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salvation, after sufficient and prayerful reading and inquiry; and with a humble, undogmatic and chastised frame of mind, seeking illumination from the only quarter in which it is to be found—not infallibility, but a spiritual discernment, and harmony with the Spirit of God.

ROBERT CUST.

May, 1890.

ART. V.—TURKISH-SPEAKING CHRISTIANS IN BULGARIA.

FROM the mouths of the Danube, southward to the mouth of the Kamchiya (English *ch*), a little below Varna, the old established inhabitants, as distinguished from later and more modern immigrants, are the Turkish-speaking Christians called the *Gagauzes*. The Christianity of these Gagauzes dates from an epoch considerably anterior to the Ottoman conquest, and they may be properly described as not merely Christians, but fanatical Christians. They write Turkish with Greek letters, like the Karamanlis in Asia Minor, with whom, however, they do not appear to have the slightest connection.

The existence of these Gagauzes is but little known in literature. Lejean, in his "Ethnography of Turkey in Europe" (Gotha, 1861), confounded them with the remnant of the Albanians in South Bessarabia, and in another place looked upon them as a mixture of Bulgarians and Turks. The two Englishmen, St. Clair and Brophy, who resided a long time on the Eminé Balkan, considered "the Gagauzes on the Black Sea a very mixed race," speaking, besides Turkish, "a corrupt dialect of Bulgarian or a very impure Romaic" ("A Residence in Bulgaria," London, 1869, p. 18). Kanitz, in his "Donau Bulgarien und der Balkan," looked upon the "Gagauzen" "as Greeks who had forgotten their own language and taken up Turkish," which many Armenians have actually done.

But the Bulgarian writer, who eventually became Minister of Finance in his native country, Petko R. Slavejkov, in the magazine *Napreduk*, Constantinople, 1874, December, Nos. 19 and 20, contended that they were the descendants of the Petshenegians and Kumanians, Turkish tribes, who played an important part in Eastern Europe before the Ottoman conquests. Dr. Konstantine Jireczek, in his history of the Bulgarians (Prague, 1876), expressed himself (p. 575) unfavourably with regard to Slavejkov's views. But in 1884 he made a special journey into the Bulgarian coast district of the Black Sea, when his inquiries fully satisfied him that Slavejkov was right, and that the Gagauzes are a people essentially different from both

Greeks and Bulgarians, though they are in danger of disappearing altogether through the keen contest that is going on to win them over to one or other of these contending nationalities. For such inquiries Dr. Jireczek was peculiarly qualified, having been from 1879 to 1884 Secretary-General to the Ministry of Education in Bulgaria, and having at one time (1881-82) had the entire management of that office in his hands. He read a paper on this and connected subjects before the Royal Society of Sciences at Prague on January 21st, 1889, of which he has kindly given me a copy, besides furnishing me with other information.

To all appearance, the district inhabited by the Gagauzes must originally have been very extensive, but it has been materially interrupted and reduced by the wars of the last 200 years. It seems to have reached from the mouths of the Danube to Cape Emon, as well as to the towns of Provadia and Silistria, with its main population along the sea-coast.

In Varna itself the Gagauzes form the majority of the *old* Christian citizens, and according to the computation of the Bulgarian statistician, the ex-Minister Saratov, the orthodox Turkish-speaking Christians were in 1881 7·34 per cent. of the various-languaged population of 24,561 souls. But it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of Gagauzes in many places, especially in the larger towns, because they so frequently register themselves as Bulgarians or Greeks. In small market towns and villages it is usually easier to ascertain their numbers. In the purely Christian village Korakurt, out of 114 inhabitants, 109, according to the late census, speak Turkish, 5 Bulgarian. In Kavarna, out of 1,706 inhabitants, 646 are undoubted Gagauzes. In Gjaur Suzuchuk, out of a population of 1,139, at least 600 are Gagauzes. But in the large Gagauzish village Shabla, only 6 admitted their mother tongue to be Turkish, and 7 declared that they spoke Greek; all the rest thought fit to be Bulgarians. In the community of Jenikoi (with Dzeferli), out of 1,790 orthodox Christians, 589, and in Kesterich, out of 730, 535, registered themselves as speaking Turkish, *i.e.*, as Gagauzes.

There is a curious game played by the Gagauzes at weddings, in which non-Ottoman words are used which the present Gagauzes do not understand themselves, but which so much the more certainly indicate their ethnographical origin. After the festive meal is over, a young Gagauz dresses himself up as a hare. He fastens his slippers on his head so as to represent two long ears, puts on a skin coat turned inside out, marks his face, and begins to bound like a hare, and dance, stamping to the notes of the bagpipe. The merry Gagauzes shout to the piper, "*Pyrkyldát, balám, pyrkyldat!*" ("Blow, my son, blow!"). Others urge the dancer,

"*Dzirt, balám, dzirt!*" ("Keep up, my son, keep up!"). One of the younger ones goes round with the wine-jug and asks the guests in Turkish, "What shall I give you? will you have wine?" The answer is in Turkish, "I will not have wine; give me *kymys*" (sour mare's milk, the well-known drink of the nomads on the steppes). The man with the wine is followed by one with tit-bits, incentives to drink, *e.g.*, capsicums and gherkins, which the Turks call "mezé," who asks, "What sort of a mezé will you have?" The answer is, "I will not have mezé; I will have *kos*" (nuts). Some instead of *kos* say *shitlauk*, which in Tatar-Turkish signifies a hazelnut. The corresponding Ottoman words are "dzeviz" and "funduk." If the Gagauzes are asked how they come to use the words above printed in italics, which they do not understand, they reply, "We learnt it thus from our elders." The words are Tatar (not Mongol), but cannot have come from the recent Krim Tatar colonists of 1861, near Varna, in whose language they also occur, as the Gagauzes, owing to their fanatical Christianity, have no intercourse with the others.

Bala is a "child" in the language of the Turkish tribes in the interior of Asia; *chatlauk* is found in the Codex Cumanicus (of which more anon) as a "hazelnut," and *kos* occurs there under the form *chox*, *cox*, "nuts." The Cumanians, Uzes, Oguzes or Polovitzes, were the powerful Turkish tribe that drove the Petshenegians, and were themselves driven southwards and westwards by the devastating flood of the Mongols long before the advent of the Ottoman Turks, the conquerors of Constantinople.

Turkish, with the variations and kindred elements found in that invaluable record, the Codex Cumanicus or Alphabetum Cumanicum, is undoubtedly the original language of the Gagauzes. This MS. was written in the Crimea in 1303 by a Genoese trader and German missionaries as an aid towards learning the Cumanian and Persian languages. It is preserved in Venice, and an accurate transcript of it was published in 1880 by Count Géza Kuun. Cumanian was long dominant on the northern coast of the Black Sea, and was, according to the Florentine Franceso Balducci Pergoletti (about 1340), indispensable for commercial intercourse with the interior of Asia. The Spanish Minorite, Fra Pascal de Victoria, spent a year at Saraj on the Volga, studying it as a preparation for his mission to the lands of the Mongols (1337).

When the Cumanians fled before the advancing Mongols, 40,000 of them with their families and herds took refuge in Hungary (1233), where the terms Great and Little Cumania remained as names of districts long after the death (in 1779) of the last person who spoke Cumanian. Others settled in

Bulgaria, and others betook themselves to the Greek emperors of Nicæa, and even to the Latin emperors of Constantinople. But a considerable number remained under the sway of the Mongols in the steppes on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, and in the Crimea, where they appear to have formed the basis of the mixed population known as the Nogaic Tatars, composed, according to Count Kuun, of Cumanians, Petshenegians, and Mongols. Dr. W. Radloff's researches ("Das türkische Sprachmateriel des Codex Cumanicus," Petersburg, 1887) show that the Cumanian language lived on among the Tatars of the Crimea, and that "it is the oldest representative of the Kypshak dialect, and therefore an earlier phase of the Western (Turkish) dialects."

The funeral ceremonies of the Cumanian chief, Jonas, before the gates of Constantinople, in 1241, according to Albericus, horrified the Franks, being identical with those described by Herodotus among the nomad Scythians (iv. 71), and attended with sacrifices of human beings and horses. Similar ceremonies are also described by the monk Ruysbroek (1253) among the Cumanians of the South Russian steppe.

About 10,000 Cumanians were taken into the service of the Nicæan emperor Joannes Ducas Vatatzes (1222-1255), and provided with lands in Thrace and Macedonia in Europe, and on the Mæander and in Phrygia in Asia Minor. One of their chieftains, named Sytzigan, was baptized under the name Syrgiannes, whose son of the same name played an important part in the civil wars between Andronicus II. and III. (1321-1328).

But the Cumanians attained greater power in Bulgaria, where they had to deal with a people long on friendly terms with them. Details as to their immigration and conversion fail us in the second half of the thirteenth century, but this is certain, that a powerful dynasty, which maintained itself for three generations (1280-1323) upon the throne of Tirnovo, was of Cumanian origin. Its founder, Terterij I., was appointed "despot" by John Asen III., and after his flight, in 1280, became Tsar of Bulgaria himself. His brother *Eltimir*, whose name is probably identical with that of the contemporary Cumanian chieftain *Oldamur*, in Hungary (1282), and contains the Turkish *demir*—in the Codex Cumanicus *temir*—"iron," possessed also great power in the land. The name seems to have been widely spread in Bulgaria, being borne by two existing villages, *Altimir* and *Altimirovci*. Dr. Jireczek also found the name *Aldimir* in an inscription in the church at Bojana, dated May 1, 6854, indiction 8—*i.e.*, A.D. 1346.

The principal Cumanian settlements in Bulgaria were along the sea-coast, and in the region of the mouths of the Danube,

i.e., adjoining their domicile in Moldavia, Bessarabia and the Black Sea steppe. In 1346 we find a certain *Balikas* lord of Karbona, the present *Balchik*. His name is doubtless the Turkish *balyk*, "fish," *baluc*, *balik* of the Codex Cumanicus. Not long afterwards his brother *Dobrotich* appears as "despot" of the coast district from Varna to the spot where the boundary line between Bulgaria and Rumelia touches the sea. His son Ivanko renewed a treaty with the Genoese in 1387, at Pera, being there represented by two plenipotentiaries, "discreti et sapientes viri," Costa and *Jolpani* (English or French *J*—*Januenses* = Genovenses = Genoese). The latter name is also found in a Moldavian document, dated 1615, under the form *Cholpan*. Vambéry tells us that in the language of the Turks in the interior of Asia *cholpan* signifies the "morning-star." The name *Dobrudsha* is a reminiscence of the former ruler of the district, the "magnificent lord" Dobrodicius. Even so the much-disputed *Monte Negro, Czerna Gora, Black Mountain*, is nothing more than a reminiscence of the *Czernojevich* family, which ceased to rule it at the end of the fifteenth century. The name appears first as *Czernojeva Gora*, and then becomes abbreviated into the present *Czerna Gora*. Ivanko maintained his independence against the Mussulman conquerors, but his successor, the Prince of Wallachia, succumbed to them.

Besides the haven *Balchik*, which reminds one of *balchuk*, "mire" (fangum) in the Cumanian glossary, there is only one local name on the sea-coast that can be traced to a Cumanian origin. A point between Kustendze and the lagoon Razim, near Karaorman, is denoted by the name *Zanauarda* on the maps of Pietro Vesconte (1318) and others. This word appears to be derived from the Cumanian *ianawar, yanauar*, "beast," *tzanabar* in the Bible Society's translation of the Apocalypse in their Turkish version of the New Testament, which is printed with Greek letters, for the use of the Karamanlis in Asia Minor.

The Ottoman conquest caused but little alteration in the coast population. In 1595 the Ragusan Paul Giorgi noticed the Christian character of the coast inhabitants of the "Dobruccia," whereas the interior was mainly inhabited by Mahommedan Turks. But great changes in the population were caused by the Russo-Turkish wars since 1768, both by way of immigration and of emigration.

The physical type of the Gagauzes is so different from that of the Greeks and Bulgarians that there is little difficulty in discriminating them. They have a short muscular frame, with a broad, angular, brachycephalous head; strong, stout arms and legs; black eyes and black hair, as well as a dark complexion. In the eyes of young girls glows a peculiar fire, but the old

women are mostly very ugly. Here and there may be observed the admixture of other elements, light Bulgarian hair or Greek profile. In their character stubbornness and passion of every kind form the foreground. They are vigorous drinkers, and quarrel lightly, knife at once in hand. Murder from revenge or a fit of uncontrollable fury is not uncommon. The Greek and Bulgarian factions in Gagauzish villages often come to blows; in Kesterich about nine years ago such an ecclesiastico-political scuffle occurred, which resulted in bloodshed. The neighbours of the Gagauzes, both on the sea-coast near Varna and in Bessarabia, have little good to say of them; but these stories prove little more than an ethnographical opposition of long standing. In the district of Provadia people assert that the Gagauzes often set each other's corn-sheaves on fire from ill-will; whereas in the Bulgarian settlements the whole village helps to rebuild the house of anyone who has lost it from fire. Towards foreigners they are hospitable, and Dr. Jireczek retains a friendly recollection of them, especially of those of Kavarna and Gjaur-Sujuchuk. Their customs at home have a Turkish character. The men eat apart from the women, and the wife does not appear before strangers. The women affect bright colours, and in harvest-time look like Turkish women who have laid aside their veils, or gipsies.

The Gagauzes are mostly agriculturists or vine-dressers. In the towns they practise handicrafts, and by the seaside devote themselves to fishing and coasting traffic.

Dr. Jireczek was assured that the Turkish of the Gagauzes differs little from that of the Ottomans, with the exception of a few forms and phrases, which approach the Tatar language. In church sermons are heard with the address, "*Christian kardashlar*," "Christian brethren." As far as his observation went, the Turkish translation of the New Testament, printed by the London Bible Society in Greek letters for the use of the Karamanlis (1877), is unknown to the Gagauzes, though it would be a desirable book for them, with their knowledge of Greek writing.[1]

The name "Gagauz," which has almost degenerated into a nickname, reminds one—as Slavejkov remarked in 1873—in spite of local assertions that it is of recent origin, of that of the *Uzes* or *Oguzes*, traces of which name Count Kuun has found in abundance in Hungary, *e.g.*, "Uzæus princeps Cumanorum," A.D. 1279; "Uz pater de Uza," 1299; "Uzfalu," 1301; "Uz nobilis," 1412, etc. Moreover, 60,000 Uzes are recorded as having crossed the Danube in 1064, and burst into the

[1] I have drawn the attention of the authorities of the Bible Society to the Gagauzes, and hope the result will be beneficial to them.—A. H. W.

dominions of the Greek empire, and as having been eventually defeated by the aid of their predecessors, relatives and ancient enemies, the Petshenegians.

For the advantage of students of Turkish history, I transcribe a passage on the "First Appearance of Ottoman Turks" from Lane Poole's new "History of Turkey," in the "Story of the Nations" series (Fisher Unwin), which, if correct, would seem to indicate a still closer relationship between the Ottoman and Cumanian Turks than is usually supposed to have existed:

> The thirteenth century had half run its course when Kay Kubad, the Seljuk Sultan of Iconium, was one day hard beset near Angora by a Mongol army. The enemy was rapidly gaining the mastery, when suddenly the fortune of the day was reversed. A small body of unknown horsemen charged upon the foe, and victory declared for the Seljuks. . . . Estoghrul, the son of Sulijman, a member of the *Oghuz* family of Turks, which the Mongol avalanche had dislodged from their old camping-grounds in Khorasan . . . was journeying from the Euphrates banks . . . to Anatolia, when he unexpectedly came upon the battle-field of Angora. . . . He led his four hundred riders pell-mell into the fray, and won the day.
>
> Kay Kubad rewarded his opportune ally, who thus planted his foot in Asia Minor, which has been under the sway of his descendants almost from that hour.

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Review.

History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century. By F. Lichtenberger, Dean of the Faculty of Protestant Theology at Paris. Translated and edited by W. Hastie, B.D., Examiner in Theology, University of Edinburgh. T. and T. Clark, 1889; pp. xxxix., 629.

This is a useful work, well worth translating; and the translator has done his work well. He has not only given us a very readable version of an instructive original, but has augmented its instructiveness by an explanatory preface, and by valuable additions to the bibliographical notes, which enhance the usefulness of the original.

We are now very far removed from the time when Dr. Tatham, Rector of Lincoln College, preached his famous sermon of two hours and a half before the University of Oxford, in defence of the spurious passage about the heavenly witnesses in 1 John v. 7. In this discourse (which is said to have been fatal to one Head of House, who was made ill by the long sitting, and never recovered), the preacher in his enthusiasm wished "all Jarman (German) critics at the bottom of the Jarman Ocean." That eccentric wish, which was perhaps only meant to apply to their works, and not to the critics themselves, was uttered in the University pulpit nearly ninety years ago; and not even the late Dean of Chichester would have gone quite so far as that. But there are still a considerable number of people to whom "German criticism" is a sound which inspires them with suspicion, if not with horror; and there are very many more who, without sharing these prejudices, are, nevertheless, altogether at sea as to