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On Some Titles and Names in Old Anatolian Turkish *

By Mecdut Mansuroğlu (İstanbul)

It is a well known fact that titles are readily borrowed. That is why some titles in Turkish, which from appearance and diffusion do not give the slightest indication of being of foreign origin, prove to have been taken from other languages when research is made into their history. The same thing can be said of some personal and family names. For Turkish, however, another point must be kept in mind in order to discriminate between these various types of words; only then can we proceed safely on our way. According to Turkish syntax, ranks and titles are put after personal names, while epithets arising out of attributes and family names stand in front of them. However, we must proceed cautiously, for centuries of close contact with the of Indo-European and Semitic languages have led to a certain amount of imitation in usage, especially by the Turkish upper classes. In modern Turkey also, the newly adopted titles *Bay* for 'Mister' and *Bayan* for 'Mrs., Miss' are put in front of the name, while the family names follow it—an innovation that can only be explained by the influence of Occidental languages.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to discuss some titles, epithets and names in Old Anatolian Turkish whose origins are to be sought in the Muslim cultural languages—Arabic and Persian—though they are in sound and function indistinguishable from pure Turkish words.

I should like to acknowledge here my debt to Sir Gerard Clauson who has been kind enough to provide me with some material for this paper from his personal library and from manuscripts in the British Museum.

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Paša. The title that first comes to mind is of course *paša.* This title does not seem to have been known to the Turks who live outside Anatolia and its neighbouring districts. Therefore we can suspect that it is not of Turkish origin. In Radloff's Dictionary it also appears as a Čagatay word. It is, however, possible that the sources used by Radloff, although they in general concern Eastern Turkish, could at the same time contain some South-Western words. Moreover, Čagatay was not a spoken but a literary dialect which had many cultural relations with Ottoman Turkish.

Considerable material has been collected about this word and there is a fine study on it in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* by J. Deny. The material may be summarised as follows:

The first use of the word *paša* is to be found in the 13th century in Anatolia with the meaning 'sovereign, king, chief'. It is synonymous with the Persian words *šāh,*

* Paper read at the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists at Cambridge in August 1954.

pādšāh and with the Arabic word *sulṭān*. In one *γazel* of Sulṭān Valad where there is first a Persian, and then a Turkish verse with very similar meaning we find in Persian:

Ay šāh-i hama ḫūbān maḫkūm-i tu ins u ǯān

'Oh sovereign of all beautiful creatures, men and spirits are under your rule' in Turkish:

Paša sän e ǯānum, aytγïl, nä dilär göγlüγ!

'Thou art the sovereign, oh my soul, tell what your heart desires' (see now *Divān-ı Sulṭān Valad*, ed. F. N. Uzluk. İstanbul 1941, p. 117).

In an other Turkish poem of the same poet cited also by Deny it runs:

Sän günäš sän, gök ṭaḫtuγ e paša!

'Thou art the sun and the sky is thy throne, oh king!' (ibid. p. 359).

Another Anatolian Turkish poet of the 13th century, Šayyād Ḥamza, has in one of his five poems which I have recently discovered in a manuscript in Bursa (Genel Kitaplık 882), when speaking of the Prophet:

Pašam günäš yüzüŋdä (qaršu) bän ay yüzüŋi gördüm

'My sovereign, before thy sun-like face I have beheld thy moon face' (44b).

In the same manuscript the poet writes of the Prophet:

Sän pādišāh-i munʿim, sulṭān-i dīn-i Muslim

'Thou art the king who nourishes, the sovereign of the Muslim faith' (44a).

One could give many similar examples.

But our word is also used in the secular sense at this period: Deny, basing his claim on ʿAlī Efendi, informs us that, after the defeat of the Anatolian Seljuk Ruler γiyāsaddīn Kayḫusrav II in 1243, it was a prince *Muḫliṣ Paša* who seized power before the rise of the Qaramanoγlı. Again from Deny we learn that the Baγdād governor of the Ilkhanid was called in sources either *ʿAlī Paša*, or *ʿAlī Pād(i)šāh*, or *ʿAlī Šāh*. Further the same scholar directs our attention to the Index of İsmail Hakkı's book, *Kitabeler* (1927) ,where women have the title of *paša*, and interprets it as a revival of an old custom in the 19th century at the Egyptian court, where the *Vālida Sulṭān* 'Mother Queen' had the title of *paša* (see EI s. v. *Wālide Sulṭān*). He mentions further that under the Seljuks of Anatolia the title *paša* was given occasionally to certain men of religion who must at the same time have been soldiers; also that this title was added to the names of certain members of the petty Turkish dynasties which shared Asia Minor (these being sometimes rulers, sometimes members of their families); further that in the family of ʿOsmān two individuals, ʿAlāʾ addīn, son of ʿOsmān (very doubtful) and Sulaymān, son of Orḫan, have been credited with this title; and that one of Orḫan's advisors was known as: *Sinān Paša*.

We find the title also in the legendary stories of Dädä Qorqud: *bäg* and *paša* are used side by side (ed. E. Rossi, Città del Vaticano 1952, 91b: 9; ed. Gökyay, İstanbul 1938, 70: 22). Likewise we find it as a title for a woman where *Ǯan Qïz* ist found *Ǯan Paša* (ed. Kilisli Rifat, İstanbul 1332/1914, 6: 5; ed. Gökyay, 3: 91. In a list of personal names taken out of judicial records from the vilayets of Konya, Isparta and Burdur, belonging to the years 1562—1663 (M. Yusufoğlu, *Şeriye sicil defterlerinde türkçe kişi adları*, in: Anıt, year I, no. 3, pp. 11—12, no. 4, pp. 11—12, no. 6, pp. 21—23) there are, besides a few men, women bearing this word as a title, and sometimes as a surname or epiteth: *Ulu Paša, Ǯān Paša* (3/12) *Ḫāš Paša* (4/12), *Šāh Paša, Qadïn Paša* (6/21—22); *Paša, Pašalï* (4/12). This female title is still in usein Erzurum and its vicinity. Finally it must be added that we have

it as a title for *ʿĀšiq Paša*, the well-known Anatolian mystic poet of the 13th and 14th centuries.

With the development of the Ottoman Empire, the use of the word *paša* became confined to higher officials both before and after the Tanzimat. This is very well related by Deny. Its survival after being abolished in Turkey, in certain Muslim countries (originally part of the Ottoman Empire) is also well-known. Of interest is the article of T. HALASI KUN, *Osmanisch paša ~ ungarisch baša* (in: Annali dell'Istituto Superiore Orientale di Napoli, N. S. I, 1940, pp. 97—102) proving its use also in the form of *baša* in the 15—16th centuries in Anatolia and its spreading to the European languages (Serbian, Hungarian, Italian, French, English, German, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Albanian) first in the form of *baša* and then *paša*.

To sum up we may say that the word *paša* passes through the following semantic changes: Originally it had the meaning 'sovereign, king, chief'. Next it seems to have been the title for military or civilian officials. This was perhaps due to the fact that during a period of change, minor Anatolian rulers became subject to their more powerful neighbours, yet still retained their original title of *paša*. In view of this, we may perhaps give credit to certain sources which relate that *ʿĀšiq Paša* was originally a statesman (cf. F. KÖPRÜLÜ, in: İslâm Ansiklopedisi s. v. *Âşik Paşa*), an aspect of his life which later had been forgotten. *Paša* was originally also a title given to outstanding women, but later this lost its force and became a mere courtesy title applied to any woman, as occured likewise with the titles of *ḫanïm* and *begïm>begüm*. This natural development in sense and usage of the word *paša* was however halted, when it became a definite title in the Ottoman State; and this affected its usage among the population closely connected with the government. It is because of this fact that we do not meet anyone bearing this title, apart from those officially entitled, in the important centres of the Empire. On the other hand, in those parts of the Empire which were not under the direct influence of Central Government the word continued to be used as a title at least for women.

As for its etymology, in my opinion it is more likely to have been derived from the Persian word *pād(i)šāh* than from *pād(i)šāh*, though the latter derivation is given in the Turkish-Russian Dictionary of L. BUDAGOV (St. Petersburg 1869, 187), in the Russian Brockhaus—Efron Encyclopaedia and by Deny. When the Turks came to Anatolia and its neighbouring lands the Persian language (at least in that area) had developped a *δ* for the normal *d*. It is true that we sometimes see Persian texts which are written with the letter ذ at that particular time and place; but this is only a careless writing of ز. And this was precisely the period when the *δ* of Turkish changed. So we can envisage the following phonetical developments: *pāδšāh>*pāyšāh>*pāšā(h)* (through the omission of *y* in Old Anatolian Turkish; for further examples cf. the Persian particle of reenforcement *ḫōd*>Old Anatolian Turkish *ḫo*, M. MANSUROĞLU, *Drei Gedichte Ṣayyād Ḥamza's*, in: UAJb. XXVI, 1954, p. 85 and J. NÉMETH, *Das Feraḥ-nāme des Ibn Ḥaṭīb*, in: Le Monde Oriental XIII, 1919, p. 158, also *yaḫu* 'oder'<Pers. *yāḫūd*, in the same work, p. 163)>*paša* (by shortening of the vowels in Old Anatolian and neighbouring Turkish dialects). As to the omission of *-h*, we have the word also as *pādšā* in many Persian dictionaries. That it is interchangeable with the Persian word *šāh* is due to their being synonymous. I think in this case, contrary to the opinion of Deny, there is no need of the Turkish word *basqaq* in order to explain our word for two further reasons: 1) we do not meet any such word in Anatolian Turkish or closely associated dia-

lects; 2) if that had been the case, the end consonant of the word *pādšāh* would at least not have been omitted.

It is evident that the Persian loan word *pādišā(h)* in the language of the cultivated Turk was a new borrowing of the same word, and this time the one having the *-d-* sound. Deny's reference to the Kirgiz word *patša* and Uzbek word *potšo*, meaning 'petty ruler' must be derived, as the *-t-* in them clearly demonstrates, from this *pādišā(h)*, *pādšā(h)*. Modern Turkish dialects outside of Anatolia and its neighbourhood still use such forms of the word in the same sense and even for the 'tsar': Uzb. *pādišā* and *pādšā* 'king' (G. Jarring, *Uzbek Texts from Afghan Turkestan*, Lund-Leipzig 1938, 64: 217 and 220), *podšoh* 'tsar' (R. Abduraḫmanov, *Russko-uzbekskij slovar'*, Moskva 1954, s. v., čar Kirg. *patša, padiša, badiša* 'tsar' (K. K. Yudahin, *Kırgız Sözlüğü*, trsl. A. Taymas, Ankara I—II, 1945, 1948) Qaraqalpaq *patša* (N. A. Baskakov, *Karakalpakskij jazyk I*, Moskva 1951, 112: 24, 145: 65, 243: 27), Nogay *patşa* 'tsar' (N. A. Baskakov, *Nogajkij jazyk i ego dialekty*, Moskva-Leningrad 1940, p. 257), Kazan *patša* 'king' (G. Bálint, *Kazán-tatár nyelvtan*, Budapest 1877, 47: 36), Chuvash *patša* (H. Paasonen, *Çuvaş Sözlüğü*, İstanbul 1950).

Čälābi. There is a good study on the word *čälābi* by W. Barthold in the EI. Further the following studies may be mentioned: K. H. Menges, *The Oriental Elements in the Vocabulary of the Oldest Russian Epos, The Igor Tale*, in: Supplement to Word VII, December 1951, pp. 67—70, and E. Rossi, *'Çelebi' kelimesi hakkında Ebū s-Su'ūd'a atfedilen bir fetva*, in: Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığ-ıBelleten, 1954, pp. 11—14.

According to Barthold *-ī* is the nisba ending and the remainder of the word is still in use by the Turks of Anatolia in the form of *Čalap* signifying 'God'. K. Foy reports (MSOS, Westas. St. II, 124) that today Čalap is the only word for 'God' among the Yürüks of Asia Minor. Both are, however, in Radloff's Dictionary also under the Čagatay dialect, which according to Menges, are, without doubt Old Anatolian Turkish loanwords. In the written language it first occurs in the 13th century Anatolian Turkish. The word *čälābi* was used until the 17th century as a title or epithet for persons of princely ranks, high ecclesiastical officials (particularly the heads of the dervish orders), famous authors, etc. The first person to have borne this title is *Čälābi Ḥusāmaddīn* (died 683/1284), who succeeded Ǯalāladdīn Rumī. In the poems of Qāsim-i Anvār, borne in Azerbayčan (died 835/1431—1432) *čälābi* means 'beloved in the ṣūfī sense, i. e. God'. Several Turkish princes and rulers in Asia Minor in the 14th and 15th centuries were called *čälābi*, among them all the sons of Sulṭān Bayāzid I (died 805/1402). According to a gloss on Phrantes (Greek), *čälābi* in the language of the Turks had the meaning of 'noble birth'. (cf. Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantino-turcica II*, Budapest 1943, p. 262) . In the *Ḫulāṣa-i ʿAbbasī* (in P. Melioranskij, *Zapiski VO* XV, 042) *čälābi* is explained as 'writer, poet, reader, initiated of keen intelligence by nature'. Likewise in the *Lähǯä-i ʿOṡmānī* of Ahmed Vefik, with the additional meaning 'skilled in reading', and the statement that it was later supplanted by the word *äfändi* borrowed from the Greek. The superior of the Mevlevī order is still called *čälābi äfändi*. At the present day *čälābi* is applied to men of substance who are not Mohammedans (particularly Europeans). Christian and Jewish ladies call their husbands by this title: in one Armenian dialect the bride has to address the bridegroom as *čälābi*. Today its earlier meanings survive in some Turkish proverbs.

To the above brief survey of existing material may be added the following:

Čalap or *Čäläp* in the sense of 'God' is frequently used in old Anatolian Turkish, some examples being: Ǯalāladdīn Rūmī:

nä oyurdur, nä oyurdur Čalap ağzïndan qïyïrmaq

'What fortune, what fortune it is to call from the mouth of God (speak in the name of God)' (UAJb. XXIV, 3—4, p. 107, I 3).

Sulṭān Valad in Ibtidānāma:

Čalabuŋ qudratï ʿaẓïm čoqdur

'The power of God is very great' (TM VII—VIII, 1942, 3d facsimile after p. 104 from a MS of the Bodleian Library, Walker 97, line 9).

Šayyād Ḫamza:

Gälä Čalapdan bir nidā, ol nidāya ǯānlar fidā!

'From God shall come a summons, at that summons let lives be sacrificed' (Bursa Genel Kit. 882, 42b).

Šayḫī in *Ḫarnāma*:

Verdi ol ʿizzatï bulara Čalap

'God gave them that saintliness' (*Şeyhi Divanı*, İstanbul 1942, facsimile 67: 1).

For further uses of the word in old Anatolian Turkish as 'God, Lord' and in the composition of *Čalap Teŋri* in the 14th century see *Tanıklarıyle Tarama Sözlüğü* I, II (1943, 1945). Also in Bedros Z. GARABEDYAN's Osm.-Armen. Dict. (İstanbul 1912) *Čalap* is given as 'God, Lord'. Modern Anatolian dialects exhibit further the following facts for this word: 'God, Creator, Lord' in Karahisarsahip, vilayet of Niğde (cf. H. ZÜBEYİR and İshak REFET, *Ana Dilden Derlemeler*, Ankara 1932). The same word is known in the vilayet of Bolu as meaning 'fire' (cf. *Türkiye'de Halk Ağzından Söz Derleme Dergisi* I, İstanbul 1939) — which, according to Menges, can be a taboo-expression for the fire, as a relic of ancient fire-cult.

As to *čälābi* in the meaning of 'guide to God' we find it in the following verse of Ǯalāladdīn Rūmī:

Čälābidür qamu dirlik, Čalaba gäl, nä gäzär sän?
Čälābi qullarïn istär, čälābiyi nä sanur sän?

'All life is God's guide, come to God, why do you wander alone? God's guide wants his slaves (subjects); whom do you think is God's guide?' (UAJb. XXIV, 3—4, p. 107, I 2). In the compound use of *Čälābi Ḫusāmaddīn* we have to understand the word *čälābi* in the same sense. For its use as a title of the superiors of dervish orders (see also Garabedyan's Dictionary) we must think of the same meaning. In that case, we have to leave out the meaning of *čälābi* as 'beloved in the ṣūfī sense, i. e. God' in the poems of Qāsim-i Anvār. Perhaps there too it was used somewhat indefinitely as in Ǯalāladdīn Rūmī's passage above quoted.

But already in the 13th century the word *čälābi* was used as a name for higher officials. In a complimentary poem to a Mongolian ruler of Sulṭān Valad there is the Turkish refrain:

. . . čälābi bizi unutma!

'. . . čälābi do not forget us!' (*Divān-ı Sulṭān Valad*, ed. F. N. UZLUK, İstanbul 1941, p. 307).

It must be because of this that some old Anatolian princes and high officials were called *čälābi*. Such uses must be the cause of the passing of the meaning from 'God's guide' to 'noble, gentleman; educated, fine' (cf. for this use also Rossi's article and *Tanıklarıyle Tarama Szl. I*). Though the word has become today obso-

lete in modern written Turkish, it survives, however, in the forms of *čälābi aya* and its contractions *čälābā*, *čälba*, *žälba* in the meaning of 'brother-in-law' and 'brother of the wife' in modern Anatolian dialects (*Söz Derleme Dergisi I* and *Ana Dilden Derlemeler*).

As long as it stood before the name, we cannot assert that it was a title, we must take it as an attribute or, if we want to go a little further, as an epithet. But soon we find our word used as a title: *Sulaymān Čälābi*, *yāzī Čälābi*, *ʿAšiq Čälābi*, *Kātib Čälābi*, *Avliyā Čälābi*, etc. In Turkey the family names *Čälābizadä*, before the law of family names, and that of *Čälābi* after the law, must have had its origin in this use. It is nowadays, according to Rossi, a family name in Tripoli, in the form of *Šalabī*. Though rare, the word is also to be found as a personal name. According to a source given by Rossi, it was the name or perhaps cognomen of an Armenian in İstanbul in 1682. A Turkish Jew I knew had the name *Čälābi Ben Susan*.

As to the use of the word *čälābi* outside of Turkish, the following knowledge is to be added: Moravcsik relates that it appears rather late in Byzantine sources, in the main found with Georgios Phrantzes' (1401—1478 ?) history of the period 1258 to 1477; later, it occurs also in a Greco-Bulgarian inscription of 1408. The word is most frequent in the texts of the 15—16th centuries (*Byzantino-turcica* II, p. 262). Further Rossi states that there is in Servo-Croatian a word *čelebiya*, meaning 'smart man'. In Syria and Egypt *žalabī* and *šalabī* have today the sense of 'barbar'.

The etymology of *Čalap*, *Čäläp* and *čälābi* is difficult to determine. The one proposed by Ahmed Vefik in *Lähcä-i ʿOsmānī*, accepted by Kâzım Kadri in *Türk Luyati*, Baron v. Rosen (Zapiski VO V, 305 et seq. and XI, 310 et seq.) and taken as probable by Melioranskij (Zapiski VO XV, 036 et seq.) originating from the Syriac *tzlībō*, Arabic *ṣalīb* 'crucifix', though suitable from the semasiological point of view, is not admissible, despite Barthold and Menges, because of the fact that it makes its very first appearance in Anatolian Turkish. So the word *čälipa* in the dictionaries of literary Anatolian Turkish and thence Persian in the meaning of 'cross', as cited by Menges, as deriving from Arabic *ṣalīb* 'id.' which is not attested in any dialect dictionary could be based only on this presumed etymology. The idea of N. Marr that it was taken over from Old Kurdish, a pre-Iranian Semitic language (Zapiski VO XX, 1911—12, 99 et seq.), is also, in my opinion, not acceptable, for the simple reason that Kurdhis was not a cultural language at that time. Other attempts at etymologies of the word referred to in the EI and by Rossi are, in my opinion, today not worth discussion.

As the velar form *Čalap* has remained until today, one is apt to suppose that this was its original form. Indeed it has not yet been decisively shown whether at some time this form was palatalized. If so the cosonant *č-* should be held responsable for this. In *čälābi*, of course, the ending *-i* too favoured this process.

Some people think that the word *čälābi* had a foreign sound to Turkish ears. The reason for so thinking must be that it no longer survives. Many pure Anatolian Turkish words which are forgotten are now also felt as foreign. All the sounds in *čälābi* and the sequence of vowels are in conformity with the Turkish system. The nisba ending *-ī* too is, at least in instances like *gümüşü* 'gray', *razaqī* 'a variety of white grape'<Ar. *razzāqī* and *Şükrü* (personal name), from Ar. *ṣukr*, has been fully assimilated.

ʿĀšiq>*ašïq*. The Arabic word *ʿāšiq* 'lover' was used as a ṣūfī term in Oriental literature. From the beginning of Anatolian Turkish literature it designated, how-

ever, the poet who wrote religious poems for the Turkish people. Its religious meaning was gradually obscured. Thus we have the widespread *ašïq edebiyatï* (popular literature in the towns and in the army) studied by F. Köprülü and his pupils. Popular poets in Anatolia are still called *ašïq*, thus clearly demonstrating the popular pronunciation of the word. That the Armenian poets were also called *ašuq* has been stated by Köprülü (*Türk edebiyatının Ermeni edebıyatı üzerindeki tesiratı*, in: Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecm. II, 1922, pp. 1—30). The word is found in Asia Minor and the neighbouring areas in the first place as an attribute or epithet: *ʿĀšiq Ḥasan, Āšiq ʿÖmer, ʿĀšiq Gadā'i*, etc. However, it was used at earlier periods as an ame replacing the true name, as in *ʿĀšiq Paša, ʿĀšiq Čälābi, ʿĀšiq Dädä*. There are also some Anatolian poets who are only known by the name of *ʿĀşiq* (cf. S. N. ERGUN, *Türk Şairleri* I).

Ābdāl>aptal. From the extensive information given by Köprülü (*Türk Halk Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1935, article under this name) we learn that the *Abdals* were a sect which has existed from the 14th century onwards in Anatolia. Although they later merged with the *Bektašis*, nevertheless they continued to exist even up to today. According to historical sources the *Abdals* were most strongly represented in Asia Minor. Other areas in which they are comparatively numerous are Persia and to a lesser extent, Turkmenistan. In Eastern Turkestan they have always been a small minority.

The word is a plural form of an Arabic root, used in the singular sense however. In the 15th and 16th centuries it meant 'dervish, unconventional person' in Anatolia (*Tanıklariyle Tarama Sözlüğü III*, Ankara 1954). In modern Akşehir (vialyet of Konya) vernacular it has the meaning of 'Gipsy' (*Türkiye'de Halk Ağzından Söz Derleme Dergisi IV*, İstanbul 1951). In Radloff's Dictionary (I) it is given as an Anatolian Turkish word with the meaning 'beggar'. In modern Turkey Turkish it means 'stupid' and is pronounced *aptal*. So we can presume the following semantical changes: 'religious, pious, sheikh, dervish', because of the unrestrained attitude of such dervishes 'unconventional person', because of the wanderings of these dervishes 'beggar, Gipsy', and because of their peculiar behaviour 'stupid'.

It is difficult to determine when the voiced consonants of the word became unvoiced and its long vowels shortened. Until the introduction of the Latin alphabet in Turkey it was written with long vowel signs and *-bd-*, though the pronunciation was everywhere *aptal*. But because of the popularity of the term we have reason to believe that this process was completed long ago.

According to Köprülü *aptal* was used in Turkish as an epithet, title, adjective, personal name and noun: *Aptal Mūsā, Aptal Murād, Aptal Qumrāl, Aptal Mähmäd*; *Burhān Aptal, Qazaq Aptal, Pïr Sulṭān Aptal*; *aptal oylan* 'the stupid youth', *aptal bekči* 'the stupid watchman', types in the play *Qaragöz*, as well as the well-known use in Turkey as for example *aptal adam* 'the stupid man'; some popular poets of ancient Anatolia and Azerbaijan and the character in Qaragöz are called *Aptal* (cf. *Türk Halk Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*, articles by Köprülü and S. N. Ergun, *Türk Şairleri I*); also the noun *aptal* in Turkey.

Ɣāzī>yazï. We have a very good account of the *yāzïs* in the works of P. WITTEK (*Deux chapitres de l'histoire des Turcs de Roum*, in: Byzantion XI, 1936, pp. 285—319 and *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1938). Though this widespread movement had already appeared, in the 9th century, in Khorassan and Transoxania (cf. BARTHOLD, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, London 1928, pp. 214—215

and 287), nevertheless it was in Anatolia and the neighbouring areas that it had its most extensive development, duration and success as a community of Muslim march-warriors, devoted to the struggle against infidels. Through the researches of Wittek it can clearly be seen that this organization was one of the most powerful military resources of the Turkish principalities of old Anatolia and of the Ottoman Empire.

It is beyond doubt that among the Turkish population the name of such a widespread organisation would soon become Turcicized, so that the word would have been pronounced *yazi* in accordance with Turkish phonetical habits. That we pronounce it today *γāzī* can only be an innovation, due to academic pronunciation. The use of it as an epithet or title is also in the Turkish way: *Γāzī Miḫal, Γāzī Ḥasan*; *ʿOgmān Γāzī, Melīk Dānišmend Γāzī*. Its use as an official honorary title in the Turkish state survived its use in the other sense.

Aḫī>aḫī. In the lands of the Ilkhanid, old Syria, Mesopotamia and Anatolia there was an artisan and merchant brotherhood, the *aḫī*, an organisation based on religion which lasted throughout the Ottoman Empire. Studies on this organisation are rather dispersed, the best ones being: F. Köprülü, *Ankara ve ahîler*, in: Hayat I, 1927, pp. 402—403; the same author, *Les origines de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1935, pp. 107—112; P. Wittek, *Zur Geschichte Angoras im Mittelalter*, in: *Festschrift G. Jacob*, Leipzig 1932, pp. 329—354; V. Gordlevskij, *Gosudarstvo Seldžukidov Maloj Azii*, Moskva 1941, p. 106; F. Taeschner, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Achis in Anatolien* (14.—15. Jht.), in: Islamica IV, 1929, pp. 1—47; the same author, *Futuwwa-Studien*, in: Islamica V, 1930, pp. 289—312; the same author, *Der Anatolische Dichter Nāṣirī (um 1300) und sein Futuvvetnāme*, Leipzig 1944, pp. 1—80 (with articles by W. Schuhmacher); A. Gölpınarlı, *İslâm ve Türk illerinde Fütüvet Teşkilâtı ve kaynakları*, in: Iktisat Fakültesi Mecm. XI (1949—1950), pp. 3—304; C. Cahen, *Sur les traces des premiers akhis*, in: *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, İstanbul 1953, pp. 81—91. For its spreading in Central Asia see A. K. Borovkov, *K istorii bratstva 'aḫi' v Srednej Azii*, in: Akademiku Vladimiru Aleksandroviču Gordlevskomu k ego semidesjatipjatiletiju. Sbornik statej. Moskva 1953, pp. 87—89.

In the Anatolian Turkish of the 14th and 15th centuries the word *aḫī* had at least also the meaning of 'the beloved, the nearest to somebody' (cf. *Tanıklarıyle Tarama Sözlüğü II*, İstanbul 1945). It is possible that the Arabic word *aḫī* designating 'my brother' which seems to be originally used for this organisation, has blended with the Turkish word *aqī* meaning 'generous, liberal', so that in earlier times the word was pronounced in the Turkish way. But our word never occurs in that particular meaning with a *-q-*. Therefore we have reason to keep the two words separate, though some scholars are inclined to see the Turkish word in its origin. In my opinion the Arabic word *aḫī* would further suit better semantically for the organisation in question.

This word is seen in front of personal names, proving us its use only as an epithet in old Anatolian Turkish.

Baǯī. Finally we have to deal with the word *baǯī* which is also found in Anatolia and the neighbouring areas. According to. ʿĀšiq-Paša-zāda this word indicates the member of a women's religions organisation, which had a great influence at his time (see Wittek, *Deux chapitres* etc., p. 310). As far as I know, no research has yet been undertaken on this female organisation. Out of Anatolian Turkish we have it in Pavet de Courteille's *Dictionaire turc-oriental* (Paris 1870) and Radloff's dictionary

(III). If we consider that de Courteille made use of some sources which also had South-Western Turkish words, we may come to the conclusion that this particular word could be one of them. Radloff may have taken it over from de Courteille. It could also be a word passed over to literary Eastern Turkish from Anatolian Turkish. Further we have the word in the 16th Anatolian Turkish (*Tanıklariyle Tar. Szl. I.*), REDHOUSE, Ş. SAMI, HONY (Oxford 1950) dictionaries and in *Türkiye'de Halk Ağızlarından Söz Drl. Drg.* (IV), as well as in Radloff's dictionary (III) for Ottoman, Azerbaijan and Crimean Turkish (in the last dialect also in the form of *baǯ*), signifying 'sister, elder sister, wife, midwife, nun, lady, house-keeper, sister of a religious organisation, elder wife, title of respect for elderly women, title of respect for negro women, negro nurse'. Even in STEINGASS' *Persian-English Dictionary* it is to be found as a word of Turkish origin.

The development of its meaning may perhaps be as follows: 'sister of a religious organisation, nun; wife of the chief of a religious order; elder wife; wife; elder sister; title of respect for elderly women, lady; title of respect for negro women, negro nurse; sister; midwife'.

About its origin nothing can yet be said. Perhaps the end sound -ı was originally a nisba ending, and perhaps the remaining part stood in some relation to the well-known Persian word *bāǯ* 'tax, duty'.

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To conclude, it has been the aim of this paper to show that the religious, administrative, economic and artistic institutions established by the Turks in Asia Minor and the neighbouring lands, though Muslim in essence, have their own typical features. Those features are also very distinctly reflected in their names. These institutions which developed mainly among the lower social classes exercised their influence in the surrounding Turkish and other Mohammedan countries lying outside of the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Their influence increased with the growing strength of the political and social organisation of the Turks in that part of the world. Thus this time we have a national cultural current flowing in the opposite direction — from West to East. Many more examples could of course be given. There is also another interesting and promising line of research closely connected with this; namely, old Turkish or old Turkicized titles and terms which have undergone a change in meaning because of the change in function of the institutions represented by them. Examples of these can already be found. But this is another subject upon which much work remains to be done.