR *bagram*, *bagrim*, *bogram*.

CHADŽDŽ/CHEDŽDŽ: CHADŽEJ/CHADŽIJ 'pilgrimage: pilgrim'.

T *hac*: *haci*; Alb *hadži*; Bulg *chadžija*: *chadžijskiy*: *chadžijka*; Hung *hacsi*, *had(z)si*; Rum *hadžiū*; SCr *hadž*: *hadžija*: *hadžijin*: *hadžijnica*: *hadžijski*: *hadžijnski*: *hadžiluk*: *hadžinedomak*.

CHAFIZ 'one who knows the Quran by heart'. T *hafiz*; SCr (*h*)*afiz*, (*h*)*afuz*: *hafizluk*.

CHEDIŠ 'tradition'. T *hadis*; SCr *hadis*.

- CHEJJIZ 'menstruation'. T *hayız*; SCr *hajz*: *hajzli*.
- CHELAL: CHELALNIJ 'licit'. T *helâl*; Alb, Bulg, Rum *halal*; Bulg, Mac *alal*; SCr *halal* (*učiniti*) (gen. -a): (*h*)*alaliti* (*se*): *halaljivanje*: *halaljivati*: *halaluk*.
- CHERAM: CHERAMNIJ 'illicit'. T *haram*; cf. K *charam*; Alb, Rum *haram*; Alb, Mac *aram*; Bulg *charam*: *charamijskij*: *charamstvo*: *charamijsvuvam*; SCr *haram* (gen. -a): (*h*)*arambaša*: *haramija*: *haramiti*: *haramljivanje*: *haramljivati*.
- CHÍKAJEŤ 'story'. T *hikâye*, *hikâyet* (arch.); SCr *hikaja*, *hićaja*.
- DU'A'I (PEC) 'prayer (to sing, chant)'. T *dua* (*etmek*); SCr *dova* (*dovu činiti*, *učiniti*): *dovadžija*.
- DŽAHIL: DŽAHILIN; DŽAHILSKIJ 'unbeliever: of an unbeliever'. T *cahil*; SCr *džahil*: *džhahilijet*: *džahiluk*.
- DŽEHENNEM 'hell'. T *cehennem*; Alb *džehenem*; Bulg *džendem*: *džendemosvam*; Mac *dženem*; SCr *džehenem*: *džehenemski* (*džehenemska vrata*): *džehenemlija*.
- DŽEME'ÉŤ/DŽEMAATÍ 'community, congregation'. T *cemiyet*: *cemaat*; cf. K *džymag*'at, *džamaat*; Alb *džemat*; SCr *džemijet*: *džemat*: *džematski* (*dzematski imam*).
- DŽENAŽE/DŽINAŽE (NEMAŽ PEC) 'funeral prayer (to sing, chant)'. T *cenaze namazı*; SCr *dženaza* (*dženazu klanjati*): *dženaze-namaz*.
- DŽINEJ 'jinn'. T *cin*; Bulg, SCr *džin*.
- DŽUM'E 'Friday'. T *cuma*; SCr *džuma(j)*, *džumaja*.
- DŽUNUB 'state of uncleanness caused by a physical emission'. T *cünüb*; SCr *džunup*: *džunupluk*.
- 'EMANATÍ 'surety; safe-keeping; trust'. T *emanet*; Bulg, Mac, Rum *amanet*; SCr *amanet*, *emanet*: *amanetiti*: *amanetnik*.
- 'EREFÉ: 'EREFÉV (DŽEN) 'the eve of a feast-day'. T *Arefe günü*; SCr *Arfa-đun*.
- 'EŠURE 'tenth day of Moharrem'. T *Aşura*; SCr (*h*)*aşure*.
- FAŤICHE 'first chapter of Quran'. T *fatiha*; SCr *fatiha* (*fatihu učiti*).
- FERE'ON 'Pharoah'. T *firavun*; SCr *firaun*, *firavn*.
- FERZ/FARZ 'obligation, duty'. T *farz*; SCr *farz*.

- FETĪVA 'opinion on a legal matter (given by a mufti)'. T *fetva*; Bulg, Rum, SCr *fetva*; Hung *fetva, fetfa*.
- FITRE 'alms given at the close of Ramadan'. T *fitre*; SCr *sadakai-fitre*.
- FUTA 'kerchief, scarf'. T *futa*; Alb *fute*; Bulg, Hung, Mac, SCr *futa*; Rum *fotă*.
- GAZEJSTVA: GAZIJOV 'fighting on behalf of Islam; of a warrior'. T *gazi*; SCr *gazi(ja): gaziluk*.
- GERGERE (UŽAC, BRAC) 'gargle (to perform)'. T *gargara (etmek)*; Alb, Mac *gargara*; SCr *gargara: izgargarati*.
- GUŠEL/GUŠUL (UŽAC, BRAC) 'major ritual ablution (to perform)'. T *gusül (almak)*; SCr *gusul*.
- IMAM: IMAMOSTVA/IMAMSTVA; IMAMSKĪJ 'imam: office of imam; imam's'. T *imam*; Alb, Bulg, Rum *imam*; SCr *imam* (gen. -a): *imamet: imamluk*.
- IMAN: IMANAV: IMANNIJ 'faith: of faith'. T *iman*; Bulg *iman*; SCr *iman* (gen. -a): *iman-dova: imansuz*.
- INDŽIL 'Gospel, New Testament'. T *Incil*; SCr *Indžil*.
- IŠLAMSKĪJ 'Islamic'. T *islam*; SCr *islam: islamijet; islamski*.
- INŠAN 'person, individual'. T *insan*; cf. K *insan*; SCr *insan* (gen. -a): *insanski*.
- JETCI/JETSIG: JETCEJNIJ 'bed-time (prayer): of the bed-time prayer' (see p. 278). T *yatsı*; Hung *ja(d)czi*; Mac *jacija*; SCr *jacija* ('zvoni i jaciju'): *jacijski (jacijsko zvono)*.
- KAMET (PEC) 'call announcing the beginning of prayer (to sing)'. T *kamet*; SCr *kamet: kametiti: kametleisati*.
- KIJAM 'standing (prayer position)'. T *kıyam*; SCr *kijam*.
- KURAN: KURANAV: KURANNIJ 'Quran: of the Quran'. T *Kur'an*; SCr *kur'an, koran, alkuran, alkoran* (gen. -a).
- KURBAN (REZAC): KURBAN BAJRAM 'sacrifice (to slaughter): feast of sacrifice'. T *kurban (kesmek): kurban bayramı*; Alb, Bulg, Hung, Mac *kurban*; Rum *curban*; SCr *kurban* (gen. -a) (*učiniti*): *kurbanski: kurban-bajram*.
- KUŠLUK/KUŠLUG 'noon (prayer)'. T *kuşluk*; SCr *kuşluk: kuşlukovati*:

kušluk-vakat.

- ĀFIRIN: ĀFIRSKĪJ 'unbeliever; of an unbeliever'. T *kâfir*. Bulg *kjafir*; SCr *kafir*, *ćafir*: *kafirluk* (*ćaf-*): *poćufuriti se*.
- ĀĪTAB '(holy) book'. T *kitap*; SCr *ćitab*: *kitabija*; *ćitaplija*.
- ĀURS 'throne (of God)'. T *kürsi*; SCr *ćurs*: *ćursija*.
- MEĀIC: MEĀITNIJ 'mosque: of a mosque'. T *mescit*; cf. K *međzit*; Bulg *meĉit*; Hung *mecsit*, *mecset*; Rum *meĉet*. SCr *meĉit*, *meĉet* (gen. -a). Cf. OBR *meĉet* (1540); OR *mesgit*.
- MEJĀIT 'corpse'. T *meyit*; SCr *mejtit*: *mejtit-taš*.
- MEĀRUH 'disgusting, disapproved of'. T *mekruh*; SCr *mekruh*, *mećruh*.
- MEL'UNIN 'one who is accursed'. T *mel'un*; SCr *mel'un*.
- MERDŽAN 'coral'. T *mercan*; SCr *merdžan*: *merdžanka*.
- MEŠIH 'wiping the face with hands (prayer motion)'. T *mesih*, *mesh*; SCr *mesh*, *mesah*, *mes*.
- MICHRAB 'niche in mosque indicating direction of Mecca'. T *mihrap*; SCr *mihrab*.
- MISIR 'Egypt'. T *Mısır*; Alb, Bulg *Misir*; Hung *Miszir*, *Muszur*; SCr *Misir* (gen. -a): *misirac*: *misirka*: *misirskij*: *Misirlija*.
- MİŠVAK 'toothpick'. T *misvak*; SCr *misvak*, *misvać*.
- MU'EZIN 'muezzin, caller to prayer'. T *müezzin*; Bulg *mjujezin*; Rum *muezin*; SCr *mujezin* (gen. -a).
- MUFTEJ 'mufti, official expounder of Islamic law'. T *mufti*; Alb *müfti*; Bulg *muftij*; Hung *mufti*, (*fö*)*mufti*; Mac *muftija*; Rum *muftiü*; SCr *muftija*: *muftijski*: *muftijstvo*: *muftiluk*.
- MUHADŽIR 'emigrant (one who followed Mohammed to Medina)'. T *muhacır*; SCr *muhadžir*, *muhadžer*.
- MUNAFIK 'hypocrite (in religion)'. T *münafık*, *munafık*; Alb *munafık*; SCr *munafık*: *munaficiti*: *munafikluk*.
- MUNBER 'pulpit in a mosque'. T *minber*, *mimber*, *member*; SCr *minber*, *mimber*, *menber*, *member*.
- MUŠEL-/MUŠULMANIN: MUŠEL-/MUŠULMANKA: MUŠEL-/MUŠULMANSĀIJ 'a Muslim; a Muslim woman: Muslim'. T *müslüman*, *müsliman*; Alb *müsülman*; Bulg *mjuslimanin*,

- mjusjulmanin*: *mjusjulmanstvo*: *mjusjulmanski*; Hung *mu(s)zulman*, *mu(s)zurman*; Mac *musulman*; SCr *musliman*: *muslimanski*.
- NAFILE 'supererogatory'. T *nafile*; SCr *nafila*, *nafilja*: *nafila namaz*.
- NEMAŽ/NAMAŽ: NEMAŽNIJ 'prayer (service): of prayer'. T *namaz* (*kılmak*); Hung *namasz*; Mac *namaz*; Rum *namas*; SCr *namaz* (gen. -a): *namaz (klanjati)*: *namaščija*. Cf. OR *namaz*.
- NIFAŠ 'period of forty days after childbirth'. T *nifas*; SCr *nifas*.
- NIJEŤ (PEC, ČINIC) 'prayer of intention (to chant, to perform)'. T *nijet* (*etmek*); Alb, Bulg *nijet*; SCr *nijet* (*učiniti*): *nijetiti*: *nanijetiti*: *zanjetiti*: *nijetli*.
- NIKAH 'betrothal'. T *nikâh*; SCr *nićah*.
- REDŽEB 'seventh month of Muslim year'. T *Receb*; SCr *Recep*.
- REKE'ÉŤ 'a complete act of worship'. T *rekeât*; SCr *rekat*, *rećat* (*klanjati*).
- REMEZAN/REMAZAN/RAMAZAN: REMEZANNI 'ninth month of the Muslim year, the month of fasting: of the month'. T *Ramazan*; Alb, Bulg, Hung, Mac, Rum *Ramazan*; Mac *ramazanski*; SCr *Ramazan* (gen. -a).
- RÍŽK 'sustenance'. T *rizk*; SCr *rizk*, *risk*.
- RIZVAN 'door-keeper of Paradise'. T *ridvan*; SCr *rizvan*.
- RUKE'E/ REKE'I 'bowing down (prayer posture)'. T *rükû*; SCr *ruku*, *ručû*.
- SAF/SEF 'row, line'. T *saf*; SCr *saf*.
- SEBACH/SABACH 'morning (prayer)'. T *sabah*. Alb, Bulg *sabah*; SCr *sabah*: *sabahile*, *sabaile*, *sabajle*.
- SEDEKE/SEDAKA/SADAKA 'alms'. T *sadaka*; cf. K *sadaka*; SCr *sadakai-fitre*.
- SELEVAŤ: SELEVAŤNIJ 'prayer (service): of the prayer service'. T *salât* (sg.), *salavat* (pl.); SCr *salavat* (*salavate učiti*): *salavatati*.
- SIDDIK 'eminently veracious (title given to Abū Bakr)'. T *siddik*; SCr *sidik*.
- ŠATIR 'line of writing'. T *satır*; SCr *satura*.
- ŠEDŽDE (KLANACCA, ČINIC) '(to perform) prostration'. T *secde*

(*etmek, secdeye varmak*); SCr *sedžda, sedžde (sedždu učiniti)*.

ŠEFER 'time of repetition'. T *sefer*; SCr *sefer*.

ŠELAM (DAC; PRINAC) 'a greeting (to give, to receive)'. T *selam (etmek, vermek; almak)*; Bulg *seljam*; Mac *selam*; Hung *szalam*; SCr *selam (dati, predati): poselamiti: selam alejk, selam alejć*.

ŠULTAN 'sultan, king'. T *sultan*; SCr *sultan*. Cf. OBR *saltan (1501)*.

ŠUNNETÍ 'observances based on the practice of the prophet'.

T *sünnet*; SCr *sunet: sunetiti: osunetiti: posunetiti: sunetlija: sunetluk: sunećenje: sunedžija ('Car suneti... svoja sina')*.

ŠUREJ/ŠURE/ŠUREJUĆ 'chapter of Quran'. T *sure*; SCr *sura*.

ŠAM 'Damascus'. T *šam*; Bulg, SCr *šam*.

ŠE'BAN 'eighth month of the Muslim year'. T *šaban*; SCr *šaban*.

ŠEHID/ŠAHID 'martyr'. T *šehit, şehid*; Alb *šahit*; SCr *šehit: šehitluci: šehitski*.

ŠEJCH 'learned old man, head of an order'. T *šeyh*; SCr *šejh, šeh*.

ŠEJTAN: ŠEJTANSKIJ 'Satan: of Satan'. T *šeytan*. Alb, Bulg, Mac *šejtan*; SCr *šejtan: šejtanluk*.

ŠERBETÍ 'drink, beverage'. T *šerbet*; Alb, Bulg, Mac, Rum *šerbet*; Hung *s(z)erbet, s(z)örbet*; SCr *šerbet: šerbetiti: ošerbetiti: šerbetnjak*.

ŠERI'ET/ŠERIJ'ETÍ 'Muslim canon law'. T *šeriat*; Alb *šeriat*; SCr *šeriat, šerijat: ušeriatiti: šerijatski*.

ŠEFŠIR 'commentary on the Quran'. T *tefsir*; SCr *tefsir*.

ŠEJMEM/ŠEJMEMIM (UŽAC, BRAC) '(to perform) ritual ablution with sand'. T *teyemmüm (etmek)*; SCr *tejemum*.

ŠEKÍBIR (ČINIC) 'affirmation of God's greatness (to pronounce)'. T *tekbir (almak, getirmek)*; SCr *tekbiri, tećbiri (tekbire učiti): tekbiriti (teć-)*.

ŠERTÍB 'order'. T *tertip*; Alb *tertip*; SCr *tertib (učiniti): tertibiti: tertibli*.

ŠEŠBICH/ŠEŠPICH (PEC) 'litany of praise to God (to chant)'. T *tesbih, tespah (çekmek)*; SCr *tespiah*.

ŠEVBE (ČINIC) 'repentance (to perform)'. T *tevbe (etmek, kilmak)*; SCr *toba, tobe, tevba, tevbe*.

- TEVRIT** 'Pentateuch'. T *Tevrat* (Ott/Per *Tevrit*); SCr *Tevrat*.
UMMET: **UMMECKIJ** 'people, nation: of the people'. T *ümmet*;
 cf. K *umma*; SCr *umet*.
VACHT '(prayer-) time'. T *vakit* (dial. *vaht, vahit*); cf. K *vacht* 'time';
 Alb *vaht*; Bulg, SCr *vakat*.
VÍTRE/VÍTR 'service of worship performed between night and
 morning'. T *vitř*; SCr *vitre*.
ZEKÁT/ZEKÓT/ZEKEVÁT (DAC) 'alms (to give)'. T *zekât* (sg.),
zekevat (pl.); SCr *zekat, zećat*.
ZÍKER/ZÍKIR (PEC, ČINIC) '(to chant, perform) litany of praise'.
 T *zikir*; SCr *zikir, zicir* (*ćiniti*).
ZI AL-CHEDŽDŽE/ ZI AL-CHIDŽDŽE 'twelfth month of Muslim
 year'. T *Zilhicce*; SCr *Zilhidže, Zulhidže*.

Personal Names (Angels, Prophets)

- DŽEBRA'IL: DŽEBRA'ILOVIJ** 'Gabriel: of Gabriel'. T *Cebrail*;
 SCr *Džebrail, Džibril*.
'EŽRA'IL: 'EŽRA'ILOV 'Azrail, angel of death: of Azrail'. T *Azrail*;
 SCr *Azrail: Azrailov*.
ÍSRAFIL: ÍSRAFILOVIJ 'Israfil: of Israfil'. T *Israfil*; SCr *Israfil*.
MEKA'IL 'Michael' T *Mikâil*; SCr *Mikail*.
'IŠA 'Jesus'. T *Isa*; SCr *Isa*.
MERJEMA: MERJEMIN 'Mary: of Mary'. T *Meryem*; SCr *Merjema*,
Mejrema, Merima.
MUŠA: MUŠIN 'Moses: of Moses'. T *Musa*; SCr *Musa*.

Appendix 2: Transliterated Extracts from the British Library Kitab

The following seven extracts are taken from the British Library Kitab. A minimum of punctuation has been added to help clarify the meaning of the texts. Margin notes are given at the end of the transcription of each folio, as are the most obvious scribal errors. Otherwise the transliteration has been as faithful to the original text as possible. Thus, for example, the alternation of the forms *jest/jest'* ('is') has been preserved, as has the use of a single consonant in place of a double consonant (e.g. f. 11a2, *Me'ejskim* in place of more usual *Mek'ejjskim*). Passages in Arabic are translated into English and enclosed in square brackets. Where it has been possible to trace the Quranic source of a quotation, Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall's translation has been used. His punctuation, orthography and capitalisation have been retained, likewise his occasional use of rounded brackets to amplify the meaning of a passage.

2.1 Jesus and the Mission to Antioch

This extract (f. 11a-14b) is a narrative based on sura 36 (Yā Sīn), verses 13-35. Quranic quotations provide a framework around which an explanatory or illustrative parable has been created. The chief protagonist is Jesus ('*Isā*), who sends his disciples, identified here as John (*Ječhya/Jan*), Stephen (*Ševban/Stefan*) and Simon Peter (*Seme'un jest Potr*) to the city of Antioch, there to preach the Word of God. The disciples are not heeded; the people of Antioch threaten to persecute them. However, they do make one convert, Chebib Nedždžar (A *Ḥabīb al-najjār* 'the Beloved Carpenter', the name used in sura 36, verse 12 for Jesus), who prefers to be killed rather than to deny his new faith. The Quran does not mention Jesus or Antioch by name in this sura, but some commentators are agreed on this identification.³⁸³ The description of Chebib Nedždžar's death seems to owe something to the story of the Crucifixion and to the martyrdom of St Stephen (for a longer synopsis, see pp. 122-24).

The text in BLK (as in the Quran) continues with a chain of ten metaphors on the Day of Judgement, also on this world contrasted with

³⁸³ Watt: 201.

the world to come. It may be no more than coincidence, but this section is developed in a manner reminiscent of the style of the sermons of St Cyril of Turaŭ (cf. *Slovo v novuju nedělju po pascě*). No source is given for this text, which is written in a mixture of Polish and Belarusian.

f. 11a

1. Tak zloha aznajmiv i na levch tablici napisano jest: ad Mene ničoŭha ne skrijecca, Mne ja-
2. vno ješć [Coin for them a similitude: The people of the city when those sent (from Allah) came unto them] ne aznajmiv Muchemmed Mekejškim
3. ludžem Antakijškich ludžej što nad nimi džejaše, taho času jak jich posli paslali, Anta-
4. kijskije ludži jich za pravdživich ne prineli. Chiĥajet: 'Iša prorok, kali 'Iša
5. prorok pačav ludžej da veri pravdživaj navaračac pa mestach razeslav svajich tova-
6. rišav, dvuch paslav da Antakiji mesta, adnaho zvane Jechja a druhij Ševban, to oba-
7. dva poslove ėedi do mesta prichodžili, trafili na jednego starca, ovci paščil, šelam
8. jemu dali. Starac muvi: Co vi za ludži, skont idžece? Oni muvili: Mi poslani ad 'Iša proro-
9. ka do tego masta, ludžej do vari pravdživaj navracac, oznajmujonc u jedinostva
10. božim i prorocstva 'Iša proroka. Ten starac muvi: Či jest u nas¹ na to jaka poznaka
11. abo umajontność? Oni rekli: Ęedi nad chorim učinim prožba do Pana Boga bendže
12. zdrov a šlepego učinim vidoncim a trentevatego zdrovim. Starac muvi: u mne jes²
13. sin davno chori, proše vas idc do mne, prožba činice, nech bendže zdrov. Oni pošli,
14. po gribece pogladžili, zdrov stal. U starca na jednim oku belmo, prožba činili, zdro-
15. v stal. Tego starca zvano Chebib Nedždžar. Potim jich slava u

- mešce rozslavilaša, lu-
16. dži potrebni do nich prichodžili, a oni jim na nich potrebi došic činili; krulovi u-
17. povedželi o nich; krul do šebe vezval, pital u nich: Co vi za ludži? Oni muvili: Mi posla-
18. ni od 'Iša proroka do vac³ privracac do vari pravdživaj od šlepich gluchich balva-
19. nov od paklonav odalajuči, žebi v jedjega⁴ Boga verili. Krul počal jich lajec:
20. Jestešce vi čarovniki, prišli do mesta mego činic zamutak. Kezal jich bic, barodi
21. rvac, ja⁵ mešce vadžic, muvic: Oto čarovniki, napominam vas žebi jich slovam ne verili. Po-
22. pravadžili, u turma urucili. Potim 'Iša prorok ješče jednega poslal do nich, na ime
23. Šeme'un. Ja⁶ u Kurane [When We sent unto them twain, and they denied them both, so We reinforced them with a third]
24. Gdi poslali dvuch tovarišav do mesta Antakiji, tedi za nepravdživich meli; zmocnilišmi
25. dvuch trecim, Šeme'unem. Gdi prišed Šeme'un do mesta Antakije vpred do turmi
- Margin:* Jak 'Iša trech poslov poslal do Antakiji jedin Jan, drugi Stafan (between lines 4-9); Šeme'un jest Potr (between lines 23-24).

¹u vas; ²u mene jest; ³vas; ⁴jednego; ⁵pa; ⁶jak

f. 11b

1. pod turmoju rek: pozvol mne žebim ja do turmim všed. Pozvolil. Všedši do turmi chleba
2. dželim, pristompivši do svojich torašav¹ pital: Jak še mace? Rekl do nich: Skvaplive
3. počeli, običajne postompovac treba bo vaša skvaplivošč podobnaha jednaj
4. nevešce ktura džecej ne rodžila, pri koncu veku svego sina porodžila, chcala jeho pre-
5. ndko vikarmic chleb, žujonc z rota karmila i udavila; tak vaši

postopki po-

6. dobni tej nevasti [Haste is from Satan, Patience from God] skvapljivoš od ša-
7. tana i neskvapljivoš od Boga. Počekaice Kilka dnei, bondžce cerplive, pujda do
8. krula za volo božo i vas vizvali. Potim Šeme'un do domu balvanskego pošedši
9. vidžal ludžej balvanom klanajunše i on šad medži ludžej, Pana Boga prošil, sedžde
10. činil; ludži rozumeli že to jich ludžej; potim pošed do mesta čuda pokazival, chorich
11. lečil, tilko na vara ne navracal, ž ludžmi pekne bešadoval, u mešce uslavilša, vžitke ludži
12. jego šanovali. Krul dovedželše, vžol sobe za upokojevego; jednega dna s kru-
13. lem zajedno bendonc, krul rek: Pred tobo co bili dva človeki co i vmojontno-
14. šc svoj pokazivali, prorokami nazivališe vara naše ganili; kezalem jich do turmi v-
15. rucic. Šeme'un rek: Kaž vaša krulevska moc jim tustac, obačem za jako moco
16. oni prorostvo na šebe klado. Krul kazal jich pripravadžic. Šeme'un rek: Kto to va-
17. s prislal? Oni muvili: [The Creator Who created all and to Whom there is no equal] Stvoricel Kturi stvori-
18. I vžitke reči, Kturemu nimaš ruvni. Šeme'un rek: Bug vaš v jake postaci? muvili:
19. [God says what He wishes to say and decides what He wishes] Bug naš co chce, to učini, jak chce, tak pravu-
20. je. Šeme'un rek: Jako moco vi prorocstvo činice? muvili: Chorich trendovatic
21. lečim, zdrovi bivajon. Šeme'un rek: I ja to umem. Oni rekli: Mi šlepich vidžoncimi činim.
22. Šeme'un rek: Ubačim kedi vi učinice. Prinešli džece kturre šlepa od matki uradžila

23. i mejsce tego nemaš gdže meli bi oči bic. Šeme'un rek: Temu džecencu oči odtvar-
24. ce, benda za vami u pričine prošic do krula; te dva posli z glini oči urobivši na mej-
25. sce očeј položili, prožba činili. Pan Bug temu džecencu oči dal. Šeme'un rek: I ja u-
- 1 tovarišav

f. 12a

1. mem. Prinešli džece šlepe. Šeme'un prožba činil do Pana Boga, uči utvoriliše. Oni rekli: Mi mar-
2. tvich uživami. Šeme'un rek: Na tego ne učine, kedi bi vi to učinili, treba bi vas mec za pravdži-
3. vich. Rekli ludže: Jest umarlij šedem dneј martvij leži, ucec adšed, bez opsa¹ ne cho-
4. vanij; prinešem, uživice. Pošli, prinešli na dosce. Oni prožba činili. Šeme'un milchkem
5. prožba činil; ten martvij odžil. Pitali: Co ti vidžal? Rekl: Šedem dneј jav² umar
6. šedem pečurav vidžal; u kažnaj pečuri codžen mne menka činona, kožna menka ruzna bila;
7. u šomoj pečuri dušu maju da cela prinešli i movili: Hlan da hari. Vidžev varota
8. nebeskije adčneneni, adnaho mladženca vidžev charošaho tvar, ruķi svaje pracehnu-
9. v až da 'eršu, a hetije tri čeleveķi mene za valasi užali i s taje pečuri vicehnuli i sam sebe
10. tot abačiv. Šeme'un rek: I krulu! balvani naši nechaj martvaho aživec žebi hetije
11. ludži ad jich bili isišneni. Krul muvil: U balvanov našich duši net, ačeј ani jezike, ja-
12. k majuc martvaho aživic? Šeme'un rek: Ťreba jim veric i za pravdživich mec i mušelma-
13. nmi zastac; ne jes³ oni čarovniķi, ja švadče že jich Bug pravdživij, jedinij; a lu-
14. dži všitķe krikneli velķim glosam: Vi namoviliše jednaj movaj, do

nas prišli že-

15. bi nas od našej vari odvrucili; ne jestešce vi proroči tilko take ludži
16. jak i mi [They said: Lo! we have been sent unto you. They said: Ye are but mortals like unto us. The Beneficent
17. hath naught revealed. Ye do but lie] ne jestešce poslove tilko take ludže ja-
18. k i mi. Pan Boh ž nebos nic ne oznajmil, vi nepravda muvice. [They answered: our Lord knoweth that we are
19. indeed sent unto you. And our duty is but plain conveyance (of the message)] Rekli poslove: Pan Bug vado-
20. mij, mi do vas v posenlstvo prišli, naleži nam abi mi prikazane bože a proro-
21. stve 'Iša proroka javno učinili žebi slišeli, a vam nas treba za pravedživich mec.
22. [(The people of the city) said: We augur ill of you] Movili Kafire: Vidžim vas za glupich ludžej že vi do mesta
23. prišli glod, frasanak, choroba z vami posbolu prišli. (If ye desist not, we shall surely stone you and
24. grievous torture will befall you at our hands) Kedi vi od tego ne advruciciše, tedi mi vas ukamenuje,
¹bez acca; ²jak umar; ³ne jest

f. 12b

1. caškiju muku vam učinim [Is it because ye are reminded (of the truth)? Nay, but ye are froward folk] Poslove muvili: glupstvo u vas že ne verice
2. u Boga jedinego, ale vam slušna veric [Your evil augury be with you. We have admonished you by God and yet you
3. have threatened to stone us] že mi vam nauka povedami žebi znali Bo-
4. ga jedinego, dla tego mace nas za glupich i muvice: Ukamenujem vas. Nemaš u nas glu-
5. pstva, vi s prikazane božego lud vistempnij [And there came from the uttermost part of the city a man running.
6. He cried: O my people! Follow those who have been sent. Follow

those who ask of you no fee, and who are rightly guided]

7. Prišov prentka skar u mesta adžin čelavek Chebib Nedždžar, ketoremu jeni sina vilečili
8. i muvil: I ludži, verec tim prorokam, oni od vas zaplati ne patrabujon u pravdživej
9. droce stojon in vas do tej pravdživaj drogi pravadžon i vzivajo [For what cause should I not serve Him Who hath
10. created me, and unto Whom ye will be brought back? Shall I take (other) gods in place of Him] Chebib Nedždžar muvic: Što mne staloša ja ne klanaju-
11. ša tamu Bohu, Ketorij mene stvariv, jak mene tak i vas, času astatneho da Jeho vernu-
12. ciše treba. Jim toja muvil pachlebojuči a sam biv mušelmaninam, sluhoj božim [If the Beneficent should
13. wish me any harm, their intercession will avail me naught, nor can they save?] Akro-
14. m Boha inšim Boham paklon ne činice. Kali Pan Boh zachoča dapuščic na mene prihodu,
15. tije bahove mene ad taho ratavac ne mohuc i ne vizvalac ad taje bedi. Káfire rekli da Chebib
16. Nedždžara: Užo jeni cebe izveli, da svajej veri navernuli; prichoc znov da veri svajej;
17. kali ne prijdžeš, to i cebe zabjem. Chebib Nedždžar rek: [Then truly I should be in error manifest] Kali b ja da vaše-
18. j veri vernuvša, to bi znovu javno u velikim bludže zastav bi; potim upuščivši
19. tich ludžej, holas puščiv da prarokav, muveči: [Lo! I have believed in your Lord, so hear me!] Po-
20. slove, ja da imanu prišov, u vašeho Boha uveriv čujce
21. i švedkami budce što ja Boha adžinaho znaju; Chebib Nedždžar, toj čelavek što jeni¹
22. što jeni jemu sina vilečili, jon ad taho času iman prinavši da adnoj pečuri
23. uvajšov, Panu Bohu pakloni činiv. Jak pačuv što paslov chočuc tracic,

24. prišov jich ratavac. Potim tije ludži Chebib Nedždžara pajmali,
lancuh na šiju uzlažili
¹ repeated on next line

f. 13a

1. pavovši na varotach, u brame pavešili. Inšije muvec, nahami teptali až jemu jelita višli; inšije
2. muvec, nažami da sceni pribili, a tich prarokaf pakamenovali. Pan Boh u tom čase Chebib Nedždžaru
3. raj ukazav. Holas prišov: I duša pabožnaje, idži da raju, vizvolše ad bed šehošvetnich.
4. [It was said (unto him): Enter Paradise. He said: Would that my people knew With what (munificence) my Lord hath pardoned me and made me of the honoured ones!]
5. Chebib Nedždžar rek: Kedi bi to ludži vedželi, co bože zmilovane jest nade mno co mne Pan Bug
6. povelbil, to bi oni da imanu prišli bi, z laskaj božaj da raju uvažli b skora. Hetije
7. slova učuli, kamenmi zabili ad sceni adnavši. Chebib Nedždžar rek: I Bože ušahomahuš-
8. čij, hetim ludžem daj iman, pravdživuju darohu ukaži jim. PoKi duša u cele bila, hetije
9. slova muvil; za žice i pri smerci svajej napominane i nauki ne zanechav; tije ludži trudna
10. šc jemu činili, a jon za jich Boha prašiv, že jon biv prijacel boži, pomstva ne činiv,
11. bo dobrij čelavek bez veri ne budže a zli čelavek veri mec ne budže. Kali proroku jeho
12. milošci u ched gazejstve halavu jemu pavolbonaju ražbili, zubi vibili, mnoha tru-
13. dnašci jemu kafire činili, a jon muvil: [O Lord lead my people rightly, for they are ignorant]
14. Pakaži hetamu ludu pravdživaju darohu, bo jeni mne trudnašc činec, ne vedajuc da-
15. rohi pravdživaj; kali b jeni vedali darohu pravdživoju, to bi mne taho ne činili; iznovu da

16. svajich slov prichodžim: Chebiba Nedždžara zabili. Pan Boh
Džebra'il prikazav toja mesta iz
17. dvuch storon istrasanuc i holas pušcic. Ad adnaho holasu uše
ludži unive-
18. č abernuliše, jak u Kurane piše: [We sent not down against his
people after him a host from heaven, nor do
19. We ever send] pa Chabib Nedždžara šmerci lud, katorije jeho
zabili, vojska iz nebos ne zsilali i
20. ne treba zsilac, adnimi muchami neprijecela zvicenžic mocen
jestem. Antakijskich lu-
21. džej jednim glosam Džebra'ilovim zvicenžil i univec obrucil [It
was but one Shout, and lo!
22. they were extinct] tilko od glosu Džebra'ilovego, ktуре uslišeli,
univeč obru-
23. ciliše [Ah, the anguish for the bondmen! Never came there unto
them a messenger but they did mock him!] frasanak hre-
24. šnim ludžem dna sudnaho budže, katorije prarokav za lharov meli
i našmevališe s praro-
25. kav božich, dna sudnaho frasanak i kajeta jim ne pomože [Have
they not seen how many generations We destroyed
- Margin note:* Praroku halavu ražbili (between lines 11-13).

f. 13b

1. before them, which indeed return not unto them] či ne vidželi jak
kilko mast i všich univeč
2. obrucilam, pred nimi všitke zešli, rozumejo do Mne ne povruco
(But all, without exception, will be brought before
3. Us) ale všitke dna sudnego predο Mno gotovi bendo, všitke
ludži zebrav-
4. šiše prede Mno stanuc, co kolvek dobrego albo zlego činili
zapлата vezmo; jak proro-
5. k muvil: [There is not anyone of you to whom His Lord will not
speak. Between him and his God there is no intermediary. He will
look to his right and he will
6. see what has gone before of his works; he will look straight ahead
and will see only the fire.] Viklad temu, že vas nihto ne za-

7. stane, što b Pan Boh da katoraha ne moviv, bo taho času mezi Panem Boham i vami žednaho za-
8. ponu ne budže; naprava hlan, učinak svoj abačiš, nalevo hlan, učinak svoj abačiš, pred sa-
9. boj hlan, ahon pekelnij abačiš. Taho času Pan Boh u chalopav svajich pac rečej pitac bu-
10. dže; peršuju reč, jak vek svoj pravadživ; druhuju reč, moladošc svaju u jakom sposo-
11. be prežil; treceju, majontnanc¹ jakim sposobam nabiv i na co obrucil; čvartuju, vedajuči
12. abo umejuči što za učinek činiv. Na jednim mejscu prikazuje tak: [Is not your body healthy, have We not
13. given you cold water to drink?] u pažicju na tim švece
14. cela tvajo u zdarovju či ne zachovalam, dnej haračich žimnaju či ne napajiv? Šejch Abu a-
15. l-Chešen Nuri jednego dna a sudnim dnu povadal, što Pan Boh u chalopij svajej sud-
16. naho dna kulga ruznich pitanje pitac budže, povadal ludžem, a Šejch Šelbi mima mečitnich
17. varot išov i stavsi, sluchav i muvil: Aj Šejch, ludžej nat to ne straš! Pan Boh šila pita-
18. c ne budže, tilko dvuch slov pitac budže, reče: I chalope, Ja biv is taboj a ti s kim biv? Abu al-Che-
19. šen tije slova učuvši zdumevša, skora prišov da rozumu, muvil: Ješče ad taho kerod-
20. šaje pitane maje bic, tilko reče: (What has tempted you away from God?) što za pričina, što iz darohi pravdži-
21. vaj izbludživ, što dabratlivamu Panu Bohu paslumi² ne addavav; kali namešnik mušelmanskij
22. 'Elej hetij ajet pev: [O God, my ignorance and evil disobedience have tempted me away from You] i Bože moj, priveli da bludu
23. mine zle hrachi maje v nevedomašci majoj. Abu BeKir rek, muvil: Kali Pan Boh u mene spitaje dna
24. sudnaho, što cebe z darohi žvelo, rekne: Aplošenstva majo. Znovu da tich slov pricho-

25. džim. Kali Pan Boh Aschabu al-Kerjeŕi historiju abjabiv, ŝto b potim buduĉim luďzem pri-
¹majontnaŝc; ²pasluhi

f. 14a

1. klad biv ŝto luďzi u jedinostva verili hetij ajeť zeslal Pan Boh: [A token unto them is the dead earth. We
2. revive it, and We bring forth from it grain so that they eat thereof] jedinostvu boďemu paznaka jeŝť
3. že Pan Boh uŝomahuŝĉij martvuju źemlu aźivaje, iź źemli paŝnu źerne vivodźic, viroŝciv-
4. ŝi s tich źernat luďzi kormic [And We have placed therein gardens of the date-palm and grapes, and We have caused
5. springs of water to gush forth therein, that they may eat of the fruit thereof, and their hands made it not. Will they not, then, give thanks?] s tich potrav katorij
6. rukami svajimi pamenonije paźitki, ĉije ni sami jich uĉinili, ale Ja jich stvariv, ne jeni uĉinili, za
7. toje Mne chvalu ne ĉinec za paźitki; maje hetij ajeť znaĉi dźvum reĉam, jedinostvu boďe-
8. mu tak i sudnamu dnu že suchuju źemlu veŝennim daďďđom adźivaje, znov u jeŝen jak marla stane
9. znaĉna jest. Nichto jemu taho ne ujme uĉinic [God does what He wishes and decides what He wishes]. Ćinic ŝto
10. choĉe i sudźic jak choĉe, paradnika Jemu nemaŝ [He is the All-powerful, the Unique and in everything there is
11. a sign that indicates that He is One]. On jeŝť jedini sruga karca i zvicenzca, v ka-
12. źnej reĉi Jego poznaka i cuda jeŝť, pevne On jedini ze źeme po źimnoŝci źimnej zĉarne-
13. je i zsuŝeje, po veŝne duŝi jak lekarstva dadaŝc do oźivenja poznaka jeŝť ; dna su-
14. dnaho martvich aźivac, jak prorok prikazal: [When you see the spring, remember the Day of Judgement] Abaĉice
15. sudni džen, uspomnice jak padobna jeŝť vesna sudnamu dnu. Kilka podobenstvav jed-

16. na že, pad žemloju karenje trav, po vešne iz žemli vichodžic, sudnao dna u žemli buduči umer-
17. lije i skarbi iz žemli vijduc, jak piše: [Arabic not clear] druhi sposab že po ve-
18. šne nekatorije u lasce božej, u dobrim pažicu, a nekatorije u trudnašci buduc; dna sud-
19. naha nekatorije da raju uvojdud da roskaši, a nekatorije da pekla uvojdud u muku, a nenzu¹,
20. u trudnašci buduc; trecij sposab podobenstva, chto na švece chenci svajej davši
21. volu, cheramnije pažitki paživac buduc, dna sudnaha muka lidžba ceškaje pahanbonij bu-
22. dže; čvartaje padobenstva, nekatorije pašnu šejuc trudnašci zaživajuc, pa vešne
23. učinica toj pašni zaraza jekaja, što univeč aberne abo saranča izješc; na švece nekato-
24. rije ludži paklon činec Panu Bohu, trudnašci cerpac, u džen pošnikajuc, u noči až da ranku

Margin: Vesna padobna sudnamu dnu; džešec podobenstvav (between lines 15-19).

¹ u nenzu

f. 14b

1. nemaž klanejucca; dna sudnaha zarazlivi vecer paveje paklonna pašna da hrachov žveje abo jekaje neverena-
2. ncl budže univeč toje abernec; pateje padobenstva po vešne prijacel s prijacelam na beraha-
3. ch rečnich pad džeravam bešedujuc, dna sudnaha nabožnije is pabožnimi, a zlije ludži i zlimi po-
4. vstanuc; šostaje padobenstva, na vešne vecer dubrij povevaje, kamu pažitak činic, kamu škodu
5. činic, dna sudnaha ščošlivij vecer paveje i neščošlivij paveje, kamu ščošlivij dojdže, kamu
6. neščošlivij; šudma padobenstva, katoraja džerava usochne, na vešne džerava želenejuc, a toje
7. suchoje hola stajic, dna sudnaha sluhi božije rajškije šati uložac i

karonu na halavu u-

8. zložec a tije katorije Panu Bohu pasluhi ne činili, jich džerava hrachami i ž imi usochla za toje ni pri čim
9. zastanec i vniveč abernucca; ošmaje padobenstva pa vešne kali pašna višpeja ketorij ne šejeli, tije
10. ludži smutnije buduc, dna sudnaha, sluhi božije vedlug čacu² pakloni Panu Bohu ne činili sud-
11. naha dna smutnije buduc; dževataje padobenstva kažnaje reč što na švece zarobiš, to na su-
12. dni džen prinaseš is saboj či dobraha, či lichoha, toje budžeš žac [The world is like a ploughed field]
13. bo šoj švet tahošvetnaja pašna; džešatije podobenstva, na vešne čirvonije, želonije,
14. žovtije, belije kvati cvetuc, dna sudnaha čistašc, vernašc, nevernašc, picha, palecane
15. Bohu, strach, smutak, radašc, nevernašc, toja ušo javno budže, tak tim podobenstvam
16. maješ vesnu priravnac da dna sudnaha [A token unto them is the dead earth. We revive it] tim slova-
17. m muvonim poznaka ješt [Glory be to Him Who created all the sexual pairs, of that which the earth groweth, and
18. of themselves, and of that which they know not!] čistij Pan Boh ad nevernich slov stvariv ruznije ruznije pari s tich re-
19. čež što žemla rodžic, tak iz Adamskich džecej takže s tich že jich nihto ne vedaje iz ča-
20. ho stvorani ješt , na žemli i na nebe, v harach i morach [A single interpretation] muvi Pan Boh, tišeče
21. ruznich žverat stvariv, šešc sot u moru, četirista na suchu; u kažnaha ž nich parsuna jedna
22. da jednaj podobna, holas da holasu ne padobni, mova da movi ne podobna, jak Pan Boh
23. u Kurane piše: [The varied nature of your languages and kinds] ne padobni jenzik jenziku, a tvar tvari. V-
24. šistkich po pari stvoril Pan Bug, žeme iz nebam para, šoj švet is tamtim švetam para,

25. duša is celam para, nevernašc z imanem para, zdarovja iz chvarobaj para, rozum iz raz-

(15a1 continues: mislam para, nauka iz neumajentnošcaj para, noč z dnom para, uše tije pari Pan Boh stvoril...)

Margin: Ťišeče ruznich źverat (between lines 20-21); Všitkich po pari stvoril (between lines 24-25).

¹ nevernašc; ² času

2.2 Paraphrase of Yā Sīn, verses 65-74

This extract (ff 25a-25b) explains and loosely illustrates Yā Sīn sura, verses 65-74. Verse 67 ('He whom We bring unto old age...') forms the basis for a story about Ali and the Old Man. No source is given for this text. The language in this extract is Belarusian. The forms *jest* and *jest'* are both found (e.g. lines 25b9, 10).

f. 25a

1. boka na bok perevaračajučiše, treba mišlic jak muka jest sroga, caška. Bože naš, laskaju Svajeju
2. učini nad nenznaju chalopjeju, šceraži nas ad pekelnej muķi, jest nad milaserdnimi milaserdni.
3. [And had We willed, We verily could have quenched their eyesight so that they should struggle for the way. Then how could they have seen?] Pan Boh kali b pachacev
4. išcor bi na niveč kařirav [And had We willed, We verily could have fixed them in their place, making them powerless
5. to go forward or turn back] kali b Ja chacev, tvari jich advernub bi nazať abo iź nich adnamu jakuju učiniv
6. bi na sta čim jich mejscu bidlam abo źveram jak brednimi budučių ludźej činiv tak bi jim učiniv
7. ni pered cebe pajdźci šila jich ne scekla ani nazať vernuciše, aže Ja jim taho ne činiv, dla čaho
8. jeni Mne chvali ne činec [He whom We bring unto old age, We reverse him in creation (making him go back to weakness after strength). Have ye then no sense?] Kamu Ja vek dovhij
9. dam, toj, budući stari, advernu ad jeho rozum i zmysl, jak dźica maloje budže, a v kařirav

10. nemaš rozumu žebi Mne Bohu znali že Ja jestem mocni čelaveku Adamškamu iz starašc na dže-
 11. cinstva perevernu či ne jestem mocen znovu iz martvaho učinu živoha. Nekatorije movec
 12. 'nunečkkišm', značiše što hrachi ad jeho adijduc, skora mušelmanin pastarejecce paro tuju što hra-
 13. chi piše vivolnicca, ne budže hrachov pisac, jak džecam hrachi ne pišucca; prarok muvil, Pan Boh
 14. rek: [White hair is My light and I am ashamed to consume My light with My fire] starašc maja svetlašc, Ja u-
 15. stidajuša Svaju ahnom kazac palic. Chi kajet : 'Elej švetij adnaho dna staroha
 16. čelaveka vidžev, oči jemu ne švecec, ruki i nohi ne služac, rovna plače. 'Elej muvil: I starij
 17. čelaveče, čas tvoj ispelnivše, ad hetaho času žedaj sabe šmerc, lepej tabe šmerc za tva-
 18. jo žitlo. Toj starij muvil: mladžence, ti chto ješt ? 'Elej muvil: Sin Abu Talibov. Sta-
 19. ri rek: I 'Elej, ja cebe za razumnaha mev, a ti malo znaješ. 'Elej rek: Što ti na mne nevmajentno-
 20. šci abačiv? Stari rek: Ci to tvaja umajontnošc že mne kažeš šmerci prašic? Ja na što
 21. maju šmerci žadac? Uše umerlije maho času žadajuc, što nade mnoj džejecca, što
 22. ušelačije umisli zlije iz halavi majej višli, a ja za hrachi svajej plaču, kalem užo hracho-
 23. v ne pišec, Pan Boh milaserdnij na mene uzhlad Svoj majec i muvi-
 24. c: Vstidajuša hetuju starašc ahnom kazac palic; lepšaho času jekoha mne
- Margin:* A starich lužac (between lines 13-14).

f. 25b

1. treba? 'Elej muvil: I starij, prašu cebe vibač mne, ja abmilivše; tak, jak ti muviš: [And We have not taught
2. him (Muhammad) poetry, nor is it meet for him. This is naught

else than a Reminder and a Lecture (Qur'ān) making plain] Kafire praroka čaravnikam zvali. Pa-

3. n Boh muvil: Ja Muchemmed čeradžejtva neučiv, jemu čarav ne treba, Kuran Kurena nauka, veri i-
4. šlamskej [To warn whosoever liveth, and that the word may be fulfilled against the unbelievers] zeslalem Muchemmeda žebi strašil
5. Kuranem, žebi jich nutri živi bili, bo jeni s Kurane sabe pažitkav džeržac a kafiram bliskaje
6. muka budže, bo Muchemmed dla tich rečej zeslalem; čeradžejtva ne ješt slova bože ani bajažnikav Ma-
7. jich jak prarok muvil: [Arabic not clear] lepej vam, katoremu bruch
8. vaš napelnic sukravicaju aniž čarami. [Modesty and virtue are two branches of faith, hypocrisy (lack of modesty?) is sorcery(?)]
10. Vstidu cnota dve halini ješt imanovi, bo nevstidljivošc jest čeradžejtva. Takže dve halini ješt nevernašci. Prorok muvil: Kali na me'radž uzišov,
11. tajej noči adnich ludžej vidžev že jich tvari pilami pilujuc; pitav ja u Džebra'ila dla čeho
12. to jim; Džebra'il muvil: To čeravniķi ješt. [Have they not seen how We have created for them of Our handiwork
13. the cattle, so that they are their owners] vidželi dživa že Ja stvoriv dla jich, to reči z moci Majej u-
14. činonije tovari, bidla že jimi vladejuc verbludi, koni, sloni i inšije [And have subdued them unto them, so that
15. some of them they have for riding, some for food] jim u moc padav tak, mocnaja bidla na katorich ježdžec
16. poķi kladuc, a nekatorich jeduc jaķich pažitkav sabe majuc [Benefits and (divers] drinks have they from them.
17. Will they not then give thanks?] i hatava ješt s taho bidla jim pažitķi ruznije ruznije, iz šeršci,
18. iz malaka, iž masa, a za pažitķi tije ne činec Mne chvali [And they have taken (other) gods beside Allah, in order
19. that they may be helped] nedavarķi akrom Pana Boha ba-
20. lvanov za bohi majuc; tije balvani sabe i jim ni v čom pomači ne

dajuc i ofšam pomači

21. ne dajuc, bo šili ne majuc [It is not in their power to help them; but they (the worshippers) are unto them a host in arms] tije neverniški balvanskaje vo-
22. jska katorije u balvana veruc, pred balvanam klanejucca, ad balvanov jim pažitku ne budže.
23. Sudnaha dna kažnije ludži iz svajimi bohami povstanuc, katorije balvanom kla-
24. neliše z balvanami povstanuc i da pekla pojduc...

2.3 On the Duty of Every Muslim to Seek Knowledge

This extract (ff. 57a-57b) consists of precepts from the *hadith* and a summary of the six duties of a Muslim. Amongst the passages in Arabic is one in Turkish (f. 57a8); this is not translated in the accompanying text.

f. 57a

1. kažnaho čeleveke da veri mušulmanskeje naučaj [The seeking of knowledge is a duty
2. for every Muslim] pavinni nauki učiciše kažnij mušulmanin i mušulmanka [Seek knowledge
3. from the cradle to the grave] patrabuj nauki jak vijdžeš is kalibki
4. boki¹ pojdžeš da hrabovaj doški [A man's wealth rests in knowledge and culture,
5. not in riches and pedigree] azdobic čeleveka nauka i cnota ne majentnošć ani u-
6. roda; pavinen kažnij mušulmanin znac što vara mušulmanskaje, na čim za-
7. visa i na katorich punktach; kali budžeš znac i veric mec mocna
8. ušelakaje naboženstva; kali spitajuc: [How many Holy Laws are there in Islam?]
9. sposabu da veri mušulmanskeje naleži tich rečej, jakvele jest na čim vera
10. mušulmanska fundavana; adkaži: Šešć rečej jest maješ znac i ve-
11. ric i jezicam movic, pilnavac i činic: [God is One] napro-
12. d Pana Boha adžinaha pavinen znac; druhoje gušul abdeš brac;

tre-

13. ceja pa pac raz kažnaho dna nemaž klaneciše; čvarteje remezan mešec po-
14. šnikac; pataje žekoť davac; šostaje da chadždžu icci; chto ne maje
15. iz čaho žekoť davac abo da chadždžu ici, ale treba kanečne veri-
16. c že nam Pan Boh ferzem prikazav hetije šešc rečej; kali chto
17. hetije šešc rečej ne znaje i ne veric i ne činic što jest dobrije
18. učiniki, iman, iž žanoj nikach, choc bi da chadždžu chadživ, to uše tije
19. reči univeč tracic; mladženec i panna kali tich rečej ne znajuc,
20. u malženstva ne pazvalac takich ludžej; inšije reči nemala jest
21. da veri mušulmanskeje ale hetije šešc rečej napatrebnješije, bo kažuc

Margin: Azdobic čeleveka nauka (between lines 5-6); Da veri mušulmanskeje naleži tije reči (between lines 12-13).

¹poķi

f. 57b

1. takich ludej režpaživac ne hože. Navčonij pjanica lepšij za nenavčonaho
2. bohamolci [The scholar is beloved of God even if sinful] navčonij prijacel božij
3. choc pjanica, kali činic učinek dobrij i veric što Pan Boh adžinij
4. ne tak, jak džahilin, bo džahilin jest nenavčonij, Boha dobre ne znaje, u na-
5. ucce neufalij, nutra nevernaho, mišlic abo jest tak, jak navčonij kaže
6. abo nemaš abo budže tak abo ne budže tak, to dla taho muvi: [The ignorant man is the enemy of God even if
7. abstinent] džahil neprijacel božij choc bi biv bohamolca.
8. Štokolvek Pan Boh u Kurane aznajmiv tamu ušemu treba veric pavinni
9. ščire veric Kuran, bo iz čistich ust božich slova što u Kurane
10. Pan Boh razkazav, to ušo ferz pavinnašc a što bez ajeťu kuranna-
11. ho ad praroka Muchammeda reskazane, to jest šunneť spašenje. A što šunneť ,

12. što ferz? Ferz činici laski božej hodžen budže, a ne činec kafiri-
13. nim budže, na veći muku maje mec; kali pakajecca a bolej taho ne
činic
14. to Pan Boh žmilujecca, jak piše u Kurane: [Except for someone
who repents and believes and does (pious) deeds
15. for such people God will transform their misdeeds by rewards and
God is Forgiving, Merciful]
16. Pan Boh muvic: Tilko pakajceše, Mne Bohu verce, učinki dobrije
čince, Ja va-
17. ši hrechi spašenjom učinu, Pan Boh hrachov adpusklivij, laskavij.
18. šunneť to jest chto činic prarockej pričini budže mec i laski božej
19. hodžen budže, chto ne činic kafirinam ne budže, pričini praro-
20. ckejš ne budže za nim; muķi za toje ne budže.
21. Bab: [That those who hear the call to prayer and do not attend the
Friday prayer meeting will be banished from Paradise.]

(f 58a continues with a section on importance and significance of Azan.)

2.4 Story of Death of Mary (Meryem)

This extract (ff 85a-86b) is the story of the death of Mary (Merjema), attributed here to Wahb ibn Munabbih (654-c.728), a prolific narrator of stories about Islamic, Christian and Jewish prophets; not all the works that have been ascribed to him have been firmly identified.³⁸⁴ A very similar version of this text is found in Rabghuzi's *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* ('Stories of the Prophets'). Rabghuzi's work, which dates from AD 1310, is particularly relevant because it is the first Turkic version of this genre. Katanov recorded a variant of the 'Death of Mary' narrative in Eastern Turkestan in 1890-92 that has much in common with the BLK version.³⁸⁵ The story also has a certain resemblance to one of the narratives relating to the Assumption of the Virgin found in medieval Christian literature.³⁸⁶

f 85a

1. Historija a Merjeme, udžačnaśc božeje nad neju. Veheb sin

³⁸⁴ *EI*, XI: 34, s.v. *Wahb b. Munabbih*.

³⁸⁵ Katanov: 1-44. See also Appendix 3 below.

³⁸⁶ Some of the miniatures in manuscript *Heures de Etienne Chevalier*, produced in Tours, c.1456-62 (Musée Condé, Chantilly), depict a similar sequence of events.

Munebehev mu-

2. vil, udžačnašč božaje nad nim: U inšich kitabach tak našov i vidže-
3. v i čitav. Adnahe dna 'I š a prarok jeho milošč, laska boža nad
4. nim, da matki svajej muvil: I, matka, mne muvil Džebra'il, što hetij švet
5. meškane dačasnoje jest, preto mi hetij švet zanechajma e tamtoj šve-
6. t vekoistij starajmaše - tak da matki muvil - to nam lepej budže. Tedi
7. jeni aboje pašli na Libnan haru i tam Panu Bohu paklon činili. džžen u džžen
8. pošnikali, a večar adpošnikališe travnim kerenjem. Adnahe dna 'Iša
9. prarok dla adpošnikavanje pa kerenje travnoje pašov, e matka jeho
10. Merjema u michrabe sedžeči nemaž klanelaše, a v tom čaše 'Ezra'il prišov,
11. šelam dav, i strachu jeho Merjema ad rozumu adišla. Kali prišla da pameci,
12. muvila: Chto ti jest? ad strogašci tvajej šlunki maje trasucca, ro-
13. zum adchodžic; 'Ezra'il muvil: Ja jestem [Mary said:
14. after that, Arabic (?) not clear; probably as the Belarusian]. Rekla Merjema: Či navežac ti mene prišov, či dušu brac? 'Ezra-
15. 'il muvil: Prišov ja dušu tvaju brac. Merjema muvila: Prašu cebe adnu
16. hadžinu mene zfalguj, nechaj moj milij sin prijdže 'Iša, ja tvar jeho uba-
17. ču i destament učinu. 'Ezra'il rek: Ja jestem chalop božij. prikezane
18. trimajuščij, bez jeho voli ničoho učinic ne mahu. Mne prikezane ta-
19. koje jest, abi i nahoj stupic ne mahla, dušu ažmu. Merjema rekla:
20. Ja voli božej jestem udžačna. Potim 'Ezra'il u jeje dušu užav. Potim

21. 'Iša prišov, matku ebačiv na michrabe upavši ležic. 'Iša razumev, što
22. u paklone ležic. Nechaj adnu hadžinu strivaju - i sam ne adpošnikav-
23. še - nechaj matka ačnecca, zajedna adpošnikajemše. Kerenje palaživ,
24. nemaž pec pačav. Potim noči čaśc minula, Bohu paklon činiv
- f. 85b
1. da matki pristupiv, lechkim holasam klikav, muvil: I, matka, uše ludži po-
 2. šnikali, adpošnikališe. Potim ješče čaśc noči minula. 'Iša rek: I, ma-
 3. tke, što tabe stalo, ne adpošnikaješe. Matka jemu ne adkaže.
 4. 'Iša mišliv: Matke maje nemaž klanevšiše ufatigovalaše, nechaj ješče adnu
 5. hadžinu paležic, ja za jeje Bohu paklanuše. Pačav klanecca, ješče cerpev ne a-
 6. dpošnikavše. Povnoč stalo. Znovu da matki muvil is plačem, nutrom
 7. frasunlivim: I, matka, što tabe džejecca, čemu ne vstaneš? Žadnaho slova
 8. ne adkazala. Ješče cerpev až da ranku. Kali džen stav, da matki prišov, tvar
 9. u tvar udarav i rek: [Peace be on you] I, matke, noč prejšla, znovu pošnikac
 10. čas, ustan sebach ferz klaneciše. A taho dna na šemkrotnebeskije
 11. enheli plakali holasam velikičim, taho dna na žemli uše reči rušališe, žve-
 12. rata polnije uše sefami sefami stavši plakali, ptastva na pavetru uše
 13. hrumadami stoječi plakali, muvili: Bože naš, pazvol nam, mi 'Iša pra-
 14. roke eznajmim šmerc matki jeho. Ad Pana Boha aznajmene prišlo: Že-
 15. mla i mešec i slonca, hori, mora, ptastvo, žveri, enheli, što še stalo

16. vam, dla čeho vi plačece? Adkazali: Dla 'Iša praroke plačem. Ezna-
17. jmene ad Pana Boha prišlo: I, 'Iša, Ja tvoj Boh, vedaju i jestem lasku
18. činuščij, nad ušich vas Ja milašerdnejšij. 'Iša prarok holas
19. učuv: I, 'Iša, Pan Boh tabe spašenje nechaj dašč, budž u cerplivošci;
20. matka tvaja iz hetaha šveta zišla. 'Iša plakac pačav, što adžin a-
21. stavše, muviv: Što ja maju činic, hdže pajdu, š kim budu zabavlacise,
22. š kim svoj frasunek padželu, kamu svaju tajemnicu skažu? Barzdo plakav.
23. Ad Pana Boha eznajmene prislo, što b 'Iša praroku hara nauku pada-

f. 86a

1. la. Rekla hara: I, 'Iša, dla čeho tak barzo frasuješe, tabe jest Pan Boh
2. pomocnikam. Potim 'Iša iz hari zišov da adnaho šela s plačem, z nutro-
3. m frasunlivim, i veliķim holasam rek: (Peace be on you) I ludži tut meška-
4. jučije! A ludži taho šela, veliķije i malije, mužčini i nevasti, uše preciv
5. jeho višli, pitali: Chto ti jest, holas tvoj čujuči, nutri naši ašve-
6. ciliše, dami naši uše švetlašcej napelniliše, tvaju pavelbonuju parsunu
7. vidžim. 'Iša rek: Ja 'Iša sin Merjemin, vedajce, što matka maja na hare Libnan adna buduči z hetaho šveta zišla; prašu vas, dadajce mne
8. svajej pomači da schavanje i u savan naradžic, dol vikapac.
9. Tije ludži muvili: I, 'Iša, mi tabe savan dadžim, e na toj hare ad kalki
10. hod ne bili, bo tam jest adžin smok, nihto tam uzijdžci ne može za
11. jeho truciznaju. 'Iša iz veliķim frasunkam ad jich pašov na tuju
- 12.

ha-

13. ru, tamže dvuch mladžencav vidžev cherošich tvarev. 'Iša muvil:
Vi chto
14. jest? Adžin rek: Ja Džebra'il; druhij rek: Ja Meka'il; prinešli iz
raju
15. savan i všelakije patrebi; z voli božej panni rajškije majuc mic,
16. e nam raskazav božij, abi mi dol kapali. Rajškije panni abmili,
Džebra-
17. 'il, Meka'il dol vikapali, enheli dženaže nemaž peli i zchavali.
Potim 'Iša
18. prarok Pana Boha prašiv, muvil: Bože moj, Ti mene vidžeš i slova
majo
19. čuješ, Tabe nimaš ničoha skritaho; Bože moj, matki majej čas
20. jeje šmerci i pa šmerci ne vidžev tvari jeje; a ceper prašu Cebe,
Bože mo-
21. j, keži mne matku maju ukazac, što¹b iz za mnoj muvila.
Raskazane
22. božeje takoje prišlo: Idži da matki svajej. 'Iša prarok prišov
23. i v halavach mahili matki svajej sev i rek tak: [God grant
24. you peace] I, matke, tabe nechaj laska bože budže. A v tim ¹i
hrobu holas
¹v tim času iz hrobu

f. 86b

1. prišov: U ačach majich švetlašč, u nutra majho ovec, čamu ti
mene
2. advernuv ad rajških majstata¹v i sadov i tut mene privernuv? Pri-
3. baviv 'Iša prarok, muvil: I, matka maja, mejsca taho čim že ti
dajšla ku
4. Panu Bohu? Merjema rekla: Ja, buduči na švece, meškajuči u
dobrich učinkach,
5. u raji mejsca sabe dabila. Potim 'Iša rek: I matke maja, dušnuju
horkašč
6. či mela, jak tabe pavodžila, što nad taboj džejalaše? Merjema
muvila: Pred Panem
7. Bohem pravdžive muveve¹ što horkašč duši majej bra nje² u horle

8. jest, 'Ezra' ilova trudnašc preda mnoju jest, a srogašc i stra-
9. ch jeho u nutri majom jest. Rekla: I, sine moj, 'Iša, astanše
zdarov,
10. e ja užo adijdu; dna sudnaho ebačimse na Arafat polu. To vimuvi-
11. vši umovkla. Potim 'Iša prarok iz hari žišov i pa švece chadživ.
12. Potim Pan Boh jeho da neba užav, i da sudnaho dna budže na
nebe, a pred sud-
13. nim dnom Dadždžal preklentij povstane na mušulman, uveš svet
izvajuje.
14. To na toj čac³ Pan Boh 'Iša praroke iz neba zešle mušulmanem na
pomač
15. preciv Dedždžala. 'Iša prarok jeho milošc ž neba žišovši
Dedždžala prakla-
16. taho zabje i veru mušulmanškuju zeprec i raširac vera
mušulmanškaje i zno-
17. vu sorak hod maje žic na švece, a potim iz hetaho svet zijdže.
- (line 18 onwards: Turkish text of the Mi'rāj, with an interlinear
translation into Belarusian.)
- ¹last syllable repeated; ²brac ne?; ³čas

2.5 Joseph and Moses in Egypt, and Ten Commandments

This extract (ff 104b-105b) contains a brief account of the Biblical story of Joseph, followed by short sections on Moses. The Exodus is touched upon, then the Ten Commandments are paraphrased. Biblical references to the Books of Moses are cited. The language in this section shows strong Polish influence. Interestingly, in the passages on cleanliness from Leviticus chapters 15-16, and Exodus chapter 30 (Biblical references are given), the terms for 'ablutions' are Islamic *abdeš* and *gušel*.

f. 104b

17. Potim uše sinove pradali Jušuf praroke, brata švego, Izma'ilitom.
Izma-
18. 'ilici predal jeho do Jehiftu botifarovi achmistrovi fere'onovemu
hetmano-
19. vi dvurnemo i bil tam až Pan Bug napušcil glod na všitek, a u
Jehifce

20. bilo žbož¹; kedi brace Jušufovi prijekali do Jehiftu kupovali ale Pan Boh
21. vivišil Jušufe i včinil jago ojcem fere'onovi; kedi všitko zboža¹zbož

f. 105a

1. bilo na renkach Jušufovich on tim rondzil tak zdaril Bug co ocec Jušufe,
2. Izra'il, Je'kub prorok, prišed ze všidkim svojim rodžajem u šedmidžešont duš
3. da Jehiftu, a Jušuf bil u Jehifce. Is tich dvanastu sinov Izra'ilovich is kaž-
4. nego sina pa sto tišencej naplodžiloše; tedi dvanaccac kroc sto tišecej bilo jich
5. i bili sinove Izra'ilove u Jehifce čtirista dvanadžešce lat. Potim povstal
6. krul fere'on u Jehifce, kturij ne znal Jušufe; tedi ten kazal babem pupareznim
7. jak jich zvičaj prichodže pa ražena nevasti žebi sinov Izraalskich davili, a kedi
8. curki rodžili žebi jich živili i tak oni u velkich uciskach bili; i vskrešil
9. Pan Bug is pokolena Levego Muša praroka, a brat Mušin staršij Haron
10. bil; tedi Pan Bug prez Muša praroka vibavil iz Jehiftu sini Izra'ilove te dvana-
11. šce krot sto tišencej ludu. Bab: Vture kšengi Mojžešove rozdžal
12. dvanastij virš čterdžešce peršij; i roskazal jim džešenc rečej
13. žebi ne činili. Bab: Vture kšengi Mojžešove rozdžal dvanadžešce i peršij:
14. to bendžece mec sobe bogov cudžich predemno; drugo to žebi ne činil abrazu
15. ani balvanuv žadnego ni nebeskego ani žemnego, ni ptašego ani ribnego bom Ja
16. jest Bug gnevlivij, bende za to keral nemilošerdne; trece ne božše i ne prikлина-

17. jše Mnoju Bogem tvojim naprasno bo ne upuści ne skaravši Bug tego,
18. chto božiše naprasno; čvarti abi šabat švencil; ponte abi oj-
19. ca i mačka šanoval, Bogem temu veku pridaje, kto ojca i mačka šanuje,
20. šusta ne zabivaj; šudme ne cudžulož; ušme ne kradni; dževonte ne švec nepravdžive

f. 105b

1. džేశonte ne požondaj domu bližnego tvego ani žoni ani nevulnika ani nevulnici ani
2. bika ani osla ani čego, co jego; i rekli ludži do Mojžeša: Mov ti z nami slucha-
3. c bendzemi, a nechaj ne muvi z nami Bug abich mi ne pomarli. To do tego Pan Bug pri-
4. kazuje abi u cistości iz gušelem bili. Bab: Trece kšengi Mojžešove ro-
5. zdžal petnastij: a vžitko u čistości piše menžu i žone virš šesna-
6. stij bo tich pogan Pan Bug za nečistašc karal, ktore bili pred nami.
7. Bab: Trece kšengi Mojžešove rozdžal ošminaštij virš dvadzešce čva-
8. rtij: Tedi i vas žeme viruci, kedi splu'aviceše¹ do konca čitaj i majo bic vi-
9. korenoni, nečistije kto bez abdešu chodži do domu božego ma bic vikorono-
10. nij. Bab: Druge kšengi Mojžešove rozdžal tridžestij virše dvadze-
11. šce peršij: Kto bi bez gušulu i bez abdešu jev, vikorenonij bendže. ¹splugaviceše

2.6 Story of Jesus and the Three Men who Find Gold

This extract (ff. 120b-121a) is a version of the ancient story of the three men who find gold and kill one another in order to possess it. It was extremely popular in both the East and West (Chaucer, for example, uses it in 'The Pardoner's Tale', in *The Canterbury Tales*). In Buddhist versions the moral is drawn by Gautama, but in Islamic Arabic and

Persian versions by Jesus, as here.³⁸⁷ No source is given for this text.

f. 120b

8. Bab: 'Iša prarok ednaho dna jechav s trima čelevekami
9. u tavaristve u Badije.¹ Jeduči džve zelatije pliti vidželi. 'Iša da svajich tavorišev
10. muvil: Živati vaši pakvapecca; ne berice, bo to zla reč. Tije tri čeleveki ne sluchali,
11. zastališe. 'Iša pajechav. Tije tri čeleveki adnaho paslali da mesta kupic
¹place name? not identified

f. 121a

1. živnašci, i chleba i pilu kupic, tije pliti perezac, na treje padželic. Toj,
2. ketorij pajechav da mesta, kupiv chleba i stravi i truciznu kupiv, namešav istravaj¹
3. štobi tije pamerli, jemu zolata zastalo; a tije dva namoviliše: Jak jon prijdže za-
4. bjom jeho, nam dvum zolata zastanecca. Toj, jak prinos jim jedžene, jeni jeho za-
5. raz zabili, sami šeli ješč, i s truciznaj jeli i paumirali. 'Iša prarok vernuv-
6. še na toje mejsca až uše tri umerlije ležac a toje zolata celaje ležic. 'Iša
7. prarok toje zolata u žemle udeptav i muvil: Bože milošćivij ad milovan-
8. je šeho švetu nas chelapov šceraži. Amin.
¹is stravaj

2.7 Acrostic Based on Arabic Alphabet

The seventh and last extract is an acrostic based on the Arabic alphabet, in which each letter reminds Man of a religious tenet. Acrostics have a long history. The genre was popular in the Middle East, notably in Arabic, Hebrew and other Semitic literatures. It has been suggested that

³⁸⁷ Bryan and Dempster: 415-38 (esp. 415).

the Turks were responsible for taking the form to Bosnia, where examples of secular acrostics based on the Arabic script are found.³⁸⁸ It may, thus, be due to Turkish (ultimately Arabic) influence that this section of BLK is cast in such a form. However, Slav models for religious acrostics are also plentiful and would probably have been familiar to the Tatars through reading primers.³⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the text below seems to be a translation, since the letters bear no relation to the Slav exhortation that follows. (Note that the Arabic letter names are given here in the transliteration used for the Slav texts.)

f. 124b

13. Bab: U 'alife jest dvadžešce dževec churfav. Kažnij churf
14. čeleveka napaminaje i učic z voli božej. A [ا] 'alif muvic: Aj čeleveče, vsp-
15. mni sam na šebe što ti uradživše, znaj Pana Boha i prikaz božij, Panu Bohu pa-
16. kloni čini; kali Pana Boha znaješ, to Jemu pasluhi čini. B [ب] muvic: Čeleveče,
17. vedaj što maje cebe patkac ad Pana Boha, kali prikaz božij ne budžeš
18. znač, ale treba paznac prikaz božij, čini vedlug prikazu božego, šanu-
19. j ajca matku, krevnich svajich. Ā [آ] muvic: Čeleveče kajše, praši Pana Boha
20. e lasku, Pan Boh miłošćivij hrachi tvaje adpušćic, bo hrech etruta a
21. lekarstva na te pakuta. Š [ش] muvic: Čeleveče, praši Boha, klanejše Bohu. Pa-
22. n Boh cebe na toje stvariv, kali addaši Bohu, Pan Boh z dobrim tvajim paži-
23. tkam budže. Dž [ج] muvic: Čeleveče, spravujše vedlug Boha, vedlug

f. 125a

1. enhelej, vedlug prarokav švetich, bo praroški švetije ad enhelov

³⁸⁸ Olof: vii-viii.

³⁸⁹ See, for example, Zizanij: *Načalo učenija*.

- spravavališe i pa-
2. sluhu Bohu addavali. CH [ح] mucic: Vedaj čeleveče že maješ lidžbu zdavac pred Panem
 3. Bohem, kali dobre lidžbu zdaši budžeš volen ad hrachov ad pekla, e kali lidžbu ne zdaši
 4. pred Bohem, budžeš keranem ehnom pekelnim. H [ح] mucic: Čeleveče prez uveš vek svoj
 5. živuči Boha chvali adžinaho že Bohu rovni nemaš, večistij Pan Boh ad pačatku až da
 6. astatku Jemu Bohu nihtu lidžbi episac ne može i mi verim Bohu adžinamu, znajem što
 7. jemu rovni net. D [د] mucic: Čeleveče, svet perejdže univeč ebernece uživane roskaši šve-
 8. cčkije, ušo to minecca, s taho na toj svet pažitku net. Ž [ژ] mucic: Vedaj čeleveče cho-
 9. c bi spil učinku zloha učiniv, ušo u Pana Boha u vedomošci, tak i dobrego cho-
 10. c bi spil učiniv, ušo u Pana Boha u lidžbe prinate budže, jak u Kurane piše: [Whoever does an atom's
 11. weight of good He will see it, whoever does an atom's weight of evil, He will see it] to viklad. R [ر] mucic: Čeleve-
 12. če Boha Stvaricel zavše chvali za dabradžejstva Jeho bo Pan Boh tabe zavše pažitki
 13. daje i prisparaje. Ž [ژ] mucic: Čeleveče, šlezami za hrechi plač, Pana Boha praši, Jon jest
 14. dobrotlivij, jak matke učuvši plač džicacij bivaje milošerdžen parušana džica da
 15. cebe prihorne, tak Pan Boh milošerdnij učuvši plač čelavečij, što pa hrechoch
 16. učinonich plače, Pan Boh hrech adpuskaje i da laski Svajej jrijme.¹ S [س] muvi-
 17. c: Čeleveče tajemnij svuj hrech ku Bohu viznavaj i kajše, bo Pan Boh za prožbaj
 18. tvajej adpušcic hrechi tvaje, učinic lasku Svaju. Š [ش] mucic: Čeleveče kali

19. chočeš rajškije patravi uživac na šom švece, malo pij, malo ješ, postem šebe
20. usklamlajše. S [ص] muvic: Čeleveče budž cerplivij, chvarobam, prihodam,
21. škodam ušelaškim cerpi i prijmuž udžlačne, bo to ušo zaplata i pakuta pomač
22. hrechom tvajim; chto bi mev mnoha chvarec, pevne Pan Boh hrechi adpušcic,
23. abi biv cerplivij. Z [ض] muvic: Čeleveče što čas na šebe šmerci za nic
24. sabe ne mej zavše chvorich navežaj, bo to kažnamu čeleveku pavinnašc. T [ط]
25. muvic: Čeleveče Boha madlitvami, prikazem božim uznavaž i vichvalaj
 1prijme

f. 125b

1. božije slava pavelbaj. Z [ظ] muvic: Čeleveče krivdi škodi nikomu ni čini i ničoha čužo-
2. ha ne beri i ne židaj, bo na pravdživam sudže božim maješ addac ale ne budže čim. ‘ [ع]
3. muvic: Čeleveče navčonich ludžej nauki sluchaj i pitaj u jich i pavažaj jich,
4. bo navčonij tabe patreben, jak šveča u noči patrebna, tak navčonij nenavčo-
5. namu patreben. G [غ] muvic: Čeleveče zaočne a ludžach ne mov, bo hrech velikiž, chto
6. zaočne a ludžach muvic, jakobi jaho mase jev; jak piše Al-Gejbu:
7. havor horšij za blud. F [ف] muvic: Čeleveče dobre sabe spravujše, čini dobre ludžem
8. i zič kažnamu dobre, budž rad kažnamu, učini dobre, za toje tabe na onim švece budže
9. odpusk. K [ق] muvic: Aj čeleveče kerotkaho svajho veku, skarb ne žbiraj i ne kacha-
10. jše u nom, bo skarb Karon žbirav i preklatem stav, iž jeho skarbam žemla pažar-

11. la i ti ne budž pišnim i skupim. K̄ [ك] muvic: Čeleveče da Velikašci šebe ne ravnuj, bo ve-
12. ku Lukmanovuha ne budžeš mec, mušiš umerci, spadževajše zavše šmerci. L [ل] muvic:
13. Čeleveče u skarbe ne kachajše bu dac nikomu ni daši tilko žebi ne biv pišnim, bo za baha-
14. ctvam picha vichodžic. M [م] muvic: Čeleveče prikazu božeho krepko džerži, što Bo-
15. h ne kazav, zabaraniv, taho ne čini, prikazu božeho pilnuj, sluchaj. N [ن] muvic:
16. Čeleveče na toj švet sabe stravu hatoj¹, bo tam ne najdzeš ani kupiš; kali mev
17. učinek dobrij pri sabe, to tvaja strava i pažitek tamtaho šveta. W [و] muvic: Čeleve-
18. če u mahilu prijdzješ, jak u pustij dom cemna, nikoha net, tilko učinĳ i tvaje s ta-
19. boj dobrije abo zlije. H [ه] muvic: Čeleveče ne budž espalij, ne budž bespečnij, bu-
20. dž zavždi hatov, bo maješ umerci i tam prijdzješ, hdže nikoha ne znav ani vidžev.
21. LA [لا] muvic: Čeleveče vek tvuj skončica, maješ umerci, praši Pana Boha što b š čim
22. dobrim umerci umec, dobre adkezac bitalnikam² božim. J [ي] muvic: Aj
23. čeleveče kali maješ učinĳi zlije e jo vedaješ e jeĳich hrachov svajich, to viraĳajše
24. pred šmercej, što b šmerc ne zajšla; čto bez pakajane umre da pekla pojdže dla taho (catchword: mušulmanin)... ..
- ¹ hatovi; ² pitalnika

Note: This is the last page of BLK. The last text is incomplete, breaking off in mid-sentence. The Vilna Library Kitab contains the same passage (also the last item in the work) and gives the following ending for this text: *mušulmanin kažnij zavše Pana Boha praši abi Pan Boh ušim nam ne dav bez pakajene šmerci. Amin.*³⁹⁰

³⁹⁰ Vilna University Library Kitab, MS no. 391, undated, ff 359.

Appendix 3: Narratives of the the 'Death of Mary'

Katanov gives this translation of Rabghuzi's version of the death of Mary:³⁹¹

'Isa skazal svojej materi: 'O mat', jesli my stanem molit'sja zdes', to pomešajut nam ljudi! Pojdem na goru, sdelajem sebe kel'ju i stanem v nej molit'sja!' (Potom 'Isa) pošel vdvojem s mater'ju na goru, gde dnem oni postilis', noč'ju molilis' Bogu, a s nastuplenie večera razgovljalis' plodami (sredne-azijatskago) rastenija, nazyvajemago džigdoj. Odnadždy 'Isa pošel, čtoby prinesti eto rastenije: (Tem vremenem) po prikazaniju Gospoda Vsevyšnjago javilsja k Merjem angel smerti (t. e. Azrail) i sdelal jej privetstvije. Merjem otvetila jemu na privetstvije i sprosila: 'Kto ty takoj?' Angel smerti otvečal: 'Ja Azrail'. Merjem sprosila: 'Začem ty prišel?' Angel smerti otvečal: 'Ja prišel, čtoby unesti tvoju dušu v raj!' Merjem skazala: 'Podoždi odin čas, pust' pridet 'Isa - ja choču prosti't'sja s nim!' Angel smerti skazal: 'Mne ne veleno dožidat'sja, kogda vernetsja 'Isa! I vzjal dušu u Merjem. Vernulsja 'Isa i, podumav, čto mat' jeho spit, ne skazal jej ni slova. Nastupil večer, i nastalo vremja razgovljat'sja. 'Isa skazal: 'Mama, nastalo vremja molitvy! Vstavaj i čitaj molitvu, a to pridetsja vzamen obyčnoj čitat' dopolnitel'nuju molitvu!' (No) mat' ne podala (jemu) golosa. Prošlo vremja večernej molitvy i nastupilo vremja molitvy, čitajemoj pred otchodom ko snu. 'Isa vse ješče ne prinimal pišči. On podumal tak: 'Mat' moja, utomivši sebja služeniem Bogu, vse ješče ležit na molitvennom kovrike!' Poka on tak razsuždal, iz vozducha poslyšalsja v eto vremja golos: 'Merjem otošla iz etogo mira!' 'Isa stal plakat'. Zatem poslyšalsja drugoj golos: 'O 'Isa, molči!' V eto vremja 'Isa zamolčal. Noč'ju, nachodjas' pri materi, (on) razsuždal tak: 'Mat' moja, ne razgo'vevšis', otošla iz etogo mira golodnaja!' Potom on uvidel svoju mat', chodivšuju po raju. Ona skazala: 'O syn moj 'Isa, ne gorjuj obo mne, govorja: ona s pustym želudkom i ne razgo'vevšis', ušla iz etogo mira, - Gospod' Vsevyšnij dal mne takija milosti i blaga, kakich On ne daval nikomu!' Na drugoj den' on vstal, pošel v selenie i opovestil ženščin. Ženščiny sobralis' i uvideli Merjem: (potom one) obmyli Merjem, zavernuli jeje v savan, našli škury s nog životnych, podvjazali ich k golove jeja i ušli.

The oral version dictated to Katanov in Turfan (Xinjiang) by Nai-Chan (b. 1827) is in some ways even closer to the BLK variant:

'Isa odnadždy skazal: 'O mat', u menja jest' k tebe odno slovo; ty vyslušaj eto moje slovo i odobri jeho! Pojdem my, mat' i syn, i vstretim buduščuju žizn'; budem zanimat'sja delami blagočestija i kajat'sja, potomu čto pridet smert'!' Tak skazal 'Isa. Merjem skazala: 'O syn moj, uzy serdca mojego i pravaja ruka moja! Eta smert', kažetsja, pridet, - skažu tebe lučše!' skazala (ona). Mat' i syn otpravilis' i vošli vnutr' gory; zanjalis' molitvoju i pokajanijem, i toččas-že prišlo izvestije. Oni prišli k Lemlemskoj gore, vzošli na veršinu gory, i Merjem skazala svojemu synu, govorja: 'Sdelaj odnu kel'ju!' 'Isa stal nosit' kamni i, ne dopuskaja ni odnoj pogrešnosti v

³⁹¹ Katanov: 1-44.

postrojke, sdelal odnu kel'ju, i Merjem vošla v neje. Dnem oni sobljudali post, a noč'ju zanimalis' molitvoju; kajalis' oni i plakali (o svojich grechach) i prošlo tak neskol'ko dnej. Dikija životnyja stepej, rastuščija na zemle rastenija i vsjakago roda nasekomyja i pticy vse privetstvovali Merjem i 'Isa. 'Isa odnaždy po opredeleniju svyše otpravilsja dobyvat' pišču i kopaja korni rastenij, promeškal vplot' do večera. V eto samoje vremja Gospod' naš, povelevaja Azrailu (angelu smerti) skazal: 'Vyn' dušu iz tela Merjem.' Ispolnjaja poveljenja (Božije) Azrail prišel k Merjem i skazal: 'Ja javilsja prinjat' Vašu dušu!' Merjem skazala (jemu), govornja: 'Azrail, soglasis' podoždat' odin čas, - pridet syn i (potom) voz'mi dušu. Kogda javitsja moj syn, ja poceluju jegu v lice i glaza i poproščajus' s nim, (potom) voz'mi moju dušu!' 'Neizvestno, kogda pridet tvoj syn, i mne ne veleno tak ždat'! O Merjem, znaj i pojmi, što ja voz'mu (sejčas tvoju) dušu!' Merjem otдалa svoju dušu, i (Azrail) dones jeje do Ilijuna; (potom) spustilis' s neba angely i vse okružili Merjem. Vernulsja domoj 'Isa, uvidel svoju mat', postojal nekotoroje vremja i poklonilsja. 'Isa skazal: 'Čto slučilos'?' ne iznurilas'-li ona ot posta? ne utomilas'-li ona ot molitv? Tak on govornil i stojal. 'Isa govornil: 'O mat', popej-ka doždevoj vody i otkroj svoj rot, utomlennyj postom, potomu što nastupilo vremja prinjat' pišču! Merjem v etot den' ne poševelilas', ne ispila doždevoj vody i ne otkryla rta, utomlennago postom; (tut-to 'Isa) i uvidel, što ona umerla. 'Čto stanu teper' delat'? kak budu provodit' dni? ostalsja ja teper' sirotoju!' Stojal on v izumlenii, 'Čtoby kopat' zemlju, nužny ljudi; dlja mogily nužna mjagkaja zemlja i na savan (jej) nužna bjaz'! Čto stanu delat'? sprašival (sebja 'Isa). Pošel on odnaždy k svojemu narodu, potomkam Izraila; uvidel on ljudej, i vse vyšli k nemu na-vstreču. Sprosil jeje o prichode, govornja: 'Čto eto značit?' 'Isa stojal v izumlenii i govornil: 'Umerla u menja mat'! Na savan nužna bjaz', dlja mogily nužna mjagkaja zemlja i dlja kopanja zemli nužny ljudi! čto stanu delat'? govornil ('Isa). 'My dadim bjazi na savan i budem delat' vse, što ni skažeš', budem ispolnjat' tvoje prikazanije. My pojdem (s toboju)! govornili (ljudi), 'i my pojdem tuda, kuda tol'ko ni prikažeš', - i nam, ved', ne večno žit'. Ty-že idi vpered!' govornili (oni). 'Isa stal i zaplakal, ogorčennyj v serdce i pečeni (t. e. v duše); ne skazal on im ničego i ušel, lišennyj nadeždy. Ljudi sobralis' i obstupili goru Lemlemskuju, kogda angely pochoronili Merjem. Razverzlas' mogila Merjem, i po poveleniju (svyše) ona voskresla; pogovornila s 'Isa i skazala jemu: 'Ne bud' bezpečen (v molitve)! (i potom snova umolkla).

Appendix 4: Extracts from *Annales Ordinis Minorum* (1324, 1325)

As a matter of interest, given the historiographic significance of Muchlinskij's assertion that there was a settlement of Tatars in the Grand Duchy in the early 14th century, based on his identification of a passage in the *Annals of the Franciscans*, the extracts from the entries for the relevant years are given here. They do indeed deal with the Grand Duchy, but there is no mention of Tatars.

Year 1324, item XXVII: Hoc tempore laudabili studio propagabant fidem Christianam Praedicatores et Minores in terris Lethwinorum (qui nunc Lithuani dicuntur, et olim Litwani et Gepidi nuncupabantur) quorum Princeps Gedemunnus, uti habet monumentum Vaticanum, seu Gediminus uti scribit Alexander Guaguinus Veronensis, magnumque Ducem inscribit Lithuaniae, sed Pontifex Lethwinorum et multorum Ruthenorum regem appellat, religiosis valde propitius, dedit illis licentiam domicilia ibidem constituendi, quorum opera tandem ipse convertus est. Duo mihi constat ex diplomate Pontificio, anno sequenti producendo erexisse ibidem Minoritas Monasteria, et plurimos illuc avolasse. Misit ad eos Pontifex hoc anno nuncios Bartholomæum Episcopum Electen et Bernardum Abbatem Monasterii sancti Theofredi Anitien. ut negotium exaltationis et augmenti Christianae fide amplius apud eundem Regem urgerent.³⁹²

Year 1325, item XXVIII: Diximus etiam anno praecedenti, extracta jam sub hoc tempore bina Coenobia Minorum in Provincia Lituaniae, ubi fidem jam plantaverant, et suo sanguine rubricaverant triginta sex Fratres Minores variis temporibus occisi, quorum aliqui jacent Vilnae ad Monasterium insigne sanctae Mariae de Arena in coemeterio sub columna lateritia, alii projecti sunt in Viliani amnem, alii viginti octo sepulti sunt ad fores templi sanctae Crucis, ubi haec leguntur carmina, a Reverendissimo D. Joanne Anchuseniz electo Kyowiensi ibidem in tabella appensa, anno MDXLV. ob recuperatam valetudinem eorum intercessione.³⁹³

³⁹² Wading: 34.

³⁹³ *ibid.*: 49.

Maps

Map 1: The Mongol Empire c. 1300

This shows the territorial limits of the Mongol Empire during the period of the first influx of Tatars to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. At this time the Ulus of Juchi, later known as the Golden Horde, encompassed a large swathe of south-eastern Europe, from the Volga to the Danube rivers. In the north-east, it was bordered by a buffer zone of Russian principalities which, though not under the direct rule of the Tatar-Mongol khans, nevertheless recognised the suzerainty of the Golden Horde. Beyond this zone, further to the north, lay the nascent Grand Duchy of Lithuania (see map 2).

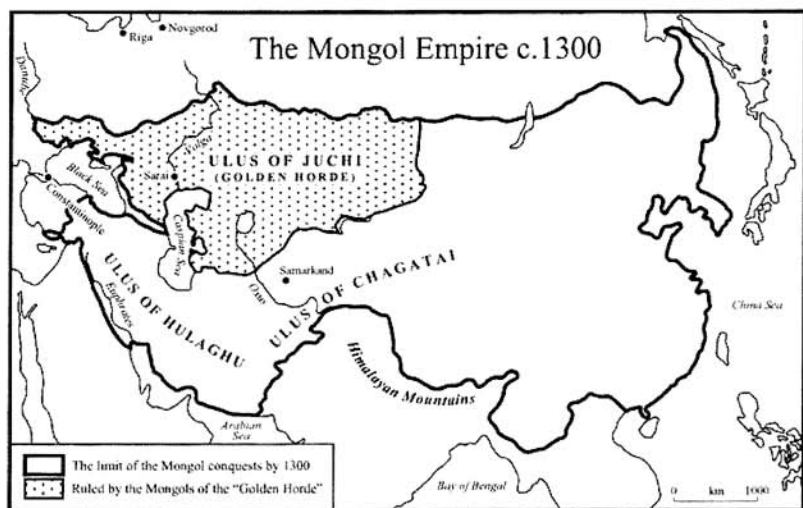
Map 2: Growth of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania 1240-1462

This shows the expansion of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the main period of Tatars settlement in the region (II.1.5). As it extended southwards, it incorporated some of the territory of the Russian principalities, as well as a considerable part of the territory of the Golden Horde. By the end of this period of expansion, it stretched from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. In the south, it bordered the Crimean Khanate, one of the successor states to the Golden Horde. Across the Black Sea, lay the emerging Ottoman empire.

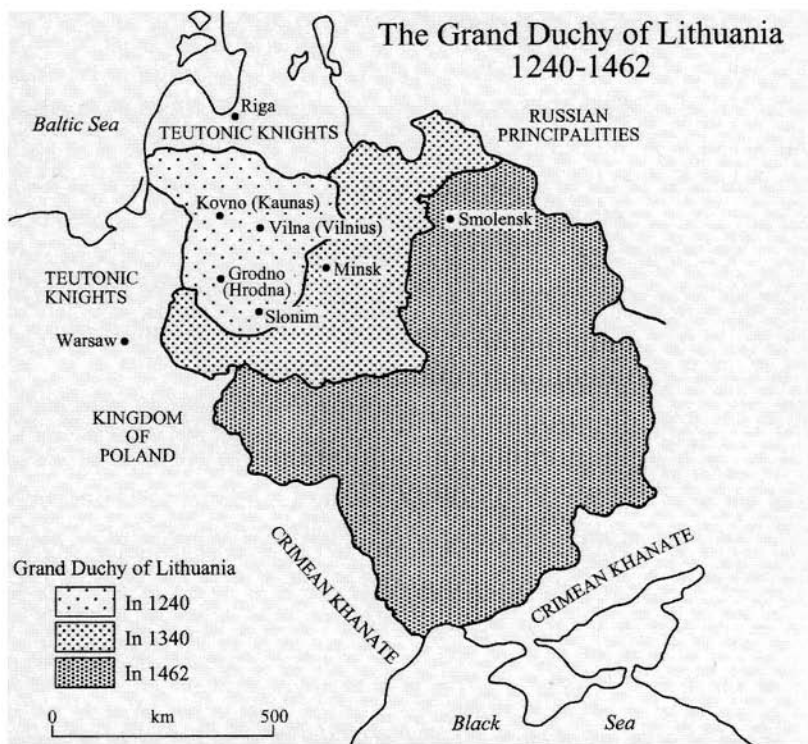
Map 3: Tatar settlements (c. 1900)

This shows the location of Tatar settlements in North-Eastern Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, projected on to a modern political map. This area, which formerly constituted a part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (see map 2), is now divided between Belarus, Lithuania and Poland.

(Maps drawn by Catherine Lawrence, London 2008; © Shirin Akiner)



Map 1: The Mongol Empire c. 1300



Map 2: Growth of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania 1240-1462



Map 3: Tatar settlements (c. 1900)

Illustrations

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1: Folio 5a, British Library Kitab

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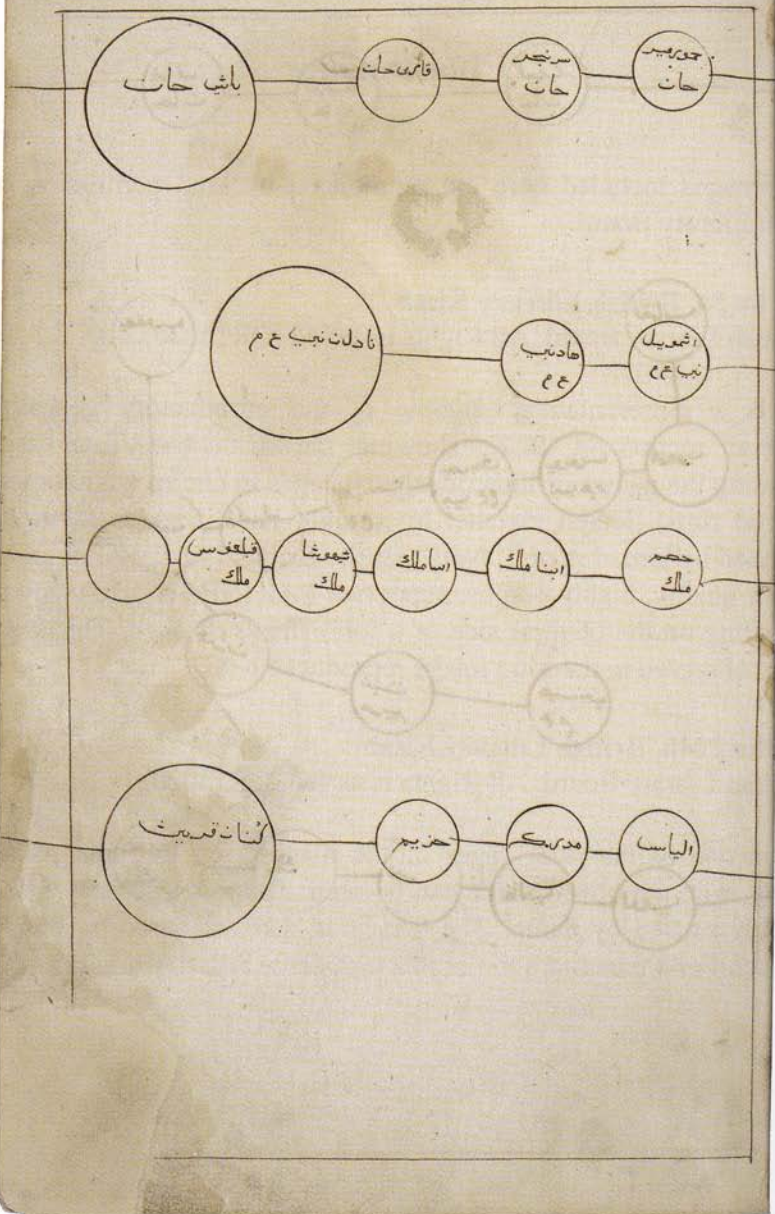
This is a representative example of the introductory genealogical-historical section of BLK, showing the distinctive Tatar style of presenting the names of illustrious personages in circles (sometimes with coloured rims), linked together by straight lines. Similar examples are illustrated by Drozd *et al.*³⁹⁴ Note that the British Library Kitab is written on poor quality, highly porous, paper (see PART III.1.1). In many places the writing on the obverse side of a folio shows through. This is clearly observed in the folio image reproduced here.

2: Folio 124b, British Library Kitab

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This is one of the final pages of the manuscript. In some places the writing from the obverse side can be seen. There is also heavy staining, probably caused by damp. The text is an acrostic based on the Arabic alphabet. For a transliteration of this text, see APPENDIX 2.7.

³⁹⁴Drozd, *Katalog* III: plates 57-58.



1: Folio 5a, British Library Kitab
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صغرو صغیر عیاد ن بون صورتی تپو طه طالو ن عا بنج شرف طویر شرف لوق مسلمانا نیت
 طویر نجی و نیش با نر و نیم عد لچ صورتی لایر رغا و منسلج شلو ما ی پیل مرکب صغای طلو و
 شیل و د پیم و لای طیبی و نا شویم چه در نا ما شو ن د خبیو ج و اول لیل ما هو ج و
 لقا بو کول شطی بون د شو جا و صلوا پیل روی شفا صو طغو د نا کدی چه رو دت
 ما بیچ بو عا طر نفی من الو د یغو کما یو عو نیا و چه نا عا صفا طق غلی شمر چس
 ما عا ز چه طغو د نا کدی قور بنطجا سم طایب و طیم دو شم و لقا ملو شص بنو موب
 دو مو و م طغو د نا کدی شمر سم مسیم ناصطا نوما چا شفا بو پ ما ل چه طغو رو
 و بندر و شمر چه نا عو چه بر لای نا یا د نون حور و ب بندوی یا شو و چه طغو رو و نا
 قرو ل و بنی یا شو چه دو شو لاد و یا نو طغو د نا نفی و ت اشیم و صطر خا شت
 طرا طغو د نا کدی چه رو دت و ن د لوخ بنو طغو د نا کدی خطی ما حو و ی
 هفا دعا و نا یضا چه ای بیچ لیسیم الله الرحمن الرحیم
 الله اکبر مع اسمی شری فی الارض و لای السماء و هو السبع الاعلیسم
باب عقال و یصط د و کد چه د و نچه خرفا و فاشری خرف
 چلو قانا یا سنا ی عفو چه طو کول بو شری ا الزمو چه ا کلوج و صید
 من طام تا کب شطی طعد و و ت کسای یا نا بوها ا بر قاطد بو شری یا ن بوهم یا
 قلو ن چت قال یا نا بوها کسای یه طوییم یا شلو هم چید ب مو و چه چلو ج
 و دین شطی ما ی چه با طقا چه عا د یا نا بوها قال بر قاطد بو شری کبو چه ش
 کسای چه حال طو یا یا طسای چه بر قاطد بو شری چت و د لوخ بر قاطد بو شری عو شانو
 ی ما یضا ما طق قرو نیح صوا یخ ت مو و چه چلو ج قایت پیرا ت یا نا بوها
 علا صق یا شوه ملو شوی شرح طو یا عا د بو شیم بو صرخ عطر طاعا
 لقا صطو نا ط با قو کما ت مو و چه چلو ج پیرا ت بوها قلا نیت بوهم یا
 نیو چت یا طوی صطو بر د قال عا د دت بوهم یا شلو و بر م طو بیسم یا ش
 طقام نیو چه ج مو و چه چلو ج صیرا و نیت و د لوخ بوها و د لوخ

عنهای و د لوخ

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