A Middle Turkic qaṣīda in the Uyghur script*

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1. Previous studies
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4. Transcription, English translation, and commentary

The Herat (Vienna) manuscript of Qutadgu Bilig, dated 1439, contains a Middle Turkic qaṣīda (a poem of praise) with 38 distichs and religious content. Starting with praise of God, it refers to the names of some of the prophets up to Muḥammad and his companions, as well as some famous jurists and mystics. It ends with an Arabic prayer.

The text of this qaṣīda was first published by H. Vámbéry in 1867 and subsequently by such scholars as W. Radloff, S. Je. Malov, and Q. Sodiqov. However, none of these texts are fully-equipped with transcription, translation, and commentary. The aim of this paper is to present a new text edition of the qaṣīda with English translation and commentary, making much use of the results of recent studies in the field of Old and Middle Turkic linguistics.

1. Previous studies

The contents of pp. 186-189 of this manuscript are as follows:

A. qaṣīda (in Uyghur script, with the last line in Arabic script) [186.1] - [189.4]
B. qiṭ'a (in Uyghur script) [189.5] - [189.8]
C. colophon I (in Uyghur script) [189.9] - [189.14]
D. Persian rubā'ī (in Arabic script) [189.15] - [189.16]
E. a note (in Uyghur script written vertically) [188] bottom margin
F. colophon II (in Uyghur script) [189.17] - [189.20]

Colophon I has the date of Muḥarram 4, 843 (June 17, 1439), which is the same date found in the colophon to Qutadgu Bilig [185.26-27]. This means that texts ABC were all written on the day the copying of Qutadgu Bilig was completed in Herat, naturally by the same scribe. Text E has its own date
(see below) and probably belongs to a different hand.

On the other hand, text F is in a different kind of Uyghur script and was added much later, in 879 (1474/1475), after the manuscript was brought to Istanbul; accordingly, text F will not be dealt with in this paper.5)

The first study dealing with these texts was published in 1867 by H. Vámbéry. This article consists of the reproduction of the relevant parts of the manuscript, text A, B,6 C and F, in the Arabic script, and their German translations together with some notes.

Subsequently, W. Radloff, after making a brief remark on these texts in the introduction to the Petersburg edition of the facsimile (1890:II), published the whole texts using Uyghur movable type (texts A, B, C, E, and F) and Arabic script (text D) (1891:228-231). The spellings of several words were “normalized” according to his interpretation, with the forms in the manuscript given in footnotes. It must be emphasized that this is the only study so far that contains text E.

Among the later studies, the introduction to the facsimile edition of the Herat manuscript of Qutadği Bilig, published in 1942 in Istanbul, contains transcriptions of texts D and F, together with a Turkish translation of text D (pp. 14-16). These texts are also treated in the critical edition of Qutadği Bilig, prepared by R. R. Arat. It offers transcriptions of texts C and F with their Turkish translations. Concerning text A (qasīda), Arat determined that the name of its author was “Hasan Kara Sa’il (?) Şems,”7 although he did not present its entire text (Arat 1947:XXXIV-XXXV).

In his famous chrestomathy of Old (and Middle) Turkic, published in 1951, S. Ye. Malov presented texts A and C in Uyghur movable type (different from the one used by Radloff) with their Russian translations and a short remark on the language (pp. 342-350). The vocabulary of these texts is contained in the glossary at the end of the book.8)

The most recent study devoted to these texts is Sodiqov (2010). It contains texts A, B, C, D, and F in Latin transcription (pp. 129-131 and pp. 5-6), with Uzbek translations of texts D and F.

As far as the text of the qasīda (text A) is concerned, both Vámbéry’s and Malov’s contributions are, despite the importance they certainly once had, largely outdated. Not only do they lack transcription, incorrect readings and interpretations can be observed, as shown in Sugahara (2009). Sodiqov’s text of the qasīda, on the other hand, in general offers much better readings than those of Vámbéry and Malov. However, it gives neither translation nor commentary, and there are some cases where the reading is doubtful, or the basis of the reading is unclear.
2. Language and orthography

As Malov (1951:349) characterized it as “late Uyghur” (pozdneujgurskij), the language of these texts exhibits later features than Old Uyghur and the language of Qutaḏgu Bilig. On the other hand, its language clearly belongs to an older stage than the fifteenth-century Chaghatay, as seen in the combination of case suffixes in anïŋ tïn ‘from him’ (9), use of the particle ma (55, 75), or such lexical items as id- ‘to send’ (43), küdäz- ‘to watch over, protect’ (76), mängü/mengü ‘eternal’ (65, 72), savëi ‘prophet’ (43), yalavač ‘apostle’ (33), and tälîm ‘many’ (37), all of which are either unattested or rarely observed in fifteenth-century Chaghatay texts.

The orthography employed in this manuscript contains notable differences from the traditional Uyghur orthography of the pre-Islamic period. Most of them are common features of the Uyghur manuscripts of the Timurid period. For example, word-initial a and ä are both spelled with a double aleph (‘’), while in the traditional orthography, the latter is spelled with a single aleph (’).

\[a = ’’ : ‘ità (7) altïä ‘six’; ‘ ndyn (9) anđîn ‘of him’; ’c (69) ač ‘open!’\]

\[ä = ’’ : ‘ś (2) āš ‘fellow, companion’; ’rwr (13) ārūr ‘is’\]

Defective writing of the first-syllable vowels ā/a in certain words, a feature of the traditional Uyghur orthography, is not employed.

\[y’rlyx (43) yarlıği ‘decree, revelation’; y’rlyx ’-myš (55) yarlıqammiš ‘given mercy’; ’rsl ’n (56) asrën ‘lion’\]

The use of -wy- (as opposed to -w-) for ö/ü in the first syllable of the word is not consistent. In other words, front vowels ö/ü and back vowels o/u (which are always spelled with -w-) are not always distinguished in spelling.

\[ö/ü = -wy- : kwyr (39) kör ‘see!’; ’wyz-y (44) özi ‘himself’; swyz-wm-ńyňk (66) sőzümniš ‘of my words’; kwyl ’kw (54) küdägü ‘son-in-law’\]

\[kwydzwz (24) kündüz ‘daytime’; tws-m ty (45) tüšmät ‘it did not fall’; ’wlwk (75) ülüş ‘share, portion’\]

\[ö/ü = -w- : kwlk ’sy (45) kölgäsi ‘its shadow’; ‘wr- ’-syn (19) öräsín ‘the space above it (acc.)’; kwnds (24) kündüz ‘daytime’; tws-m ty (45) tüšmät ‘it did not fall’; ’wlwk (75) ülüş ‘share, portion’\]

The letter v (beth) is used to represent the w in words of Arabic and Persian origin with the exception of y’lv’e (33) (cf. OT yalavač) ‘apostle.’

\[’lv’n (17) < Ar. ‘alwän ‘colors’; ’v’l (73) < Ar. ’awwal ‘first’; c’vx’r (5) < Ar. jawhar ‘substance’; t’vryt (14) < Ar. Tawrät ‘Torah’; nỳswrv’n (70) < Pers. Nóširwän (personal name); r’v’n (21) < Pers. rawän\]
'going, running'

The same sound is also represented by the letter \( w \) (vau) as shown below, which means that the letter \( v \) was used as an alternative to the letter \( w \) as a consonant letter,\(^{12}\) with no difference in sound.

\[ l-w'\text{ā} (18) < \text{Ar.} \ 'alwān 'colors'; \ w-\text{ā} (28) < \text{Hāwā} '\) (personal name)\(^{13}\); \ ryz-w'\text{ā} (26) < \text{Ar.} \ 'rīwān 'the gate guard of paradise'; \ w\text{y}r (3) < \text{Ar.} \ wāzīr 'counselor'; \ y-w'\text{ā} (70) < \text{Pers.} \ aywān 'portico, palace'; \ k'r-w'\text{ā} (22) < \text{Pers.} \ kārwān 'caravan'

On the other hand, the sound corresponding to Old Turkic \( v \), for which the letter \( v \) (beth) was employed in the Old Uyghur orthography, is generally written with the letter \( p \) (pe).

\[ pwc (27) \text{ cf. OT} \ avuč 'handful'; \ s'p-cy (43) \text{ cf. OT} \ savčï 'messenger, prophet'; (-)swp (24) / sww (19) \text{ cf. OT} \ suv 'water.'

This situation can be explained in the following way: it is assumed that most of the Uyghur manuscripts of the Timurid period are copied from those written in Arabic script. In Old and early Middle Turkic manuscripts written in Arabic script, the above consonant is represented by triply-dotted \( fā' \),\(^{14}\) while the consonant \( f \) found in words of Arabic and Persian origin is written with an ordinary, single-dotted \( fā' \). The latter sound is always represented with the Uyghur letter \( p \). It is then understood that both the ordinary \( fā' \) and the triply-dotted \( fā' \) were treated in the same way by the scribes; that is, they were rendered into the Uyghur letter \( p \).\(^{15}\)

The consonants \( h \), \( ' \), \( h \), and \( ' \), which occur in words of Arabic and Persian origin, are represented, in principle, by the letter \( \text{Aleph} \) at the initial position of spelling and with the letter \( x/q \) (gimel-cheth)\(^{16}\) elsewhere.

With the letter \( \text{Aleph} \):

\( b : \ 'cyp (3) < \text{Ar.} \ 'hājīb 'chamberlain'; \ 'ykmm\text{t} (74) < \text{Ar.} \ 'hīkmēt 'wisdom'

\( t : \ 'wd'r\text{yd} (23) < \text{Ar.} \ 'uṭārid 'Mercury'; \ s'r-\text{ā} (47) < \text{Ar.} \ 'šārīat 'the sacred law'

\( h : \ 's'r (17) < \text{Pers.} \ hāzār 'thousand'; \ q'-\text{r} (65) < \text{Ar.} \ 'qāhhār 'dominator'

\( t : \ 'ym\text{m} (47) < \text{Ar.} \ 'īmān 'faith'; \ 'd'm (28) < \text{Ar.} \ 'Ādām (personal name); \ xwr-\text{ń} (12) < \text{Ar.} \ Qur\text{'ān 'Qur'an'}

with the letter \( x/q \)

\( h : \ r'xm\text{t} (44) < \text{Ar.} \ 'rāhmat 'mercy'; \ myq\text{ń} (37) < \text{Ar.} \ miḥnāt 'affliction'

\( t : \ m'sxwd (58) < \text{Ar.} \ Mas'ūd (personal name); \ t\text{p}-\text{ỹx} (7) < \text{Ar.} \ 'ṭābā' 'natures'

\( h : \ c'\text{ex} (5) < \text{Ar.} \ jawhar 'substance'; \ myxm\text{ń} (30) < \text{Pers.} \ mihmān 'guest'

\( t : \ t'qwd (29) < \text{Ar.} \ Dā'ūd (personal name)

In some cases \( h \) and \( ' \) are represented by the letter \( y \) (jod).
Note that in all four of these examples, the relevant consonant is adjacent to ī, which suggests that this peculiar spelling had a phonetic reality.\(^{18}\)

In the following examples, word-final consonant h is not represented.\(^{19}\)

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{mwñ šz-} (13) < Ar. \textit{munazzah} ‘infallible’; \textit{p’dš-} (38) < Pers. \textit{pādšāh} ‘king’; \textit{s-} (47) < Pers. šāh ‘king’
\end{itemize}

These rather complicated uses of the letters for rendering the consonants \(h\) (hā’), \(‘\) (‘ayn), \(ğ\) (ğayn), and \(h\) (hā’) are written under some of the Uyghur letters, to distinguish these foreign consonants in writing. The word \textit{Fārisi} and \textit{ma’man} are written in Arabic script under their corresponding forms in Uyghur script in lines 58 and 72, respectively.

\section*{3. Transliteration\(^{20}\)}

\textbf{(Text A)}

\texttt{[186]}

\begin{verbatim}
1      " x’mwx m’xlwx s’nynk ky xwd’r’dynk nynk pwr q’n y
2      pyrw p’r s’n ywx s’āk’r ”s twny ‘ mwx’py swp ”ñ y
3      mwlkwk k’ ”rdwx š’ryk ywx n’ ”cyp ”m ‘ w’syr
4      ”d’m mw cyñ ųw m’l’yyyk p’re’ nynk ky t’qm’n y
5      c’v’x’r y cyz mw x’r’z ”rm’z s’ty twlw ywx
6      twx m’t’y ”m txwmys y yqw cwpsy ywx ”m ’wxlny
7      twyr’ t’p’ yyx pys x’p’z ”lty c’x’d t’ ywx m’k’n
8      ”ldyn wsdwñ wńk swl ’ycr ‘ mwn”syx y ywx ’ym k’n y
9      q’yyr ”nynk tyn s’r ”nynk tyn p’rc’ ų’ňk ”m ”ndyn ’wl
10     s’ły nynk ky t’spyx y ywx mwqdyz ”rm’z cyz m’ńy
11     t’q t’ńk’yz p’rc’ py y’p’n ”m ’wxwśw ”m twywr
12     cwml’ m’qlwx q’lyq y ’wl m’qlxw ”rm’z xwr ”nły
13     cyn mwñ’sz ‘ s’n ”rwr s’n p’r syp’dynk twyr’tynk ”d
14     t’vryt ’yncyl s’pwr tyn ”q ’wdrmys pwr x’n y
15     r’syx w x’p’r s’n ’wk s’n ‘ twyr’dk’n pyr ‘wq’n
16     cwml’y y m’rsx s’n s’n ”z y l’r įnyk qwp r’ny
\end{verbatim}
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17 xwt r’dynk t’nâswx "c’yy p s’t ”s’r "Iv’n ’wz ‘
18 pyr y pyr’k ’wq s’m’z ’wl swñx y ŋyñk ky ”l w’n y
19 pwr y’dyx lyx y’r mwd’p ’x sww ’wr ’syn twd’ cy
20 ’wl k’syk lyk ’wws mw’l lx s’n twyr’t tyñk x’s r’ñy
21 y’ty ny s’n ’wn ’yky pwrc t’ ywrwdwr s’n r’v’n
22 s’msw swqr ’’l q’m’r kym y’ty ”pl’k k’r w’n y
23 mwš’d’r y myrryx ’wd’ryd “mr y ”sdyñ ”m swx’l h
24 twnl ’kwndwz ’wds wp trpr’q kwll y ’l’m y’z t’ñy
25 ”m rynnkk’ mw’x’d mw’sd’x’r xwd r’dynk nynk ’ys cyz y
26 y’ty t’mwx m’lyky ”m s’kyz ’wcm’x ryz w’n y
27 pyr ”pwc y’lx ’t’dyk k’ ”q ’xyr l’p p’rty c’n
[187]
28 s’kyz ’wcm’x x’ kwkwrt y ”d’m ’dryz ”w ’ñy
29 k’x y t’qwd x’m y ŋyñk ky swr’dyn p’cyñ xylwr
30 k’x y mwz ’ wsr ’ myxm’n ”dty ”m ’wl s’ly ñy
31 ”x nynk ”mr y ”rty ’ypr’yym x ’yz m’yylw ’wcwn
32 pwty t’slym ”q ’yc’p’d xyl ty t’rkyu xwrp’n y
33 ywr ykmyy <mynk> y’l’v’c ”rty l’r ”q p’rc’ sy
34 tyd’ rynk ’ ”syx ”rtw mwz ’ ’ypny ’ymr’n y
35 ’ws pw kwñ nynk m’sryx yñ tyn ’wl y’n ”m’xryp x ’c’
36 ywrty ”rty p’lqyz ’wdrw ’wl sw’ylm’n p’r m’n y
37 y’xwp ’wqly ywt ty myqñ’t t’rdty twxm’l l’r t’lym
38 qlyty xwl lw’x pwty p’d’s ’ ’wl yws wp y k’n_”ñy h
39 kwrtc ’cynd’ ”q yws wp q’ qlyty kwyr sydyq t’m’m
40 pwty ”sx ”wl slylx ’ dyrd ty yws wp pyr ”ñy
41 cwmł ’mwrs’l x ”cynty cwp’d ’wswl xys ”m ni’s’p
42 s’n tw’r twyn rwx ’ ñy cyñ ’yz ’ m’ry’m y’x y’ñy <’yxy ’ ny> ḫ (?)
43 r’x’m’dynk lyl ”l’myn t’p y’rlx y’t twñk s’p cy x’
44 ”ty ”x’m’t ”wyz y r’xm’t ”mpyy ’ l’r swld’ñ y
45 xwdq xwm’t ty twñññk k’ tsw m’ty ”c kwlk’ sy
46 ’we mnyk ’we ywz mw’x cys’t y ”x pylwr pyz p’rc’ ñy
47 ’y’mn ’ysl’m p’s cy l’r tyñ s’r y’’t s ’lr y h (?)
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A Middle Turkic qaṣīda in the Uyghur script:

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1. Ä qamuğ maxluq sänîŋki quđ<~ratiŋniŋ burhanî
2. bir u bar sân yoq saŋar āš dunya muhab-i subhani
   ‘O the one whose (lit. your) omnipotence all creatures prove!
   You are one and existent, you have no fellow. The world is a divine gift.’

1. The interjection ä is written with two alephs, each in the shape of a horizontal line, laid one on top of the other. This is also observable in the other Uyghur manuscripts of the fifteenth century; see Sugahara (2007:22). The form sänîŋki, consisting of the genitive of the second person singular pronoun and the suffix -ki, is used attributively here, with the corresponding possessive suffix -îŋ attached to the head noun it modifies. Other examples of -ki following the genitive suffix are attested in lines 4, 10, 18, 29, and 61 of text A. burhan (pwr-x’în-) < Ar. burhān ‘proof.’
2. *san* is a dative form of the second-person singular pronoun *sän*, attested in *Qutağu Bilig* (cf. Erdal 2004:195) as well as in such Middle Turkic texts as *Mu'in al-murid* (Karamanlıoğlu 2006:37 (978)) and *Central Asiatic Commentary (Tafsir)* (Usta 2011:84 (18a27)). The second to last word is read *mwx 'py* and can be interpreted as the Arabic word *mūhab* ‘presented’ (Steingass 1975:1349) + the Persian *ezāfe*-i *subhānī* (swp-‘ñ-y) < *subhānī* ‘divine.’

3. *mulküng a rtuq šarik yoq na hajib ham [n]a wazir
4. *adam <m>u jinn u malayik barcanīŋ ki rahmanī*

   ‘To your sovereignty there is no other companion, neither a chamberlain nor a counsellor.
   (You are) the most compassionate to all existence, (that is) men, jinns, and angels.’

4. The spelling of the first two words ‘*d’m mw* is probably due to an erroneous duplication of the letter *m* and should be read as *adam u ‘men and.’*

5. *javharī jism u ‘araz ārmās zatī (?) twlw yoq
6. *tuğmatī ham tuğmīsī yoq jüstī yoq ham oğlanī*

   ‘His substance is neither a body nor an accident. His essence (?) ...
   He was never born and did not gave birth (to anyone), neither has He a partner, nor a child.’

5. The interpretation of this hemistich is uncertain. I tentatively interpret the letter *y* after the initial word *javhar* (< Ar. *jawhar* ‘substance’) as the third-person possessive suffix -*ī*. The following word (spelled *x’r’z*) is, then, most probably Ar. *’arad* ‘accident, accidental attribute,’ although the use of the letter *x* for the Arabic ‘(‘ayn) in word-initial position is exceptional. In Islamic theology, however, it is asserted that God is neither a substance nor body nor accident, which may suggest that *javharī* ‘His substance’ should be corrected to *javhar-u* ‘substance and,’ with ‘God’ understood as the subject of the sentence.

   The second part of the line is even more problematic. Both Vámbéry (1867:642, 645) and Malov (1951:420, 428) understood the spellings *s’t* and *twl* as the Arabic words *saṭḥ* ‘surface’ and *fūl* ‘length,’ respectively, and translated the sentence as “er hat keine Breite, keine Länge” and “U nego net povernosti i protjažennosti” (p. 346), also respectively. Although this fits the context well, the last two words cannot mean “(He) has no length” as they thought, since the second to last word is clearly written *twlw,* while the subject of a third-person possessive construction should have a possessive suffix -*ī* spelled with the letter *y*. On the other hand, Sodiqov (2010:129) reads the spelling *s’ty* as *zāti,* probably...
intending to mean “His essence (zat < Ar. ḏāt),” which is also found in line 10 below.30

6. The first sentence allows several different interpretations depending on (1) whether the verb tug- is intransitive “to be born” (as in Old Turkic) or transitive “to give birth to” (e.g., as in Modern Uzbek and Uyghur)31 and (2) whether the perfect participle in -miš is used as an action noun, a subject participle or an object participle, the last one being possible only when the verb is transitive. As the content of this hemistich is undoubtedly based on the verse “He begetteth not nor was begotten” (Qur’an 112:3),32 I interpret the first verb as intransitive and the second as transitive, used as an action noun.33

7. tört tabayi’ beš havas altï jahatta yoq makan
8. altïn üstün on İş icrä muna<zi’ yoq imkanï

‘He has no location in the four basic qualities, the five senses, and the six directions.

No competitor is possible in (the space) below or above, right or left.’

7. tabayi’ (t’p’yyx) < Ar. ṭabā’i ‘natures, dispositions.’ tört tabayi’ is an equivalent of Arabic al-ṭabā’i’ al-arba’, which designates hot, cold, wet, and dry. havas < Ar. ḥawāss ‘senses.’ Its spelling x’p’z is exceptional in rendering ḥ- with the letter x and -w- with the letter p.34 makan < Ar. makān ‘place, location.’
8. munazi’ (mwn’syx) < Ar. munāzi’ ‘disputer, competitor.’

9. xayir aniŋtïn šar aniŋtïn barča näŋ ham andïn ol
10. zatînîŋki tašbihï yoq muḥdis ärûmâs jîsmâni

‘The good is from Him, the bad is from Him (and) all things are also from Him.

His essence is not to be assimilated (to anything), (as) the Creator is not corporeal.’

9. xayir < Ar. xayar ‘good, benefit.’ The high vowel i (or ï) is inserted to avoid the final consonant cluster; see Sugahara (2007:30) for the examples of epenthetic vowels found in other fifteenth-century Uyghur texts. In aniŋtïn ‘from Him’ the ablative suffix is added to the genitive form of the demonstrative pronoun. cf. Erdal (2004:197).
11. tağ tänjiz barča biyaban ham uhuş u ham tuyur
12. jumla maxluq xaliğ ol maxluq ārmäs Qur’anî

‘The mountains, seas, and all the plains as well as beasts and birds,
the creator of all (these) creatures is He, (but) His Qur’an is uncreated.’

11. biyaban (py-y’p’n) < Pers. biyābān ‘desert,’ uhuş (’wxwš-) < Ar. wuhāš ‘beasts.’ A similar example of the Arabic word-initial wu- represented as u- is observable in ujud (’wcwd-) < Ar. wujūd ‘body, substance’ [TA169r8, 179r8].

13. čin munazza sän ārūr sän bar sifatîng tört miŋ at
14. Tavret Injil Zaburtîn Haq üdürmiş Furqanî

‘You are true and independent, you have qualities as four thousand names.
The true God gave preference to the Qur’an over the Torah, the Gospel and the Psalms.’

13. munazza (mwn’sz-) < Ar. munazza ‘infallible, free from.’ Attested with similar spellings in arīg munazza (mwn’sz-) Tājri ‘the God, clean and independent’ [TA170r5-6]; munaza (mwn’z-) bir-u bar ārklig Tājri ta’ala ‘the God, independent, one and existent, almighty, may He be exalted’ [Mi’raj1v2] etc.
14. Tavret (t’wryt) < Ar. Tawrāt ‘Torah.’ The same word is spelled t’wryt in [TA 96v5]. The use of the letter y instead of the expected ‘ (aleph) for the vowel of the second syllable probably reflects the change of the vowel ā into ē in Arabic (called imāla). See Sugahara (2007:22-23) for other examples of this. Furqan < Ar. Furqān is another name for the Qur’an, meaning ‘criterion, discrimination (between right and wrong)’.

15. raziq u ġafar sän ök sän a törädgân bir Uğan
16. jumlayî marzuq sän sän ‘asilarnîng şufrani

‘It is you who are the provider, the forgiver, o the one God, the Creator!
All are supplied with food (by you), you are the pardoner of the rebellious.’

15. raziq < Ar. râziq ‘provider,’ ġafar < Ar. ġaffâr ‘forgiver.’ Malov (1951:418) and Sodiqov (2010:129) read it sab(b)ar < Ar. sabbâr ‘enduring’ instead. Although sabar is a possible reading, ġaffâr, which is one of the “most beautiful names” of God, seems to fit the context better.

17. *qudratīn* taṣṣūq *ajayib sad hazar alvan üzā*  
18. *biri birgā oxšamas ol sun* *înîjki alwānī*  
   ‘Your omnipotence is wonderful and marvelous in a hundred thousand colors.  
   (Each of) the colors of your (lit. his) production are not similar to one another.’

18. *sun* < Ar. *ṣun* ‘production, fabrication.’

19. *buu yadīğliğ yār mutabaq suw ārāsin tu[t]dačī*  
20. *ol käziglig ooş mu’allaq sān törätteq xazranī*  
   ‘You created just the revolving suspended sky, which takes up the space above the earth spread out  
   and the water layered.’

19. *yadīğliğ* is an adjective derived from *yad-* ‘to spread out.’ *mutabaq* < Ar. *mu’tabbaq* ‘covered,  
   folded,’ which is often used in pairs with *mu’allaq* (< Ar.) ‘suspended,’ found in line 20:  
   *yadd-i qudrat birlā bu ‘arš-i mu’allaqīnı yana / saqlar uş farš-i mu’tabbaq üstidā bē-îštibāh*  
   ‘With the hand of omnipotence, (He) undoubtedly keeps this very suspended canopy (i. e. firmament)  
   above the folded earth’ (Gadā’ī, *Dīwān*. Eckmann 1971:13 (1, 5)).  
   *toquz aflāknī tutgan mu’allaq / yetı qat yerni ham qilgan mu’tabbaq*  
   ‘The One who holds the nine spheres suspended and made the seven layers of earth folded.’ (Xujandī,  
   *Laṭāfat-nāma*. Gandjeī 1970:347 (4)).

*suu* (sww) ‘water’ can also be transcribed as *siu*. In line 24, the same word is spelled as (-)swp. For  
*örā* ‘height, elevation, support’ see EDPT:197 (örū:) and Fazylov (1971:196).

20. *kāzigliğ* is a derived adjective of *kāz-* ‘to travel, walk about’. *ooş* (’wos) is simply a spelling variant  
   of the presentative *oš*, also found in the same spelling in [136.22] and [137.14] of this manuscript.  
   *xazra* < Ar. *xaḍrā* ‘skyc.’

21. *yätini sān on iki burjta yürütüür sān ravan*  
22. *šams u zuhra ol qamar kim yāti aflak karvanī*  
   ‘You make the seven (planets) travel among the twelve zodiac signs.'
(They are) the Sun, Venus, and the Moon, who are a caravan of the seven heavens.’

21. ravan < Pers. rawān ‘going, running.’
22. aflak < Ar. ‘aflāk ‘heavens, firmaments.’

23. muštari mirrix ‘utarid amrī astīn ham zuhal
24. tünlä kündüz otsufβ tupraq kull-i ‘alam yazdānī
   ‘(also) Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and Saturn, (all) being under your (lit. his) command.  
   (You are) the Lord of the entire world, (including) night and day, fire, water, and earth.’

24. otsufβ ‘fire (and) water’ is spelled ‘wdswp as one word. yazdan < Pers. yazdān ‘God.’

25. amringā mu‘ad muštahar qudratīŋnī iščisi
26. yāti tamuġ malikī ham sākiz ucmah rizwānī
   ‘Those famous (?) workers of your omnipotence are destined for your command,  
   (including) the keeper of the seven hells and the gate guard of the eight paradises.’

25. mu‘ad (mwx’d) < Ar. mu‘add ‘destined, prepared.’ The word following it is spelled mwsd‘x’r and can  
   be read muštahar (< Ar. muštahar ‘famous’), as in Vámberý’s text (p. 643). On the other hand, Malov  
26. malik < Ar. mālik ‘the keeper of hell.’ rizwan < Ar. riḍwān ‘the gate guard of paradise.’ The final -h  
   of ucmah (‘wcm’x) ‘paradise’ may possibly be transcribed as -ḥ. cf. Fazylov (1971:448) and Sugahara  

27. bir afbuč yalqa tätiggā ağırlap bārti jan
28. sākiz ucmahga kūgurti Adam Idris Hawānī
   ‘(God) honored a handful of soaked (?) mud and gave life to it.  
   He let Ādam, Idrīs, and Ḥāwwā’ enter into the eight paradises.’

27. The content of this line is based on Qur’an 15:26: “Verily, We created man of potter’s clay of  
   black mud altered.” yalqa is probably the base of yalqalīg ‘soaked’, attested in the Old Uyghur  
Abhidharmakośabhāṣya-ṭīkā-Tattvārthā: suv üzä yalqalīg topraqīg ‘the soil soaked in water (acc.)’
(Shōgaito 2008:246, fn. 1115).  
28. *kügür-* is a variant of *kigür-* ‘to introduce, bring in’ (Erdal 1991:750) with regressive rounding, also found in [6.2] of this manuscript as well as in [TA] and [Mi’raj] (Sugahara 2007:43). *Hawa* < *Hawwā* (personal name corresponding to Eve).

29. *gahe Da’ud qa[w]mīnîqï suratîn bāčîn qîlur*
30. *gahe Musa üzrâ ätti ham ol zalînî*
   ‘(God) now changes the shape of the people of Dā’ūd into apes, now makes those who went astray the guests of Mūsā.’

29. The content of this line is based on the tradition that God transformed the unbelievers cursed by Dā’ūd (David) into apes. cf. “And ye know of those of you who broke the Sabbath, bow We said unto them: Be ye apes, despised and hated!” (Qur’an 2:65) and “Those of the children of Israel who went astray were cursed by the tongue of David, and of Jesus, son of Mary. That was because they rebelled and used to transgress.” (Qur’an 5:78). *gahe (k’x-y) < Pers. gāhē ~ gahē ‘sometimes.’ Da’ud (t’qwd) < Ar. Dā’ūd.*
30. *zal < Ar. ḏâll ‘straying, astray.’*

31. *Haqnî amrî ärti Ibrâhimga Ismāʾil üçîn*
32. *boltî taslim Haq ĵabat qîltî tärkin qurbanî*
   ‘There came a decree from the true God to Ibrāhîm, for Ismâʾîl (to be sacrificed), (and) he was surrendered. The true God accepted his sacrifice immediately.’

31. It is recounted in Qur’an 37:102-109 that Ibrâhîm (Abraham) attempted to sacrifice his son, but was eventually stopped by God. Note that *h* of *Ibrâhîm* and *(‘ayn)* of *Ismâʾîl* are both represented with the letter *y.*
32. *ĳabat < Ar. ’ĳābat ‘answering, admitting.’*

33. *yûz (e)gt(i)rmi mân yalavaç ärtîlîr Haq barčasî*
34. *didariya ’ašîq ärti Musa ibn-i ’Imranî*
   ‘There were one hundred and twenty thousand apostles of the true God (?) in all. Mūsā, the son of ’Imrân, longed for the vision (of God).’
33. *miŋ* is added above the line. The meaning of this hemistich is unclear. cf. “Hundert und zwanzig tausend Propheten waren alle wahr und recht” (Vámbéry 1867:647); “Sto dvadcat’ tysjač bylo (jego) poslannikov, vse --- božii” (Malov 1951:347).

34. The content of this line is based on Qur’an 7:143: “And when Moses came to Our appointed tryst and his Lord had spoken unto him, he said: My Lord! Show me (Thy self), that I may gaze upon Thee.”

*didar* < Pers. *didār* ‘vision, face.’ *didarinä* (or *didarinä*) ‘for his vision’ may alternatively be read as *didaringä* (same meaning), with -(s)ingä, an early Middle Turkic alternative of the dative of the third-person possessive suffix. (43) ‘Imrān is the name of Musa’s (Moses) father, corresponding to Amram in the Bible. The final -i of *Imrānī* is demanded by rhyme.

35. *ošbu künny maşriqin ol yana mağribgača*

36. *yorir ārti Bālqis utru ol Sulayman farmanī*

   ‘From the sunrise of that very day till sunset, the mandate of Sulaymān went on toward Bīlqis.’

35. The context suggests that the Arabic words *mašriq* and *mağrib* here refer to “sunrise” and “sunset,” respectively, rather than to the more common “east” and “west.”(44)

36. *Bālqis* < Ar. *Bīlqīs*, the name used to refer to the Queen of Sheba, whose conversion to Islam is recounted in Qur’an 27:22-44. Spelling this word with ʾ (aleph) instead of the expected y for the second letter is also observable in the manuscript of *A Story of Ridvān Šāh and Rūḥ-afzā* (Kaya 2008:43 (0082)).

*utru* (ʾwdrw) is a postposition meaning “facing, toward,” here governing the nominative case. (45) The mandate of Sulaymān (Solomon) was delivered to the Queen of Sheba by a hoopoe.

37. *Yaqub oğlı yuttı mihnat tardı tuhmatlar tālim*

38. *qiţî kulluq bolts padša ol Yusuf-i Kan’ani*

   ‘The son of Ya’qūb suffered an affliction and drew much suspicion. He, Yusuf of Canaan, worked as a servant and became the king (of Egypt).’

Lines 37-40 refer to the story of Yūsuf (Joseph) of Canaan, son of Ya’qūb (Jacob), recounted in Qur’an 12 (The sūra of Yūsuf).

37. The Arabic name *Ya’qūb* is spelled *y’xwp*, with the consonant ‘ (‘ayn) unindicated, as is the case in *y’xwp* [Mi’raj17v1] and *y’qwp* [TA248v3].
38. In padša (p’ds’), the consonant h at the end of the original Persian word pādšāh is not represented. Kan’ani < Ar. Kan‘ānī ‘of Canaan.’

39. körk ičindä Haq Yusufga qilī kör sidiq tamam
40. boltī ‘ašiq ol Zelixa yırttı Yusuf pirhanı

‘Behold, the true God bestowed flawless sincerity on Yūsuf in his beauty,

(when) that Zulayxā, enamored of Yūsuf, tore his shirt.’

39. sidiq < Ar. sidq ‘truth, sincerity’ with an epenthetic vowel.
40. Zelixa < Ar. Zalayxā (personal name referring to Potiphar’s wife). pīrhan (pyr-‘n-) < Pers. pīrāhan ~ pīrahan ‘shirt.’

41. jumla mursalga aćını juft ogul qız ham-nasab
42. sän törättin ruhani čin ‘Isa Maryam Yahyani

‘(God) granted favors to all the apostles, (as well as) their wives, sons, daughters, and other family members.

You created holy and true Īsā, Maryam, and Yaḥyā.’

41. For aćın- ‘to care for, grant a favor,’ see EDPT:29 and Erdal (1991:584).
42. ruhani < Ar. ruḥānī ‘spiritual, holy.’ This hemistich refers to Jesus, Mary, and John the Baptist. Yahyani (< Ar. Yahyā + accusative suffix -nī) is written twice: one is y’x-y’ny on the line and the other is y’xy-’-ny above the line.

43. rahmañi li-l-’alamin tāp yarlıq ıdıñ saşčiğa
44. ati Ahmad ǝzı rahmat ambiyalar sultanı

‘You sent the revelation to the Apostle as your mercy to (all) creatures.

His name being Aḥmad and his essence being mercy, he is the sultan of the prophets.’

43. li-l-’alamin < Ar. li al-’ālamîn (ləl ələmən). yarlıq usually means ‘command, order,’ but yarlıq ıd- is used here to mean “to send a revelation.” Compare [TA134v17], where yarlıq is used to translate wahi ‘revelation’ from the original Persian text. cf. Sugahara (2007:50).
44. Aḥmad is one of the names of the Prophet Muḥammad meaning “most worthy of praise.” ambiya <
Ar. ‘anbiyā’ ‘prophets.’ The spelling ‘mppy-’ reflects the backward assimilation -nb- > -mb-. The same spelling is observable in [TA156r2].

45. qodğu qonmatı tonīğa tüşmäti hāc kölgäsi

46. üč min üč yüz mu jizat-i Haq bilür bığ barcanı

‘Neither a fly stuck on his clothes, nor a shadow ever fell upon them.

Three-thousand-three-hundred kinds of miracles of the true God, we know them all.’

45. qodğu or quodu ‘fly’ (EDPT:599) is a rare word, so far only attested in DLT 214:7 and 605:1. The spelling twiyn-k for tonīga is simply a variant of twiynk’, rather than indicative of a form like tonīngā. cf. line 34 above. hāc < Pers. hēc ‘any, at all.’ For the spelling variations of this word in Uyghur script, see Sugahara (2007:6-7, 22-23 and 2011:475).

46. mu jizat (mwx-cys’t) < Ar. mu jizāt ‘miracles.’

47. iman-islam baščîlar din-šarì ’at şal(a)ri

48. ärtiš burhanî

‘They were leaders of the faith and Islam, kings of the religion and the sacred law, strong warriors and the proof of the martyrs.’

47. šarì ’at (š ’r-y-’) < Ar. šarî ’at. ša (s-) < Pers. şāh.

48. mubariz < Ar. mubāriz ‘competitor, warrior.’ šahid (s’yyt) < Ar. šahīd ‘martyr.’

49. birisi ärti Hasan ol birisi ärti Husayın

50. ikisi bolți şahidlar ham ağırılıg ruhani

‘One of them was Ḥasan, the other was Ḥusayn.

Both of them became martyrs, venerated and blessed.’

49. Hasan (d. 669 or 670) and Ḥusayn (d. 680) are the sons of ‘Alī, the fourth Rightly-guided caliph.

50. Note that in treating Hasan and Ḥusayn as martyrs, the Shiite position of the author of this qaṣīda is apparent.

51. janlarînî Haq Rasulî-qîlînš ärti fida
52. tört äši toquz xatunï otuz üč mïn yaranï
‘They had sacrificed their lives to the true God and the Apostle.
(They are) his four companions, nine wives, and thirty-two-thousand friends.’

51. *fida* < Ar. *fidā* ‘sacrifice.’

53. tört äšindä ikisidin biri Siddiq bir ‘Umar
54. ikisi ārti küdāgü ham ‘Ali ham ‘Usmanï
‘Two of his four companions were Ṣiddīq and ‘Umar,
the (other) two were his sons-in-law, ‘Alī and ‘Uṭmān.’

53. Siddiq < Ar. *Ṣiddīq*. al-Ṣiddīq ‘the truthful’ is another name for the first caliph Abū Bakr. ‘Umar is the second caliph.
54. küdāgü means “daughter’s husband.” Of the daughters of the prophet Muḥammad, Ruqayya and Umm Kulṭūm were married to ‘Uṭmān, and Fāṭima was married to ‘Alī. The final -ī of ‘Usmanï is demanded by rhyme.

55. törti muxtar altïsï ma yarlïqumanï be-guman
56. onïya tägmiš bašarat ol ‘Ali Haq arslanï
‘Without doubt, the good news reached the ten, four of whom were the chosen ones and six of whom were given mercy. ‘Alī, the lion of the true God (was one of them).’

56. What is meant here by onī ‘the ten’ is al-‘ašarat al-mubaššara ‘the ten, to whom Paradise was promised’; see *El*, vol. 1, p. 693. *bašarat* < Ar. bašārat ‘good news.’ ‘Lion of God’ (Ar. *asad Allāh*, Pers. šēr-i Xudā) is one of ‘Alī’s titles.

57. din ičindä išči ārti ol sah(α)ba jumlašï
58. *Talha, Abbas, Hamza, Mas’ud ol qadasa Salmanï*
‘All these companions were workmen in the religion.'
(They are) Ṭālḥa, ‘Abbās, Ḥamza, Mas‘ūd (and) Salmān, may God bless (them all)!

57. *sahaba* < Ar. *ṣahāba* ‘the companions of the prophet Muḥammad.’

58. The five companions mentioned here are: Ṭālḥa ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh (d. 656), al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (d. ca. 653), Ḥamza ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 625), ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mas‘ūd (d. 652/53/54), and Salmān al-Fārīsī (d. 655/656 or 656/657). *qadasa* < Ar. *qaddasa* ‘may he bless.’ The final -ī of Salmanī is demanded by rhyme.

59. *šarʿi* čindā din tajā bašlarĩ ča uurta či

60. *Bu Hānīfa ol sabur Malik Mahmād Šaybānī*

‘Those whose heads are adorned with the crown of religion in the Sacred Law,

Abū Hanīfa, the patient Mālik and Muḥammad Šaybānī.’

59. For *tāj ur-* ‘to place a crown’48 compare: yā Ādam, men sēni yoqān bar qildim. Başınğa hilāfat tācını urdum taqi ēgniğe hilāfat hil′atım keydūrdüm ‘O Adam, I brought you into existence from nonexistence, placed the crown of vicariate (of God) on your head and the robe of vicariate (of God) on your shoulder.’ (Nahj al-farādis, Eckmann (n. d.):194 [281.10-11])

60. In this line, three famous jurists are mentioned: Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān (d. 767), Mālik ibn Anas (d. 795), and Muḥammad al-Šaybānī (d. 803 or 805). *sabur* (s’pwr) < Ar. *ṣabūr* ‘patient’ is written with the small Arabic letter š (šād) under the initial s.49

61. *muṣṭahidlarĩ nak fak<’r> ri kull-i ilmîn kanlarî*

62. *Qaẓî Y(a)qub Šāfi‘i ham Bu Hānīfa Nu‘mānī*

‘The glory of mujtahids, the mine of every kind of learning,

Qaḍî Ya’qūb, Šāfi‘ī, and Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān.’

61. *muṣṭahid* (mwš-t’xy₂)d < Ar. *muṣṭahid* is the jurist capable of exercising *ijtihād*, the use of individual reasoning; see EI, vol. VII, p. 295 “Mudjtahid.” Consonant j and ẓ in Arabic and Persian words are normally both written with the letter c in Uyghur manuscripts of the Timurid period.50 The exceptional use of the letter š here probably reflects a spirantization and devoicing of the consonant j before a voiceless dental stop t.51 *faxr* (< Ar.) ‘glory, pride.’ A small Arabic letter ḥ (ḥā’) is written under x, in error, for x (xā’). *kan* < Ar. *kān* ‘mine.’
62. *qazi* < Ar. *qādī* ‘judge.’ The word for the name Ya’qūb is spelled as *yxwp* in this line, with the consonant ‘(ayn) represented by the letter *x*, below which the small Arabic letter ‘ is written. Qādī Ya’qūb refers to Ya’qūb ibn Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī (Abū Yūsuf al-Qādī) (d. 798), who served as chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) during the reign of Hārūn al-Rašīd; see *EI*, vol. I, p. 164 “Abū Yūsuf.” Šafi’i refers to Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Šāfi‘ī (d. 820), the eponym of the Shāfi‘ī school of religious law. For Bū (Abū) Ḥanīfa al-Nu’mān see line 60. The final -ī of *Nu’mān* is demanded by rhyme.

63. *išq ičindä bu-l-haqiqat Bayazid Zu-Nunlayu

64. *bir körüümün zunar ursu[n] (?) ol majusi nasranî*

‘Being (absorbed) in love (for God), like the ‘fathers of (mystical) truth’ Bāyazīd and Ḫūq al-Nūn, let that Zoroastrian (and) Christian throw out (?) (their) non-Muslim’s girdle at a glance.’

65. *bu-l-haqiqat* (pwl *‘qyq’t*) < Ar. *bū al-haqiqat* (bulhāqīqat). Bāyazīd al-Baṣṭāmī (d. ca. 875) and Ḫūq al-Nūn (Ḥunnūn) al-Miṣrī (d. ca. 861) are both famous Sufis. The last stretch of line, spelled *lyw*, is the Old Turkic simulative suffix -läyü/-layu (cf. Erdal 2004:179) attested in, for example, *inčülūyũ* ‘like a pearl’ [5.3] and *udlayu* ‘like an ox’ [135.8, 160.13] in this manuscript.

64. The reading of the first part of this line is quite uncertain and the translation is a conjecture. For *körüüm* ‘view,’ see Erdal (1991:295). *zunar* (*swn*) < Ar. *zunnār* designates the girdle non-Muslims living under Muslim rule were obliged to wear. *majusi* < Ar. *mājūsī* ‘fire worshipper, Zoroastrian.’ *nasranî* < Ar. *nasrānī* ‘Christian.’

65. *ā uluğ mängü Uğanîm qadir u qahar Idîm

66. *sän kāčūrgil tüşmiš ārsâ bu sőziümni tūγyanî*

‘O my great and eternal God, my powerful and dominating Lord, forgive me if these words of mine fall into excess.’

65. *qadir* < Ar. *qādir* ‘powerful’ and *qahar* (*q’-*’r*) < Ar. *qahhār* ‘dominator’ are among the “most beautiful names” of God.


67. *a muñum bilgâñ törüütgân ham ģafur sän ham sabur

68. *ham rahim sän ham karim sän ât-ezîmniñ darmanî*
'O, the creator who knows my grief, and you are forgiving and patient.
Also you are compassionate and generous, a remedy for my body (?)'

67.  {
\[
\text{ġafūr < Ar. ġafūr ‘pardon er.’  sabūr < Ar. ṣabūr ‘patient.’}
\]

68.  {
\[
\text{rahīm < Ar. rahīm ‘compassionate.’  karīm < Ar. karīm ‘generous.’ These two, as well as ġafūr and ṣabūr in line 67, are among the “most beautiful names” of God. āt-ez (’d- ḵys-) is probably a variant form of Old Turkic āt-ōz ‘body.’ The similar forms ētēz and ētiz are attested in Codex Cumanicus (Grønbech 1942:96).}^{56}
\]

69.  {
\[
\text{barça maxluq baqī ārmās aċ baqīn ‘ibrat kāzin}
\]

70.  {
\[
\text{qalmatī sultan salatin ham Nišurvan aywanī}
\]

‘No creature is eternal, (so) open your eyes of warning and look around!
There is nothing left of the kings (of the past), neither of the palace of Anōšīrwān.’

71.  {
\[
\text{bu qasidanī qiga ham esītgānā Idim}
\]

72.  {
\[
\text{lutfiğ ičrā bārgin ucmah mengū didar m(a)’manī}
\]

‘My Lord, to those who recite and listen to this qaṣīda,
in your benevolence bestow the paradise, the peaceful residence of the eternal appearance (of God).’

72.  {
\[
\text{ma’man (mxm’-n-) (< Ar.) ‘place of safety.’ Note that below ma’man the same word is written in Arabic script. A small Arabic letter that looks like h (ḥā’) under the letter x was probably added in error.}
\]

73.  {
\[
\text{bu Qara Sayil atığım aval atım ol Hasan}
\]

74.  {
\[
\text{ham üçünci alqabīm Šams aċti Rab hikmat kanī}
\]

‘This one, called Qara Sayil, whose (lit. my) first name is Hasan,
and whose (lit. my) third name is Šams, the Lord has opened the mine of wisdom (for him).’

As noted above, that this distich contains the name of the author of this qaṣīda was first pointed out by
A Middle Turkic qaṣīda in the Uyghur script:

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Arat (1947:XXXIV).

73. For atağ ‘appellation, designation,’ derived from the verb ata- ‘to call, to name,’ see DTS:66 and Fazylov (1966:81). aval < Ar. ‘awwal ‘first.’

74. alqab (’l-q’p-) < Ar. ‘alqāb ‘titles, nicknames.’ Though the reason for the use of the plural form instead of its singular laqab is not clear, the common Arabic epithet Šams al-dīn ‘the sun of the religion’ is meant here.

75. rahmatïn ma ülüg qil ä törätgän bir Üğan

76. sän küdäzgil naz’ halinda jumla mu’min imani

‘Grant out of your mercy as (my) portion, o the one God, the Creator!

Protect the faith of all believers with their last breath!’

76. The reading naz’ is confirmed by the small Arabic letter ‘(‘ayn) written below the final letter x. For naz’ halî compare the Arabic hālat al-naz’ ‘the last breath’ (Steingass 1975:1397) and the following hemistich by Luṭfī: gerçî ki nez’ hâlîga yetti bu luṭfî hecrinde ‘Although this Luṭfī reached his end in separation from her’ (Luṭfī, Dīwān. Karaağaç 1997:163 (1498)).

77. āmîn yā rabb al-‘ālamîn

‘Amen, o the Lord of the worlds!’

This Arabic prayer is written in Arabic script.

Text B. Qiṭ’a57

78-79. Xudaya gar yazuq qïldïm bağišla / ba haqq-i Mustafa uu ahl-i baytî

‘O God! Forgive me if I have committed a sin, for the sake of Muṣṭafâ and his family.’

78. Xudaya < Pers. Xudāyā ‘O God!’

79. ba haqq-i < Pers. ba haqq-i ‘for the sake of.’ Muṣṭafâ is one of the names of the Prophet Muḥammad meaning “chosen, select.” The double spelling of vowel in uu (’ww) < Pers. u ‘and’ might possibly reflect the metrical lengthening required for this syllable. ahl-i bayt (< Pers.) “people of the house” refers to the family of Muḥammad.
80-81. *yazuqsız xod kişi yoq tur jihanta / yaman qilti oš ol kim inanm satdī*

‘Indeed, no one in the world is free from sin. (But) he who sold (his) faith did evil.’


Text C. colophon I

82-87. *terix sākiz yūz qīrā ūctā qoy / yīl axirī muh(a)ram aynīn / tört yaqisī / Haru šahrīn / ta / bitilti*

‘(This text) was finally (?) written on the fourth day of Muḥarram 843 (June 17, 1439), the year of sheep, in Herat city.’

82. *terix* (tyryx) < Ar. *taʾrīx*. The spellings *tyryx* or *tyrq* for this word are found in [185:26] of this manuscript, in the manuscript of *A Story of Ṣīdīn Ṣāḥ and Ṣūḥ-afzā* (Kaya 2008:165 (1003)), and in the decree by Timurid Ṣāḥ-Rux dated 1421/1422 (Ono 2006:44).

83. *axirī* (< Ar. *āxīr* ‘end’ + 3rd person possessive suffix -*ī*) normally means ‘its end, the latter part of it.’ However, as the years in the twelve-animal calendar used at that time began in spring (either on nawrōz, the spring equinox, or on 立春 līchūn, the first day of spring) the estimated date could not have been at the ‘end’ of the sheep year. The translation ‘finally’ is only a conjecture. cf. Uzbek *oxiri* ‘in the end, finally, at long last’ (Mamatov et al. 2011:763).

Text D. Persian *rubāʾī* (in the Arabic script)

*jān-e-st wujūdām ki jahānaš badan-ast / šamʾ-ē-st ruxam ki āftābaš lakan-ast*

*man banda-i xāṣ u mazhar-i lutf-i Haq-am / qiṣṣa āti kunam man āyam ŏ jumla man-ast*

‘My existence is a soul, for which the world is a body.

My face is a candle, for which the sun is a holder.

I am a distinguished servant (of God), where the grace of the true God manifests itself.

What story shall I tell, (since) I am He and He is totally I.’

Text E. bottom margin note on [188]
(1) ham (2) jumadil-axir ay (3) nįŋ on beş (4) tin başlap ay (?) 
(5) miņ ranj ‘lp’ (?) (6) bärtilär

‘also, starting from the fifteenth of Jumādal-āxir, month (?)
so much (lit. thousand) pain ... they gave.’

The lower end of the page might have been cut away. Radloff (1891:230 margin) transliterates lines (4)-(5) as tyń p ‘šl’p ‘ṇy myńk ‘c y’p’.

(2) jumadil-axir (cwm’dyl ’xyr) < Ar. Jumādal’āxir (Jumādal’āxir). Provided that this date pertains to the same year shown in colophon I, it corresponds to November 23, 1439.

(5) ranj < Pers. (6) bärtilär ‘they gave’ can alternatively be read as bartïlar ‘they went.’

Notes
* This paper is a revised version of Sugahara (2009), prepared in Japanese. I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Osman F. Sertkaya and Prof. Dr. Abdurishid Yakup for their helpful suggestions, although I am solely responsible for any errors.

1) Published several times in facsimile (see the end of the bibliography). I use mainly the Istanbul edition published in 1942.
2) I presume this Arabic prayer belongs to the qaṣīda.
3) In fact, Persian rubāʾī is written slantwise on both sides of lines 10–16.
4) It is highly possible that text D was also written at this time, as Radloff suggests in his introduction to the facsimile edition of Qutaḏġu Bilig (1890:II).
6) Vâmbéry (1867:650) considered text B a rubāʾī, but neither the meter nor the rhyme scheme is that of a rubāʾī.
7) This view was subsequently accepted by Sertkaya (1977:13-14) and Sodiqov (2010:4).
8) However, there are certain discrepancies between the text, its Russian translation, and what is found in the glossary. See Sugahara (2009:242, fn. 3).
9) Malov notes the absence of the accusative suffix in -g/-g and the participial suffix -gī.
10) There is no reason to suppose that the front/back oppositions of the vowels had been neutralized in this variety of Middle Turkic.
11) The letter v is not used in the following fifteenth-century Uyghur manuscripts: the manuscript containing the text of A Story of Rīwhān Šāh and Rūḥ-afzā and two other texts (copied in 1435), the manuscript containing the text of Mi’rāj-nāma ([Mi’rāj]) and Tāḏkira-i awliyā ([TA]) (copied in Herat in 1436), the Samarqand manuscript of ‘Aṭbat al-Ḥaqāʾiq (copied in 1444), and the Kabul manuscript of Khujandi’s Laṭāfat-nāma (copied in 1488).
12) Note that the letter w is also used as a mater lectionis for rounded vowels.
13) The double consonant -w- is reflected here as a single one.
14) Sometimes substituted with the ordinary, single-dotted fāʾ.
15) In the following transcription, the letter p corresponding to the Old Uyghur v is indicated with β. See Sugahara (2011:475-476) for more details on this.
16) The letters x and ɡ have the same shape, the former undotted, the latter doubly-dotted.
17) Note that the double consonant -hh- is reflected as single -h-.
18) Compare the use of the letter y for the Arabic ' (hamza) in t'p'-yyx (7) < Ar. tabāʾ 'natures', which is indicative of the replacement of the intervocalic glottal stop with the glide y (as observed in its Modern Persian form tabaye’).
19) In xš-r' (20) < Ar. xadrāʾ 'sky'; 'w- (28) < Ar. ḥawāʾ (personal name); 'mpyy- (44) < Ar. 'anbiyāʾ 'prophets,' and pyd' (51) < Ar. ḍādāʾ the final ' (alif) following ă is not represented either. However, omission of the word-final ' in these words is also quite common in Turkic texts written in Arabic script.
20) In the following transliteration, Arabic letters and words written under the lines are shown in the right margin, and the letters to which they are added underlined.
21) In order to facilitate reading, the text is transcribed according to the system commonly used in Middle Turkic philology with slight modifications. Voicing assimilation of suffix onset consonants is not indicated in the transcription. Note especially that the letters t and d at the onset of an inflectional suffix are given as the transliteration of the Uyghur letters t (tau) and d (lamed) respectively, without any phonological interpretation.
22) meter: ramal-i mutamman-i mahdīf (- - - | - - - | - - - | - - -)
23) For more details on the suffix combination -niği in Middle Turkic, see Sugahara (in print).
24) Not m'xy as Vambéry, Malov, and Sodiqov thought it to be. cf. Radloff (1891:228) mwq'py (q = x with two dots).
25) Radloff (1891:228) gives the corrected text 'd'm-w, with the original form in the footnote. However, he also corrected the following cy noodles to cy noodles, which is unnecessary.
26) Arabic d is normally represented by the Uyghur letter z or s; see Sugahara (2007:24).
28) Both Vambéry and Malov interpreted the -i as Persian ezāfe, probably due to the erroneous reading of the following word as cyz-my, that is, jism-i 'corporeal,' instead of cyz-mw, and translated the first part of the line as “Fleischliche Existenz ist nicht seine Absicht!” (1867:645) and “Telesnaja substancija ego ne est’ dviženie (protažennost’)” (1951:346), respectively. Compare the correct readings cyz-mw (Radloff 1891:228) and jism-u (Sodiqov 2010:129).
29) cf. Radloff (1891:228) has twlw. Sodiqov (2010:129) reads it as twlu. Prof. Osman Sertkaya (p.c.) suggested the reading töl-i for twlw, which would mean “(He has no) descendants.”
30) In fact, the meter requires the second part of the line to correspond to six syllables (short-long-long-long-short-long), while the stretch s by twlw ywx contains only five syllables. This suggests that there is an omission and/or an error in this line.
31) Note that in Kirghiz, the verb tü- (< tug-) is known to be both transitive and intransitive (Judaxin 1965:772).
32) In the following, English translations of the Qur’anic verses are taken from Pickthall (1982).
33) Or conversely, the first verb is transitive and the second verb is intransitive, denoting as a whole “he did not gave birth (to anyone) and was never born.” Malov translates it as “On ne rodil i ne rožden” (1951:346). Vambéry’s translation “Er ist und war nicht geboren” (1867:645) is unacceptable.
34) In [TA], the Persian word darwēš ‘dervish’ is normally spelled as t'rpys, which may reflect the sound change w > b adjacent to a liquid.
35) Vambéry, Malov, and Sodiqov read the fourth letter as p while Radloff (1891:228) has mwqdyz.
36) Compare to the Kirghiz form, wnut, of this word (Judaxin 1965:798).
37) In [TA] the word for “water” is spelled sww ~ sw(-). See Sugahara (2007:21).
38) In [105.13] it is spelled ‘wsw. Vambéry (1867:647) left this and the following word untranslated. Malov interpreted yal as “voznagraždenie, najem” (1951:383) and translated this line as “On -- polnoy gorst’ju (vsem) smyslenym dal v najem žizn’, istinno vozvyšaja (ix)” (p. 347).
39) Radloff (1891:228) corrects kwkwy to kykwy, which is unnecessary.
41) See Hasson (2001:496) for more details on this tradition.
42) This name is spelled as t’wxt in [Mi‘raj19r1], [TA75r10, 207r11] etc., probably representing a form like Davud.
43) cf. Sugahara (2015:182). Vámbéry (1867:647), interpreting -iğer as the dative of the second-person possessive suffix, translates didariğa as "Aus Sehnsucht zu dir." This is of course grammatically possible but seems inappropriate contextually.
44) cf. "von Osten bis zum Weston hin" (Vámbéry 1867:647); "s vostoka i daže do zapada" (Malov 1951:347).
Note also that the subject of the sentence is ol Sulayman farmanï ‘the mandate of Sulaymân (Solomon)’ in the following line and that it traveled from Jerusalem to Sheba, located in Yemen, that is, not from east to west.
45) Since this word is never used as a preposition, Malov’s translation "Putešestvovala Balkis po prikazu togo Solomona" (1951:347) is clearly inappropriate.
46) In [TA73r1] it is spelled ‘ûppî-’, with the letter for n. For the spellings of this word in other Uyghur manuscripts, see Sugahara (2007:6-7, 2011:475).
47) In the manuscript, Fârisî is written in Arabic script below Salman.
48) Probably a calque from Persian tâj zadān.
49) This word is read by Vámbéry, Malov, and Sodiqov as Şapur (Šapur), which is, however, the name of a Sasanian king and thus quite improbable. Vámbéry (1867:646, Fn. 60) notes also that Šapur and the following word are used in error for seif ül melik (sayf al-malik), which is unlikely for both.
51) Compare the Turkish ictihat > ıstihat ‘ijithâd’ (Banguoğlu 1990:113). Spirantization of č can be observed in ʾṣṭy [14.16], ʾṣdy [14.31], and ʾṣy [63.11] in this manuscript, all of which correspond to ačči ‘opened’ in the other two manuscripts of Qudağûl Bilig.
52) Vâmbéry, Malov, and Sodiqov incorrectly read this word as gâžî ‘warrior for the faith.’
53) Based on their erroneous reading ʾl ʾyy, Vâmbéry (1867:649) and Malov (1951:348) translate it as “flammenden” and “Vysokij,” respectively. Sodiqov (2010:131) reads it as ‘Alavi.
54) An example of its later form, -läyîn/-layîn, similarly added to a proper noun, is attested in the pre-Classical Chaghatay text Ta’aššuq-nâma: gahi Vâmiqlayîn (to be read Wâmîqlayîn) bêčara boli ‘sometimes he was as miserable as Wâmiq’ (Ščerbak 1979:252 [285h2]).
55) cf. “Von denen ein Blick im Staube erniedrigt Feueranbeter und Christen” (Vámbéry 1867:649); “Ja vižu (?) protjanutuju (?) pros’bu magov i xristian” (Malov 1951:348). Sodiqov (2010:131) has Bir kürğün sunar arzu (?) ol majusî, nasrâni. Prof. O. F. Sertkaya (p. c.) suggests reading it as sunar ‘azur u, which would mean “(will) submit a declaration and.”
56) The second part of the line is translated as "mein Name und Sinnes Heil” (Vámbéry 1867:649) and "ty pomoš’ mojemu rasskazu” (Malov 1951:348). Sodiqov (2010:131) reads it as hadisimniy darmânî.
57) meter: hazaj-i musaddas-i mahlîf (.---|.|---|---) (.---|---|---)
58) cf. “am Ende des Schaf-Jahres” (Vámbéry 1867:651); “v konce goda ovcy” (Malov 1951:349); “Koyun yılın sonunda” (Sertkaya 2004:119).
59) For the twelve-animal cycle of the Timurid period, see Isahaya (2008). Note also that the fourth of Muḥarram is not at the end of the Hijri year either.
60) meter: ---|---[|---|---|---|---]

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ウイグル文字で書かれた中期チュルク語による頌詩
菅原 睦

1439年にヘラートで筆写された、『クタドゥグ・ビリグ』ヘラート写本（ウィーン写本、ウイグル文字による）の末尾近くの数ページには、明らかにこの作品には属さない中期チュルク語による頌詩や断片詩などが書かれている。これらについては既に Vámbéry や Malov による研究や、近年では Sodiqov による転写テキストが発表されているが、いずれも十分なものとは言い難い。本稿は、近年の古代・中期チュルク語研究の成果をふまえて、これらの新しいテキスト・エディションを英訳および注釈とあわせて提出するものである。