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Who Were the Bukharians of the 18th and 19th Centuries?

ABSTRACT

The article attempts to answer the question “Who are the Bukharians?” posed by Julius Klaproth in his famous *Asia Polyglotta* (1823). The Khanate of Bukhara, founded in the 16th century by the Uzbeks, was an ethnic, cultural, and linguistic conglomeration that attracted the interest of European researchers, travelers, and scholars from the 18th century onward. Their studies produced publications on the history, culture, and language of the Bukharians. Some, like Pallas and Olufsen, classified the language as Turkic, while others, including Klaproth, considered it Iranian. An analysis of the lexicon recorded in historical sources indicates that all of them were partially correct. In the Khanate of Bukhara, two dialects coexisted: the Turkic dialect of Uzbek and the Iranian dialect of Persian (Tajik), which influenced each other, with the Uzbek lexicon being heavily Iranized.

KEYWORDS: Bukhara, Tajik language, Uzbek language, lexicography

STRESZCZENIE

Kim byli Bucharczycy XVIII i XIX wieku?

Artykuł jest próbą odpowiedzi na zadane przez Juliusa Klaprotha w *Asia Polyglotta* (1823) pytanie: „Kim są Bucharczycy?” Założony w XVI w. przez Uzbeków Chanat Buchary, będący swoistego rodzaju konglomeratem etniczno-kulturowo-językowym, stał się obiektem zainteresowań europejskich badaczy, podróżników, uczonych, którzy poczynając od XVIII wieku docierali na tamte tereny. Efektem były ich publikacje poświęcone historii, kulturze, a także językowi Bucharczyców. Część z nich (jak Pallas czy Olufsen) uważała, że język, jakim mówią, należy do grupy turkijskiej, inni zaś (jak Klaproth), że irańskiej. Analiza leksyki zawartej w źródłach historycznych wskazuje, że wszyscy mieli rację. W Chanacie Buchary musiały istnieć dwa dialekty: turkijski dialekt języka uzbeckiego oraz irański dialekt języka tadżyckiego, które to dialekty wzajemnie się przenikały, a leksyka uzbecka była silnie ziranizowana.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Buchara, język tadżycki, język uzbecki, leksykologia

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“Who are the Bukharians?” asked the famous German philologist and orientalist Julius von Klaproth (1783–1835) in his encyclopedic work *Asia Polyglotta* (Klaproth, 1823, pp. 239–244). Who were the people living in the Khanate of Bukhara, in the so-called Little and Great Bukharia?¹ Were they of Iranian or Turkic origin? What languages did they speak? Other eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century travelers, geographers, ethnographers, and lexicographers also tried to answer this question. Many considered them a people of Turkic origin; however, they noted that their dialect was mixed with Persian words (Adelung, 1806, p. 458; Malte-Brun, 1827, p. 472). Peter Simon Pallas, in his famous *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa*, also known as *Vocabularium Catharinae* (Pallas, 1787–1789), placed the dialect of the inhabitants of Bukhara between the languages of the Teleuts and the Uzbeks of Khiva. Johann Gottlieb Georgi (1729–1802), a German physician, geographer, ethnographer, and naturalist, and a long-time member of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, devoted many years to studying the Volga region, the Middle and Southern Urals, Siberia, the Altai Mountains, and the Baikal region. He participated in the scientific expeditions led by P.S. Pallas and Johann Peter Falk. The result of Georgi’s many years of ethnographic research was a detailed, illustrated description of the peoples inhabiting Russia. This work, *Beschreibung aller Nationen des Russischen Reichs, ihrer Lebensart, Religion, Gebräuche, Wohnungen, Kleidung und übrigen Merkwürdigkeiten*, was published in St. Petersburg between 1776 and 1780.² It contains extensive and detailed material on history and ethnography, acquired both by the author himself and by many other researchers and travelers. For the first time in a single book, information about various aspects of the culture and life of the peoples of Tsarist Russia was collected and systematized. In 1799, the work was fully translated into Russian, thus receiving a second edition. Of particular value, in addition to the detailed ethnographic descriptions, are the color illustrations, which provide a comprehensive picture of the appearance, way of life, crafts, and national costumes of all the peoples and tribes inhabiting the territory of Russia. The work was rightly recognized as a world standard of ethnographic research.

The chapter on the Bukharians (*Die Bucharen*) was placed by Georgi in the second volume of his work, which describes all the Tatar nations (Georgi, 1776–1780, vol. II, pp. 144–156).³ According to his account, many Bukharian colonies were subordinated to Russia immediately after the first conquests of Siberia. The so-called Tatar suburbs of Tobolsk, Tara, and Tomsk were inhabited exclusively by Bukharians. In turn, in the suburbs of Turinsk and Tyumen,

1 Bukharia is the name of the Khanate of Bukhara, as distinguished from the city of Bukhara.

2 This work was also published in Leipzig in 1783; then also translated into French 1776–1777 and English in 1780–1783. All the quotations here come from the English version.

3 In the English version: *The Bougharians* (Georgi, 1780–1783, vol. II, pp. 127–153).

the Bukharians lived together with the Tatars. In Bashkiria (Bashkortostan), there were two Bukharian villages (volosts), called *Sarti*,⁴ and several families also lived in Orenburg, Kargali, and Astrakhan. In total, the Bukharian population numbered about 20,000 men. They all came from the so-called Little Bukhara. The ancestors of the Bukharan settlers were merchants who traveled with caravans and settled among the Russians. *Sarti* means “merchant” (Georgi, 1780, pp. 127–128). Georgi described them as follows:

The Bougharians assert that they are the unmixed descendants of the Ogutziens [the Oghuz Turks – K.P.] and the real Turkomans. Whilst the Tartars were making their expeditions to the westward, the Bougharians established themselves in this country, where finding a fertile foil and a temperate climate, they changed their pastoral and nomadian life for that of agriculture, and their moveable tents into settled habitations (Georgi, 1780, p. 130).

The language of this people passes for one of the sweetest dialects of the Tartarian language, and somewhat resembles the Persian.⁵ The Bougharian schools are so famous throughout the Tartarian nations, that they send thither such of their youth as are destined to the priesthood, where they are taught history and geography, as well as the Tartarian and Arabic languages. The Bougharian priests are in high estimation; even their merchants are versed in Arabic, and speak it with great facility (Georgi, 1780, pp. 131–132).

In his further account, Georgi describes in detail the way of life of the Bukharians – their habits, food, clothing, crops, animal breeding, and more. In some cases, he also records Bukharian words that are clearly of Persian origin:

Besides the laws of Mohammed, the Bougharians have written laws peculiar to themselves, by no means severe, but strictly executed. A foreigner, of whatever nation or religion he may be, is allowed to settle in Bougharia, is well received, and so long as he remains peaceable enjoys a perfect liberty, having a right to gain a livelihood by such honest means as he pleases to use. This toleration has

4 “The two Bougharian *volosts* of Bashkiria are called *Sarti*, and the chanceries of the government note them under that name, which signifies merchants who travel with caravans” (Georgi, 1790, pp. 128–129). Cf. Sanskrit *sāārtha* m. ‘travelling company of merchants, caravan’; *sāārtha-vāha*, m. ‘leader or captain of a caravan, head of a trading company’, *sārth-ika* a. ‘travelling with a caravan; accompanying any one (g.) on a journey’; m. ‘member of a trading company, travelling merchants’ (MacDonell, 1929, p. 348).

5 “Ihre Sprache wird unter den tatarischen Mundarten für schön gehalten ob sie sich gleich der Persischen nähert” (Georgi, 1776, p. 146). Cf. “Die Bukharische Mundart wird für eine der gebildetsten ist aber sehr mit Persischen Wörtern vermischt” (Adelung, 1806, p. 458). “They speak the Chagatai language, which is Turkish or Turkoman. But the Bukharian dialect, which deserves a lot of interesting research, has not yet been analyzed. Several geographical terms have been observed in it that seem to be of Persian or Gothic origin” (Malte-Brun, 1827, p. 472).

brought hither a great number of Jews (called *Dioubout/Diuhut*⁶ in the Bougharian tongue), Arabians, Persians, Indians, and other orientals. There are also Bohemians among them, who live in tents, wandering over the country from station to station, and are called by the Bougharians *Diayi/Djaji* (Georgi, 1780, p. 131).

Among plants and cereals they used to cultivate, Georgi (1780, pp. 134–135) mentions:

brimsch ‘rice’ (from Pers. *birinj* ‘rice’; Steingass, 1892, p. 179), *g(r)andum* ‘wheat’ (from Pers. *gandum* ‘wheat’; Steingass, 1892, p. 1099), *gandum-baberi* ‘wheat of Spring’ (cf. Pers. *bahāri* ‘of spring’), *lobya/lobja* and *bakla* ‘two sorts of beans’ (from Pers. *Lūbiyā*, *lūbiya* ‘a kind of pulse, a species of French bean’; Steingass, 1892, p. 1130) and Pers. *buxla* ‘a bean’ (Steingass, 1892, p. 160), also *bāqilā* (from Arab.) ‘a bean (*Faba sativa*)’ (Steingass, 1892, p. 149), *masch* ‘lentils’ (from Pers. *mās* ‘pease; a small round green pulse’; Steingass, 1892, p. 1141), *noboud* ‘a kind of tares (*Cicer arietinum*, Linn.)’ (from Pers. *nuxūd* ‘a vetch, pulse’; Steingass, 1892, p. 1392), *diagara* ‘millet of a peculiar sort’ (*Holcus faccharatus*, Linn.), (from Pers. *gāwars*, *gāwarsa* ‘millet; a kind of vetch’; Steingass, 1892, p. 1073), *konek* ‘another millet, with small grains; to which they confine themselves, not cultivating anything else’ (*Alopecurus pratensis*, Linn.), (from Pers. *kanak*, *kinik*, *kinak* ‘a kind of grass of which they make cord; a walnut’; Steingass, 1892, p. 1055), *kanab* ‘hemp; of which they make cordage’ (from Pers. *kanib*, *kanab* ‘hemp; the inebriating hemp-seed’; Steingass, 1892, p. 1052), *koundschik/kundschik* ‘the *Sesamum orientale* of Linnæus’ (from Pers. *kunjud* ‘the grain sesame; rape-seed’, *kunjūd* ‘sesame-seed’; Steingass, 1892, p. 1053), *tamak* ‘tobacco’ (from Pers. *tambākū* ‘tobacco (*Nicotiana persica*)’, Steingass, 1892, p. 326), *toul* ‘mulberry trees’ (from Pers. *tūt* ‘a mulberry; the mulberry-tree’; Steingass, 1892, p. 333).

About the people of Bukharia Georgi says:

The fine climate of Bougharia is no less favourable to Venus than to Bacchus. A man tolerably at his ease takes two wives, and several have three or four. It is not, therefore, without reason, that both sexes use an infusion of the root *salab* (Orchis, or satyrion)⁷ as frequently as other nations take coffee. The invigorating and stimulating properties of that root are less equivocal in Bougharia than they are in colder regions. They roast them at the fire, then reduce them to powder; and, after having poured boiling water on them, they drink

6 Bukh. *juhut* (Olufsen, 1905, p. 27) cf. Pers. *juhūdi* ‘one Jew; Judaism; Judaical’ (Steingass, 1892, p. 382), *čifūd* ‘a Jew’ (Steingass, 1892, p. 396).

7 Cf. Pers. (from Arabic) *sa’labi misrī* (*ḥasyu al-sa’lab* ‘fox testicles’), ‘Salep; the root of Orchis mascula (considered to be a strong restorative and aphrodisiac)’ (Steingass, 1892, p. 345).

the infusion with sugar exactly as we take coffee. ... The inhabitants of this country are frequently afflicted by a particular distemper, which the natives call *pishta*,⁸ elsewhere known under the appellation of the Bougharian disease; and probably the *dracunculus Persicus*, or the *vena Medinensis* of the physicians (Georgi, 1780, pp. 145–146).

Georgi's account of the Bukharian reckoning of time is of great interest here. The people of Bukhara followed the Chinese model when naming successive years. They used these designations in both speech and writing whenever marking the time of any event in their lives. This animal-cycle calendar was adopted from China. The years were named according to a twelve-year cycle, in which each year was associated with a particular animal, and the sequence was then repeated.

They reckon their years according to the *taregh*,⁹ or chronology of their nation, which begins two years later than the *begira*. The Mohammedans reckon the present year 1778 the year of the *begira* 1192, but the Bougharians make it the year 1190 of their *taregh*. Besides this computation, they divide the years into *dodecads*, in the manner of the ancient Olympiads; a custom common likewise to the Mongols and the Kalmouks. Each of these years bears the name of some animal in some degree resembling the twelve signs of the zodiac (Georgi, 1780, p. 149).

Unfortunately, Georgi provided only eleven names (of Turkic origin) corresponding to the Chinese years. However, he omitted the third year, assigned to the Tiger, and attributed the name *bares* ('tiger') to the second year of the Cow (the Chinese Ox). The names, except for the one denoting the dragon, are clearly of Turkic origin:

- *Tschitskam* (*dilli*¹⁰) 'das Jahr des Maus/the year of the mouse', corresponding to the 1st Chinese year of the Rat; cf. Bukh. *tišxān* 'rat, mouse' (Olufsen, 1905, p. 55); cognate with Uzbek *sichqon* 'mouse', *sichqon-yili* 'the year of the mouse' (Borovkov, 1959, p. 373).
- *Bares* (*dilli*) 'des Kuh/the year of the cow', corresponding to the 2nd Chinese year of the Ox. In fact this is the 3rd year, i.e. the year of the Tiger, cf. Bukh. *jālbars* 'tiger' (Olufsen, 1905, p. 26); Uzb. *yo'lbars* 'tiger' (*Panthera tigris*), *yo'lbars yili* 'the third year of the muchal calendar' (Borovkov, 1959, p. 194).

8 Cf. Pers. *rištak* 'Filaria medinensis', *rišta* 'thread, line, rope; a measurement of land; a fringe, lace; a row, file, train; the Dracunculus or Guinea-worm, a disease common to the inhabitants of Lār' (Steingass, 1892, p. 577).

9 Cf. Pers. (from Arabic) *ta'riḫ* 'dating (a letter); date, era, epoch; day (of the month); history, chronicle; book of annals; chronogram (by the letters of the *abjad*); a calendar' (Steingass, 1892, p. 274).

10 Uzb. *yil* 'year' (Borovkov, 1959, p. 191).

- *Taouschkan (dilli)* ‘des Hasen/the year of the hare’; corresponding to the Chinese 4th year of the Rabbit; cf. Bukh. *tāuskān* ‘hare’ (Olufsen, 1905, p. 55).
- *Lou (dilli)* ‘des Eider/the year of the lizard’; corresponding to the 5th year of the Dragon; cf. Chinese *lóng* ‘dragon’. In Uzb. the year of the fish *baliq* (Borovkov, 1959, p. 52), or the dragon *ajdabor* (Borovkov, 1959, p. 24).
- *Dschilan (dilli)* ‘der Schlange/the year of the serpent’; corresponding to the 6th year of the Snake; cf. Uzb. *ilon* ‘lizard’ (Borovkov, 1959, p. 176).
- *Yelka (dilli)* ‘des Pferdes/the year of the horse’; corresponding to the 7th year of the Horse; cf. Bukh. *jilki* ‘herd of horses’ (Olufsen, 1905, p. 26); Uzb. *jilqi* ‘horse’, Tur. *yilki* ‘mustang, wild horse’.
- *Koi* ‘des Schaafs/the year of the sheep’; corresponding to the Chinese 8th year of the Goat; cf. Bukh. *kāj* ‘sheep’ (Olufsen, 1905, p. 34), Uzb. *qo’y* ‘sheep’ (Borovkov, 1959, p. 634).
- *Pilschin* ‘des Affen/the year of the monkey’; corresponding to the Chinese 9th year of the Goat; cf. Pers. *požīna* ‘ape, monkey’ (Steingass, 1892, p. 259). Old Turkic *bēčīn* is possibly a borrowing from an Iranian language.
- *Taouk* ‘des Hahns/the year of the cock’; corresponding to the Chinese 10th year of the Rooster; cf. Bukh. *tauk*, *tawuk* ‘hen’ (Olufsen, 1905, p. 53), Uzb. *tovuq* ‘hen’ (Borovkov, 1959, p. 439).
- *Ett* ‘des Hundes/the year of the dog’;¹¹ corresponding to the Chinese 11th year of the Dog; cf. Bukh. *it* ‘dog’ (Olufsen, 1905, p. 3), Uzb. *it* ‘dog’ (Borovkov, 1959, p. 184).
- *Dongous* ‘des Schweines/the year of the hog’; corresponding to the 12th Chinese year of the Pig; cf. Bukh. *tongus*, *dongus* ‘pig’ (Olufsen, 1905, p. 16), Uzb. *to’ng’iz* ‘pig’ (Borovkov, 1959, p. 465).

It bears mentioning that in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, the Muchal calendar cycle (i.e., a 12-year calendar cycle) is still in common use.

Historians believe that the Muchal calendar was first created among the Uighurs of China as a folk calendar based on the positions of celestial constellations and was introduced to the Tajiks and other peoples and nations during the Mongol occupation of Central Asia and Iran (13th–14th centuries) (Kholov, 2006, p. 15).

Each of the twelve years in the calendar has its own name, associated with a particular animal (Sarimsokov, 2020).

11 “The present year 1190 of the Taregh, or of Christ 1778” (Georgi, 1778, p. 150).

Table 1. Comparison of the names of the year in Chinese, Bukharian, Uzbek and Tajik

Year	Chinese	Bukharian	Uzbek	Tajik
1	<i>Shú</i> 'rat'	<i>Tiṣṣān</i> 'mouse'	<i>Sichgon</i> 'mouse'	<i>Mush</i> 'mouse'
2	<i>Niú</i> 'ox'	?	<i>Sigir</i> 'cow'	<i>Bakar</i> 'cow'
3	<i>Hǔ</i> 'tiger'	<i>Bares/Jālbars</i> 'tiger'	<i>Yo'lbars</i> 'tiger'	<i>Palang</i> 'panther'
4	<i>Tù</i> 'rabbit'	<i>Tāuskān</i> 'hare'	<i>Quyón</i> 'hare'	<i>Khargush</i> 'hare'
5	<i>Lóng</i> 'dragon'	<i>Lou</i> 'lizard'	<i>Ajdabo</i> 'snake, dragon'	<i>Nakhang</i> 'fish'
6	<i>Shé</i> 'snake'	<i>Dschilan</i> 'serpent'	<i>Ilon</i> 'snake'	<i>Mor</i> 'snake'
7	<i>Mǎ</i> 'horse'	<i>Jilqa</i> 'horse'	<i>Ot</i> 'horse'	<i>Asp</i> 'horse'
8	<i>yáng</i> 'goat'	<i>Kāj</i> 'sheep'	<i>qo'y</i> 'sheep'	<i>Gusfand</i> 'sheep'
9	<i>bóu</i> 'monkey'	<i>Pilschin</i> 'monkey'	<i>Maymun</i> 'monkey'	<i>Maymun</i> 'monkey'
10	<i>Jī</i> 'rooster'	<i>Tauk</i> 'cock'	<i>Tovuk</i> 'cock'	<i>Murg</i> 'chicken'
11	<i>Gǒu</i> 'dog'	<i>It</i> 'dog'	<i>It</i> 'dog'	<i>Sag</i> 'dog'
12	<i>Zhū</i> 'pig'	<i>Dongus</i> 'hog'	<i>Cho'chqa/Tò'ng'iz</i> 'pig'	<i>Kbuk</i> 'pig'

In *Asia Polyglotta* (1823), J. Klaproth (*Bucharisches Wörterverzeichnis*, pp. 245–254) presents a very similar, i.e., Chinese–Uighur, reckoning of the day. The day was divided into twelve double hours:

- *nīm-sheb* 'von 11–1 Nachts (Mittelnacht)'; cf. Pers. *nīm-i šab* 'mid-night' (Steingass, 1892, p. 1444)
- *šeb'er* 'von 1–3 Morgens'; cf. Pers. *saḥar* 'the early morning, the dawn of day' (Steingass, 1892, p. 659)
- *pegāh* 'von 3–5 Morgens'; cf. Pers. *pagāh* 'dawn' (Steingass, 1892, p. 254).
- *sub'wah* 'von 5–7 Morgens'; cf. Pers. *subḥ* 'morning, dawn' (Steingass, 1892, p. 780).
- *azhder* 'von 7–9 Morgens (Drache)'; cf. Pers. *aždar* 'a dragon' (Steingass, 1892, p. 45); according to the Chinese division of the time of day the dragon corresponds to the fifth hour (also the 5th year of the Uzbek calendar).
- *chashtegah* 'von 9–11 Morgens'; cf. Pers. *čāšt-gāh* 'the middle hour between sunrise and the meridian; what is then eaten, breakfast, early dinner, luncheon; a fourth of the day' (Steingass, 1892, p. 386).
- *ištiwā* 'von 11–1 Nachmittags'; cf. Pers. *istiwā* 'equator; equality' (Steingass, 1892, p. 55).
- *pīshin* 'von 1–3 Nachmittags'; cf. Pers. *pasīn* 'posterior, last, newest, hindmost; the afternoon, between mid-day and sunset' (Steingass, 1892, p. 251).

- *diger* ‘von 3–5 Nachmittags’; cf. Pers. *digar* ‘another’, *digar-namāz* ‘evening prayer’ (Steingass, 1892, p. 540).
- *aftāb ferū reftan* ‘von 5–7 Abends (Untergehende Sonne)’; cf. Pers. *fīro raftan* ‘to go down, descend’ (Steingass, 1892, p. 924).
- *shām* ‘von 7–9 Abends (Abend)’; cf. Pers. *šām* ‘evening; supper (also called *šāmi šab*)’; dinner’ (Steingass, 1892, p. 724).
- *chūftan* ‘von 9–11 Nachts (Schlafen)’; cf. Pers. *xuftan* ‘to sleep; to lie down; to sleep’ (Steingass, 1892, p. 468).

Julius Klaproth, while studying Pallas’s dictionary, discovered that a large number of Bukharian words were of Persian origin, and this identity was not limited to substantive nouns but extended to verbs, pronouns, and numerals. Despite this evidence, Klaproth was hesitant to accuse Pallas of error and concluded that he must have been misled by the Persian vocabulary, to which the Bukharian title had been erroneously assigned (Klaproth, 1824, p. 287).

In 1805, he went to China as a member of the Russian scientific expedition accompanying the legation of Count Yuri Golovkin (1763–1846).¹² In Kazan, he met the Bukharians, who assured him that their mother tongue was Persian. The same was true of the Bukharians from Tobolsk, Tara, and Tomsk. According to Klaproth, the Bukharan colonists who had settled in Siberia spoke the Turkish language, thus showing obedience to their neighbors, but nevertheless retained an abundance of pure Persian words.

Twenty two years ago, when I first studied Pallas’s comparative dictionary, it struck me that I found in it almost all the words given as Bukharian as pure Persian. This was not only the case with the nouns, but also with the other parts of the speech. The infinitives ended in *tan* or *dan*, as in Persian. The imperative was also made by the discarding of the last syllable of the infinitive; and in the Persian word *nāi-bini* (nostrils) I saw the Persian way of forming compound words, completely different from Turkish, by the following genitive case (*na-i-bini* ‘holes of the nose’). I also found the Bukharian pronouns to be consistent with the personal ones. The following few examples will serve to illustrate what has been said. I added the Turkish dialect of Khiva to them to show the difference (Klaproth, 1823, p. 240).

12 The work of an eleven-person group of researchers was led by Count Jan Potocki (1761–1815). Klaproth had known Potocki since his studies in Paris and had accompanied him on an expedition to the Caucasus. The route of the expedition led through Kazan, Perm, Yekaterinburg, Tobolsk, Omsk, Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, and Lake Baikal.

DEUTSCH.	BUCHARISCH.	TÜRKISCH IN CHIWA.	DEUTSCH.	BUCHARISCH.	TÜRKISCH IN CHIWA.
Du,	<i>tu</i> ,	<i>šen.</i>	Schlafen,	<i>chabidan</i> ,	<i>jüklamak.</i>
Er,	<i>u</i> ,	<i>ol.</i>	Lieben,	<i>muchiwet kârdan</i> ,	<i>sâwmâk.</i>
Wir,	<i>ma</i> ,	<i>bis.</i>	Tragen,	<i>chamil kârdan</i> ,	<i>jurtmâk.</i>
Ihr,	<i>uumaha</i> ,	<i>sis.</i>	Schneiden,	<i>büridân.</i>	<i>kismâk.</i>
Sie,	<i>iwânha</i> ,	<i>onlar.</i>	Verbergen,	<i>küwâden</i> ,	<i>avmak.</i>
Trinken,	<i>nûw kârdan</i> ,	<i>ismâk.</i>	Kochen,	<i>puchtan</i> ,	<i>piuirmâk.</i>
Essen,	<i>churdan</i> ,	<i>awamak.</i>	Es ist,	<i>hašt</i> ,	<i>war.</i>
Singen,	<i>šürüt kârdan</i> ,	<i>irlamak.</i>	Gieb!	<i>dih</i> ,	<i>bir.</i>
Schlagen,	<i>šâdan</i> ,	<i>urniak.</i>	Geh!	<i>rawu, rîu</i> ,	<i>kel, war.</i>

Also the *Deutsch-Bucharisch* glossary prepared by him contains only words of Persian origin:

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DEUTSCH.	BUCHARISCH.	DEUTSCH.	BUCHARISCH.	DEUTSCH.	BUCHARISCH.
Säbel,	<i>Illamiur.</i> (P.)	Kichern,	(<i>Nochuš.</i> P.)	Kürbiss,	<i>Kadu</i> (P. <i>kedû</i>).
Laaze,	<i>Noisa</i> (P. <i>nisch.</i>)	Kleine grüne		Flaschenkür-	<i>Kadu-surâchi.</i>
Bogen,	<i>Kaman.</i> (P.)	Linsen,	<i>Maw.</i> (P.)	biss,	(P. A.)
Pfeil,	<i>Tir.</i> (P.)	Hanf,	<i>Kanab.</i> (P.)	Tulpe,	<i>Lala.</i> (P.)
Dolch,	<i>Kinwal.</i> (P. <i>chândæer.</i>)	Bohnen,	<i>Labja</i> (P. <i>lubia</i>).	Hyazinthen,	<i>Symbul.</i> (P.)
Öffnung im	<i>Tarasa.</i> (P.)	Wassermühle,	<i>Asia.</i> (P.)	Balsamine,	<i>Æenna.</i> (P. A.)
Dache, Fen-	<i>teredæeh</i> ,	Windmühle,	<i>Bod.</i> (P. <i>bod</i> ,	Mohn,	<i>Kukenar.</i> (P.)
ster,	<i>deridæeh.</i>)	Wind —	<i>ašia-</i>	Melone,	<i>Kawuſch.</i> (P. <i>kefeh.</i>)
Ziegel,	<i>Chis</i> (P. <i>chiwt.</i>)	bod, Wind-	mühle).	Hanf,	<i>Kaneb.</i> (P.)
Backofen,	<i>Tanur.</i> (P. <i>tenür.</i>)	Rossmühle,	<i>Charas</i> (P.)	Lein,	<i>Sager.</i> (P.)
Stall,	<i>Aran</i> (P. A. <i>irân.</i>)	<i>char-ašia</i> , d. i.		Krapp,	<i>Rajan, rujan.</i>
Aufenthaltort		Eselsmühle.)		(P. <i>rujin.</i>)	
der Thiere).		Garten,	<i>Bak.</i> (P.)	Teppich von	
Brod,	<i>Nân</i> (P.)	Granate,	<i>Anar, nar.</i> (P.)	Filz,	<i>Namet.</i> (P.)
Braten,	<i>Kawab</i> (P. <i>kebâb.</i>)	Aprikose,	<i>Zerduli.</i> (P.)	Indigo,	<i>Nil.</i> (P.)
Pastete,	<i>Baris</i> (P. <i>buredæ.</i>)	Mandel,	<i>Badan.</i> (P.)	Zimmermann,	<i>Drugari.</i>
Pfeffer,	<i>Pillpil.</i> (P.)	Pflirsiche,	<i>Illaptala.</i> (P.)	(P. <i>durâger.</i>)	
Pfeffer,		Feige,	<i>Indæir.</i> (P.)	Schuster,	<i>Mosadus.</i>
schwarzer,	<i>Mars.</i>	Quitte,	<i>Bihir</i> (P. <i>bih.</i>)	(P. <i>museh-dus.</i>)	
Winterweizen,	<i>Gandum.</i> (P.)	Pflume,	<i>Alu.</i> (P.)	Schmidt.	<i>Ahingi.</i> (P. <i>ahenger.</i>)
Sommerwai-	<i>Gandum-</i>	Apfel,	<i>Šeb.</i> (P. <i>šlb.</i>)		
zen,	<i>baheri</i> (P. Früh-	Weintraube,	<i>Angur.</i> (P.)	Kameel,	<i>Uuntura.</i>
lingsweizen.)		Walnuß,	<i>Yarmas'</i> (P. <i>vihar-mâg's.</i>)	(P. <i>uuntur.</i>)	
Fuchsschwanz,	<i>Konak.</i>	Jasmin,	<i>Jasmin.</i> (P.)	Esel,	<i>Char.</i> (P.)
(Panicum),		Syringa,	<i>Archowun.</i>	Papier,	<i>Kagis.</i> (P.)
Reis,	<i>Birinw.</i> (P.)		(P. <i>erg'ewdn.</i>)		

As to the numerals he wrote: “The numerals caught my attention even more; 1. *jak*, 2. *du*, 3. *ši*, 4. *chahar*, 5. *pänzh*, 6. *shesh*, 7. *haft*, 8. *häsht*, 9. *nüh*, and appeared to me purely Persian, and entirely different from the Turkic 1. *bir*. 2. *iki*. 3. *uch*. 4. *djurt*. 5. *bish*. 6. *alty*. 7. *jedi*. 8. *sigis*. 9. *tokus*. Nevertheless, at that time, according to the means at my disposal, I could not help thinking other than that there was an error in Pallas, and that the learned man had been deceived by Persian dictionaries falsely passed off for Bukharian” (Klaproth, 1823, p. 241).

In the last section of this chapter, Klaproth published the *Bucharisches Wörterverzeichnis* (pp. 245–254), arranged thematically, just as Pallas did when compiling his dictionary. It consists of 18 divisions: 1. *Vom Himmel* (Heaven, p. 245: about 40 words of Persian and Arabic origin), 2. *Von der Erde* (From earth, p. 245–246: 53 words¹³), 3. *Von der Zeit* (Time, p. 246: 40 words), 4. *Vom Menschen* (People, p. 247: 65 words), 5. *Von menschlichen Dingen* (Human things, pp. 247–248: 92 words, also adjectives and verbs), 6. *Vom Körper* (Body, p. 249), 7. *Von Gebäuden und Wohnungen* (Buildings and housing, p. 249), 8. *Von Vögeln und Tieren* (Birds and animals, p. 250), 9. *Von Blumen und Baumen* (Flowers and trees, p. 250–251), 10. *Von Gerat und Werkzeugen* (Equipment and tools, p. 251), 11. *Von Kleidungsstücken* (Garments, pp. 251–251); 12. *Vom Trinken und Essen* (Drinking and eating, p. 252), 13. *Von Kostbarkeiten* (Jewellery, p. 252), 14. *Von den Farben* (Colours, pp. 252–253), 15. *Von der Literatur* (Literature, p. 253), 16. *von Ort und Lage* (Places and location, p. 253), 17. *Zahlen* (Numerals, p. 253), 18. *Gebräuchliche Ausdrücke* (Common expressions, pp. 253–254).

Contrary to Pallas’s, who gives synonyms both of Persian and Turkic origin, Klaproth gives us only Iranian words.

Upon Klaproth’s return to Paris, he consulted a Bokhari dictionary (*boei-boei* i.e. the language of the Mahometan inhabitants of the towns of Great and Little Bokharia) in the Royal Library, which was found among the collection of foreign manuscripts explained in Chinese, sent to France by a Jesuite missionary, Father Jean Joseph Marie Amiot. These vocabularies had been compiled about for four centuries ago (under the Ming dynasty) by the College of Translators (Tung-Wen-Tang) at Peking. Besides the dictionary the collection comprehended 17 letters to the Emperor of China written by different princes of Turfan, Khamil, and Samarcand, in the Persian characters and language with the translations into Chinese. This language called *boei-boei* (chuy-chuy) was unmixed Persian¹⁴ (Klaproth, 1824, pp. 289–290).

13 Also in this chapter one can find the ethnonyms with Chinese equivalents: *Ġorġi* (dieordiei) ‘Niü-diei (Chinesisch Ziü-ġi oder Niü-ġi)’; *Mogul* ‘Mongol (Chinesisch Ta-ta)’; *Qurġani* ‘Provinz Yünnan (Chinesisch Šenši, Kinganfū)’; *Tangut* ‘Tangut’ (Chinesisch Xo-si); *Tubet* ‘Tübet (Chinesisch Ši-fan)’; *Turki* ‘Uigur (Chinesisch kao-čan)’ oraz *Musulman* A. ‘Mohamedaner (Chinesisch xuy-xuy)’.

14 “Chinese call by the name of *boei-boei* all the Mahometan tribes, who live under their dominion” (Timkowski, 1827, p. 378).

The question of whether the Bukharian dialect was Persian (Tajik) with Turkic elements or Turkic (Uzbek) mixed with Persian lexicon was resolved at the beginning of the 20th century by Ole Olufsen (1865–1929), a military officer and explorer, and the leader of the first and second Danish expeditions to the Pamir in 1896–1899. In 1905, he published in Copenhagen a valuable glossary of the dialect of Bokhara (Olufsen, 1905), learned from his principal native trusted agent, Mirza Abdul-Khader Beg. In the Preface, we read:

During my journeys in Central Asia ... I found for one thing rich opportunity to make myself familiar with the Turkestan language spoken in the regions travelled over by me. Most of the people that formed the stock of my caravan were Saris from Russian Turkestan, and one of my principal native trusted agents was Mirza Abdul-Khader Beg from the town of Bokhara. He accompanied me by order of the Emir of Bokhara on both expeditions, was my most intimate associate during nearly two years and belonged to the most cultivated class of the Turkish or, as it is called, Usbegic population of Central Asia. Before setting out on my journeys, I had studied the Ottoman-Turkish language by aid of which one grows familiar within relatively short time with the Turkish dialect spoken in Central Asia.

As is known, the Persian (Iranian) and Turkish nations of Bokhara and Turkestan are so mixed up, that both in greater and smaller towns they are seen living next door to each other, and it is not rare that, for instance, two merchants living next to each other in the bazar of the town of Bokhara cannot understand each other, the one being a Tadjik and speaking a Persian dialect, the other an Usbeg, speaking – Turkish. However, the cultivated classes often speak both languages. ... The words noted down here, originate in the main from Mirza Abdul-Khader Beg and with respect to some of them from my caravan people from the town of Osh in Turkestan they represent the language, as it is spoken in Bokhara and environs; but this is substantially identical with the Turkish language spoken in Russian Turkestan by the so-called Sarts, a Turk from Bokhara entertaining himself as easily with a Sart from Tashkent, Kokand or Osh as with one of his fellow-townsmen. Staying for a longer time with Mirza Abdul-Khader Beg in Bokhara, Tashkent, Samarkand, Khodjend, Kokand, Margelan and Osh, I had opportunity to observe this. Though some few errors are always inevitable, I must say that I by control of other natives with whom I had connection have done the most possible to avoid such. That other words than those employed by the Turkish speaking people in Bokhara and Turkestan might have slipped in, might be excluded.

In fact, the glossary contains many Persian and Arabic words, but the examples of grammar (verbs) show that it was a Turkic dialect. The large number of Persian words should not surprise anyone, as the language had a major influence on neighboring languages. The entire sphere related to the Muslim religion uses Arabic lexis. However, what is more interesting is the Chinese influence

on time reckoning. Instead of the Muslim times of the day, designated by the hours for prayers (salats), the day was divided into two-hour intervals. Similarly, the years were named according to the Chinese zodiac. Thus, in answering the question posed in the title, “Who were the Bukharians?” one may conclude: they were the ancestors of contemporary Uzbeks and Tajiks, who preserved their customs, including the Chinese–Uighur system of time reckoning.

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