

PETER B. GOLDEN



(West Windsor New Jersey)

## Chopsticks and pasta in medieval Turkic cuisine

In the 14th century „Rasûlid Hexaglot,”<sup>1</sup> we find the interesting and unusual Turkic term (f.3vC13) *šökü/šögü* (ms. شوکو). It is defined in Arabic as: *‘ûdâni yu’kalu bihimâ arrištâ* “two sticks of wood with which macaroni is eaten.” The Turkic dialect given in this, the first section of the “Hexaglot,” unlike the

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<sup>1</sup> See the forthcoming *The King’s Dictionary: the Rasûlid Hexaglot. Fourteenth Century Glossaries in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Mongolian, Greek and Armenian*, ed. trans. T. Halasi-Kun, P. P. Golden, L. Ligeti, E. Schütz. This is a grouping of at least three glossaries compiled by al-Malik al-Afdal Dirgām ad-Din al-<sup>c</sup>Abbās, the Rasûlid ruler of Yemen (721–778/1363–1377). This long-neglected work was brought to the attention of the late Tibor Halasi-Kun, in the early 1970’s when he was then Professor of Turkic Studies at Columbia University in New York. Professor Halasi-Kun assembled a team of scholars to work on the transcription of these vocabularies, all in Arabic script, frequently in defective (lacking proper *nukat* “diacritical dots”) or garbled form. In addition to Professor Halasi-Kun, the team and their responsibilities included the late Lajos Ligeti (Mongolian), Edmund Schütz (Armenian) and the author of these lines (Greek). Professor Halasi-Kun and myself worked jointly on preparing the Arabic and Persian material and I assisted him with the Turkic. Our work, at this stage, was facilitated by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies. Regrettably, the completion of the project and its publication were delayed over the years by the poor health and ultimately demise of two of the project participants. I published my section in a detailed monograph some years ago, *The Byzantine Greek Elements in the Rasûlid Hexaglot*, “Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi” V (1985 [1987], pp. 41–166. The monographs of Ligeti and Schütz, on the Mongol and Armenian material respectively, are presently being readied for publication. I am now preparing the final version of the complete translation/transcription of the vocabularies (based on the work of the project team), aided by a grant from the American Institute for Yemeni Studies. I would also like to acknowledge here the many helpful suggestions for the Arabic and Persian readings, given at Prof. Halasi-Kun’s request, by Werner Schmucker. The present article derives from my decipherment of the term *šökü*.

material beginning on f.7v. which is clearly Oğuzic in character, shows mixed Qıpčaq-Oğuz elements or Eastern Oğuz elements, typical of the Turkic languages found in both the Mamlûk and Ilxânid milieus (with Oğuz predominating in the latter), cf. (f.1vA1) *tengri* (f.7vA1) *tanğri* "God." (f.1vA13) *öören* "learn!" instead of the expected *öğren/öğren*, (f.1vA6) *tamuq* "Hell" — but (f.1vC4) *damuq*.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the first section has (f.3rB16) *dil* "tongue," whereas (f.7vB29) notes *til*. Other examples of dialect differences can be seen in (f.5vA3) *buğda* — (f.9vB15) *buğday* "wheat," (f.5vA3) *tarıq* — (f.9vB18) *taru* "pearl millet," (f.5vA7) *birğun* — (f.9vB17) *tuturqan* "rice." The form *šökü* immediately brings to mind the Modern Uyğur *čöke/čoka*.<sup>3</sup> Radloff reads the Uyğur  as *čügi*.<sup>4</sup> This word surfaces in the Sino-Uyğur vocabularies of the Translator's Bureau: *čöki* (Chin. *Cho-ki*) "baguettes (pour manger)."<sup>5</sup> The use of chopsticks among the Uyğurs of the Pre-Činggisid Qočo kingdom is also attested. Indeed, Uyğur gentlemen kept them in a case which was attached to their belt.<sup>6</sup> It was certainly not an innovation of this period. Actually, it would appear that chopsticks were used by the Hsiung-nu and hence may have a considerable history in the steppe world.<sup>7</sup> The use of chopsticks in China dates to era of the Shang (18th–12th centuries B.C.) and Chou (12th century–221 B.C.) dynasties.<sup>8</sup> The Uyğur *čöki* was, in all likelihood, borrowed, from Chinese and is, perhaps, to be connected with the term  *chu* [ $< t^c i^w o$ ]<sup>9</sup> "chopstics" although this formulation has a number of problems. Chinese, however, would seem to be the most

<sup>2</sup> The columns labelled "C" on ff.1v-7v represent a different glossary.

<sup>3</sup> G. Jarring, *An Eastern Turki-English Dictionary* (Lund 1974), p. 76 *čöke* "chopsticks". R.F. Hahn, *Spoken Uyghur* (Seattle-London, 1991), p. 436, *čoka* "stick, chopstick"; M. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkssprachen* (Helsinki, 1969), p. 114 *čoka* (Taranči) "Esstäbe der Chinesen."

<sup>4</sup> V.V. Radlov (W. Radloff), *Opyt slovarja tjurkskix narečij/Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türkdialekte* (SPb., 1893–1911), III, c. 2193 *kitajskic paločki dlja edy* with a references to the "Chin. Uig. Wrtb." 59b).

<sup>5</sup> See L. Ligeti, *Un vocabulaire sino-ouïgour des Ming. Le Kao-Tch'ang Kouan Yi-Chou du Bureau des Traducteurs*, AOH XIX (1966), p. 154. See there, as well as G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkic* (Oxford 1972), p. 414, for a full list of references.

<sup>6</sup> A. von Gabain, *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo (850–1250)* (Wiesbaden 1973), pp. 93, 135.

<sup>7</sup> J.H. Bentley, *Old World Encounters. Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchange in Pre-Modern Times* (Oxford 1993), p. 38.

<sup>8</sup> K.C. Chang (ed.), *Food in Chinese Culture. Anthropological and Historical Perspectives* (New Haven 1977), pp. 34–5.

<sup>9</sup> R.H. Mathews, *Mathew's Chinese-English Dictionary. Revised American edition* (Cambridge, Mass. 1979), p. 191; B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (Paris 1924, reprint: New York 1974, 1991), pp. 310, 336.



likely source for terms relating to certain grain-based foods and the utensils needed for their preparation. Indeed, the Ancient Chinese considered the absence of grain-foods one of the cultural markers between themselves (consumers of grains and cooked food) and the "Northern Barbarians." Chinese writings from the Sung era (960–1279) associate northern Chinese cuisine with grain-based foods in the form of "noodles, buns, dumplings, and cakes, often with a filling." This was true of subsequent eras as well.<sup>10</sup> A number of the words we shall encounter testify to the Chinese impact. Noodles, in their present form in China (*mien*), appear to have been a development of the Han period (206 B.C.–220 A.D.), made possible by the introduction of new flour-grinding techniques.<sup>11</sup>

In this connection we might note that on the basis of the contemporary (to the Hexaglot), but slightly older *Yin-shan cheng-yao* ("Proper and Essential Things for the Emperor's Food and Drink"), a culinary work authored by Hu Ssu-hui which sought to combat diseases through nutrition (it was presented to the Yüan court in 1330), it is clear that Turkic cooks played a major role, along with Chinese chefs, in shaping, indeed, elevating Yüan Činggisid imperial cuisine. Important among these culinary creations or reworkings were numerous pasta-based dishes. Turkic terms are common, e.g. *čöppün*, *mantû*, *tabilqa* etc. (see below), in the *Yin-shan cheng-yao*.<sup>12</sup>

The anthropologist Louis Dupree has written (regrettably too briefly) about a "pasta complex" extending from the Far East to the Mediterranean. In Central Asia, this "complex" extends only as far as Northern Afghanistan, traditionally the home of nomads. Although the origins of the pasta complex are unclear, Dupree suggests that it developed among (or at least was quickly adopted by) nomads and other travellers along the Silk Route and thence spread East and West, probably from Northern Afghanistan. Noodles and similar pasta items ("an early dehydration storage technique") were more safely stored and less likely to fall prey to rodents during travel than flour.<sup>13</sup> Andrew Watson, a very percep-

<sup>10</sup> Chang, *Food in Chinese Culture*, pp. 42, 169, 200.

<sup>11</sup> Chang, *Food in Chinese Culture*, pp. 81–2. By late Han times noodle-based foods also included steamed buns and baked cakes. Some of the cooking techniques, however, may have been borrowed.

<sup>12</sup> Chang, *Food in Chinese Culture*, p. 227; Lao Yan-shen, *Notes on Non-Chinese Terms in the Yüan Imperial Dietary Compendium Yin-shan Cheng-yao*, "The Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica" 39 (Oct., 1969), pp. 399–416; P. Buell, *Pleasing the Palate of the Qan: Changing Foodways of the Imperial Mongols*, *Mongolian Studies* XIII (1990), pp. 58, 69–71, 77n.21. Cf. also Mong. *šülen* "soup", which, as Buell notes (p. 60) became the "honorific word for food in general in the *Secret History*, "perhaps calqued from the Turkic *aš* "food" which was contaminated by Pers. *âš* "soup" (see Clauson, ED, p. 253).

<sup>13</sup> L. Dupree, *From Whence Cometh Pasta? Ethnologie und Geschichte, Festschrift für Karl Jettmar*, ed. P. Snoy (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 128–134.

tive and careful student of the movement of agricultural goods and associated technologies between East and West places its origin in the Near East. Although Genoese documents of the 13th century (1273) mention *macaroni* (which appears to have come to Genoa from Sicily, a Mediterranean maritime crossroads dominated by the Arabs in the tenth-eleventh century.<sup>14</sup> By the 14th century, the time of the composition of the Hexaglot, there are a variety of notices on pasta-type foods, generically termed *tria*, *aletria* in Italian and other Romance languages, e.g. Catalan (< Arab. *al-iṭriyya/al-aṭriyya* which can be found in earlier, 9th century dictionaries). It is also known in Syriac, *atrin*. It is a borrowing from Greek ἴτριον (pl. ἴτρια), "a kind of cake."<sup>15</sup> In Italy, the Islamic world would appear to be their immediate source.

Although dairy products played the most important role in Medieval Turkic cuisine (milk was consumed in great quantities, in addition to yogurt, ayran, various cheeses etc.)<sup>16</sup> foods made from grain were also well-known. There are a great variety of breads (*etmek/ötmek/ekmek*) and grain-based, baked dishes: *awrûzî* "mixed, of food, such as wheat and barley flour mixed together and baked."<sup>17</sup> *bazlamaç* "sorte de pain (rond et plat)."<sup>18</sup> *çörek* "flat bread,"<sup>19</sup> *çuqmîn*

<sup>14</sup> On macaroni, see G. Alessio, *Storia linguistica di un antico cibo rituale: I maccheroni*, "Atti della Accademia Pontaniana", n.s., vol. VIII (1958-59), p. 266. The Byzantines in Sicily were gradually forced to give way to the Arabs in the course of the ninth and early tenth century (827-902). The Normans took the island (1060-91), from the Arabs, but Muslim culture and institutions remained strong. Early Norman rulers, such as Roger I (d.1101) were tolerant in cultural and religious questions and often patrons of Muslim scholars, see P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London, 8th ed., 1964), pp. 602-607.

<sup>15</sup> H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. ed. H.S. Jones et al. (Oxford 1968), p. 845; A.M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World* (Cambridge 1983), pp. 22-23; Alessio, *Storia*, p. 266; M.J. Mashkour, *A Comparative Dictionary of Arabic, Persian and the Semitic Languages* (Tehran 1978), I, p. 25.

<sup>16</sup> M.A. Köymen, *Alp Arslan Zamanı Türk Beslenme Sistemi*: in "Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi." III (1971), pp. 17-19.

<sup>17</sup> Mahmud al-Kaşğarî, *Dîwân Luğat at-Turk: Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, ed. trans. R. Dankoff in collaboration with J. Kelly (Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures, 7, Cambridge, Mass. 1982, 1984, 1985, henceforth: MK/D), I, p. 164, < Pers. *afrûsa* (see Clauson, ED, 15).

<sup>18</sup> A. Zajaczkowski, *Vocabulaire arabe-kiptchak de l'époque d l'État Mamelouk. Bulğat al-Muštâq fî Luğat at-Turk wa-l-Qifzâq*, I (henceforth *Bulğat*, Warszawa 1958), Arab. text, p. 8/trans. p. 12.

<sup>19</sup> MK/D, I, p. 297; *Kitâb Majmû' Tarjumân Turkî wa 'Ajamî wa Muğulî wa Fârsî: Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, ed., trans. M.Th. Houtsma (henceforth: TAG, Leiden 1894), Arab. p. 15/trans. 71, see also A.K. Kuryšžanov, *Issledovanie po leksike starokypčakskogo pis'mennogo pamjatnika XIII v. — "tjurko-arabskogo slovarja"* (Alma-Ata 1970), p. 221 "lepěška, čurek;" Abū Ḥayan, *Kitâb al-Idrâk fî lisân al-Atrâk*, ed. trans. A. Caferoğlu (henceforth: *Idrâk*, Istanbul, 1931), Arab. pp. 42,43/31 *ekmek*, *küçük ekmek*, *peksimet*; Clauson, ED, p. 429.



“a bread which is shaped like a biscuit and cooked by steaming in a kettle,”<sup>20</sup> *kevrek/kevrük* “biscuit de mer,”<sup>21</sup> *kömeč/gömeč* “flat-bread that is buried in the embers for baking,”<sup>22</sup> *közmen* “bread baked in hot ashes,”<sup>23</sup> *qačqač dibi* “flat loaf of bread,”<sup>24</sup> *qağurğan* “a bread that is kneaded with butter and cooked in the oven,”<sup>25</sup> *qara etmek* “a kind of bread. It is made by cooking meat until it shreds, then adding flour, butter and sugar and boiling it until it thickens”/sorte de pâte de froment.”<sup>26</sup> *quyma* “name of a type of buttered bread.”<sup>27</sup> *Qıpçaq quymaq* “pâte avec graisse de farine et de graisse,”<sup>28</sup> *sinču* “a type of bread larger than a wafer but smaller than a loaf,”<sup>29</sup> *türmek* “rolled bread,”<sup>30</sup> *yalači yuvğa. yarma yuvğa* “a type of folded bread.”<sup>31</sup> There are also a number of grain-based soups and gruels, e.g.: (Kâşğarî) *bulğama* “gruel that is unsweetened and unbuttered”<sup>32</sup> *bulğamač*<sup>33</sup> “potage de farine. espèce de bouillie épaisse faite de farine \ *bulamač*,<sup>34</sup> *buğday aš* “une soupe ou plat de froment,”<sup>35</sup> *qağut\qavut* “name of a dish made from millet. The millet is boiled, dried and ground, then mixed with butter and sugar. It is one of the foods given to confined women.”<sup>36</sup>

<sup>20</sup> MK/D, I, p. 334; Clauson, ED, p. 408 suggests a Chinese origin.

<sup>21</sup> *Bulğat*, pp. 8/30; *Idrâk*, pp. 86 (“*al-baqsimât*”)/47 “gevrek.”

<sup>22</sup> MK/D, I, 279, Hexaglot, f.5vA27/26 Arab. *al-mullâ* “bread baked in hot ashes” Pers. *kulo*, Turk. *gömeč*, Grk. *pita*, Arm. *pğarj*.

<sup>23</sup> MK/D, I, pp. 335, 401.

<sup>24</sup> Hexaglot, f.3vC20 = Arab. *ar-ruqâq*.

<sup>25</sup> MK/D, I, 381.

<sup>26</sup> MK/D, II, p. 265; *Bulğat*, pp. 8/38 also *Idrâk*, pp. 69 (*al-nayda manâ<sup>c</sup>hu al-xubz al-aswad*)/70. *Nayda* or *naydâ* = “en Egypte. sorte de pate.” (see R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, Leyden 1881, repr. Beirut: 1968, II, p. 749, for full description).

<sup>27</sup> MK/D, II, p. 239.

<sup>28</sup> *Bulğat*, pp. 8/40 (*al-<sup>c</sup>ajîn bi’d-duhn quymaq wa huwa ism li<sup>2</sup>z-zalâbiyya* “dough with oil, quymaq. It is also the name of a kind of doughnut” (*zalâbiyya*, cooked in oil and sprinkled with sugar), see J.M. Cowan, *The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, Ithaca, N.Y. 3rd ed., 1976, p. 380). The *Idrâk*, pp. 77/84 notes it as both *zalâbiyya* and a “thick soup” (*ḥarîra* [see Dozy, I, p. 263 “Sorte de bouillie qui correspond assez aux crèmes européennes”] *ğalîza*) cooked in oil (Clauson, ED, p. 677: “a thick soup cooked with butter, also a sweet pancake”), Caferoğlu renders it “un ve süt ile yağda pişirilmiş bulamaç”. Radloff, II, c. 895. notes it in Qazan Tat. meaning “blin, bliny.”

<sup>29</sup> MK/D, I, p. 317. Perhaps a Chinese loan-word (Clauson, ED, p. 835).

<sup>30</sup> MK/D, I, p. 355. Clauson, ED, p. 550 “a stuffed meat ball” < *tür-* “to fold, wrap up.”

<sup>31</sup> MK/D, II, p. 165; Clauson, ED, pp. 922. 969.

<sup>32</sup> MK/D, I, p. 365, \ *bulğa-* “to stir” (Clauson, ED, pp. 336–337).

<sup>33</sup> *Bulğat*, pp. 8/14; *Idrâk*, 35/22 = *Cašîda* “gruel” or *ḥarîra* (see Ibn Muḥanna *Kitâb Ḥilyat al-Insân wa Ḥalbat al-Lisân*, ed. Kilisli Rif<sup>c</sup>at (Istanbul, 1338–40), p. 165).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. the *At-Tuhfah* (see *Ettuhfet-üz-Zekiyye fil-lûgat-it-Türkiyye*, ed. trans. B. Atalay, Istanbul, 1945, Arab. 14a/27/glossary, p. 157); *bulamač*. This form is also in Çagatay and Ottoman (where it is the expected form, Radloff, IV, 1842).

<sup>35</sup> *Bulğat*, pp. 8/14, Ibn Muḥanna, p. 165.

<sup>36</sup> MK/D, I, p. 309. Elsewhere (II, p. 233), he notes that “it is made by mixing millet gruel

Another category of grain-based dishes is that of the *börek* noted in the *Bulğat* : *börek*: *al-qitl<sup>c</sup> al-maḥṣuwwa laḥmân* [“pieces (of dough) stuffed with meat/“pâté (de viande)] *wa ida ukilat bi<sup>ḍ</sup>l-asyâx qîla* [“and if it is eaten on spits, it is called”/“pâté de broche.] *šiš börek*” and *čekér börek* [al-maḥṣuwwa sukkaran ( “stuffed with sugar”)/“pâté de sucre”].<sup>37</sup> Virtually identical descriptions are given in the *Idrâk* : *börek* : *qîta<sup>c</sup> al-<sup>c</sup>ajîn al-maḥṣuwwa laḥmân wa lammâ ukila bi<sup>ḍ</sup>l-asyâx qîla lahu šiš börek* “pieces of dough stuffed with meat, when it is eaten on spits it is called š.b.” and *čekér börek al-<sup>c</sup>ajîn al-maḥṣuwwa sukkaran* “dough stuffed with sugar.”<sup>38</sup> The *Yin-shan cheng-yao* mentions them as *p’ieh-lieh chiaorh* : *perek* “ravioli.”<sup>39</sup> The word is widely found in Turkic today and has been suggested as the source for Slav. (cf. Russ. *pirog*, Ukr. *pyrih*, Bulg. *pirog* etc.), although this is disputed.<sup>40</sup>

Among the grain-based dishes a significant role was played by pasta dishes. What do we know of pasta-based dishes and the implements used to prepare and consume them in the Medieval Turkic world? The general Turkic term, corresponding to the Arabic *‘ajîn* was *yinči*.<sup>41</sup> In the Hexaglot, however, (f.11rB4) Arab. *‘ajîn* and Pers. *ramîr* are rendered by Turk. *yuğurulmuş* ( < *yuğur-* “to knead (dough etc.)”<sup>42</sup> We find in the medieval glossaries the following terms: *batruš* ( < *batur-* “to cause to sink”<sup>43</sup> ) “muddy water, also noodles that have too much dough and too little water.”<sup>44</sup> The Mong. *čöppün* “noodles” found in the *Yin-shan cheng-yao*,<sup>45</sup> although not noted in a Middle Turkic document in this meaning, may be compared with Modern Uyğ. *čöp* “pieces of dough boiled in water, a kind of noodles.”<sup>46</sup> A fragment of one of the Uyğur Turfan texts re-

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(sawîq ad-duxn) with butter and sugar.” The Hexaglot has (f.5vA2) Arab. *as-sawîq* Pers. *pist* Turk. *qavut*, Grk. *\*xondri* Arm. *poḥind*, (f.11rB5) Arab. *as-sawîq* Pers. *pist*, Turk. *qavut*. Cf. also *Bulğat*, pp. 8/39 “grains (de froment etc.), rotis” and *Idrâk*, pp. 76/73 where it is noted as Qipčaq.

<sup>37</sup> *Bulğat*, pp. 8/14, 16, 49.

<sup>38</sup> *Idrak*, pp. 30, 45/22, 27: *içerisine et doldurulmuş hamur parçaları, şekerli börek*.

<sup>39</sup> H. Franke, *Additional Notes on Non-Chinese Terms in the Imperial Dietary Compendium Yin-shan cheng-yao*, “Zentralasiatische Studien” 4 (1970), p. 13.

<sup>40</sup> E.V. Sevortjan, *Étimologičeskij slovar’ tjurkskix jazykov* (Moskva 197), II, p. 219; E.N. Šipova, *Slovar’ tjurkizmov v russkom jazyke* (Alma-Ata, 1976), p. 260; M. Fasmer (Vasmer), *Étimologičeskij slovar’ russkogo jazyka*, trans. O.N. Trubáčëv (Moskva 1986–87), III, pp. 265–66.

<sup>41</sup> *Bulğat*, pp. 8/26 “pâte pétrie.”

<sup>42</sup> Clauson, ED, p. 906.

<sup>43</sup> So Clauson, ED, p. 308.

<sup>44</sup> MK/D, I, p. 345.

<sup>45</sup> Buell, “Pleasing the Palate,” p. 71.

<sup>46</sup> Jarring, *Eastern Turki Dict.*, p. 76; see also his *Materials to the Knowledge of Eastern Turki* (Lund, 1946–1951), IV, p. 149 where *čöp* aş is described. It is essentially the same dish as the Yüan *čöppün*. Obviously, it is a different term than Turk. *čöb/čöp* “dregs, rubbish” (see Clauson, ED, p. 394).



cords the term *laqša* "wheat flour, noodle."<sup>47</sup> The glossaries of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) translation bureau, which may go back to still earlier sources, also note *la-cha* [= *laqša*] "farine, vermicelli."<sup>48</sup> The term is found in the Hexaglot, but not among the Turkic vocabulary, cf. (ff.2rC21,4vC8) Arab. *al-iṭriyya* Mong. *köke lāxiša/lāxša*, (f.2rC23) Arab. *lākiša*, *ism at-ṭabīx* ("lākiša, the name of a cooked dish") Mong. *tutmač*, (f.11rA38) Arab. *iṭriyya* Pers. *rišta* Turk. *üğre* (see below) Mong. *lāxiša/lāxša*. Thus, the connection is made between *tutmač*, *lāxiša* and *iṭriyya*, the general Arabic term for various pasta-type foods. *Laqša/laqša* has a complicated history in Eurasia. It appears to have entered Turkic from Persian, cf. Pers. *laxšak*, *laxša* "a kind of frumenty," *lāxišta*, *lāxiša* "vermicelli or long slices of pasta put into broth."<sup>49</sup> It is found in Ottoman *lākçe*, diminutive of *lāk* "patties of rolled paste."<sup>50</sup> It has also entered Qazan Tatar (*laqša*, and thence Udmurt and Mordvin), Noğay, Qazaq (*laqša*, *laqsa*, *ılaqsa*) and Qumuq (*ılaqsa*). Čuvaš has the form *yaška*, which is curiously like *yaxša* (with *l > y* shift) known to the Dağıstani languages.<sup>51</sup> The word also entered Eastern Slavic (Belorus. and Ukr. *lokšyna* and Russ. *lapša* (dial. *lokša*) "noodle").<sup>52</sup> Kâşğarî records the term *litu* "noodles chilled with water, snow or ice, condiments are thrown in then it is eaten as a cooling dish."<sup>53</sup> The steamed meat dumpling, *mantu*, figures prominently in the Yüan culinary manual. It is also found in Čağatay, Ottoman, Uzbek, Modern Uyğur, Tatar, Qazaq and Qırğız (*mantu*, *mantı*, *mant*) and was later borrowed into Russian (*manty*).<sup>54</sup> Kâşğarî also notes the term *mün* designating "broth" (in Oğuz, Qıpçaq and Suwar *bün*), but in Yağma indicating

<sup>47</sup> V.M. Nadeljaev et al., *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'* (Leningrad, 1969, citing G.R. Rachmati (Arat), *Türkische Turfan-Texte. VII* "Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften," (1936). No. 12, p. 25), p. 332–33 "pšeničnaja muka, lapša."

<sup>48</sup> Ligeti, *Un vocabulaire sino-ouïgour*, AOH, 19 (1966), p. 179.

<sup>49</sup> F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary* (1892, repr. Beirut 1970), pp. 1111, 1119.

<sup>50</sup> Sir James Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople 1890, repr. Beirut 1974), p. 1620.

<sup>51</sup> Radloff, III, cc. 729–730. See discussion in N. S. Džidalaev, *Tjurkizmy v dagestanskix jazykax* (Moskva, 1990), pp. 36–37.

<sup>52</sup> For the Russian, see Fasmer (Vasmer), *Ètimologičeskij slovar'*, II, p. 460. It probably entered Yiddish (*lokšn*) from Eastern Slavic.

<sup>53</sup> MK/D, II, p. 273. Clauson, ED, p. 763, reads it as *létu* and suggests Chin. *lêng-t'ao* "to wash in a sieve with cold water" as its possible point of origin.

<sup>54</sup> Buell, *Pleasing the Palate*, p. 69, who suggests that it was borrowed from Mongol into Chinese (*man-t'ou*), Šeyx Süleyman Efendi Buxârî, *Luğat-i Čağatay ve Türkî Osmânî* (İstanbul, 111298/1880–1881), p. 276 "*Qıymalı yufqa ta'âmı...*:" Redhouse, p. 1662 "a thin-crust puff stuffed with minced mutton," cf. also T. Gülensoy, *Doğu Anadolu Osmanlıcası*, Ankara 1986, p. 326 *kıymalı yufka böreği*); Z.M. Mačrufov, *Üzbek tilining izâhli luğati*, Moskva 1981, I, p. 446 *güşt wa piyâz qiymasini xamirga tugib gasqânda pişiriladigan âwqat*; Jarring, *Eastern Turki Dict.*, p. 186; Radloff, IV, c. 2021; K.S. Abdrazakov et al. (eds.), *Tatarsko-russkij slovar'* (Moskva 1966), p. 361, *manty (vid krupnyx pel'menej svarennyx na paru)*; K.K. Judaxin, *Kirgizsko-russkij slovar'* (Moskva 1965), p. 516) *parovye pel'meni*; Šipova, p. 229.

“noodles.”<sup>55</sup> The Hexaglot (f.3vC14) notes *omač* which it defines as “vermicelli” (*aš-ši<sup>C</sup>riyya*) and macaroni (*ar-rišta*).<sup>56</sup> The *Yin-shan cheng-yao* mentions *ho-hsi wu-ma-shih*: “Tangut (?) *umač* (‘noodle soup, flour soup’).<sup>57</sup> Another entry in *Kâšğarî* is *sarmačuq* “a type of noodles. The dough is cut up into small pieces the size of chickpeas; it is fed to sick persons, and the like, in a broth.”<sup>58</sup>

The most famous of the Turkic noodle dishes was *tutmač*. *Kâšğarî* remarks that it is “a well-known food of the Turks” and attributes its origins to Alexander the Great (*Dû-l-Qarnayn*). This, he relates in a folk etymological aside, was the food he provided for his hungry followers, who complained *bizni tutma ač* (“do not keep us hungry”) upon emerging from the lands of Darkness. Both the noodles and the broth are consumed. Elsewhere he explains *tutmač cöpi* as the “word for any piece of noodle or macaroni.”<sup>59</sup> The *Yin-shan cheng-yao* records it as *t’u-t’u-ma-shih*.<sup>60</sup> The *Bulğat* makes reference to the *tutmač qibjâqiyya* (*Qıpçaq tutmač*) “espèce de vermicelle, potage au vermicelle.”<sup>61</sup> The *Idrâk*, which repeats the folk etymology given by *Kâšğarî*, defines it as “handfuls” (*qabadât*) of dough thrown into a meat broth (*maragat al-laḥm*).<sup>62</sup> The Hexaglot, as we have noted, equates it with *laxiša* etc. It also mentions (f.11rA40) Turk *şalma tutmač*, defined as “a type of *tutmâč*” (*nau<sup>C</sup> min at-tutmâj*). Pers. *buğra xânî* “a certain dish of which Bughra Khan, King of Khwârazm was the inventor” (Steingass), Mong. *homač*. It survives in Ottoman (“a dish of stewed mutton in gobbets with chick peas” according to Redhouse<sup>63</sup>) and in other Turkic languages in which its primary

<sup>55</sup> MK/D, I, pp. 85, 268.

<sup>56</sup> See Redhouse, p. 257 *oğmač* “fresh made curd soup or stew,” Radloff, I, c. 1167, Osm. *omač* “*kušan’e iz testa, svarenogo v bul’one*”, I, c. 1791 *umač* Qaz. Tat. *pišča iz testa v vide šarikov*, Taranči, Čağatay *mučnoj sup*; Jarring, *Eastern Turki Dict.*, p. 323 “a mixture of Indian meal and vegetables which is boiled in water, *umač aš* “soup made of Indian meal and vegetables.”

<sup>57</sup> Franke, *Additional*, p. 10: *ho-hsi* “west of the Yellow River” = former Tangut territory.

<sup>58</sup> MK/D, I, p. 386; Köymen, *Alp Arslan Zamanı*, p. 37; < \**sarma-* “intertwined” so Clauson, ED, p. 853.

<sup>59</sup> MK/D, I, p. 340. I, p. 208.

<sup>60</sup> Franke, *Additional*, p. 15.

<sup>61</sup> *Bulğat*, pp. 8/53.

<sup>62</sup> *Idrâk*, pp. 65/108 (*et suyuna atılan hamûr parçaları*). See also the entry in Clauson, ED, p. 457.

<sup>63</sup> Redhouse, p. 1251, F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar* (3rd ed. Ankara, 1980, p. 394) describes its preparation in Anatolia thus: “dough in the form of phyllo (*yufka*), but a bit thicker, is opened, lightly cooked on a cooking plate (*saç*), then cut into triangles or in the shape of baklava. The pieces are then cooked in hot water. Cooked green lentils are added and then garlic-spiced yogurt is added. After this, heated butter in which minced meat (*kıyma*) had been put, is poured on top. Then, mint is sprinkled on.” “In Eastern Anatolian dialects (Gülensoy, *Doğu Anadolu Osm.*, p. 486) it is “küçük dört köşe kesilerek yapılan ev şehriyesi.”



meaning is “noodles” (cf. Čağ., *tutmač* “rište aşı, cuşîre (Pers. *jaušîra* ‘a kind of food’<sup>64</sup>), mâ üş-şair, aş-ı âred, omaç ve bulamak, un aşı...şehriye”), Qaz. Tat. *tökmöç*, Kmd. *tutmaš*, Šor. *tutpaš*, Qaraim *tutmač*,<sup>65</sup> The juice of the plant *yava* was used to color the *tutmač*.<sup>66</sup> Another type of noodle, “similar to *tutmač*,” as Kâşğarî notes, “except it is finer” is *ügre*, cf. also *qyima ügre* “name of a type of noodles in which the dough is cut obliquely, like ‘sparrows’ tongues’.”<sup>67</sup> This term is also found in the Hexaglot (f.11rA38): Arab. *iṭriyya* Pers. *rišta* “a kind of macaroni,” Turk. *ügre*, Mong. *lâxiša* The term is still used in Neo-Uyğur *üгри/üge/ügre* “small cut noodles,” Uzbek “dough which is rolled thin and cut into long and small pieces,” and Siberian Turkic (Sag. Kč Koib.) *ügre* “Suppe, Brühe, Suppe mit feiner Grütze,” (Šor et al.), *üre*, Qaz. Tat. *öyrä*, Yakut *üöra*.<sup>68</sup> Presumably, some of these noodle dishes were eaten with chopsticks, just as in Eastern Turkistan, the noodle-dish *laegmen* is today consumed.<sup>69</sup>

We know some of the vocabulary for instruments used in the preparation of these dishes: *yoğurğuč* “pastry roller for flattening noodle dough.” A closely related implement was the *janču* a “rolling-pin for flattening noodle dough.”<sup>70</sup> An important step in the process involved the *čowli* “a strainer for *tutmač*. It is made of thin rods that are plaited together in the form of a ladle” (probably < Pers. *čâwlî* “a winnowing fan of reeds”).<sup>71</sup> It is also found in the Mamlûk glossaries as *čâwlî* where it is described as a “large spoon/ladle for *tutmač*” (*miğrafat al-tutmâj*).<sup>72</sup> Kâşğarî also mentions the *siš/siś* “the instrument for arranging *tutmač*.”<sup>73</sup> There

<sup>64</sup> Steingass, p. 378, cf. *jaušîr* “barley-gruel.”

<sup>65</sup> Radloff, III, cc. 1274, 1493; Räsänen, Versuch, p. 502; Šeyx Buxârî, p. 114; A.N. Baskakov, A. Zajackowski et al, *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'* (Moskva 1974), p. 550. The Qaz. Tatar form is probably the source of Russ. *tukmači* (Fasmer, IV, p. 117, Šipova, p. 331) *sup*, *lapša*, *rod salmy*, *lapši iz mučnogo testa s goroxom*.

<sup>66</sup> MK/D, II, p.160.

<sup>67</sup> MK/D, I, p. 150, II, p. 239.

<sup>68</sup> Jarring, *Eastern Turki Dict.*, p. 237 and his *Materials*, IV, pp. 148–149 which describes the preparation of *üгри aš* (a noodle, meat and vegetable soup); Ma<sup>c</sup>rufov, *Üzbek tilining izâhli luğati*, II, pp. 263–64 “yupqa yâyilib, uzun wa mayda qilib kesilgan xamir,” Radloff, I, c. 1813; Räsänen, Versuch, p. 519.

<sup>69</sup> Jarring, *Materials*, IV, pp. 156–157. The chopsticks here are called *koyze* (< Chin, *k'uitzŭ*). This dish is also known in Uzbekistan, *lağmân* (Ma<sup>c</sup>rufov, *Üzbek tilining izahli luğati*, I, p. 429 and has entered Russian cuisine (Šipova, p. 218) *lagman*.

<sup>70</sup> MK/D, I, pp. 317, 366. Clauson, ED, p. 425 reads the latter term as *čanču* < Chin. *chan chou*.

<sup>71</sup> MK/D, II, p. 376; Clauson, ED, p. 397.

<sup>72</sup> TAG, pp. 17/70. Kuryšžanov, p. 216 compares it with the Qazaq *šäüli* “šumovka.”

<sup>73</sup> MK/D, I, p. 263. Clauson, ED, pp. 856–57, noting its other meanings “spit, fork, spike” (also found in Kâşğarî) renders the Arabic *minzâm tutmâj* as “a fork for (eating) noodles.”

is no trace of terms found, for example, in Modern Uyğur, such as *sıqquç* “a press or squeezer by which noodles are made,” or *gasqan* an “apparatus for the preparing (steaming) of mantu,”<sup>74</sup> although it is likely that such implements were used. There are a variety of other terms designating ladles, spoons, cooking pots etc. which were undoubtedly employed in the preparation of these dishes. Our sources, however, do not specifically associate them with the tutmaç culture.

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<sup>74</sup> J a r r i n g, *Materials*, IV, pp. 150, 154. *Sıqquç* is clearly to be derived from Turk. *sıq-* “to squeeze, press” (Clauson, ED, pp. 804–05).