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Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 47, No. 2. (1984), pp. 260-301.

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THE TURKISH YARKAND DOCUMENTS

By MARCEL ERDAL

(PLATES I–VII)

The land sale contracts of the late eleventh century published here are important for several reasons. First, they are the oldest known legal documents written in Turkish. Very many Uighur-Turkish civil documents were found in the more eastern parts of the Tarim basin, but none of those appear to be older than the thirteenth century. On the other hand, there are Central Asian legal documents in several non-Turkish languages from as early as the first centuries of our era. After the Turks had penetrated the area in alternately warlike and peaceful manner and become owners of land, they may have gone on using the local vernaculars for such purposes, as they adopted many other facets of local life. The present texts have a fairly rigid structure, but this should not be taken as an indication that they were preceded by a Turkish legal tradition: the Persian text of A.D. 1107 published by Minorsky (1942) shows a rather similar form, which may simply have been borrowed by the Turks. Formally, our documents differ from the non-Muslim deeds of land sale in Turkish, which appear to follow Chinese models; this also speaks against a common Turkish tradition. There is nothing surprising about this: the Turks were probably relatively new both to the area and the occupation.

What we have here are also the oldest specimens of Muslim-Turkish writing: while the texts of MK[1] and *QB* were composed a decade or so earlier, their extant MSS are much later copies. Our documents throw some light on the introduction of Arabic writing customs and lexical material into Turkish. The author of the *QB* was a learned courtier with literary and intellectual ambitions directed towards the west. The texts we are concerned with here suggest that the said influence was no less potent when down-to-earth village business was concerned. The idyll of 'Öz Türkçe' recedes into prehistory in the Turkish west no less than in the east.

In the suburbs of Yarkand, as we shall see, Arabic orthography was introduced before Arabic script was adopted. Elsewhere, this may have been the other way around. In any case, there is no reason to assume that the passage into the Islamic world was homogeneous and that it happened everywhere and in all social groups at the same pace. We now know that the *QB* was composed in Arabic script, but that may have been the personal preference of the author: the Turks appear not to have been strict in this matter.

The written remains in the private domain of the Turks during the first 500 years of their documented history are rather scanty: beside the rather numerous colophons, there are a few letters by merchants, minor officers and the like, the Yenissei-inscriptions and some other rock scribblings. To this corpus, too, our texts are a welcome addition, together with the onomastic material they contribute. At the time these documents were written, the Tarim basin was divided into two states, the eastern oriented towards Buddhist China, the western towards Muslim Persia. In many respects, the division was very deep. Its import should not be exaggerated, however, but must be re-examined for each matter in turn. Al-Kāšğarī, the towering figure of early Turkish philology and culture, was at home in the Muslim west, and we should,

[1] For this and other abbreviations, see bibliography, pp. 300–301.

like him, try to see what the different Turkish spheres have in common. Some of the differences specific to our type of documents will be mentioned below.

E. Denison Ross is the only source of information on the origin of the documents of which some are published below. In a note which he added to Barthold (1923) he stated:

> The original of the document which is dealt with by Professor Barthold forms part of a collection of Arabic and Uighur legal papers which were discovered under a tree in a garden outside Yarkand in 1911. They were taken to the then Consul-General in Kashghar, Sir George Macartney, who forwarded them to the Government of India. The documents are now in the keeping of the Director-General of Archaeology in India. I have, however, a set of photographs in my possession. There are fifteen documents or fragments in all. Seven are in Arabic, five are in Turki in Arabic character and three are in Turki in Uighur character. The Arabic documents are signed or witnessed in Arabic with the exception of one, which bears witnesses' signatures in Uighur script. . . .

I wrote to the Indian authorities in 1981 to enquire about the documents, but received no answer. The chance of rediscovering the originals does not appear to be very great. At about the time our MSS were discovered, three Arabic legal documents from the same suburbs of Yarkand came into the possession of Paul Pelliot. Whereas our documents were left in India, Pelliot brought his with him, and handed them over to Huart, who published them (Huart, 1914, no facsimile).

Most of Denison Ross's photographs are now kept in the S.O.A.S. library in London. He appears to have retained the photographs of the five Turkish texts in Arabic script and of two among the Arabic texts; at any rate, they are not now to be found in the S.O.A.S. collection. He had no doubt begun to work on these: he had had at least one of the Turkish documents in Arabic script copied and translated into Persian and had started to decipher it. This secondary material on the one document in Arabic script was then handed over to V. Minorsky. Minorsky published the facsimile of a transcript with Persian translation, supplying it with an English translation of his own and reserving the edition of the text ' till the time when the original or a photograph of it is available ' (1942: 192).

In 1975, Şinasi Tekin published a transcription of the Turkish texts in Uighur script, with a translation into Republican Turkish, an introduction, a glossary including some notes, and facsimiles, and he followed this up in 1979 with publication of an Arabic text (' Arabic No. 5 ') in which the signatures of some witnesses are in Uighur script.

Meanwhile, it appears, these documents had attracted the attention of the late Sir Gerard Clauson. After his death (1 May 1974), Professor V. L. Ménage, his literary executor, found among his papers transcriptions of all the Turkish texts and of the Arabic texts 6, 5, 7 and 1, together with ten pages of notes which showed that Clauson had worked on the documents in the later months of 1968 and then put them aside.

In 1977 Professor Ménage kindly called my attention to the documents and sent me Clauson's papers, with the suggestion that I should publish the Turkish and the Arabic texts together, in collaboration with an Arabist colleague. It is to be hoped that the Arabic texts will be published soon; but having, I believe, been able to solve many problems which had remained obscure to both Clauson and Tekin and not wishing to withhold the material any longer, I am now

presenting the Turkish texts by themselves. In fact separate publication of the Turkish and the Arabic texts seems justified: the Turkish texts are all simple contracts involving only buyer, seller and witnesses, i.e. lay people; the Arabic texts, on the other hand, were formulated by *qaḍis* or the like, presumably well versed in Muslim law. The discussion of those documents demands reference to Muslim legal practice; in this paper, on the other hand, linguistic and philological observation is in the foreground.

As Clauson included in his work the transcript published by Minorsky, I have tried to give my interpretation of that too. For the other texts, I was able to benefit from observations made by both Clauson and Tekin; these often complement each other, showing the way to the final answer. In general, Clauson was hampered by his unawareness of the fact that the texts use Arabic orthography even with Uighur characters, while Tekin was mistaken in postulating the use of Arabic *letters* wherever he could not make out the text. Persian and Arabic borrowings sometimes escaped both. Both sets of interpretations are fully referred to in the notes here.[2]

A. General remarks

The *structure* common to the texts is the following:

1. A statement to the effect that the witnesses whose names appear at the end are witnesses to *this* document;
2. A declaration by the seller(s) that he has sold the land, freely and in his right mind, to the named buyer;
3. The price;
4. The receipt of the agreed sum;
5. The delimitation of the land;
6. A declaration on the part of the seller in his name and in the name of his relatives that any future claims they may have on the land are void and null;
7. The date;
8. A varying number of witnesses' statements, sometimes apparently more than thirteen, written by the same hand as the body of the text.

Point 1 is found in full in texts IV and VI, in the first in the form of two sentences and in the second drawn together into one. Clearly, it appeared also in text I: there, only the letters read as *]nuq* remain of the first part, while the second part of the formula has been fully preserved. It is likely that the damaged sentence in l. 2 of the Persian document of Minorsky (1942), starting with the words *īn ḫaṭ(ṭ)-ast ki nibišta āmad* . . ., had a similar content. I know of no other contracts of land sale containing such a clause. The passage closest to it appears in texts 86 and 87 of Grohmann (1934–36: II), which are ' Attestations to an agreement of lease ' from the tenth century A.D. After the *basmala* they read: *šahada 'š-šuhūd al-masmūn fī hāδa 'l-kitāb 'ala iqrār N.N.* . . . ' The witnesses named in this deed have testified to the acknowledgement by N.N. . . .'.

Notice that only text VI starts with a *basmala*, whereas the other contracts have no indication that the parties were Muslims, except for the terminology

[2] I would like hereby to express my warm thanks to Professor Ménage for entrusting me with the task and for making very valuable remarks on a draft of the paper, and to Professor D. N. MacKenzie, who brought the material over to Göttingen and also contributed ideas; further, to the Humboldt Foundation, Bonn, which financed my long stay in Germany, during which this paper, among other things, was written.

and the proper names. There is no reference to any religious or, for that matter, secular, authority. As we see in Barthold (1923) witnesses had to appear in court in case of a dispute. While Arabic documents are validated by the signature of the *qāḍi*, no validation is to be found on the Muslim contracts in Uighur writing. Our text VI, written in Turkish in Arabic script, appears to have borne the seller's signature as validation.

In the non-Muslim east, quite a number of contracts of land sale have survived, and their formal aspects have been summarized in Clark (1975). They show some systematic differences from our contracts. On the one hand, they lack point 1. On the other, they contain the following matters, absent here:

(*a*) A statement on the part of the seller about why he is selling the land (e.g. because he needs money);

(*b*) A penalty clause stating the fines for breach of contract;

(*c*) A clause releasing the buyer from liability for outstanding mortgages and the like;

(*d*) The stamp (*tamġa*);

(*e*) The scribe's declaration.

The greater complexity of those documents may be due to foreign models, but also to the fact that they were formulated centuries later, and are therefore, one would expect, based on more experience with legal problems. Nearly all the clauses in the non-Muslim documents are stated in terms of rigid expressions; phrases like *miŋ yıl tümän künkätägi* (also found in a rather different context, in runic inscriptions), *üzüštümüz, adırar* for all four sides of the plot, *toġuru tumlıtu satdım* etc. occur again and again there, but are absent here. Boundaries (called by the Chinese term *sičı* there, by the Arabic *ḥadd* here) are here just numbered, but stated there by the four points of the compass (*yıŋaq*). There are Chinese loanwords in the east, Persian and Arabic loans in the west, payment in textile rolls in the east, no such means of payment in the west. The animal cycle is still used in the west, although in conjunction with *Hiǧrī* dating and apparently not always correctly. Land is measured, in the west as in the east, by the amount of grain that can be sown on it; but while, in the east, the grain has capacity measures, it is, in the west, measured by weight, according to Persian practice.

One can assume that, in Yarkand, the number of witnesses depended upon the value of the land being sold. There are six witnesses in text IV, which concerns 150 *yarmaqs*. In text V 13 witnesses appear, approximately the same number as in text II, involving 800 *yarmaqs*. According to Clark (1975 : 307–8) land sale contracts of the Turfan area require 3–4 witnesses, those of Kuča (geographically between Turfan and Yarkand!) 5–8. But then, *all* those documents were also validated by *nišans* and *tamġas*, which our documents do not have. We should perhaps say that two degrees of legal formality were available to the inhabitants of Yarkand, only the higher one, signed before a *qaḍi*, receiving formal validation. The formality of the Turfan contracts is intermediate between these two.

On *morphology* and *syntax*, not much needs to be said. The nominal accusative suffix is always $+nI$,[3] while MK and the *QB* quite often show $+Xg$

[3] Capital letters in morpheme transcriptions indicate archphonemes, in this case the alternation /i/ ~ /ı/ regulated by vowel harmony. *X* refers to the alternation /i/ ~ /ı/ ~ /ü/ ~ /u/.

too.[4] From this difference one could infer that the latter texts, being of literary nature, retained a form belonging to archaic or at least elevated language.[5]

The conditional suffix appears both as *-sA* and as *-sAr* in our texts. MK and *QB* practically always have *-sA* but *-sAr* is also found; there is thus no discrepancy in this respect. Innovations attested also in other texts of the Qarakhanid period are the variant *miz* of the personal pronoun as joined to the aorist (I, 9), the form *asdın* (I, 2) and *biziydä* as locative of *biz* (I, 14).

In some cases, definite direct objects appear without accusative suffix: *yer usparlaδım* (IV, 8); *bahası tügäl buldum* (VI, 6); *bu ḫatṭ ḫuǧǧat berdim* (ib. 9–10).

İsḥaq ǧallab yer (IV, 9) is peculiar and may be an error. Some other nominals in the base form mentioned before the name of the possessed entity should be considered examples of the nominative absolute. For example, *tanuqlar atı bu ḫatṭ aḫrında bitilmiš turur* (IV, 1, etc.) ' The witnesses, their names are . . .'; *bu börk bahası yüzällig yarmaq* (ib. 7) ' This grove, its price is . . .'; *bu yarmaq yarımı bolur tört yüz yarmaq* (I, 12) ' This sum, its half is . . .'.

The following *phonological* matter deserves discussion: in the texts in Uighur script but not in the one in Arabic script, /n/ is usually left unwritten if it is to appear as first element in a word-final cluster: the ordinal suffix is twice (I, 19 and 20) written as *+Xč* instead of *+Xnč*, the genitive suffix four times as *+nXg* instead of *+nXŋ* (I, 18 and 19; IV, 8 and 9). There is one exception, *ṭortünč* in I, 21. On the other hand, /n/ is always written when the sound following it belongs to the next syllable: *Käntäk, ičindä, bütünlük*. In the word transcribed as *bizi[n]g-δä* (I, 14), the *g* is not word-final and not in the next syllable; the *n* may not have stood there, but the space in the tear makes it likely that it did. There happen not to be any word-final *-nt* sequences in these texts. The absence of the *n* in text VI, 1 in *āḫrı(n)d(a)* may be significant but is not unequivocally documented in IV, 2.

This is probably a real phenomenon and not just an orthographical one seeing that Dankoff and Kelly (1982: 67) comment on similar behaviour in MK, and Hamilton (1977) in other texts, among them two tenth-century Turkic texts from Khotan which he intends to publish. Most important, this absence of the nasal is found also in the Uighur texts in Sogdian writing commented upon by Gabain (1976). Dankoff and Kelly write: ' There is a tendency for /ŋ/ to lose its nasal quality following /n/ dissimilation . . . Two examples may be noted in which the dissimilation occurs preceding /n/.' Hamilton elaborates much more on the subject, bringing evidence from a varied set of sources, and in his texts the phenomenon is more widespread: it still occurs mostly as /ŋ/ > /g/, but once also as /nč/ > /č/ and twice with dentals in the next syllable, /nd/ > /d/ and /nt/ > /t/. Our text is intermediate, in that it shows this behaviour with velars and palatals but not dentals. The seventh book of MK's Dīvān, whose rationale is discussed by Dankoff and Kelly in their introduction (pp. 38–9), is called ' The book of nasality '. Interestingly, the book deals with the phoneme /ŋ/ and the sequence /nč/, thus reflecting the reality of our text and not that of the MK MS. ' Unfortunately,' write Dankoff and Kelly, ' Kāšġarī confused the issue by including the consonant cluster /nč/ along with the phoneme /ŋ/ as illustrating the same phenomenon of nasality. In this he was inconsistent, however, since he normally analyses /nč/ correctly as two distinct sounds (/n/ plus /č/).' There may be no in-

[4] See Mansuroğlu (1959: 99) and Brockelmann (1954: 155).
[5] See Erdal (1979: 155–7) for the spread of *+nI* in Uighur.

consistency, if we assume MK to have referred not to mono- vs. biphonemicity but to pronunciation: [sanč-] > [sãč-], with vowel nasalization sounding to him like an allophone of /ŋ/.[6] What we have in *our* texts *must* be vowel nasalization and not the complete loss of nasalization: notice that **ǧallabnıŋ* becomes *ǧallabnıg* (IV, 8) with front *g* and not *ġ*. *g* is meant, as it were, as the representative of the phoneme /ŋ/, traditionally always written as *ng/nk* even in back-vocalic words. In the Uighur fragments written in Sogdian script, the /n/ also disappears before /g/ and /č/ but not before the dentals. Otherwise having no characteristics of lateness, these fragments show the phenomenon to be a dialectological one and not one of age. They also demonstrate, if such a demonstration is needed, that the use of religious or cultural criteria in delimiting research on Old Turkish or Uighur is artificial, sometimes detracting from the correct perspective on linguistic facts. Another dialect trait of one of the Uighur texts in Sogdian script is the form ending in *-gAndA*; for that, see Erdal (forthcoming). According to Gabain (1976: 76), front *g* for /ŋ/ in back-vocalic words is found also in the careful and voluminous Berlin MSS of the Maitrisimit. Cf. further *kanyudun kältig*? 'Where did you come from?' (Pañc 193); it might be added that these two MSS are particularly old. In the Orkhon inscriptions (cf. T. Tekin, 1968: 92–3) such neutralization between /ŋ/ and /g/ applies only to non-first syllables. Note that in the inscriptions and, for instance, in Proto-Chuvash, the result is [ġ] in back-vowel words whereas in our texts and in the others cited above, the result is in all cases written with a front *g*. The Yarkand texts in Arabic script have the expected *nk* for /ŋ/ throughout.

The *vocabulary* of our texts is full of Arabic and New Persian elements; the former are much more numerous, even without counting the proper names, but appear to have come into the language of our texts through Persian. The names of the months are Arabic, as the whole Arabic dating system had been adopted. So were most legal terms: *ḫaṭṭ, milk, da'wā, bāṭıl, iqrār qıl-, ḫuǧǧat, ḫadd* and *bay'*. Some terms which also perhaps belonged to legal usage were Persian, however: *dästān, yād qıl-, bahā* and *usparla-*. In the present context, *durustluq* and *tan-durust* may perhaps also be assigned to that domain. *'aql* is *the* intellectual word *par excellence*. The second group of western loans are the names of various occupations and titles, as *ǧallāb, ḫallāǧ, ḫaǧǧāǧ, ḫāǧib, silīḥdār* and hybrid *ḫaṭṭčı*. Particularly remarkable are *awwal*, which here replaces the irregular ordinal *ilki*,[7] the Persian conjunction *yā* 'or' and *āḫırında* used as postposition. The latter are not learned loans, and show that Arabic and Persian very quickly gained a profound influence over the language of the Muslim Turks of Central Asia. The normal Turkish way of using foreign action nouns is also already present: we find them joined to an auxiliary *qıl-* in *da'vā qıl-* and *iqrār qıl-*, and in *yād qılıl-*, the passive of **yād qıl-* 'to mention'.

yıl tört yüz säksön üčtä (IV, 11; similarly elsewhere) shows un-Turkish word order, and is no doubt calqued on foreign dating formulas.

[6] This is what French nasal vowels sound like to German ears. The two points of articulation are in fact contiguous: in both cases the velum and the back part of the tongue are involved, with complete closure of the velum occurring during the pronunciation of [ŋ] but not [ã].

[7] Irregular because not formed with *+Xnč*. From MK on, a monosyllabic form *ilk* also occurs. In spite of the *EDPT* entry, *ilki* should be the original form, derived from the base of *il+gärü*: *il+ki*, therefore **'that which is in front'*. The final *i* was presumably taken to be the 3rd pers. poss. suff., as with Ottoman *äl* 'hand' < *älig* over **äli*, for instance. The earliest source for *birinč*, 'id.', is also MK, who says that it is rarely used. Significantly, the Rylands MS (whose original version is dated by Eckmann, 1976, to the twelfth–early thirteenth century) has *ilk* once, *awwal* eight times, and no *birinč*. In Qarakhanid Turkish, to judge from this lexico-grammatical detail, borrowing appears to have been winning even against analogy.

The *naming* of persons deserves a separate discussion.[8] The elements of personal designation follow a particular order, although all of them are rarely present at one time; in fact, any one of them may be used alone. These ' slots ' are discussed in the order in which they appear:

1. The patronymic, *X oġlı*, comes first. The father may be mentioned by just one name, or by some further elements of the sequence described here, e.g. by his profession: *Täknäči oġlı Ya'qūb, İsḥaq ḫaṭṭčı oġlı 'Ali*, etc. In some cases the name of the elder brother appears instead of a patronymic, e.g. with *Säli ǧallab inisi 'Ali*, or both are given, as in the case of the seller of the land in text IV.

2. A physical or other description such as *sarıġ* ' blond ' or *uzun* ' tall ', or *tapuġluġ* ' veteran, retired '. In one case, in a fratronymic in I, 30, the name of a profession appears in this position: *ḥallaǧ Säli ǧallab inisi Muḥmad.*

3. The name itself, consisting of just the Muslim name, just a Turkish one, or both, as *Elig Mura[d]* or *Mas'ūd Toġrıl.* As these examples show, the Turkish name could come before or after the Arabic one. Nobody appears to have had two Muslim names. Three or four-syllabic Muslim names cancel short vowels when the result does not lead to impossible consonant clusters: *Sulman* for *Sulaymān, Bubakir* for *Abū Bakr, Muḥmad* for *Muḥammad.* Whether this was a general practice of the Turks, or of the Persians before them, I am unable to say. For *Bubakir*, at any rate, it appears to have been the latter (see n. 59). *Nūrī*, if read correctly, stands for *Nūraddīn.*

4. The element *+čI* or *+ǧI*, possibly a diminutive or honorary element, discussed in connexion with III, 2.

5. Nation or tribe, e.g. *Täžik* and *Känčäk.*

6. Title from the public or religious domain, e.g. *bäg, ǧallab* or, for the latter, *ḥaǧǧaǧ.*

7. Profession, army rank, etc. The military or administrative offices attested are the following: *otaġ bašı, ınal, sü bašı, siliḥdār, tuδun, teksin, ḥāǧib, tamġačı* and possibly *ögä.* Professional designations: *täknäči, ḥallaǧ* and *ḫaṭṭčı.* Note that the first group is three times the second in number, an indication, together with *ḫaṭṭčı*, of the importance of bureaucracy in this society. Sources mention the Yarkand oasis as a centre of cotton and silk cultivation. The number of *ḥallaǧ* appearing in our texts testify to the first. An *üžmälik* ' mulberry orchard ', here mentioned in VI, 5–6, was the prerequisite of silk and is indirect evidence for its cultivation. That Yarkand produced cotton is mentioned also by Marco Polo.

Item 7 appears after item 6 in *Ḥasan ǧallab ḫaṭṭčı*, which also shows that *ǧallab* was no longer the name of a profession, or at least not always one.

B. The Turkish texts in Uighur script

In the note added to Barthold (1923), quoted above, Denison Ross mentions three documents or fragments in Uighur character. Document V below belongs to a text in Arabic script. ' Turki Nos. 4 and 5 ' (our I) go together. Clauson also joins what I publish as II and III; I, II + III and IV then give Denison Ross's ' three documents '. Possibly, however, III contains witnesses' signatures

[8] What we need is not only an Uighur onomasticon, but also one of all the Muslim Turkish names up to the year of, say, A.D. 1500. Important work in this domain includes Bazin (1978), Ayalon (1975) and Sauvaget (1950).

to a text written in Arabic writing, like text V: note that quite a few Turkish names appear in I, II and IV, but practically none in III and V. In III, 2 there is a witness whose son, apparently, bears witness in I, 27. This would speak against assigning to III a (much) later date than to I. The writing used for drawing up the document may not *always* have been an indication of age after all, and may have depended on the ability of the scribe who happened to be available.

The *graphemic* system of these texts is Uighur: no letters are taken over from the Arabic script, as T. thinks: ر is always /r/ and never /t/. Various signs are, however, used diacritically to distinguish cases in which the same Uighur letter, or two or more Uighur letters looking identical in certain positions, represent more than one phoneme or allophone. Thus, as one letter stands for [q], [ǧ], /'/, /ḥ/, /ḫ/ and /h/, the first *can* be marked by a superposed dot, the next two by small Arabic *'ayn*, the fourth and the fifth by small *ḥā* and the last by small *hā*. As /n/, /'/ and /r/ look alike, the first often has one dot above it (as in Uighur script and not just in Arabic), the third two. To distinguish it from /š/, /s/ often has three dots underneath.[9] This *is* contrary to Uighur tradition, in which it is *š* which is occasionally marked with two dots underneath;[10] it is common in Persian MSS, however,[11] and in Bolgar-Turkic epitaphs of the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries. /z/ is often distinguished from final /n/ by two dots placed under it, while a lone example of *ž* has three, reminiscent of the dots over Persian *ž*. No general attempt seems to have been made to distinguish [t] from [d], while [δ] is written otherwise.[12] A different matter is the distinction between *t*, *ṯ* and *θ*, or between *ḥ* and *ḫ*, in Arabic words. It is not clear whether the Turks actually pronounced these differences, or, alternatively, whether *θ* was not pronounced like /s/, for instance. I do distinguish between these, because Turkish texts of the Qarakhanid period written in Arabic writing also do so, as does the text of that sort which we are publishing here.[13] Notice that diacritical dots are consistently either above or below the line of writing, while diacritical Arabic characters can be indiscriminately written above or below.

Orthographically, our scribes have, to a great extent, adopted conventions of the Arabic system. This is most conspicuous with Arabic words: in these, *yā* is written as such also when it is the *kursī* of an (unwritten) *hamza*, double consonants are written singly (with no equivalent to the *šadda* visible anywhere), final *yā* is written so also when it serves as *alif maqṣūra* (*da'wā*, *Mūsā* or *da'wē*, *Mūsē* ?), and so forth.

Two important matters[14] concern Turkish words. Uighur script distinguishes between front and back rounded vowels in the first syllable, and between /a/ and /ä/ initially, thus helping to show whether a word belongs to front or back harmony: /ö/ and /ü/ of this syllable have an additional *y* which /o/ and /u/ do not; initial /a/ is written with two *alifs*, /ä/ with one.

[9] Rarely only one or two: in such cases the missing dots may either have been effaced, or written so close to each other as to appear as one.

[10] It is contrary to what we find in the MK MS, fol. 6. In a list of the 'Turkish' alphabet which he offers with Arabic correspondences, the Uighur letter corresponding to Arabic *šīn* has two dots underneath, while the one corresponding to *sīn* has nothing.

[11] According to S. Shaked and V. L. Ménage.

[12] In I, [d] is sometimes also written with the letter otherwise used only for [δ]. That letter can there be said to represent the phoneme /d/, but the practice is not consistent.

[13] This text makes a mistake in one word only: *ḫaǧǧāǧ* is twice written as *ḫaǧǧāǧ*. A witness in I, 28 spells his name *Yaqub* (sic !).

[14] Not mentioned by T., as far as I can see.

This feature of Uighur script, an innovation adapting the Sogdian script to the Turkish sound system, has occasional exceptions in practically all Uighur texts.[15] Here, however, we find these distinctions abolished altogether, making *üč* look like *uč*, for instance, and, of greater consequence, *sü bašı* like *su bašı*. Hence I write *bu̇tünlük* to make the word look familiar to the reader; in fact the text has *butunluk*. Secondly, we find some examples of *sattım* written with a single *t*, Arabic style; but this occasionally happens in Uighur MSS too.

The *transcription of Arabic words* tries to come as close as possible to correct Arabic as the text permits, except that long vowels are not marked as such. Thus, I write *ḥad(d)* ' limit, border ' and not, with T., *ḳat*, as the former may well be spelled in the latter manner under the rules followed by the scribes of these texts. *Muḥmad* is not changed to *Muḥammad*, on the other hand, as it was open to the scribe to write *mwq'm't* instead of *mwqm't*.[16] It turns out that only proper names moved away visibly from the source forms: these, being used the whole time by the individuals concerned, were apparently not a matter of erudition and could not be made the object of normative interference. Real language always has several levels of usage in such matters, learned persons pronouncing foreign words more ' correctly ' than the ordinary man. Here, the scribes are given the credit of having had the best knowledge of Arabic orthography that may be postulated from their texts; in any case our transcription can only be an abstraction. Vowel lengths are not marked in Arabic words because this is not done in Turkish words either. MK's text indicates that he did make some length distinctions in Turkish words, too, and so presumably did the persons involved in our documents; I would hesitate to transfer mechanically all Proto-Turkic long vowels into these texts, however. Persian and Arabic /a/ is always written *a*, although some of the instances may have belonged to the Turkish /ä/ phoneme: we have no way of telling what the usage was, but it was not necessarily in accordance with what we find in one or other modern Turkish language.[17] The Arabic words *da'wā* and *Dā'ūd* are tentatively transcribed with *v* and not *w* because text I uses two different letters: Arabic *da'wā* is twice written there with *v* (similar to *y* but larger), in one case dotted, whereas *awwal* is written with the letter used for rounded vowels.

The *transcription of Turkish words* follows what Qarakhanid texts (and our document written in Arabic letters) show. The letter *t* is transcribed as *d* at the beginning of the perfect and locative suffixes when the base ends in a voiced consonant, (1) because this is how these suffixes are written in our text in Arabic writing and (2) because the perfect suffix has δ after a vowel (in *usparlaδım*, twice) and occasionally after *l*.[18] /i/ and /e/ are distinguished to the best of my knowledge, both being written with *i*.

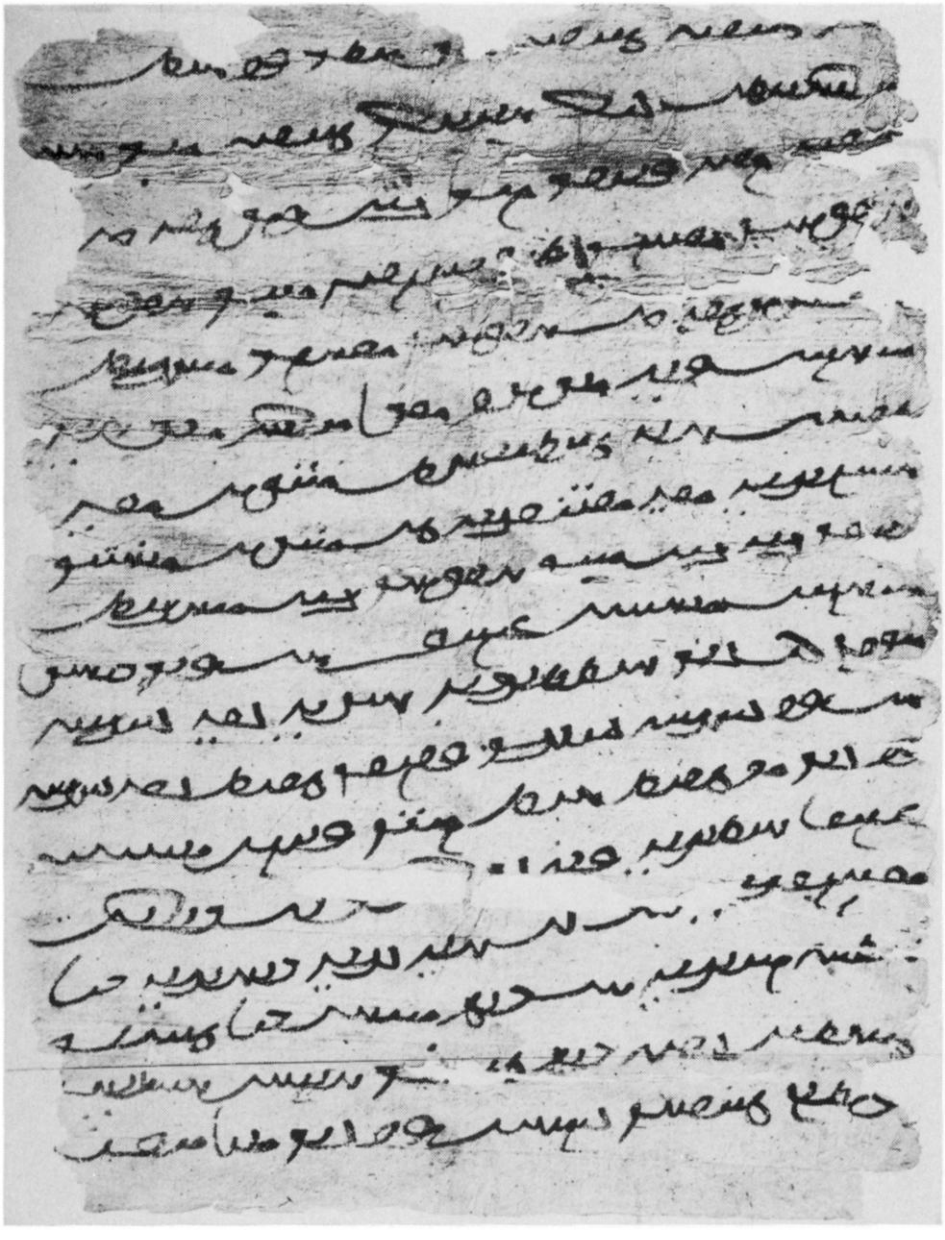
The punctuation is mine. Proper names are written with capitals; titles and other personal indications, and the first words in sentences, are not. Where parts of words are written separately, I join them to their bases with hyphens. Nominal suffixes are written separately more often than others.

[15] In particular, the sequence *#yü-* is habitually written *#yu-* there, and certain words, e.g. *arslan*, are traditionally written with a single initial *alif*.

[16] See Doerfer (1983: 90) for syncopated instances of this name in late Uighur and Mongolian.

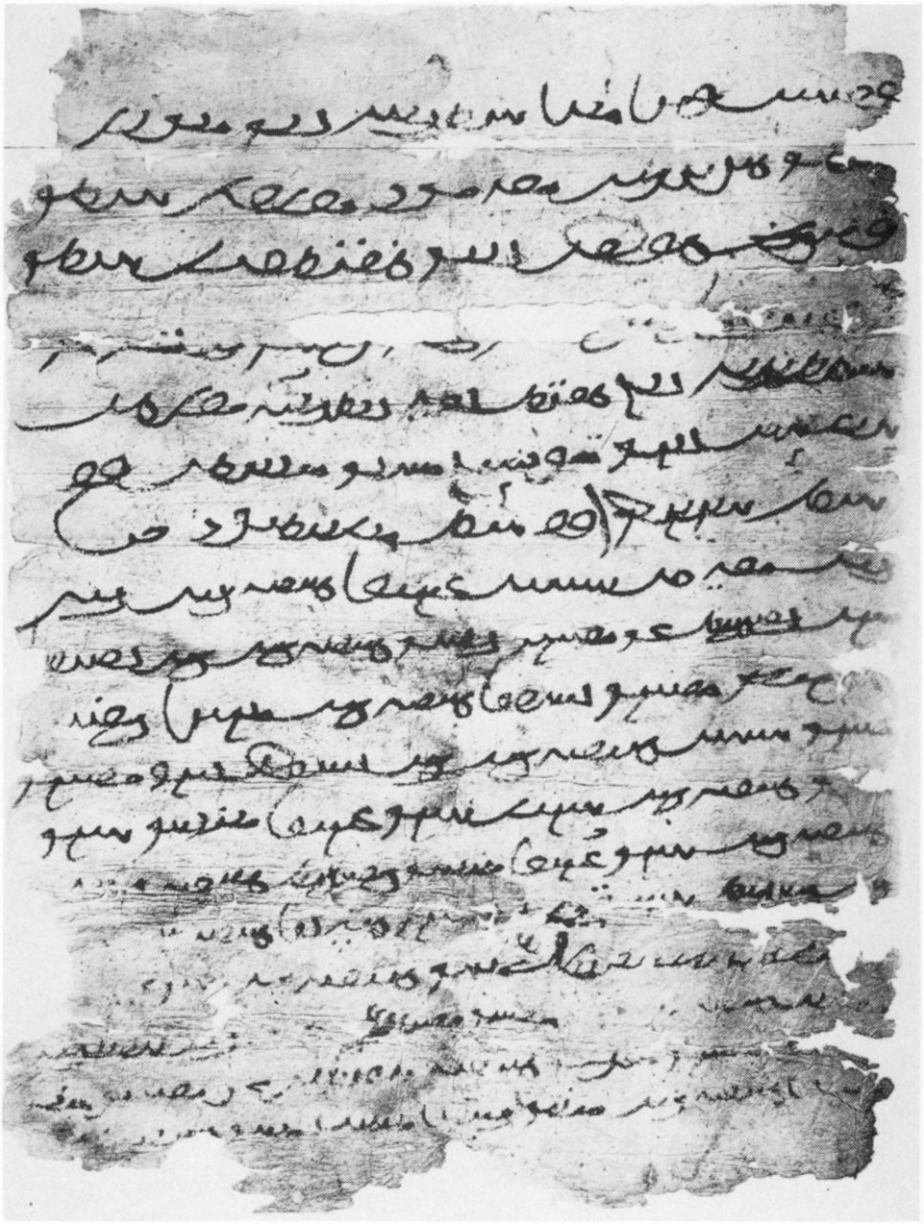
[17] Cf. *durustluq* in VI, 8 below, which would be *dürüstlük* in Republican Turkish.

[18] [δ] and [d] are allophones of one voiced consonant phoneme; the phoneme /t/ may, at this period, at any rate, also have had an intervocalic allophone [d].

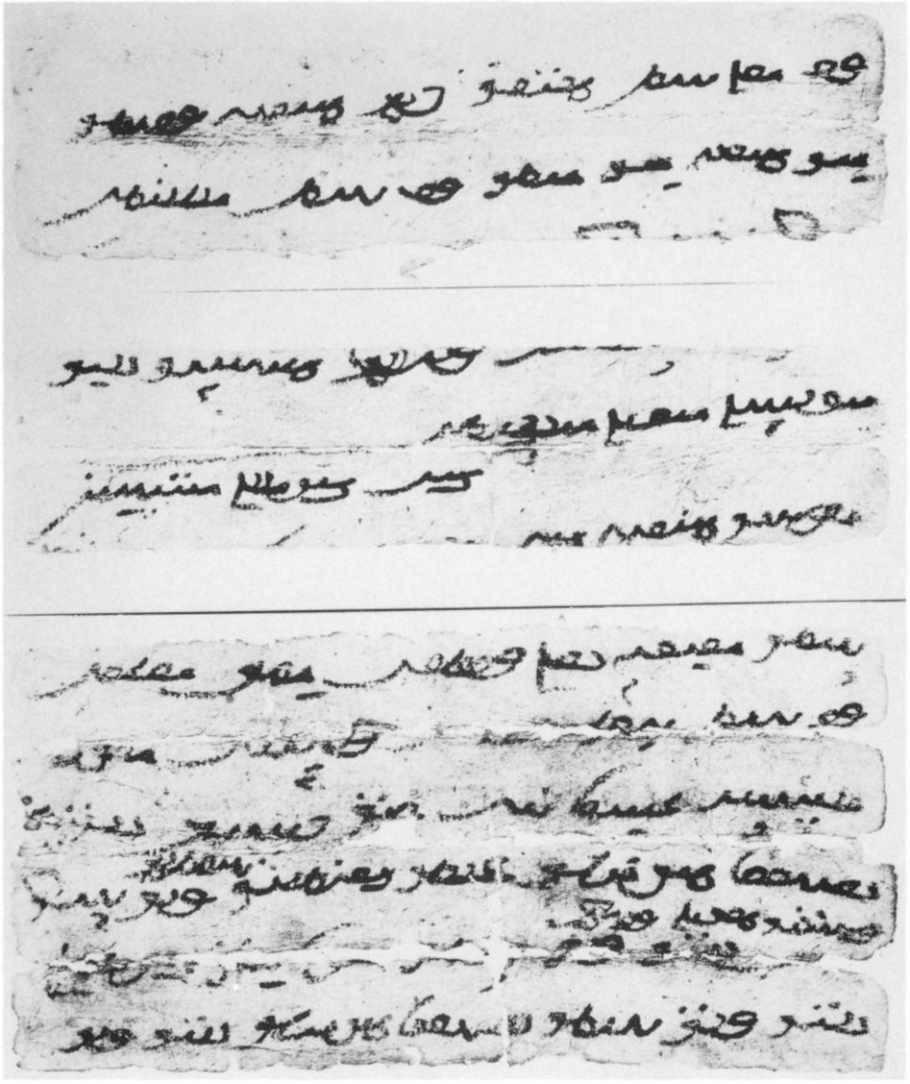


TURKI No. 4

PLATE II

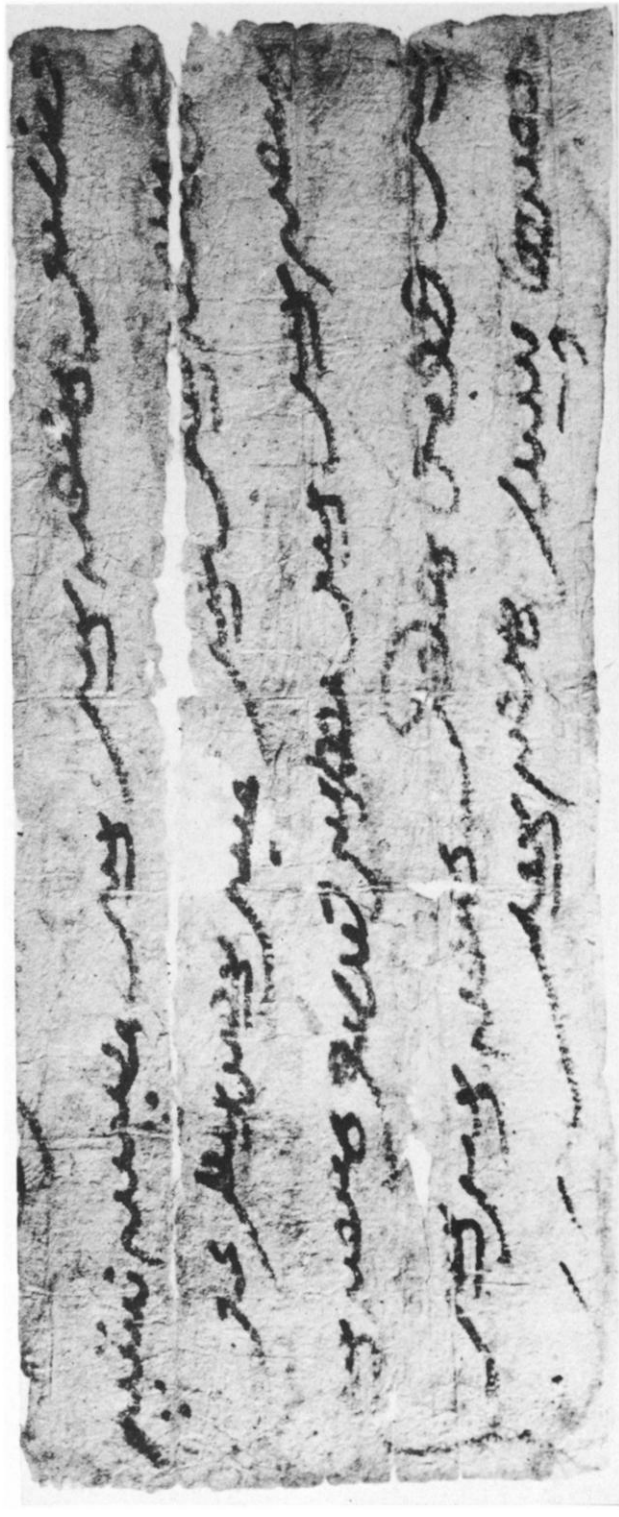


TURKI NO. 5

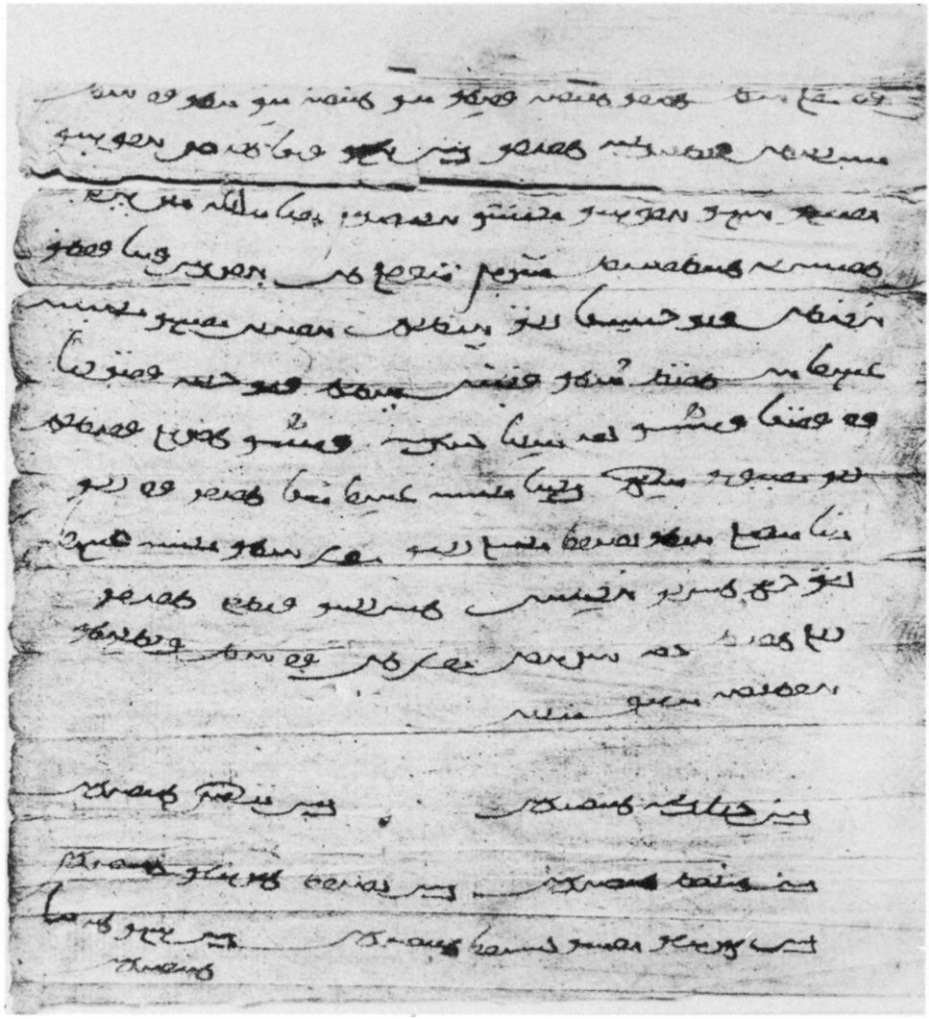


Turki No. 6

PLATE IV



TURKI No. 7



TURKI No. 3

PLATE VI



TURKI No. 1 (*continued*)



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بو اول خط تورو رکیم بلیك تنوق لاری ای خط آخرید یاد قیلدیلر
این ان خط هست کو تو آنا کو آنش را در اخر خط مقرر کرده شد

مین حسن خجا ش تنگ او علی محمد حاجب اقراد قیلدوق (سلوماس تا
من حسن خواجه ش تنگ او علی محمد حاجب اقرار کردیم

بیر کیسك ایکی (یوك) اوننی بیر ساتم تورت حدی بیر لا مینك بیاق تا
معادل یک قطعه دو (۲) زمین و دختم احمار حدش بنزار بیاق

بو بیر نینك اوّل حدی بتق ارتق ایکنج حدی مسعود طغرل سو باشی
حد اول این زمین بتق ارتق حد دوم زمین مسعود طغرل میراب

بیری او چنج حدی چمکات قاشی تورد تنج حدی خجا حاجب بیری اوتو
حد سوم کنار چمکات حد چهارم رمن خواجه حاجب قوت زار

مالیك تنق بو تورت ایچنداکی بیرنی ساتیم بها سی تمکال بولدوم بیرنی
بتق (این) چهار حد زمین را فروختم ثمن آنرا تمام یافتم رهن را

اسرافیل چاولی سو باشی غا او بساد لادیم بو بیر بیر لا کم گا ایر سا دعوی
باسرافیل چاولی تسلیم نمودم باین زمین کسی دعوی

دستان بوق کیم دعوی قیلسا دعوی سی تورو رتیب درست لوق
داستان نیست هرکس دعوی کند دعوایش باطل است کفته از جهة درستی

اُچون یل بیش یوز اون بیش (تا) بورت غامان (یلی ربیع الآخر آیندا بو
در سنه ثمانمائه پانزده ( ) سال در ماه ربیع الآخر این

خط حجت بیردیم
خط حجت دادم

دستخط محمد حاجب

مین عثمان	مین عثمان	مین نو باشی امین منصب	بو بیع او زا تنق معین بر سر این بیع گواهم
(عادر دا مسعد)	او علی تنوق مین	احمد دا سعد تنق مین	
نام	نام پدر	بسرش گواهم	نام لقب گواهم

THE TURKISH TEXT IN ARABIC SCRIPT

Reproduced from *JRAS*, 1942, 191.

I. *'Turki 4 + 5'*

Two photographs (pls. I and II): lines 1–18 belong to Turki No. 4, the rest to Turki No. 5. Both Cl. and T. joined these two halves.

Text

1.]nuq. tanuq-l[a]r atı bu ḫaṭ(ṭ) [19]
2. asδında yaδ qılıldı. tanuqlar saq
3. [ta]nuq-luq berür-lär. män Bäktuzün
4. sụbašı oġlı tapuġluġ 'Ali sụbašı
5. [män] Bäktụzün subašı oġlı Aḥmad
6. Arslan biz ikägü ọg aδıġ ig-siz
7. ṯoġa-sız tandurust ạrkän ọz
8. 'aqlımız ọz ornumız-da ạrkän iqrar
9. [q]ılur miz: män 'Ali sụbašı, män Aḥmad
10. Arslan İsḥaq ğal(l)ab-qa bir käsäk
11. Rabul-δa yer sattımız, säkiz yụz yarmaq-
12. qa. bu yarmaq yarımı bolur tọrt yụz yarmaq.
13. bu yer-ni tọrt ḫad(d)-ları birlä İsḥaq
14. ğal(l)ab-⟨qa⟩ sat(t)ımız. bizi[n]g-δä ken keδin
15. oġlumız-qa ya qızımız kisimiz-kä
16. qadaš-larımız-qa kim-ärsä-kä da'va
17. dastan yoq. kim da['][v]a qılsa, qanmasa[.
18. ḇaṭıl, tanuqı yalġan. bu yer-ni(n)g aw(w)a[l ḫad(d)i]
19. Buġra bäg-ni(n)g satmış yer; iki(n)č
20. ḫad(d)i tägirmän ọzäki; ụčü(n)č ḫad(d)i
21. Bäkäč (?) tuδun yeri; tọrtünč ḫad(d)i
22. Buġra ọgä [yeri
23. /attımız. yıl tọrt yụz yetmiš ụč-dä
24. sıčġan yılı rabi'al aḫir ayında bu
25. ḫaṭ(ṭ) qılıldı. bu ḫaṭ(ṭ) ičindäki-kä
26. män Uzun Ḥasan ğal(l)ab tanuq män. män
27. ['A]li Muḥmad-čı oġlı Musa tanuq män. män Yusu[f]
28. [tä]knäči oġlı Yaqub tanuq män. Elig Mura[d] (?)
29. [o]ġlı Ḥasan tanuq män. män Yahudi (?) Yalu oġlı
30. ['A]li tanuq män. ḫal(l)ağ Säli ğal(l)ab inisi 'Ali
31. [ta]nuq män. Säli ğal(l)ab inisi Muḥmad tanuq mä[n].
32. m[ä]n Aḥmad //// /// 'Ali Täžik tanuq män.
33.]si tanuq män. [
34.]oġlı [ ] män [
35.] tanuq [ ] oġlı ///
36.] tanuq män [

[19] Square brackets mark lacunae, and what appears inside them is a conjecture. Round brackets mark letters which should be read with the text but were not required by the writing conventions. Pointed brackets enclose letters inadvertently (as I believe) omitted by the scribe. Slant lines replace missing letters when the number of these appears to be evident. Unclear or uncertain letters are underlined. Hyphens join lexemes and morphemes belonging to one word, written separately. Whatever is written as one word in the MS (as *Bäktụzün*) is left together in the text.

Translation

1. The names of the witnesses have been noted at the
2. lower part of this document. The witnesses give
3. conscious testimony. I, commander
4. Bäk Tüzün's son, the veteran commander 'Alī
5. (and) I, commander Bäk Tüzün's son Aḥmad
6. Arslan, we two, being clear of mind, free of illness
7. and sound of body, our
8. mental powers being unimpaired, acknowledge:
9. I, commander 'Alī (and) I, Aḥmad
10. Arslan have sold Master Isḥaq a piece of
11. land in Rabul for 800 *yarmaqs*.
12. The half of this amount is 400 *yarmaqs*.
13. We have sold this land, with its four boundaries,
14. ⟨to⟩ Master Isḥaq. There will, after us, be
15–17. no litigation or legal trick by our sons, our daughters, our wives, our family or by anybody.
17. Whoever, not being satisfied, starts litigation,
18. (that) is null and his witnesses are false. The first [boundary] of this land is
19. the land which Buġra bäg sold; the second
20. boundary is the mill-race; the third boundary
21. is the land of B. tuδun; the fourth boundary
22. is Buġra ögä's (?) [land.
23. In the year 473,
24. in a mouse year, in the month of rabi'u 'l-āḫir, this
25. document was drawn up. For the contents of this document
26. I, Master Ḥasan the tall one, am witness. I, Mūsā
27. the son of 'Alī Muḥammad-či, am witness. I, Ya'qūb the son
28. of Yūsu[f] the ferry-man, am witness. Ḥasan the son
29. of Elig Mura[d] (?) am witness. I, ['A]lī the son of Yahudi
30. (?) Yalu, am witness. 'Alī, the younger brother of Master Säli the cotton-carder, am
31. witness. Muḥammad, the younger brother of Master Säli, am witness.
32. I, 'Alī the Persian, . . . of Aḥmad, am witness.
33. . . . am witness.
34. . . . the son of . . . am
35. . . . witness . . . the son of . . .
36. . . . am witness.

Commentary

1. See the comment on IV, 6 for *ḫaṭṭ*.

2. *asdın* first appears in MK, *QB* 18 and here. MK fol. 67 calls it an ' uncouth word, the more elegant form being ', he says, ' *altın* '. It seems to have

been metanalysed from *asra* (attested already in Orkhon Turkic) according to the analogy *öŋrä—öŋtün*; *ičrä—ičtin*; *tašra—taštın*; *asra*—X.

The near-synonym *altın* and its converse *üstün* must have helped. '*ast*', which the *EDPT* takes as the base, probably never existed: the fifteenth-century lexicographers who list it take the +*ın*+ in *astında* to be the possessive suffix (perhaps reflecting in this the general linguistic feeling of their own time). *qılılδı*: T. *qılın-*; Cl.'s MS alters *qılın-* to *qılıl-*. A very weak trace of an *l*-hook *may* be visible in the facsimile. *saq* is quite clearly visible, but could be identified neither by Cl. (who leaves it untranscribed) nor by T. (who writes a question mark instead). The *EDPT* translates *saq* as 'alert, awake', and quotes it only from MK and *QB*. We also find a number of Uighur examples, all in the binomial *oduġ saq*: in M III, text No. 1, l. 1_3; BT II 174 (cf. n.); Warnke [20] 32; in a fragment quoted in the n. to Uig-Tot 895; in Mait 13 v 4 (= BT IX 51, 4) and Mait 19 v 11 (= BT IX 61, 11).[21] *saq* must have had a long vowel, being derived from *sā-*. This would regularly give *saġ* in the Oghuz dialects, a form also found in the *Atabatu 'l-Ḥaqayiq*. Referring to *saġ söz* of this latter text, Professor Ménage suggests translating 'give sound testimony'. This may be correct.

3. *tanuqluq* also in MK and *QB*, *tanuqluq ber-* in *QB* 1021. Although *tanuq* is attested innumerable times in Uighur, *tanuqluq* does not appear there: Uighur does not have the abstract-forming +*lXk*. *Bäk Tüzün* written as one word here and in l. 5. *Bäk Tüzün sü bašı* is also the father of the person selling land in text IV; the name and the form *sü bašı* are discussed in the note to IV, 2.

'*Ali sü bašı*, who appears as seller here, is there mentioned as elder brother of the seller. There is no doubt that the names refer to the same persons.

4. *tapuġluġ* is quite clear on the facsimile but T. reads *tanuqluq*. It is explained by MK as 'veteran' and used in *QB* 645 and 3255 in this sense.[22] The vowel rounding is, of course, caused by the /p/. Although the very common Uighur form is *tapıġ*, MK also writes *tapuġ* for the base.

6. *biz*: from here on, practically all *z*'s of the text are marked with two dots underneath. See the commentary to IV, 3 and 4 for the expression *ög aδıġ*.

7. *toġa-sız*: the right and bottom part of the *t* is torn away.

7–8. While *ög aδıġ igsiz toġasız tandurust ärkän* appear also in text IV, ll. 3–4, and are discussed in the commentary thereto, this document has the addition *öz 'aqlımız öz ornumızda ärkän*, literally 'our own mind being in our own place'. The first letter of *'aqlımız* is not perfect, but the word can definitely not be read as *tarlamız*, as Cl. does. Moreover, 'field' was *tarıġlaġ* at that time. T. reads *usumuzda* instead of Cl.'s *ornumızda*, but the latter is very clear, the *r* and *n* being distinctly marked with the appropriate dots. *usumuzda* is not very likely anyway, as *'aql* and *us* are roughly synonymous. Grammatically, *ornumuzda* for what one would expect to appear as *ornınta* 'in its place' should be qualified as *attraction*. The phrase is not *strictly* grammatical, but attraction phenomena are quite common in the linguistic output. The Turkey-Turkish genitive *benim*, instead of the expected *benin*, is a similar case.

8. *iqrar*: Cl. *aḥrar*, no doubt meaning the plural of *ḥurr*, and predicating

[20] This and other shortened references to Uighur texts are as listed in the bibliography of the *UW*.

[21] Although in all examples the two words are written separately, the glossary to BT IX (1980) considers them to be one word, presumably to be analysed *ud-uġ*+*sa-q*, and translates accordingly.

[22] The word which the *EDPT* quotes from Ht VII 2025–6 under this lemma should be read as *tapıġlıq*, a form which better fits the meaning ascribed to that passage by Clauson himself.

it upon the sellers. Turkish grammar does not demand the predicative nominal to be in number agreement with the subject, however. In fact the second letter is *very* clearly visible as *yā* and not *alif*. T. reads *iḳtar* (?), taking the double-dot *r* for *tā* of the Arabic script, but does not attempt a translation.[23] The assumption that Arabic letters are used *instead* of Uighur letters in these texts is wrong, although they *are* used as diacritics. Cf. also the note to *Sarıġ* in IV, 8 below. In the present text, the *r* in *ärkän* (7 and 8), *ornumızda* (8), *ḥaddları* (13), *törtünč* (21) and *tört* (23) has dots above it. Cf. *šahada 'alā iqrāri 'lbāyi' bi-'lbay'* ' Témoin de l'aveu du vendeur relativement à la vente ' (Huart II) and *iqrar qıl-* in VI, 2 below. It corresponds to Ottoman *iqrār et-* ' to confess, admit, avow, declare ' and to Persian (Steingass) *iqrār kardan*. A similar expression appears in the Codex Cumanicus, where, according to Grønbech (1942 : 133), *yıqrar*, *yıḫrar* and *ıqrar* refer to the Christian confession of sins, and *yıḫrar ber-/ıqrar ber-* is attested for *confiteri/confessio*. For the legal status of *iqrar* cf. Schacht (1964 : 151) and *EI* (2nd ed.), s.v. *iḳrār*. Our expression was still alive in Taranchi (spoken in Yarkand, among other places) in Radloff's time. Cf. *ixrā kildi* (thus) ' er hat ein Geständnis abgelegt ', Radloff (I, 1893 : 1424), quoted from his *Proben*.

9. *[q]ılur miz* : T. *(kel)ürmez*,[24] Cl. *tururmän*. The first letter of the verb is torn away, and *ı* and *l* (whose hook is also torn away) are rather faint. The third letter could possibly (though not very likely) be an *r* ; in that case, one could read *[b]erür*, as in the Coman expression. To read *män*, i.e. to have the predicative pronoun out of concord with the subject, would be quite unacceptable in any variety of Turkish I have come across. Forms like *qılur miz* and *turur miz* are found in the *QB* (the former in 4904 and 5837), which makes the *m* acceptable also for the plural pronouns.

'Ali : according to T., p. 161, the ' has an Arabic *'ayn* written under it. What can be seen there is only the hook of the *l*, however.

10. *Isḥaq ǧallab* is the buyer also in documents no. II and IV.

11. On *ǧallab* see the comment on V, a, 3. See *TMEN* 1634 for *käsäk*, which also appears in II, c, 3, IV, 5 and VI, 3. The *EDPT* entry lists only Muslim sources, but we now also have it in a Buddhist text.[25] *Rabul*, a *rustaq* of Yarkand, has not yet been identified. The name is no doubt pre-Turkic, as no Turkic word starts with an *r*.

12. Cl. tries to explain the mention of half the price by the assumption that payment was effected in two instalments. We find a similar mention in ' Arabic No. 5 ', l. 15 ; there, however, ll. 17–18 contain the statement that the sum *was* paid out in full. This probably rules out Cl.'s suggestion. Professor Ménage pointed out to me that the practice is well known also from Persian and Ottoman texts and appears to have been common in the Islamic world. In connexion with an Arabic contract of land sale from Egypt (A.D. 1056) which contains the same phenomenon, Grohmann (1934 : 152) writes : ' The mention of the half of the price immediately after the stipulated sum is obviously intended to avert all possibility of falsifying the amount in the document.' He also documents the habit from Demotic, Coptic and other Egyptian Arabic documents. I am indebted to Mr. A. H. Morton for directing me to this source.

13. *tört ḥaddları birlä* : see the note to IV, 6.

[23] The glossary notes : ' ("*fakirlik derecesine indirilme*" Steingass) *Cümlenin anlamı ne olabilir ?* '

[24] T.'s round brackets mark conjectures.

[25] In *UigTot* 786, which is, admittedly, even later than the Muslim sources in which we find the word.

14. *bizi[n]g-δä ken*: Cl. '*biz* (?) [tear]', T. *bizi(m)de*. T.'s conjecture is non-existent and therefore unacceptable. *biziŋdä* is attested in *QB* 2699, 5339, 5341, 5837 and 5840, in all cases in the separative-ablative sense found here. The earliest locative-ablative form of *biz* was *bizintä*, with what apparently was the pronominal $+Xn$.[26] The Uighur form is *biznidä*: it appears from this and other forms that, at that stage, the locative and ablative endings $+dA$ and $+dIn$ were, for some purposes, treated like postpositions; they were therefore given the accusative forms of the pronouns to 'govern'.[27] When, in post-Old Turkish, the pronominal case governed by postpositions became the genitive instead of the accusative, the locative-ablative automatically followed the postpositions.

15. *oġlumız*: a curved figure is visible underneath the *ġ* which, according to T., p. 161, represents an Arabic *ġayn*. MK thought that the base form of *kisi* 'wife' was *kis* and may have been right: it often happens that the possessive suffix becomes incorporated in words for parts of the body and close relatives. *kisimiz* can be analysed both ways. The credit for distinguishing between *kisi* 'wife' and *kiši* 'person' goes to the *EDPT*, although even the Old Turks may have confused the two words in some of the instances which Clauson tried to set right in his dictionary.

16. *kim ärsäkä* 'to anybody' corresponds to *kimgä ärsä* in text No. VI. The former is a later form as it presupposes the development of the phrase *kim ärsä* into one word.[28] The fact that the present text, though written 42 years *before* VI, contains a grammatically later form should make us wary of using such criteria alone and in isolation to date texts. Earlier and later forms often exist side by side, and recourse to older linguistic phenomena is judged to be more 'correct'. Another such case is the conditional: this text has *qılsa* (l. 17), text IV, written ten years later, *qılsar* (l. 10).

da'va: neither T. nor Cl. could identify this word; the former writes *te'ṣīr* (?), the latter leaves it untranscribed. Although Cl. wrote down this text against VI in parallel columns and even identified *dastan* (which T. did not), he apparently failed to notice the complete parallelism of the wording. The visual identification of *da'va* is made particularly difficult by the fact that the second consonant can be read as any one of seven, by the *v* which here looks like *č/ǧ*, and by the final *yā* which, of course, transliterates Arabic orthography. The word is found thrice in the *QB*.[29] *dastan* is discussed in the note to VI, 8.

17. *da*[']*va*: here the third letter is completely lost in a tear, and, of the fourth, only a clear dot and the bottom line remain. In l. 16 the word is written without dot.

qanmasa[: the *s* has three dots underneath. Cl. *kanmasar*, but nothing *at all* remains of any theoretically possible letter after the (damaged) *a*. T. *sakiġ* (?) (sic !).

[26] *bizintä* is read in the inscription of Toñuquq, l. 40. Although the second *i* is not explicit, this is the only possible reading: in Orkhon Turkish the locative-ablative suffix has a voiceless consonant only after sonants and not after vowels.

[27] In all early Old Turkish texts, postpositions govern the base form of nouns (and 'adjectives') but the accusative of pronouns and nouns with possessive suffixes: see Tekin (1968: 163–5) and Erdal (1979: 154). The accusative of *biz* is *bizni* already in the Toñuquq inscription (thrice). *biznidä* is found in U IV A 267. Similar forms are *siznidä* (U III 48, 26), *sinitä* (Ht IV 302 and Mait 10, 37) and *sinitin* (U III 48, 10 and 12). While, in Uighur, postpositions governing the nominative of nouns never govern the genitive of pronouns, this seems to be the *only* state of affairs known to Brockelmann (1954: 334, with examples): 'Postpositionen werden statt des Casus indefinitus wie beim Nomen mit dem Genetiv des Pron. verbunden'.

[28] The dative suffix can, of course, also be read as $+gä$ in *this* text.

[29] The final vowel of Arabic *da'wā*, *ma'nā*, *Mūsā*, etc., was sometimes pronounced as [ē] in Persian; see Meier (1981: 150). This may have been the case also in our texts.

18. *yalǰan* is usually used of the lie, but MK also gives the example *yalǰan kiši*, which denotes the liar. l. 10 in the Persian document of Minorsky (1942) is equivalent to this passage.

19. T. *boǧra*; Cl. *Burḥān*, which strikes one as an unlikely name for a Central Asian Muslim of that time.[30] The name is to be read as *Buǧra* and not with *o*, as in the Khotanese sources quoted in Hovdhaugen (1971 : 186; there also as a proper name). This must have become a popular name under the Qarakhanid dynasty, as four of its members bore it, including the founder of the dynasty and the *Buǧra khan* identified by Barthold (1923).

Buǧra bägniŋ satmiš yer: Orkhon Turkic and in practically all cases Uighur too, have the agent of such participial constructs in the nominative and not in the genitive: cf. *täŋri yaratmiš türk bilgä qaǧan* (BQ E 1 and S 13) ' the august and wise emperor whom (the god of) heavens created '; *atamız qazǧanmiš tavar* (U III 81, 13) ' property which our father earned '. The agent *is* in the genitive form when the kernel of the relativization is not the direct object: *oǧlınıŋ ölmiš yerin körügsäp* . . . (Suv 625, 2) ' She wanted to see the place where her son had died, and . . .'.[31] Cf. also *Y(a)rp Yaŋatın almiš yerniŋ bitigi* (UigLand v) ' the document of the land taken (bought) from *Yarp Yaŋa* ', which gives us the theoretical possibility of having the genitive qualify *yer* instead of being a *genitivus agentis*, and translate ' the sold land of *B. bäg* '.

18–20. For the four *n* + consonant clusters of these lines written without the *n* cf. IV, 8–9 below and the introduction. As far as the genitive forms are concerned, the language of MK offers numerous parallels: cf. Dankoff and Kelly (1982 : 67).

20. T. *özeki*; Cl. *öz yér* (sic), which is not really grammatical.[32] *özäk* is attested in TT V 28, 122–3, where it translates a Chinese word signifying ' a little valley '. This is no doubt a diminutive of *öz* ' valley ' and identical with the lemma *özök* in MK, translated as ' the branch of a valley '.

21. The title *tuδun* had a glorious history by the time this text was written;[33] here, however, the *tuδun* is no doubt just ' the village headman, in charge of water allotment ', as we read in MK. The name of this person is given as ' *Barman* (pronunciation uncertain) ' by Cl. and as *Babek* by T.; the latter is probably based on the assumption that this *tuδun* is identical to the witness *Bäbäk tuδun* of III, 4 below. That does not seem to correspond to the form of the letters. The last part of the name looks like a loop superimposed on the sequence *Ač*. The place *B//// tuδun yeri* must be identical with ارض تودن بكح in Huart's first document (transliterated only, not translated). It is probably to be understood as ' the land of *Bäkäč tuδun* '. MK mentions a *Bäkäč Arslan tegin* and says that the name has a hard *kāf*, while the caritative of *bäg* (i.e. *bäg* + *äč*) has a soft *kāf*.[34] The plot of *Buǧra ögä*, which was adjacent to the plot dealt with here, appears there too. One side of the land sold in Huart I is adjacent to ضيعة امير سوكان بك, the *Sökmän bäg* estate. The spatial relationship between the piece of land discussed here and that of Huart's first document was either of the two following possibilities.

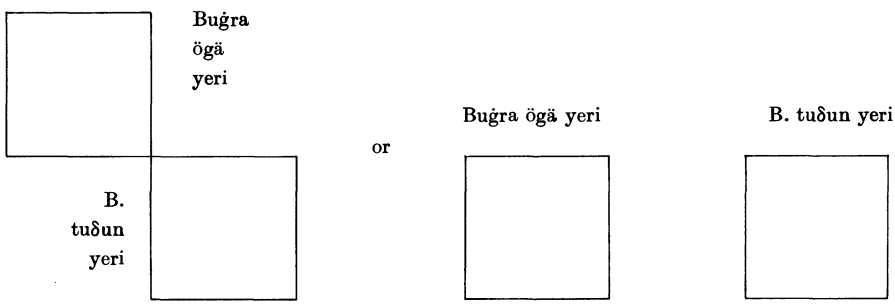
[30] This is the Uighur name for the Buddha.

[31] Another example can be found in Ht IV 355–7.

[32] In his notes for an introduction, Cl. suggests tentatively that *tägirmän öz yéri* (sic) could be taken to mean ' his own mill site '. I don't think it could but, moreover, this is not what he reads in the text.

[33] See *TMEN* 1194; now also in the Bugut inscription (sixth century).

[34] See the translation in Dankoff and Kelly (1982 : 277).



The first drawing is the likelier, assuming, as Cl. does in his notes, that adjacent sides are mentioned one following the other: in this, the two texts in question would agree.

22. T. does not read this line at all; Cl. again has *Burḫan bäg* for the first two words. *Buġra* is pretty clear. The second word is read as *ögä* following the Huart document. Only the first letter, which I assume to be an *alif*, is not visible, however. At the end of the line there is a word starting *mär* or *mar* (with dotted *r*) which ends with a two-letter suffix. See the sources quoted in the *EDPT* for *ögä* ' counsellor '.

23. *sattımız*, as both Cl. and T. read, could equally well be *qattımız* ' we added '. The sentence starting in the tear and ending here corresponds to the *durustluq/bütünlük üčün* of the other documents.

23–24. Both the *hiğra* and the animal cycle datings are clearly legible. The first letter of *sıčġan* is a bit faint but quite visible, and the fourth has a small *'ayn* underneath, like l. 15 above. Now, according to the Chinese animal cycle calendar, assumed to have been synchronous with that of the Turks, *rabī'u 'l-āḫir* 473 (= 19 September–17 October 1080) does not lie in a mouse year but in a monkey year: the cyclical dating is eight years too early or four years too late. T. appears not to have noticed anything. Cl. did notice that something was wrong, although he does not seem to have got round to checking whether 473 was a mouse year. On a page headed ' Dates of documents ' he writes: ' The distance between Nos. 1 and 4 [35] is exactly 42 lunar years; by the cyclic dates it should be 39 solar years. This does not fit at all. Someone must have made a mistake somewhere. Tavışğan [36] is in fact an amendment of the reading in the text تورد غا مالك; this looks more like توشغان than anything else, and it is difficult to see what else it could be.' But Minorsky had already made another *a priori* quite plausible suggestion (see below), and a misreading of an old and worn manuscript could be almost anything.

Our text is practically contemporaneous with MK. Oddly enough, the colophon of that text is in error by three solar or four cyclical years *in the same direction.*[37]

24. *rabi'al aḫir*: there are two dots over the *r* and something like an *'ayn* underneath the Uighur *q/ġ* representing this. Cl. and T. normalize the name of the month to read *rabi'u'l-āxir* and *rebi'ül-āḫir* respectively.

[35] He means the documents numbered I and VI here.
[36] This refers to the cyclic date of number VI.
[37] This difference between the two dating methods follows from the months which Kāšğarī mentions. The most complete and convincing account of the problems in the dating of the Dīvān, also taking previous literature on the matter into account, is that of Dankoff and Kelly (1982: 6–7).

25. There is a vertical stroke after *qılıldı*, apparently to set the witnesses' section apart from the body of the document. *ičindäki-kä*: T. *içinteki yā* (?) (untranslated). The nominalization of $+dA+kI$ forms is occasionally also found in Uighur; cf. e.g. *ävdäkilärtin* (UigBrieffr C 3). *ičindäki-(n)gä* is a possible reading in view of the current spelling *g* for */y/*, and would be the only correct one in Ottoman Turkish. Cf. *qalıqtaqını* in Uighur (U II 69, 4), which shows the pronominal accusative with the $+dA+kI$ suffix. Oblique forms of this ending appear to be quite rare in Old Turkish.

26. *Uzun Ḥasan*, like the *bäg* of the *Aq-Qoyunlu* (fifteenth century).

27. [*'A*]*li*: Cl. *'Ali*, T. *ala*. *'Ali Muḥmad-či* himself is witness in III, 2, in connexion with which the ending $+čI$ is discussed. *Muḥmad* is read as *Muḥammad/muḥammed* by Cl./T., with the usual ' normalization ' of the name.

Musa with T., Cl. left the word untranscribed.

28. [*tä*]*knäči*: Cl. [*Ta*]*mğač*, T. . . . *leçi*. The land of *Yūsuf täknäči* himself is adjacent to the one sold with text II.

Yaqub (sic): this person is witness also in IV, 15, but there his name is written correctly. *elig* signifies ' king '.

28–29. *Elig Mura*[*d*] [*o*]*ğlı*: Cl. *El*^{l}(*l*)*ig Mu*[ ]*oğlı*, T. *ilek molla . . . ami* (?). The letter which I read as *r* has *one* clearly visible dot above it, which makes its identification problematic. There is place for five letters only, and *Muni*[*r*] would be a possibility; but the fourth letter does not look like an *i*.

29. *Yahudi* (?) *Yalu*: Cl. untranscribed, T. *Yaḳud Yalu*. The MS looks very close to the latter reading, but there is a further letter, either *y* or *č*, inside the arc of the *d*. *Yaqudčinlu*, etc., make no sense, and *Yahudiyalu* as an adjective of origin is hardly possible: $+lU$ instead of $+lXg$ is specifically south-west Turkic. Yāqūt says that the cities of Isfāhān, Baġdād and Ğurğān had quarters partly populated by Jews, called *Yahūdīya*, and that Muslims from there were also called *al-Yahūdī*.[38] The *Yahūdīyą* most likely to have been the one in our case is the town mentioned by Barthold (1928: 79–80).

Barthold (1928: 269) discusses the deeds of the *ḥāğib Arslan Yālū* who was in charge of the army of the Samanid ruler *Muntaṣir*; cf. the name of the founder of the Qara Qitay state, *Yelü Taš* (Spuler, 1966: 189). The Mongol khan Ögödäi had a vizier whose first name was *Yelü*. The correct name of *Kätür Yaru* in USp 84, 2 should probably be *Kädür* or *Kädir Yalu*; an *l*-hook is often forgotten in Uighur writing. In this case the name appears with $+qa$ as dative suffix, i.e. it has back vowels. This fixes the harmony of the name, and the two previous instances must also be back-vocalic.

30. [*'A*]*li*: Cl. [ ]*lı*, T. . . . *i*.

ḥallağ has a ⊂-like sign under the first letter; *inisi* has an *n* with a dot.

Säli . . . 'Ali: Cl. reads both of these as *Salı*, T. as *seli*. *'Ali* and *sAlI* look identical in the writing of this text; as all persons present at the occasion referred to by the document have Muslim names, *'Ali* seems preferable for the witness. Since it is unlikely that two brothers had the same name, the elder (absent) one may have been *Säli*. This name, however, poses some problems, the most recent summary of which can be found in Zieme (1981: 251–2). The witness *Käčmiš* in text IV still calls himself only by a Turkish name; otherwise persons *present* at the transactions either have both a Muslim and a Turkish name, as *Aḥmad Arslan*, or only a Muslim one. Names like *Bäk Tüzün* or *Buğra ögä* belong to the past. *Bäk Tüzün* may still have been a ' pagan ':

[38] Barbier de Meynard (1861 (1970): 613). On the important Yahūdīya of Isfahān cf. Schwarz (1969: 586, etc.).

sources quoted by Huart (1914 : 609) mention Turks of the Kāšġar area still converting to Islam in 1043, i.e. only 37 years before our document. Eleventh-century Yarkand was not far from the eastern limit of Islamization. From Zieme's discussion of *Säli/Salı* (loc. cit.) I would infer that the name was connected with Buddhism, which is likely to have been of the religion of the population of Yarkand before they embraced Islam.

31. *Säli ġallab*: Cl. *Salı*, T. *seli*. This must have been the same person as in l. 30; his profession having been mentioned there, it did not need to be repeated.

32. *m[ä]n Aḥmad ////*: Cl. *[män] Muhammad Sa[lı*, T. *men aḥmed Seli*. *'Ali Täžik tanuq män*: Cl. *La'li Tejik tanuq men*, T. *seli tajik tanuḳ (men)*. The words between *Aḥmad* and *'Ali* can definitely not be read as *tanuq män*. *Aḥmad* must therefore be either the father or the elder brother of *'Ali*. Two *r*-dots are clearly visible over the middle of the illegible stretch. *Täžik* appears to have three dots under the *ž*. With *'Uθman Känčäk* (III, 3), the national/tribal designation is also appended to the name.

33–36. Cl.: 'At least 3, perhaps 4 names illegible'. T.: 33. . . . *inisi tanuḳ men* . . .; 34. . . . *t(anuḳ men)* . . . *oġli* . . . *men ḳutluġ*; 35. . . . *tanuḳ men t* . . . *su(l)uman* (?) *çor oġli*; 36. . . . *tanuḳ men* . . .

II. *'Turki No. 6'*

A photograph of three fragments (pl. III). The middle one is here treated last. Each one of the fragments is clearly a whole and not pieced together from smaller parts.

Text

a 1. bu ol ḫaṭ(ṭ) turur kim tanuq boldı-
2. lar. tanuqlar atı bu ḫaṭ(ṭ) ičindä
3. [ya]δ [qılıl]δ[ı

c 1. ḥad(d)i uluġ yol. bṭünlük ṷčün
2. bu ḫaṭ(ṭ) ////// //m///
3. İsḥaq ğal(l)ab-qa bir käsäk yerimni
4. sattım.
5. Yusuf täknäči čıtı muntını. bir ḥaδ(δ)i
6. bahanı tṷkäl bulδum.
7. //// yeṟi b[i]ṟ ḫ[a]d(d)i [ ]k-l[
8. yeri, bir ḥad(d)i Yusuf täknäči yeri, bir

b 1.]bṷδım taqaġu yılı
2. rabi'al aw(w)al ayında.
3. män Mäka'il Arslan
4. sṷbašı tanuq män.

Translation

a 1. This is that document for which they were the witnesses.
2–3. The names of the witnesses have been [noted] in this document.
. . . . . .

c 3–4. I have sold a piece of my land to Master Isḥaq.
6. I have received the whole price.
. . . . . .

Translation

5. this side of the fence of Yūsuf the ferry-man. One boundary
of [the plot is N.N.'s]
7. land; one boundary is [N.N.'s]
8. land; one boundary is the land of Yūsuf the ferry-man; one
c 1. boundary is the main road. For the sake of integrity
2. this document [has been . . .].
b 1. . . . . In the poultry year,
2. in the month of rabī'u 'l-awwal.
3. I, Mikā'īl Arslan,
4. the commander, am witness.
. . . . . .

Commentary

I have rearranged the lines of the translation, as the text is obviously confused. Cl. evidently realized this, since in his text he puts the lines of fragment c into the following order:

(c)(2)b
(3)
(4) (This includes our 4 and 5.)
(5) (our l. 6.)
[one line damaged and illegible]
(7) (Corresponds to our l. 8.)
(c)(1)
(2)a (Includes the first two words of this line.)

This confusion can only be explained by the hypothesis that this is the draft of a contract or an archive copy.

a 1–2. There are two dots on the first *r* of *turur* and apparently also on the second one, and one dot on the *n* of *ičindä*.

3. Only the tops of two δ's are visible. The conjecture here follows both T. and Cl., and VI, 1 below also has *yād qılıl-*. Persian *yād* is attested also in the *QB*.

c 1. *ḫad(d)i* with Cl. and clear in the facsimile; T. *ḫaṭni*. This word and the last one in c 5 have little Arabic *ḥā*'s underneath. *bütünlük* is not mentioned in the *EDPT* but appears rather frequently in the *QB*, always in the rather limited metaphorical sense of 'uprightness, propriety'. *bütünlük üčün* no doubt corresponds to *durustluq üčün* of text VI. English 'integrity' appears to have both the meanings found in Persian *durustī*. 'Completeness', 'comprehensivity' and 'perfection' would be other possible renderings.

2. The last word of this line is read as *oğlı* by Cl., as *erke(n?)* by T. The latter seems more like what can be seen, but would have been written *ạrkän*; *ọgä* is possible.

3. *İsḥaq* and *käsäk* have three dots each under their *s*'s, *bir* and *yerimni* two dots each above their *r*'s. A dot appears over the first letter of *-qa*, a small Arabic *ḥā* under the third letter of *İsḥaq*. *İsḥaq ǧallab* is the buyer also in documents I and IV.

5. *täknäči* and *muntını*, and *bahanı* in the next line, have single dots over their *n*'s.

Cl. left *muntını* untranscribed; T. read it correctly but gives an impossible translation. I know of one other instance of *muntın* 'this side' as derived with the formative *+tIn*: in the MS TM 11 (U 4756) quoted in the note to

BT I D 37, *intin qıdıġ* ' das jenseitige Ufer ' is opposed to *muntın qıdıġ* ' das diesseitige Ufer '.[39] It may be historically identical with the second word in *äŋ mıntın* (often spelt and transcribed *aŋ mıntın*) ' even (German " sogar "), just '. The literal meaning of *äŋ mıntın* should be ' nearest to here '.[40] Since *+tIn* is a formative, *muntın*, like other *+tIn* forms, can receive possessive suffixes. Other examples are *oŋtunınta* (M III 6 III r 14–15) *taštınınta* (ManBuchFrag 58) and UigTot 552 contains several such forms: *yüräkniŋ taġdın yıŋaqı, tamġaqnıŋ soldını, töpöniŋ öŋdüni, buruntın altın . . .* ' the northern side of the heart, the left hand side of the palate, the front (or eastern side) of the head, below the nose . . .'. These parallels should be sufficient.

ḥaδ(δ)i: T. *ḳad(i?)*, Cl. *'xatt* (pronunciation uncertain) '. By *d*, T. intends the letter I transcribe by δ. This can never stand for the sound *t*, as Cl. may have been thinking. It appears that this letter can be used for the sound [d] as well as for the sound [δ] in this text too. Notice that *ḥadd* is written with the letter *t* in l. 8 and apparently also l. 7.

6. *bahanı* has two small parallel lines aslant above it, which may signal an Arabic *hā*.

7. Only the two dots of the *r* in *yeri* are clearly visible, and practically all of the following words are lost. What remains is their outline, and an Arabic *ḥa* under the first letter of *ḥaddi*.

8. The two *yeri* and the first *bir* have two dots each above their *r*'s. *Yūsuf täknäči* appears in c 5 above. This person is also the father of one of the witnesses in text I and he himself bears witness to the transaction accomplished with text IV.

b 1.]b$^{o}_{u}$δım: Cl. and T. both have *bitidim*.

taqaġu: thus T. with the facsimile;[41] Cl. *takuğu*. MK also writes *taqaġu*, however (four times, with *alif* between the velars), and so do, according to Bazin (1974 : 605–6), the Nestorian epitaphs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (found about 320 miles north of Yarkand). All Uighur sources, some much later than our texts,[42] have *taqıġu*. All late sources quoted in the *EDPT* have bisyllabic forms, all explicable as deriving from *tāquq*; this, according to MK, is Turkmen. These differences are not reducible to phonetic development but would seem to be due to dialect: *taqıġu* originally the eastern form, *taqaġu* the central one, *tāquq* that of the west. There is an (Arabic) *'ayn* below the *ġ* of this word in the MS. *taqıġu yıl* should not be translated ' year of the cock ' although it corresponds to a cock in the Chinese twelve animal cycle: as the distinction in M I 36, 5 and MK between *irkäk* and *tiši taqıġu* shows, this is turkologically inexact: Turkic *taqaġu/raqıġu* denoted both the ' cock ' and the ' hen '.

Cl. placed this text in the year A.H. 482 (with question-mark), but the papers do not give his reason for this dating. It can be explained on the basis of two assumptions: firstly, that this text is temporally between I and III and, secondly, that 473 (the date of text I) is indeed a mouse year. We have already seen that he did not question the second assumption, incorrect *if* the

[39] In one other passage (BT II 1001) *muntın* is the ablative of *bu* ' this ' and not the local derivate. *This* form must have helped to change the derivate from **mıntın*, except where it was protected within a fixed phrase.

[40] The *EDPT* would like to ' emend ' this sequence to read *aŋmatın*. The form is *not* ' attested only in rather late blockprints ': in addition to the examples quoted there, we have it in U III 36, 3 and 72, 20, TT X 303, U II 43, 12 and apparently also Mait 27 r 3.

[41] In T.'s glossary we read, s.v. *taḳaġu*: ' *Okunuşta bir yanlışlık mı var ?* '

[42] Thus the examples in TT VII, and the colophon of 1273 or 1333 quoted in the n. to BT VII B 101.

Turkish cycle was synchronous with the Chinese one. He appears to have considered A.H. 470 too, but then crossed the number out. A.H. 494 (twelve years *after* 482) would be contemporaneous with ' Arabic No. 2 ', and would thus contradict one of his (written) statements, to the effect that ' The Uyğur texts are the oldest '. The fact is that all Arabic texts (including Huart's documents of 489, 505 and 508) involve judges and notaries, whose position may have demanded the use of Arabic. The Turkish documents mention only buyers, sellers and witnesses; we do not know when Turkish went out of use in this type of contract, if ever. Our only *terminus ante quem* for this text is the death of *Iṣḥaq ǧallāb*.

3. *arslan* has two dots above the *r*, three below the *s* and one above the *n*. The orthography of *Mäka'il* is discussed in the notes to V, b 12 below.

III. ' *Turki No. 7* '

A MS fragment which may be a palimpsest (pl. IV). The facsimile shows a script not very different from that of texts I and II, but a little more slanting.

Text

1. Känčäk tanuq män. män İsḥaq Narsi-
2. či tanuq män. män 'Ali Muḥmad-čı
3. tanuq män. män 'Uθman Känčäk tanuq män.
4. män Bäbäk tuδun tanuq män. män
5. Yusuf ḥal(l)aǧ tanuq män.

Translation

1. [I, N.N.] the Känčäk am witness. I, Isḥaq Narsi-
2. či, am witness. I, 'Alī Muḥammad-čı,
3. am witness. I, 'Uṯmān the Känčäk, am witness.
4. I, Bäbäk the water distributor, am witness. I,
5. Yūsuf the cotton-carder, am witness.

Commentary

1. The person of whose designation only *Känčäk* remains can be expected to have had a Muslim name like the *Känčäk* of l. 3; this fragment does not contain a single Turkic name. *Känčäk* probably refers to the tribe. According to MK I 30, there were *Känčäk*-speaking villages around Kāšġar. Seeing that most ' *Känčäk* ' words mentioned by him have no Turkish etymologies, it seems likely that the *Känčäk* were remnants of the pre-Turkish population of the area. There appears to be some evidence to show that their language was Indo-European.

Narsi: Cl., writing *Nārsā*, probably identified the famous Iranian name correctly. Muslim sources (quoted in Justi, 1963: 222 a fin.–b init.) write *Narsi*; our MS appears to have changed *-a* to *-i*. There is a dot over the first letter, one or two over the third and three under the fourth. *Ḥasan*, T.'s reading, does not accord with the dots. *Arsl*[*an*] is not possible either, mainly because the final stroke is not adjacent to the edge of the leaf.

2. *či/ǧi/čı/ǧı* is found twice in this line as final element of proper names. In addition, the son of *'Ali Muḥmad-čı* mentioned here appears as witness in I, 27. Cl. leaves the letters untranscribed; T. writes *çor*, which is not what the MSS show. *čor* as second element of proper names, documented in UigOnom II, p. 84, appears to be mainly Manichaean. *Borluq Čor*, which

Zieme reads in UigOnom II A 4, is, I think, semantically deviant; it should be reconsidered, particularly in view of *Borluqči*, to which the editor can point as a proper name. *Our* $+\check{c}I$ cannot possibly have been that $+\check{c}I$, which forms names of professions and other regular occupations.

2–5. None of the *n*'s in these lines have dots above them and none of the *s*'s three dots underneath, which they do in line 1.

4. *Bäbäk*: the Middle Persian name *Papak* apparently voiced its labial consonants already in the ninth century A.D.; see *EI* (2nd ed.), s.v. Bābak, for the important revolutionary figure of this name.

5. *Yūsuf Ḥallāǧ* is witness also to document V, if indeed the same person is meant.

IV. *'Turki No. 3'*

A photograph of a well-preserved MS (pl. V). Finer and smaller writing than the previous two MSS.

Text

1. bu ol ḫaṭ(ṭ) turur ⟨kim⟩ tanuq boldı-lar. tanuq-lar atı bu ḫaṭ(ṭ)
2. aḫrında bitilmiš turur. män Bäk Tuzün subaši
3. oġlı, 'Ali subašı inisi 'Uθman (?) oġ aδıġ igsiz
4. toġasız tandurust arkän Rabul-da Sokmän bäg botı-
5. qında(?) bir käsäk yer sat(t)ım. Ḥusen oġlı Isḥaq
6. ğal(l)ab-qa tort ḥad(d)i birlä sat(t)ım, bir yaš borkkä.
7. bu bork bahası yuz al(l)ig yarmaq; bahanı tükäl buldum.
8. yer uspar-laδım: milk Isḥaq ğal(l)ab-nı(n)g turur. bu yer-
9. ni(n)g av(v)al ḥad(d)i Yusuf ınal yeri, üč ḥad(d)i Isḥaq ğal(l)ab
10. yer. kim da'va qılsar, da'vası batıl turur.
11. yıl tort yuz säksön üč-dä bu ḫaṭ(ṭ) bitildi,
12. qutluġ raġab ayın.
13. män Käčmiš tanuq män. män Aδıġ (?) tanuq män.
14. män Davud tanuq män. män Yusuf täknäči tanuq män.
15. män Täknäči oġlı Ya'qub tanuq män. män 'Ali Täžik
16. tanuq män.

Translation

1. This is that document for which they were the witnesses.
   The names of the witnesses have been written down at
2. the end of this document. I, 'Uṯmān, the son of
3. commander Bäk Tüzün and the younger brother of commander
   'Alī, have, being clear in mind and in
4. perfect health, sold a piece of land in Rabul, in the
5. depression (?) of *Sökmän bäg*. I sold it to Master Isḥaq,
6. the son of Ḥusayn, with its four boundaries,
   for a grove of fresh (trees).
7. The value of this grove is 150 *yarmaqs*. I have completely
   received its (i.e. my land's) worth. I have
8. handed over the plot: The property is master Isḥaq's.
9. As boundaries of the plot there are, on the first side
   counsellor Yūsuf's land, (and) on the (other) three sides,
10. Master Isḥaq's land. Whoever makes a claim on it, may
    his claim be void.

Translation

11. This document was written in the year 483,
12. in the blessed month of Rağab.
13. I, Käčmiš, am witness. I, Aδıġ, am witness.
14. I, Dā'ūd, am witness. I, Yūsuf the ferry-man, am witness.
15. I, Ya'qūb, the son of the ferry-man, am witness. I, 'Alī
16. the Persian, am witness.

Commentary

1. *kim* reconstituted by Cl. in parallelism with text no. II. This word is common as a relative conjunction already in Old Turkish: cf. *ögirmäk kim ögirdi artuq ärüš ärür* (TT II A 60) ' The joy (with) which they rejoiced was very great ': *baqa kör: bu sözlär kim aydım sıŋa bu yaŋlıġ ärür mü* ? (*QB* 3992) ' Look ! The words which I have said to you, are they of this sort ? ', where ' words ' are subject in the main clause but direct object in the relative one. Cf. also the equivalent expression in text No. VI below.

The *n* and the *q* of the second *tanuq* have single dots above them.

2. *aḫrında* in fact looks most like *aḫırnda*, although the reading we accept and *aḫırıda* are also possible. T. *angkinte*, Cl. *axırında*. Document VI (transcript !) also has *aḫrıd(a)*, with no explicit vowel after the *ḫ*. Both Cl. and T. write *bitilmiš*, although no *l*-hook is visible. I follow them because ' *bitin-* ' does not seem to be attested anywhere, whereas scribes often forget to add this hook. *Bäk* ' strong ' appears as first element in proper names like *Bäk Bars*, *Bäk Arslan* or *Bäk Tämir*. Although scholars (e.g. Zieme and Tezcan in UigBrief A 2) have always read *Bäg* in these names, as Cl. and T. do here, the two should not be confused. Turkish names are nominals or phrases with transparent meaning, and the title *bäg* has nothing to do in first position. The name of the founder of the *Bektashi* order of dervishes belongs to the *bäk* group, as in fact a certain *Bäk Taš Qutluġ toŋa* appears in USp 115, 23. *bäg* is used after the name, as in l. 4 here. Cf. the general *Bäktüzün* in Barthold (1928, *passim*). *ṣubašı* has a dot under the *š* (sic). *sü bašı* is attested from the Toñuquq inscription on l. 3 and MK mentions it as the title of *Sälčük*, the founder of the dynasty.[43] The *sü bašı* was, at this period, subordinate to the *sar-laškar*; Minorsky (1942 : 188) thinks that ' the real equivalent of the title would probably be " captain " '. Text I refers to land sold by another son of *Bäk Tüzün sü bašı*. Although T. remarks that the name *Seli* (which we read as *'Ali*) has been struck out before *Bäk*, he still includes it in his text. The scribe apparently wanted to begin with the elder brother but then decided to mention the father too.

3. *'Ali*: Cl. *Salı*, T. *seli*. This person appears as the seller in I, 4.

'Uθman: this can be read as ' *Sırtman* (pronunciation uncertain) ' with Cl., or as *Sıntman*, *Sirtmän*, *Qıntman*, etc., but not, with T., as ' *Siluman* (?) '. Our reading is possible on the assumption that, while writing the top part of the second letter, the pen scratched the paper but did not produce any ink. Note that a Muslim name is to be expected and that the other possible readings would be complete *cruces*.

inisi with T. and Cl. The word has a faint dot over the *n*, a clear one over the second *i* and what looks like two joined dots over the *s*; this is irregular. *igsiz* has three dots under the *s*. *ög aδıġ* is an adjunct noun clause, i.e. one subordinated and used adverbially; *ög* is subject, *aδıġ* predicate. *aδıġ* is

[43] Cf. also Houtsma (1894 : 30): *sü bašı — ra's al-'askar.*

clearly legible, but T. reads *aduḳ* instead. *aδıġ* is well attested from MK on (see *EDPT* s.v.), which cannot be said of ' *aduq* '. This expression appears also in I, 6.

3–4. The binomial *igsiz toġasız* appears in text I above, and has turned up a number of times in Uighur texts not included either in *EDPT* or *DTS*. In Mait 127 v 26 we find it joined to another near-synonym, *adasız*, and ib. 1 v 10 even to another couple, *adasız tudasız*. Now Persian opens up further possibilities, with *tandurust*.

4. *tandurust* with Cl.; see Steingass s.v., where it is also written as one word. T.'s *taḥtvaḳt* is an invented, non-existent form. The structure and syntactic function of *ög aδıġ* of the previous line makes it likely that that was constructed as a *calque* on such Persian compounds. The original Turkish construction, preserved to this day, adds the possessive suffix of the third person to the subject: it would have given **ögi aδıġ*. It may be noted that, although this non-Turkish construction is common in Chinese, it was only under the influence of Persian that it was admitted—and then only sporadically—into Turkish.[44] As the use of *tandurust* shows here, the Turks introduced Persian (and Arabic) lexemes into quasi-synonym series the very moment they opened their vocabulary to elements from these languages. With the various possibilities offered for language combinations, they were to remain exceedingly popular throughout Muslim-Turkish literature. Text I, which also has the series appearing here, already contains an Arabic-Persian couple, *da'wā dastān*.[45] The evidence of these texts is particularly important as the matter of fact style, proper for legal documents, in which they are written makes conscious esthetic motivation rather unlikely. Impressiveness and the exclusion of ambiguity are possible motives, as perhaps with Ottoman legal language which is also rather prone to such series. Over *ạrkän* there is a line probably resulting from the joining up of two *r*-dots; *Rabul* has two dots over its *r*. *Sọkmän* has one dot under the *s*. According to MK, this word is a military title, which he explains from the verb *sök-* ' to rip apart ', meaning ' one who breaks the ranks of the enemy army '. Beside the instances in the documents published here, our *Sökman bäg* is mentioned in Huart's first text. Cf. the *Sọkmän bin Artuq* who founded the Artuqid state in eastern Anatolia in 1095.[46]

4–5. Cl. *butı-sında*; T. *buti-ḳinta*. There are single dots over the first *ı*, over the first letter in l. 5 and over the *n*. The second of these speaks for a *q*, i.e. for T.'s reading. In the Arabic documents, two different things bear the name of *Sökmän bäg*: in ' Arabic No. 5 ' a *sāqiya tansib ilā Sōkmān bäg*, i.e. a canal for irrigation; in Huart's text I, a *ḍay'at amīr Sōkmān bäg* (with *bäg* both translated and retained), and both are mentioned to delimit the land concerned. The relevant meanings of *ḍay'a* appear to be ' an estate consisting of land, or of land and a house ... yielding a revenue ...' (Lane), to which

[44] Here are two examples for the original Turkish construction: *äviŋärü kälsär, özi atanmıš ögrünčülüg, atı yetiglig kälir* (IrqB 55) ' When he comes home, he comes his self being famous and glad, his horse adequate '. *savı süzük köŋüli qatıġ tetmiš siz* (Hts VII 2103) ' You are said to be of clear speech and strong of heart '. Cf. *QB* 2001:

todumsuz bolur ol közi suq kiši
közi suqqa yetmäz bu dunya ašı

[45] This binomial was presumably borrowed as a whole.

[46] MK's etymology of *sökmän* is probably correct. In *QB* 2268 the verb is used in this sense: *čärigin söküp ol yaġısın tarar*. ' He will break through the battle-line and rout the enemy.' Other *-mAn* forms (whose meaning and attestation can be found in the dictionaries) are *ör-män, tägir-män, ket-män, ürt-män*, later *köc-män* (see *TMEN* 1667), *az-man, sıq-man* and some more dubious examples. The function of *-mAn* is fairly obscure, however, only a few of the above being agent nouns.

Persian (Steingass) adds the meaning ' village '. It is this last which Huart adopts. In our text, whatever is here attributed to *Sökmän bäg* is not there for delimitation, but to specify the place within which the land is found. This can be neither an estate (as its revenue would go to somebody else, who would also have to agree to any transfer of tillage rights) nor a village, that being *Rabul*, nor a canal. *butıq* ' branch of a tree ' does not fit the context, which T. realizes; he therefore leaves it untranslated. Perhaps the word is to be read as *botıq*,[47] a rounded variant of *batıq* which is, in VI, 4 below, taken to be a variant of *batıġ*. *batıġ* is a low place, or a depression in general, ' swamp ', ' pit ' being special meanings. The possible further example in VI also refers to a place. For the rounding cf. *börk* in l. 6 of this text. More distant interpretations need not be mentioned here. In text VI the word has no vowel signs, and could, there too, be read with /o/.

5. The *s*'s of *käsäk* and *sat(t)ım* in this and the next line have double dots underneath, the *r* of *yer* double dots above. *Ḥusen* is written *qwsyn*, and is not transcribed by Cl. T. ' normalizes ' it to *hüseyin*. *İsḥaq* has a single light dot under the *s*. *İsḥaq ǧallab* is the buyer also in documents I and II; in ' Arabic No. 2 ' a mosque bears his name.

6. *ḫaṭṭ* ' manuscript ' and *ḥadd* ' border, limit, etc.' both appear as *q't* in this writing. T. writes the first as *ḫaṭ* but leaves the second one as *ḳat*. Although he translates this correctly as ' hudûd ' (the plural of *ḥadd* in Arabic !), he appears not to have identified the word.[48]

tört ḥaddi birlä: the same or a similar phrase appears in I, 13 and VI, 3. In VI, 3 the munshi translates: *bā čahār ḥaddaš*. The first letter of *ḥadd* has something like an Arabic *ḥa* above it. The *r* of *birlä* seems to be marked with two superscribed dots, but the *l* lacks its hook.

bo̤rk has, here and in the next line, its *r* marked by double dots. T. wrongly reads the instances as *bükıg* (?) and *bük* but has identified the word and translates it correctly. Cl. has the correct transcriptions but writes: ' The consideration paid in A.H. 483 is very obscure; it is prima facie a hat of some kind worth 150 *dirhams*.' He equated the word with *börk* ' cap ', attested from MK on. There is no doubt, however, that this is a rounded variant of *bärk* ' grove '. A similar rounding after labial consonants can be observed with *tapuġluġ* in I, 4 above. This phonetic development, in certain cases attested also in Uighur, is current in Qarakhanid Turkish. *bärk* is well attested in Uighur texts, but was not yet known to the authors of the *EDPT* and the *DTS*, which therefore have no entry for it. We find it, e.g., in Mait 26 r 2, 148 r 4, 155 r 2, 143 v 9, 1 r 25 and 1 r 34, in TT IV A 48 and BT III 94.[49] The note to the last mentioned instance brings evidence for the survival of the word in Anatolia as *bek*. The Anatolian form and its various meanings enable us to make the connexion with *bök*, mentioned in the *EDPT* as ' 1 *bük*, " thicket " and the like ', where we find both rounding and the loss of *r*. Uighur examples for *bök* can be found in *ETŞ*, which was published in 1965 but not taken into consideration by either of the mentioned dictionaries.

yaš T.; not transcribed by Cl. *'Uθman* receives the fresh, i.e. productive, grove, of specified value, in exchange for his field.

7. Both instances of *baha* have Arabic *hā* written above them. The *n* of *bahanı* is not really discernible.

[47] The *o/u* is very clear in the facsimile.

[48] The meaning is easily drawn from the context.

[49] All of these were published after the appearance of these dictionaries, with the exception of TT IV, where the word was misunderstood by the editors.

yarmaq has two distinct meanings, one denoting ' minted money ' in general and one referring to a specific coin. As it has, here and in text I, the second meaning, it is left untranslated. In MK and the *QB*, both meanings are attested. The first meaning is also found four times in USp in the phrase *yarmaq kümüš*, which does not necessarily refer to silver money either: in one case the coins are specifically said to be of gold.[50] Now to the second meaning, which we have here. The Arabic texts from Yarkand deal in *dirhams*, and I think we can take MK's word for it that this term was equivalent to *yarmaq*. Considering the phrase mentioned, it would appear that the *yarmaq*, like the *dirham* in general, was mainly of silver but could also be of gold. According to Gabain (1973 : 63–4), who sums up all we know about the monetary units current in the Uighur kingdom, the *yarmaq* was also equivalent to the *sa͡ltır*. I could not discover the basis of this piece of information,[51] as no Uighur text I know of contains *yarmaq* with the second meaning. It is true in the sense that the *sıtır* was the central means of monetary payment in the Turkish east, like the *dirham* in the Muslim world. The *sıtır*, like the *dirham*, was also a unit of weight, but to discuss equivalences in that domain would lead us too far afield. *yarmaq*, in any case, does not seem to be used for anything other than money. The *EDPT* suggests a foreign etymology for this unit too, and may be right: the semantic connexion with *yar-* ' to split (tr.) ' is difficult to sustain, and *-mAk* usually forms abstracts. Coins struck at Yarkand itself as early as 404/1013–14 have been found,[52] and the actual weight, constituents and equivalence of the Yarkand currency could no doubt be ascertained from them. Zieme (1976 : 244) tries to determine the value of land in general. The three texts in which the amount of grain which a field will take (in volume units) is correlated to the price (in rolls of cloth of official size) differ widely; at any rate there are too many variables and far too little data.

8. Instead of *usparlaδım*, T. has *evḳaf⟨i⟩ni* (?) *aldım*. The word has two dots under the *s*. Here more than elsewhere, the ' hook ' of the *l* appears as a hurried line somewhere below. See Minorsky (1942 : 193–4) and *EDPT* for this verb, which the former writes with *ū-*, the latter with *o-*. Beside the examples in the *EDPT*, we now also have *ısparla-* in Eckmann (1976 : 139). *+lA-* is frequently added to foreign words, as in *nom + la-*, and commonly to verbal abstracts, as in *adırt + la-*. The base need not be an ' archaic ' Persian form, however, as Minorsky and Clauson assume. The initial vowel may have been brought in to help with an initial cluster *sp-*, with which New Persian *su͡ipārdan* may in fact have been pronounced in the east: cf. Afğ. *spāral*, same meaning. As our passage is the first attestation of the word in Turkic, one should take it to be a contemporary loan from New Persian. Direct Middle Persian loanwords are hardly to be found in Turkic (as distinct, of course, from other Middle Iranian languages).

8–9. The genitive suffixes in this and the next line have dots over their first *n*'s but omit the second *n*'s altogether: cf. text I, 18–20 and the introduction.

9. *ınal* may or may not be a proper name here, as T. takes it to be. *Yūsuf ınal's* land is also on two sides of the property dealt with in the text of Barthold (1923).

[50] Cf. Spanish *plata* and Hebrew *kesef*, which mean ' silver ', but also ' money (of whatever sort) '. *yarmaq* shares its two meanings with Arabic *darāhim*, modern Arabic *flūs* and Republican Turkish *para*.

[51] Zieme, 1976, has more detailed information on economic activities in the Uighur state, but does not even mention the *yarmaq*.

[52] See Barthold (1928 : 281).

9–10. *ğal(l)ab yer*: T. emends to *çalap yiri*, Cl. to *Callābnıŋ yeri*. There is something to be said for both suggestions.

10. I read *qılsar* against Cl. and T., who both have *ķılǧan*: the first letter is marked with a dot above; the fourth appears not to be. The words before and after this have not been transcribed by Cl., while T. reads them as *te'ẖīr* and *tārīẖini* respectively. This is unacceptable both from what appears in the facsimile and for evident grammatical reasons. The two difficult words are in fact identical, the second one adding $+sı$, the possessive suffix. They are written *t'qvy*, to be read *da'vā*. In I, 27 *Mūsā* is also written with final *yā*, also, that is, in the Arabic manner.

11. I write *säksön* with the *EDPT* instead of *sekson* (Cl. and T.): as the second *s* and the absence of an *alif* after it show, and as MK in fact says explicitly, this can no longer be considered as two words; vowel harmony should therefore hold.

12. T. writes *ayin-ta* although no *ta* is visible, Cl. *ayın⟨ta⟩*. The locative ending is not necessary, however, as the instrumental suffix $+Xn$ (here perhaps $+I+n$, after the possessive suffix) is also used for time. E.g. MK III 69 *qurǧaq yılın bodun kör* ' In a year of drought look at (what) the people (do) '; U III 73, 18 *qop ödün* ' at all times '.

13–16. Less than half the instances of *män* here have their *n*'s marked with dots. Cl. ' ? *keçmiş* ', which does, however, seem legible; T. *yaçmiş*. See the note to V b 7 below for this name. *Aδıǧ* is tentative: the third letter is dubious, which gives several possibilities for the fourth. Cl. leaves the name untranscribed; T. *aduķ*. A certain *Adıǧ tarqan* appears as the buyer of land in ActeOuig 1, 6, 11 and 17. This is probably one of the numerous animal designations serving as Turkish proper names; *aδıǧ* ' sober ' is also possible.

14. *Davud*, from Ar. *Dā'ūd*, with *v* looking like a *y* with a dot above. Cl. untranscribed; T. *tavut*. The name appears also in Huart I.

täknäči with T., who treats it as a proper name in his translation; Cl. *tamğaçı*. Ferry-men were evidently needed in the numerous canals of the area. See *EDPT* and Räsänen for *täknä*, properly ' trough '; however, the *EDPT* quotes it from the Sanglax as ' a small round boat used to cross a piece of water ', and similar uses are known from Ottoman Turkish. The person in question is also mentioned in I 28 and II c 5 and 8.

15. *Ya'qub* is the son of the witness just before him. We also find him in document I, where he is called *Yusuf täknäči oğlı Yaqub* (sic); here, the patronym is unnecessary.

'Alı: T. *seli*. Cl., who wrote *La'li*, apparently took the final flourish of the preceding *n* for the hook of an *l*.

Täžik is ' Persian ' both for MK and in the *QB*.

V. ' *Turki No. 1 continued* '

The photograph of a sheet whose upper edge is partly visible (pl. VI). The traditional way of folding such documents is best seen here: it was rolled and pressed flat; then the ends of this flattened cylinder were folded over to meet. By the way the folding lines run into the upper edge, it can be seen that the top was once longer but was torn away. The text is in the upper half of the sheet we have; the bottom half is blank. The writing is rather similar to that of text III. The witnesses' statements, of which the fragment consists, are arranged in a shorter and in a longer column. According to Cl., ' Turki No. 1 ' is ' a text in Arabic script of which no photograph is available '. Concerning

the use of Arabic writing, we get the following gradation: in the dated texts treated above, I and IV belonging to A.H. 473–83, neither scribe nor witnesses wrote in Arabic; in the text presented here, the scribe used Arabic, but the witnesses did not; in Huart's texts 2 and 3 (A.H. 505–8), *a few* of the witnesses still signed in Uighur (while in his text from 489 no Uighur signatures are found); in A.H. 515 (Arabic No. 5) there were still two witnesses who signed in Uighur. Text V is intermediate between these two groups, and if a mapping over the years is possible, may have been written in the eighties or nineties of the fifth century A.H.

Text

a 1. män Sulman otaġ bašı tanuq män.
2. Nuri oġlı ʻUθman tanuq män.
3. män İsmaʻil oġlı Ḫasan ğal(l)ab ḫaṭ(ṭ)čı
4. tanuq män.
5. män Bubakir siliḫdar tanuq män.
b 1. män Q(a)ra Sar (?) otaġ bašı oġlı
2. ʻUθman tanuq män.
3. män İsḫaq ḫaṭ(ṭ)čı oġlı
4. ʻAli tanuq män.
5. män Yusuf ḫal(l)ağ tanuq män.
6. män Ḫasan tamġačı tanuq män.
7. män Käčmiš Teksin tanuq män.
8. män Sarıġ Muḫmad ğal(l)ab ta[nuq män.]
9. Kurläg Muḫmad inisi Bubakir
10. tanuq män.
11. män Yusuf otaġ bašı tanuq [män.]
12. män Babana'il otaġ bašı tanuq [män.]

Translation

a 1. I, Sulaymān the ' tent-master ' am witness.
2. ʻUṯmān the son of Nūrī am witness.
3. I, Master Ḫasan the scribe, son of Ismaʻīl,
4. am witness.
5. I, Abu Bakr the sword-bearer, am witness.
b 1. I, ʻUṯmān, the son of Q(a)ra Sar (?) the
2. ' tent-master ', am witness.
3. I, ʻAlī the son of Isḫaq the
4. scribe, am witness.
5. I, Yūsuf the cotton-carder, am witness.
6. I, Ḫasan the seal-bearer, am witness.
7. I, Käčmiš the *teksin*, am witness.
8. I, Master Muḫammad the blond one, [am wit]ness.
9. I, Abū-Bakr, the younger brother of Kürläg Muḫammad,
10. am witness.
11. I, Yūsuf the ' tent-master ', [am] witness.
12. I, Baba Na'il the ' tent-master ', [am] witness.

Commentary

a 1. *otaġ* is rendered in MK by *ḫayma* ' tent '. This and three instances in the *QB* are the earliest attestations of this noun. In *QB* 4139 the phrase

on otaġ appears as the designation of a military unit which an officer can be expected to covet. This should be one rank higher than the *otaġ bašı*. *otaġ* is discussed in *TMEN* 489. Although *-Xg* rarely forms *nomina loci*, the etymology from *ōt* ' fire ' and *+A-* the denominal suffix is probably correct: as the voiced consonant of Ottoman *oda* shows, the word had a long vowel like the base, *uot* in Yakut. The word is not a borrowing from Sogdian *'wt''k*, not only because of the velar (*TMEN*), but also because of the incompatibility of content: *'wt''k* in fact means ' place, area ', an adjective derived from it (Gershevich, 1954) signifies ' local '.[53] The *TMEN* entry gives Arabic *wiṭāq* as a borrowing from Turkish. This connexion cannot be upheld as it stands, as the initial is irregular. Rather, the relationship is much more complicated. A title *withāq bašı* is first attested, at almost the same time, in two very different sources: in ' Arabic No. 2 ' and Niẓāmu 'l-Mulk's *Siyāsatnāma*.[54] It appears from the latter source that *withāq bašı* was the rank a slave could attain in his seventh year, one rank below the *ḫayl bašı* and two below the *ḥāǧib*. It seems likely that *withāq bašı* of these Persian and Arabic sources and *ōtaġ bašı* of the Turkish ones refer to the same title. *th*, however, is even farther away from *t*. The term *witāq* ' tent ', found in Mamlūk and other Arabic sources, is synonymous with *ōtaġ* but close in form to *withāq*. It appears to have been the missing link; *withāq* seems to have emerged through an Arabic (so-called) popular etymology: *wathiqa* signifies ' to trust ', *yūthaqu bihi* ' trustworthy ', etc.[55] According to Niẓāmu 'l-Mulk, an *otaġ bašı/withāq bašı* shared his rank with three other men. Three *otaġ bašıs* appear in this document, thus apparently nearly exhausting the set of the local court. It is only through the phrase *otaġ bašı* and the task thereby represented that the Arabic form corresponding to *otaġ* can be explained. In a sense, therefore, Arabic *wiṭāq* is a hybrid back-formation.

2. Cl. has ' *Nūrī* (pronunciation uncertain) ' where T. reads *(t)ong(a)*; there are two dots over the *r*. *Nūrī* is the shortened form of *Nūraddīn*. The letters could also stand for *urı* ' boy, son ', which is, I think, not attested as a proper name, however.

3. *ǧallāb* signifies ' slave merchant ' in Arabic. T. writes it as *çalap* and considers it a proper name. His reference to *TMEN* 1112 shows that he did connect it with Ottoman *çäläbi* and *çäläb/çalab*, which he, like the previous scholars, is unable to explain; not, however, with the Arabic word. Cl.'s manuscript has, throughout, first *Çalab*, crossed out everywhere, and *Callāb* written above it. As he writes both with capitals, he too must have thought it to be a proper name. Whether he also related it to the Ottoman terms cannot now be known. The word appears quite frequently in our texts. *(Ḥusen oġlı) İsḥaq ǧallāb* is the buyer of land in I, II and IV and the (main) donator of a mosque mentioned in Barthold (1923); we also have *Uzun Ḥasan ǧallāb* (I, 26), *Säli ǧallāb* (I, 31) and *Sarıġ Muḥmad ǧallāb* (V, 8). In two cases, the word is mentioned in connexion with professional designations: *Ḥasan ǧallāb*

[53] Professor D. N. MacKenzie, who had also tentatively made the connexion between the two words, now thinks that the similarity is a coincidence (oral communication). The etymology of *otaġ* is also confirmed by the use of *tütün*, primarily ' smoke ' (< *tüt-*), but in late texts also ' household ' and ' household tax ' (cf. Zieme, 1981 : 253).

[54] Text p. 95, transl. pp. 139–40, quoted in Barthold (1928 : 227).

[55] I owe this last point to Professor MacKenzie. On the other hand, the development of initial *wi* to *u* is well attested in Sogdian, as Gershevich (1954, §§ 210–19) shows; further examples are mentioned in nn. 194 and 389 to Sundermann (1981). *wiṭāq* could, I believe, have come from a Sogdian *wi-* form preceding *'wt''k*, if the meaning permitted such a connexion. The problem should, I think, be reconsidered both from the point of view of the office involved with *ōtaġ/withāq bašı* and from that of Iranian etymology, for both of which I am incompetent.

ḫaṭṭčı, in this line, is a scribe, *ḫallāǧ Säli ǧallāb* (I, 30) a dresser of cotton, one who separates it from the seed or loosens it. At least in these instances, but probably also in the others found in our texts, *ǧallāb* was not used as the name of a profession but, so it appears, as a general designation for well-to-do bourgeois persons; in content, therefore, it corresponds to Uighur *bayaġut*. Adding the possessive suffix, we get Ottoman *çelebi*, quite close to this in meaning and use. It is interesting for the religious history of the Turks that the term *bayaġut* and its borrowed equivalent, *ǧallāb*,[56] served the early Muslims among them as designations for their new God: the hitherto unexplained *bayat* of the Qarakhanid sources and *çalab/çäläb* of Old Ottoman Turkish derive from them. The morphological relationship between *bayat*, *bägät*, etc., and the *+AgUt* formation is discussed in Erdal (forthcoming). Where the believer called himself *qul* ' slave ',[57] God could be the metaphorical slave merchant. The use of the word *ǧallāb* in our texts makes the conceptual transition even better understandable.[58]

Here and in b 3, the text clearly has *ḫaṭ(ṭ)čı* and not *atçi* (T.).

5. *Bubakir*: thus also b 9 below. Cf. the name of the Il-khan *Abū Sa'īd* (fourteenth century), which also appears as *Busayid Baġatur qan* in Mongol documents, and *Bulqāsim* in Huart, text 3.[59] *siliḫdar* has three dots under the *s*, like *Sulman* in a 1. T. *siliḫdār* (thus with *ḫ* !); Cl. *Silāḥdār*, but the *i* in the second syllable is clearly visible. This compound comes, of course, from Persian and not Arabic; it has the *imāla* form *silīḥ* (q.v. in Steingass), which is, in that language, already used by Firdawsi. Meninski (1780–1801, III, 298) also gives *silyhtār* as a ' vulgar variant '.[60] Therefore, no emendation is necessary. See the *IA* for the office.

tanuq män with a dot over each *n*, as usual in this text.

b 1. *Q(a)ra sar* is not very satisfactory because of the missing (syncopated ?) vowel; but T. *nana sar* makes even less sense, and Cl. *Nārsā* just cannot be read here. *äräṅ sar* is probably out (although a proper name *Äräṅ* appears in UigBrief D 1), because it would have been written as *ạräṅ*. The writing is very clear: there are three dots under the *s* of *sar*; in the first word, there is one dot over the first letter and two over the second. *Qara* is a very common first part in Uighur (cf. *DTS* s.v.) and other proper names. *sar* is the Persian equivalent of Turkish *baš* ' head '. Although Uighur and Qarakhanid *qarabaš* signifies ' slave ', the sequence also retained its literal meaning: in *QB* 6530 it refers to black hair. It would not be unnatural at all for a *bahuvrīhi* name ' black-head ' to be given to somebody with dark hair; *sarıġ* ' blond ' and *arsıl* ' auburn ' are also found as proper names.

2–4. *'Uθmān* in l. 2 and *'Alī* in l. 4 have *'ayns* underneath their first letters.

[56] Although I write the word as if it were pronounced with a geminate *l*, the simplification evidenced by Ottoman Turkish may in fact already have taken place. The indeterminate quality of the vowel in the Ottoman form also argues for borrowing from a language in which this Turkish distinction was unphonemic.

[57] Cf. also the common use of *al-'abd*. The Turks did not first come across this metaphor with Islam: cf. the thrice repeated *täŋri qulı bitidim* of the Gurbaljin inscription in central Mongolia.

[58] *Lord* and the Greek noun *kúrios*, originally ' lord, master, head of a family, master of a house ' are among the obvious parallels.

[59] Steingass has a lemma ' *bū-bakr* (for *abū-bakr*) The father-in-law of Muhammad '. An even shorter form. *bubeg* (i.e. *Bubäk* in Turcological transcription) appears in the Mongol text of Doerfer (1975: 207) and is, according to him, ' die in Iran wohlbekannte Kurzform von Abū Bakr '. (Graciously pointed out to me by Professor Doerfer himself.)

[60] The name of a quarter in Istanbul was only recently pronounced as *Silihtaraġa*, although ' weapon ' is, to this day, *silâh*.

5. *ḥal(l)aǧ* with Cl. T. writes *Kalaç* and takes this to be a proper name. Professional designations did, of course, tend to function as proper names as, in the case of this word, with the famous Ṣūfī martyr *al-Ḥallāǧ*, and with *Täknäči* in IV, 15 above. As, however, the person concerned here is given his personal name, *Yūsuf*, we may take it that it has not been replaced by his profession. Thus also with the words for the other professional and public occupations which accompany the names in these texts. *ḥallaǧ* here has a small *ḥā* over the first letter.

6. *tamġači* is attested in the Orkhon inscriptions, perhaps for ' brander of animals ', but does not appear even once in the whole translated literature of the Uighurs. We find it again in *QB* 4046 and in a late document in the USp. See also *TMEN* 934.

7. *Käčmiš*, literally ' it has passed ', is apparently one of the class of names given by Turks which refer to some significant event connected with the baby or some aspect of its behaviour. Mamlūks, for instance, have such names as *Ayıtmıš*, *Bäklämiš*, *Turmıš* and *Qırmıš*.[61]

teksin is written with two or three dots under the very clear *s* and a dot over the *n*. T.'s *tigin* is therefore impossible.[62] Tezcan (1981 : 63) interprets this word correctly. *TMEN* 912 discusses a *QB* example (4069), the Persian sources which mention the title and MK's definition; the latter's lemma is wrongly vocalized as *tüksin*.

8. *sarıġ* ' blond ': two dots are visible under the *s*; there are none over the second consonant, despite T.'s drawing on p. 161. He there gives it as one of the alleged examples of Arabic *tā* he believes to have found in these texts. Therefore T.'s text has *Satiġ*, taken as a proper name.

Here and in the next line both Cl. and T. normalize to *Muḥammad*. What the text has is intermediate between that and the bisyllabic late Ottoman form.

9. *Kụrläg* has two dots over the *r*. The second vowel is clearly *a/ä*, in spite of Cl. *kürlig*. T. writes *kö⟨r⟩tlek*, in accordance with the theory mentioned in connexion with *sarıġ* above. Although my account of the word is, in this case, not very convincing, T.'s reading does not lead anywhere at all: there is no word *körtläk*, although *körtlä* ' beautiful ' exists.[63] **kür+lä-*, the base I would like to posit for the form, would be derived from ' 1 *kür* ' of the *EDPT*, which is there translated ' stout-hearted, courageous, bold '. The productivity of *+lA-* being virtually unlimited at the time, unattested *+lA-* verbs come up with *every* newly published text. The name of the Mongol tribe *Kürleüt* is a regular Mongolian plural of a base which must originally have been *Kürleg*, like this name.

inisi has a dot over the *n* and three under the *s*.

12. *Babana'il* was not transcribed by Cl. Written as one word, but no doubt composed of *baba* and Arabic *nā'il* ' he who receives ': *Bäk Tüzün* is, in text I, also written as one word. The entry *baba* in the *IA* documents this word as a title for important figures in the mystical domain from the second half of the tenth century on. In this function, *baba* is always used before the name. Köprülü (who wrote the entry) gives two late examples for *Baba* being used as first component of ordinary proper names; this is no doubt the case

[61] See Sauvaget (1950 : 31 ff.).

[62] In his re-drawing of the word on p. 161 he places two dots under the first *i*, which definitely are not there. He seems to have taken these and the *s*-dots as Arabic *yā*-dots, related to his theory about the mixture of the two writing systems in these texts.

[63] This also leaves the assumed loss of the *r* unexplained.

also in our instance. *nā'il* is written as *n'yyl* (with a dot over the *n*). The name could therefore have been read as *Baba nāyil* with T. A scribe who could write *Isma'il* correctly would, I think, also be likely to be correct here. I therefore suggest that the *yā* is here the *kursī* of the *hamza*, as demanded by Arabic orthography. This also holds for *Mäka'il* in II, b 3, spelt *m'k'yyl*: I have therefore not transcribed the *y*, in spite of both Cl. and T.[64]

B. The Turkish text in Arabic script: Text VI

In the note mentioned above, E. Denison Ross refers to five documents written in Turki in Arabic character. He probably intended to publish these himself,[65] and apparently retained them. The bottom part of No. 1 among them, bearing the witnesses' signatures, appears as text V above. The transcript of another one was given to Minorsky, who, in 1942, published a photocopy (pl. VII), adding translation and notes. This is referred to here as M. Available to me were this publication, and Cl(auson)'s interpretation of it. None of these refer to the original MS, now probably lost. The transcript is accompanied by an interlinear Persian translation which M. claims is by Sir Denison Ross's munshi.[66] This, of course, cannot be taken as independent evidence either. There appears to have been a third hand, above the line, which I fancy to be Denison Ross's: it adds *ḫ(a)d(d)* in l. 6 and *bat(ı)l* in l. 8, and numbers the four sides of the field and the five witnesses with underlined Arabic numerals. Moreover, there is an Arabic *1* over the obscure end of l. 2 and a *2* over what was illegible in the middle of l. 9. (Both of these passages are put in brackets in the original transcript.)

Diacritics are very rare in our source: there is a *šadda* over *awwal* (l. 4), without which it would be identical to *ol*, and *maddas* over the first letters of *āḫrı(n)d(a)* and *āy(ı)nda*. The only letters marked by a macron in our text are those representing these two cases.[67] Diacritical vowel signs are virtually absent: there is a *ḍamma* over the first vowel of *üčün* in l. 9. Otherwise, a vowel is here put into round brackets whenever it is not explicitly written with a *mater lectionis*. Since foreign words follow the original orthography, any of these vowels not put into brackets can be understood to have been long. Both common Turkic /e/ (as in *yer* and *te-*) and /ä/ (as in *käs-*, *män* and *är-*) of the first syllable are in this text written with *yā*. I transcribe this as *e* in all cases, although the convention hardly has any phonetic significance. In non-first syllables, *yā* always stands for [i] or [ı].

The transcript usually has the dots which characterize Arabic letters; those omitted have not always been mentioned in the notes. Punctuation, capitals, etc., is as above.

In Turkish words, back vs. front vocalism is distinguished only with the velars, *ġ* : *g* and *q* : *k*: among other things, final /ä/ is written with *alif* like final /a/, and *ta* is used with both front and back vocalic words.

[64] The *ä* in the first syllable of that transcription should perhaps also be explained: the MS has an *alif* but I have tried to come as close as possible to the correct Arabic form, which has an *i* instead.

[65] Minorsky writes, p. 192, n. 4, that he also has the original decipherment of Sir Denison Ross, but that it ' only partly covers the text '.

[66] I would hereby like to thank A. S. Shahbazi, who deciphered this (mostly undotted) translation for me.

[67] *āy* ' moon, month ' has a long vowel also in Turkmen, etc.

Text

0. (The *basmala*)
1. bu ol ḫ(a)ṭ(ṭ) turur kim (a)nıŋ t(a)nuq-ları (a)tı(?) ḫ(a)ṭ(ṭ) āḫrı(n)d(a) yad qılıldı.
2. men Ḥ(u)s(e)n ḫ(a)ğ(ğ)ač-nıŋ oġlı M(u)ḥm(a)d ḥağ(i)b iqrar qıld(ım) k(i) (?) Sınmas-ta
3. bir kesäk iki yuk ornı yer satt(ı)m, toqrt ḥ(a)d(d)i birlä miŋ y(a)rmaq-qa.
4. bu yer-niŋ aww(a)l ḥ(a)d(d)i B(a)t(ı)q Arıq; ik(i)nğ ḥ(a)d(d)i M(a)s'ud T(o)ġrıl sų başı
5. yeri; učünğ ḥ(a)d(d)i Č(i)mkät qašı; toqrt(ü)nğ ḥ(a)d(d)i Ḫ(a)ğ(ğ)ačı ḥağ(i)b yeri, už+
6. mälik ///. bu toqrt ḥ(a)d(d) ič(i)ndäki yerni satt(ı)m. b(a)hası t(u)gäl buldum. yerni
7. İsrafil Čavlı sų başı-ġa uspa(r)ladım. bu yer birlä k(i)m-gä ersä d(a)'wa
8. d(a)stan yoq. k(i)m d(a)'wa qılsa d(a)'wa-sı baṭ(ı)l turur teb d(u)r(u)st-luq
9. učün yıl beš yuz on beš-tä ///////// yılı r(a)bi'(a) 'laḫ(i)r āy(ı)nda bu
10. ḫ(a)ṭ(ṭ) ḥ(u)ğ(ğa)t berdim. M(u)ḥm(a)d ḥağ(i)b
11. men '(U)m(a)r. men '(U)θman. men sų (?) başı bu b(a)y' uzä t(a)n(u)q men. män
12. Ġadir ///// oġlı t(a)n(u)q men. Aḥm(a)d ////// t(a)n(u)q men.

Translation

1. This is the document concerning which the names of the witnesses have been noted at its end.
2. I, chamberlain Muḥammad, son of Ḥusayn the pilgrim, acknowledge that I have sold a piece of land in Sınmas
3. (fit) for (the sowing of) two loads (of grain), with its four boundaries, for a thousand *yarmaqs*.
4. The first boundary of this plot is the Deep Canal; its second boundary is the plot of commander Mas'ūd Toġrıl;
5. its third boundary is the Čimkät ridge; its fourth boundary is the land of the Pilgrim Chamberlain, the
6. mulberry-garden- ? I have sold the land within these boundaries. I have completely received its worth. The land
7. I have handed over to Isrāfīl Čavlı, the commander. Concerning this land there is no litigation with, or legal trick
8. towards, anybody. Saying 'Whoever starts litigation, his litigation is null.' I have, for the sake of
9. integrity, in the year 515, a . . . year, in the month of rabī'u 'l-āḫir, given
10. this document as testimony. (Signed:) Muḥammad the chamberlain.
11. I, 'Umar. I, 'Uṯmān. I (?) Sü (?) başı, am witness to this sale. I,
12. Ġādir . . . the son of (?) am witness. Aḥmad . . . am witness.

Commentary

1. *(a)nıŋ*: transcript بلك; a tall *yā* in انينك could have been mistaken for a *lām*, and the *alif* overlooked. My reading follows Cl.; M. writes *bilik*, which does not signify 'experts' and is not acceptable. Reading '*kim-niŋ*' instead of *kim (a)nıŋ* would have been closer to the data; notice that the genitive suffix is written separately also in l. 2. However, I have not met *kim* as a relative pronoun either in Old or in Quarakhanid Turkish. It *is* frequently used as a rather versatile conjunction, an indefinite and, of course, an interroga-

tive pronoun. Here is an example of *kim* used as an indefinite antecedent (MK, fol. 182): *tavar kimni(n)g üklisä, bäglik anar kärgäyür* 'Whoever has much wealth is more worthy of being an emir than an other'. Should examples turn up in which forms of *kim* are used as relative pronouns, *kim-niŋ* would have to be preferred here too.

Under this the munshi wrote two illegible letters, and then *ānhā* 'they'.

(a)tı follows Cl.; transcript *ny*, which is visually not very different, once the *alif* is disregarded. *bu* is another possibility.

āẖrı(n)d(a): Cl. *axırında*. The first letter has a *madda* over it in the transcript. The letter after the *r* has two (joined) dots underneath and is therefore not a *nūn*; cf. p. 264 in the introduction. *qılıldı*: thus transcript, and also, e.g., text I in the corresponding sentence; Cl. *kılındı* with *n*.

2. The patronym of the seller has no *yā* after the *sīn* and would normally be read with Cl. as *Ḥasan*. As Cl. recognized, however, both buyer and seller of this text are probably the same as those of 'Arabic No. 5'. The seller is there called *M(u)ḫ(a)m(ma)d al-ḥāǧ(i)b bin al-Ḥ(u)s(a)yn al-ḥ(a)ǧ(ǧ)āǧ bin Nōš-tegin ögä*.

haǧǧač: this is written with initial *ẖā* here and in line 5, and here the munshi also writes it that way; but no such word exists. The transcript here also gives us the choice between final *s* and *č*, writing them above each other. *ḥaǧǧāǧ* is, according to Lane, 'a frequent performer of the pilgrimage to Mekkeh, and of the religious rites and ceremonies ordained for the occasion'.[68] Over *-niŋ* the 'third hand' wrote *beg*. *Bäg* (without *yā* as second letter) would be possible in the context, but the text is better left as it is.

iqrar qıld(ım) k(i): transcript *iqrar qılduk* (sic, with *kāf*), which M. considers to be the 1st pers. pl. of the perfect. This is impossible and not only because of the aberrant form: the first examples of *-dUk* for the 1st pers. pl. pf. turn up in East Turkic with Rabġūzī (fourteenth century); Qarakhanid sources have *-dXmXz* throughout. What we need is the singular: the transcriber apparently took the end *-mīm* for a *wāw* and overlooked the second letter of the conjunction.[69] If, as we assume, the conjunction was Persian, this letter was *yā* or *hā*; it was *mīm* if the conjunction was Turkish *kim*.

Cl. interprets these words as *Israfil Čavlı*, apparently taking them for a (not likely) misreading. *S(ı)nmas-ta*, i.e. سینماس‌تا appears as ساوباس‌قـــا in the transcript; the similarity is, I think, evident. Cl. wanted to read this as *sü başıka*, which is unlikely particularly since the preceding words cannot be read as *Israfil Čavlı*. Nowhere else in the document is the general locality specified, and this is the point at which it is mentioned in the other texts. Notice that *Israfil Čavlı sü bašı*'s other acquisitions (mentioned in the note to l. 7) are also in *Sınmas*. *sı-n-mas* signifies 'it does not break'. *-mAs* is the form of the negative aorist suffix found in most modern dialects and, alongside *-mAz*, in Qarakhanid Turkic; Old Turkic and Ottoman have *-mAz*, the original form.

3. *iki yuk ornı yer*: the transcriber puts *yuk* into brackets, and the munshi leaves it untranslated. This is, of course, the common word for 'load', here referring to the load which can be carried by an animal. The non-Muslim Uighurs also used to measure land by the amount of grain it could take. An

[68] A meaning of the word apparently more common nowadays, 'a litigious person', hardly fits our purposes.

[69] Possibly, of course, such passages were not just misread, but actually damaged in the original MS.

example of this habit appears in Acte 2, in the footnote to which Hamilton (1969) lists literature on other Uighur deeds of land-sale in which this is done. It appears to have been specifically Central Asian, and there pre-Turkic: Zieme (1976 : 245, n. 59) quotes the translation of a sale contract for land where this is documented; the contract is in Sanskrit.[70] M. writes (p. 192, n. 3) that the estimation of land according to the amount of seed is still practised in Central Asia. It follows from Hamilton's discussion that the Buddhist Uighur measures involved were units of capacity and not of weight. In the Persian document apparently from Khotan published in M., the extent of the area is also expressed in the amount of grain which could be sown on it, there also in a weight unit, the *ḫarvār*. The *ḫarvār* and the *yük* are discussed in Hinz (1970 : 14–15, 36). Although the Persian word properly means ' ass-load ', we apparently have to distinguish between ass-loads and horse-loads, the latter being double the former.[71] In Eastern Anatolia of the fifteenth century, the *yük* was a horse-load, 162 kg. This need not have been the case here. Hinz gives the Buyid (A.D. 942–82) *ḫarvār* as 100 kg., the Ilkhanid one as 83 kg. Our *yük* was presumably of this order, taking it, with M., to have been equivalent to the *ḫarvār*.

The fourth letter of *sattım* has no dots at all; it could therefore be either *t* or *ı*.

4. *B(a)t(ı)q*: M. *Bataq* which, being a late product of *batġaq*, cannot have appeared here; Cl. *batuk*. Cl.'s form is based on the assumption that, the velar being voiceless, this must be the suffix *-Uk* which always has rounded vowels. But while *batıġ* is common in this sense, *batuq* does not exist at all. To me, *batıq* seems to be an example of *batıġ* with final devoicing, which is the rule in modern Eastern Turkic. This process begins as early as the Qarakhanid texts, a fact which, I think, has been hitherto overlooked. Thus, *yoγaġ* ' false accusation ' is written with *ġ* in MK but *q* in the *QB*; MK's *qatıq* ' something added on ' comes from *qat-*, the *QB*'s *alıq* ' habit ' probably from *al-*.[72] MK also writes *yatıq* for *yatıġ* and confuses, as his entry shows, *yorıġ* ' character ' with *yorıq* ' dynamic '. *batıġ* (here devoiced to *batıq*) is translated as ' marsh ' by the editor of the only Uighur example we have, but in some of the instances in the *QB* clearly means ' deep ', e.g. in 1087 and 4704.[73] The munshi copies the words *Batıq Arıq* untranslated; in the margin he adds: *nahr jūy*. These two words have practically the same meaning and should probably be taken as parallel, independent (and correct) glosses on *arıq*. Notice also that *Yaka Arıq*, *Ḫoǧa Arıq*, *Beš Arıq*, *Yul Arıq Bazar* are place names of our day in the Yarkand area. *batıq* is apparently identical to what may be *botıq* in text I; the first vowel *could* be rounded here too.

sụ bašı wrongly (but not unexpectedly) translated as *mīrāb* by the munshi, referring to the person responsible for the allotment of water in a village.

5. *Č(ı)mkät qašı*: Cl. writes *Çımkat* in spite of the front *k* and changes *qašı* of the transcript to ' *qaryası* (?) '. *qaš* is attested in MK in a sense which

[70] I do not think we know here whether the persons concerned were Indian colonists, or whether they belonged to the local Iranian population using one of their two sacred languages also for such ' serious ' purposes; in the latter case, Sanskrit would have filled exactly that function which Arabic filled in Muslim Central Asia.

[71] *wiqr*, the Arabic counterpart of *yük* used, e.g., in Barthold (1923), is also neutral in this respect. It would be interesting to know its geographical diffusion, and whether it followed or preceded the *ḫarvār*.

[72] Tezcan (1981) relates it to *alışkanlık* ' habit ', *alışık*, etc., of Turkey-Turkish.

[73] MK fol. 186 should be emended to read *batiġ : al-'amīq min an-nahr wa ġayrihi* instead of *ġamīq*; therefore ' deep ' again.

fits our passage, there also written with *alif*: *yār qāšı* ' the edge of an eroded river bank '. Hedin came across this term. He writes (1903 : 59) : ' Nur wenn man an den steilen Ufern (Jar oder Kasch = Strandterrasse, vgl. Jarkent, Kaschgar) vorbeistreicht, . . .'. Cf. the *Qara Qaš* and *Yürüŋ qaš* (i.e. ' black ' and ' white ' *q.*) rivers to the south of Khotan. Houtsma (1894) has the word, with the translation ' the brow of a mountain stretching horizontally not vertically '. The munshi was not far from the truth in translating *kanār*. The first part of the name can be taken to be Turkish, where *čim* signifies ' grass ' and ' sprout ' ; [74] to the west there also is a town by the name of *Čimkänd*. ' *kath* ' appears to have been a very common second element in town names : Barthold (1928 : 162 ff.) mentions more than twenty such names in a few pages, among them *Shutūrkath* and *Khātūnkath*. *Kāth* itself is, of course, the name of the ancient capital of Khwārazm. The word is, in fact, a variant of the Sogdian noun *kand*, attested in Christian Sogdian : see Gershevitch (1954 : 74, § 96).

H(a)ǧ(ǧ)ačı may be dubious : or is the final vowel meant as a Persian *izāfat* and did the *ǧ* change to *č* in that language already ? I would have expected a proper name, but other designations were also used in this function. The final vowel could also be the *yā-ye tankīr*. Cl. emends to *Ḥaccac* ; the Munshi does not dot the word at all. Professor Ménage convincingly suggests a crasis from *Ḥaǧǧaǧ*+*čı*, with the caritative/honorary element used in texts I and III.

5–6. *üžmälik* /// : the second word is clearly written *t-n-q*. The munshi writes *b(a)t(ı)q* instead, and is followed by M. Cl.'s text has ' *öz malik niŋ* (?) '. There are very clearly three dots over the *ž*, and MK writes explicitly that the word for ' mulberry ' contains this sound. The munshi has also understood it this way, since he translates *tūtzār*, i.e. ' mulberry garden '. Lines rarely end in the middle of words in these texts, but cf. *botı-qında* in IV, 4–5. +*lXk* freely creates names for areas in which the plant denoted by the base noun grows or is cultivated ; *borluq*, *čäčäklik*, *yemišlik*, *qalvalıq* (' vegetable garden '), *murutluq* are all attested in Uighur and, e.g., *ügürlük* in MK. Arabic *mālik* ' possessor ' (not ' possession ') does not seem to make any sense in this context. M. is probably right to understand the words as in apposition to what precedes. The munshi's reading of the second word may be correct and could be translated as ' depression ' : see *b(a)t(ı)q* on l. 4 above. There is also another possibility : about 12 miles to the north-east of Yarkand there is a village called *Kara Dong* and Jarring (1964) s.v. notes *duŋ* ~ *döŋ* ' hill, hillock, back '. This corresponds to *döŋ* ' Hügel ' quoted in Radloff (III : 1731–2) from Kazakh, Kirghiz and Taranchi. Menges (1955) s.v. has a Chinese etymology for the word, which may be responsible for the *d* in the modern form, while the older form, that of our text, would have *t*.[75] No emendation may therefore be needed, and we could read *üžmälik t(o)nq*, ' mulberry hill '.

6. *b(a)hası* transcript, although *bahasın* would give a better direct object. Uighur, however (unlike Republican Turkish), occasionally does have direct objects with possessive suffix but no accusative.

6–7. *tügäl*, *bašı-ǧa* and *kim-gä* clear in the transcript. These perhaps authentic early instances of voicing should not be emended to *k*, as Cl. does, but taken seriously. The Persian diacritics, which this MS uses, give us precious differentiations between *ǧ* and *č*, *b* and *p*, etc. Possibly, though, the transcriber took *fatḥas* for *g*-lines.

[74] See Räsänen (1969) s.v. and the various Ottoman dictionaries.

[75] The tense/lax opposition for Chinese consonants may at this time have been heard as an unvoiced/voiced one, the latter distinction being dominant in Turkish today.

7. Bird names seem to have been common with Qarakhanid Turkish officers. The name of *Isrāfīl Čavlı sü bašı* can be compared to *Mas'ūd Toġrıl sü bašı* of l. 4 above, to *'Abdu 'l-Ğalīl Čaġrı sü bašı* who appears as witness in ' Arabic No. 2 ' and to *Čavlı al-ḫayl bašı* in the second *waqf*-document published by Khadr, 1967. (The last term is misread as *al-Ḫiltāši*.) Cf. also *QB* 4067–8: *qayuqa ögälik tägir ök, bulur; qayu kök ayuqluq üzä at alur. qayusı inanč bäg qayu čaġrı bäg, qayusı tegin bäg qayu čavlı bäg.* In Dankoff (1982) this is translated as follows: ' Some may be awarded such titles as . . . Çaġrı Beg, Kül Erkin, or Çavlı Beg '. MK, fol. 212, after defining *čaġrı* as the ' sacer falcon ', adds ' and thence a man is called (*yusamma*) *čaġrı bäg* '. In our passage, *Čavlı* appears to be part of a name and not of a title; note that quite a few Old Turkic elements appear to have led a double or triple life as common nouns, names and titles.

For *Isrāfīl* cf. the *Niẓāmaddīn Isrāfīl Toġan tegin* mentioned by MK, whose Turkish name also denotes a bird. *Isrāfīl Čavlı sü bašı bin Hārūn ögä* is also the acquirer of land negotiated in ' Arabic No. 5 ' (A.H. 515) and Huart III (A.H. 508). This latter fact should prove that the Denison Ross set and the Pelliot set are closely related.

uspa(r)ladım: clearly *uspadladım* in the transcript. Three dots, which are placed under the *s*, were perhaps meant to mark the *p* in the original MS, if this practice already existed at the time. They could also belong to the *sīn*, however, as happens even in our MSS written in Uighur script. The verb, discussed in the note to IV, 8 above, is correctly translated as *taslīm namūdam* by the munshi.

7–8. The formulation in I, 16–17 is quite similar to the one found here. Professor S. Shaked suggests that the word here written as *d(a)stan* may not represent New Persian *dastān* ' deceit ' (as translated by Minorsky), but Middle Persian *dā(de)stān* ' judgement, justice, law; case, process ' (MacKenzie), here used in the latter meaning. *da'wa dāstān* would thus be a binomial. Although common in Middle Persian, this use is not known to me from New Persian sources; it does not seem to be found in the *Shāhnāme*. The context of this document and that of text I appear to be valuable illustrations of how the implication of ' (legal) tricks ' may have come to be added to that of ' case, process, litigation ', eventually becoming the central meaning. A minor complication is the absence of *alif* in the first syllable of our instance of the word, while the Middle Persian lexeme under discussion has a long vowel in this position. Note, however, that length is not marked consistently in our text. Professor Shaked informs me, on the other hand, that the first vowel of *dāstān* could also have been shortened in Persian. We thus appear to have indirect evidence for the lingering of the original meaning in Early New Persian; no confusion at all need, of course, have occurred with *dastān* ' epic '.

8–9. *durustluq u̇čün*: cf. *bütünlük üčün* in II, c 1. The munshi translates *az ğehat-e dorostī*. The first vowel of *u̇čün* is written with a *ḍamma* and no *wāw*.

9. The month in question begins on the 19th of June 1121. Cl. would like to read *tavışğan* where I have put slant lines, and his justification for doing so has already been quoted in the note to I, 23–4. *tavišğan* is the cyclical year covering most of 515/1121, and he may have been right. The transcript has بورب غا ناك, by M. translated as follows: ' which in Turkish (?) is the year of Nāk (" Dragon ") '. A note adds: ' The word بورتغا.[76] *bwrtgha* (?) standing

[76] Sic; the *t*-dots have been added by M., although this could also be a *b*. ' *nāk* ' could also be read as *yāk* or as *tāk*, but all this does not lead anywhere either.

before *nāk* cannot be right. I am inclined to read جا تورك *türk-jä* " in Turkish ", in view of the word *bil-turkiyya* which introduces the Turkish *yond-yïlï* in an Arabic document of the same collection.' At the end of the paper, there is a ' Note : I owe to Dr. W. Henning a further confirmation of my reading . . . : A Turkish inscription in Chwolson, *Syrischnestor. Grabinschriften* has : *Aliksandros qan sayïš 1648 ärdi türkčä yïl ud.*' According to Bazin (1974 : 621–3), these Nestorian inscriptions commonly refer to the twelve animal cycle as *türkčä*. The Persian Naṣr-ad-dīn Ṭūsī who, in the second half of the thirteenth century, wrote a treatise on the twelve animal cycle, also called his work *Aḥkām-i Sāl-i Turkān* ' The rules of the year of the Turks '.[77] Hare years are immediately followed by years of the dragon. This time, the possible gap *may* have been caused by an attempt to synchronize the two methods of dating, i.e. to have them start at the same time. Bazin (1974) discovered that such an attempt led the Nestorian Turks mentioned above to adopt two calendars differing by one year. *Possibly*, some such thing happened here, if the tentative reading of the transcriber[78] is closer to the truth than Cl.'s conjecture. Our sparse material is just not sufficient for a solution.

āy is written with a *madda*. This appears to have been also the Persian way of writing the word, to judge from the entry in *TMEN* 627. It had a long vowel, which it still does in Turkmen and Xaladj. Thus the population in question here pronounced Proto-Turkic long vowels as long, as did also MK and apparently the author of the *QB*.

10. *ḫ(u)ǧ(ǧa)t* : Cl. *ḫucca* ; but the word is written with *tā* and not *tā marbūta*, which no doubt showed how it was pronounced.[79]

M(u)ḫm(a)d ḫaǧ(i)b : the transcript here has a circle, in which the words *d(a)stḫ(a)ṭ(ṭ) M(u)ḫ(a)m(ma)d Ḫaǧ(i)b* are written. I have no doubt that this is meta-textual (as M. also seems to have thought), i.e. that it constitutes what the transcriber had to say about what he saw in that place. Cl. took *Dast-i xaṭṭ* (sic) into his text, but that seems unlikely. No signature (*nišān*) or stamp (*tamġa*) can be detected on any of our texts in Uighur script.[80] Their validation must have consisted of the mention of the name of the seller in the body of the text and subsequent reference to the witnesses if necessary.

11. *sụ* (?) *bašı* : transcript *nu bašı* or *n(a)w bašı*, under which the munshi (who was perhaps also thinking of *su bašı*) wrote the word *manṣab*, i.e. ' title '. M. and Cl. *sü bašı*. They are probably right, but the munshi was probably wrong if the *mens* are transcribed correctly : titles were very often also used as proper names in Uighur/early Muslim times, and a certain *Subāshī tagīn* is mentioned in Barthold (1928 : 269, 272–3).

12. The first 10 letters of this line have been put into brackets by the transcriber. The first four appear as *'Adir* with *alif* and a dotless *yā* (which could also be *n* or *b*). M. and Cl. Ġādīr, the former suggesting that it might stand for *Qadir*. If the idea is correct (and I have no better suggestion) I see no reason for the voicing. The next five letters look like *d'shd*, only the *h* being dubious. The munshi drew a vertical line under the *alif*, and wrote *nām* ' name ' before it and *nām-e padar* ' father's name ' after it. He thus took the *dāl*, at

[77] See Bazin (1974 : 534).

[78] Which he put in brackets to show how tentative it was ; not translated, of course, by the munshi.

[79] This, by the way, is the spelling of Redhouse. Steingass and the munshi write *tā marbūṭa*, which Dr. Shahbazi transcribes with *t*.

[80] The figure composed of two rectangles which appears at the end of the Persian text published in Minorsky (1942) must have been such a signature.

any rate, to belong to the first word. The second word is transcribed by M. and Cl. as *Dāšmand*. M. mentions an even shorter form which Persian *dānišmand* took on in Mongolian, *dašman*. The word after *Aḥmad* looks like *d'shmd*, the last four letters apparently added by a different hand. M. and Cl. give the same transcription. As *dāl* and *wāw* look rather similar, a reading *wa-ašhad* 'I too am witness' should not be taken out of consideration for either of them. If not more convincing, it should at least make *dāšmand* less convincing.

oġlı has no dot over the *'ayn*.

Word-list

In what follows all the forms found in the texts are cited in alphabetical order, with the exception of *tanuq* and *män*. The letter *'ayn* is not taken into consideration in ordering. The signs + and — mark morphological juncture, nominal and verbal respectively. They have nothing to do with the way the word is divided in the text: for that, the index should not be consulted. Translations are given as a help in identification; they do not necessarily cover the whole semantic domain of the word and refer to what appears before morphological suffixes.

aδıġ I 6, IV 3 'sober'
Aδıġ (?) IV 13 n.pr.
Aḥmad I 5, 9, 32; *Aḥm(a)d* VI 12 n.pr.
aḫr+ında IV 2; *āḫrı(n)d(a)* VI 1. See also *rabi' al-aḫir*. 'end'
'Ali I 4, 9, 30, 32, III 2, IV 3, 15, V b 4; ['*A*]*li* I 27, 30 n.pr.
(a)nıŋ VI 1 genitive of *ol*.
'aql+ımız I 8 'mind'
arıq VI 4, in *B(a)t(ı)q Arıq*, 'canal'
Arslan I 6, 10, II b 3 n.pr.
asδın+da I 2 'the lower part'
at+ı I 1, II a 2, IV 1; *(a)ṭ+ı* VI 1 'name'
av(v)al IV 9; *aww(a)l* VI 4; *aw(w)a*[*l* I 18 'first'
ay+ın IV 12; *ay+ında* I 24, II b 2; *āy+(ı)nda* VI 9 'month'
Babana'il V b 12 n.pr.
baha+nı II c 6, IV 7; *baha+sı* ib.; *b(a)ha+sı* VI 6 'value'
baš; see *otaġ bašı* and *sụbašı*. 'head, leader'
B(a)t(ı)q VI 4 n.loc. Cf. *botıq*
baṭıl IV 10; *baṭ(ı)l* VI 8; *ḇaṭıl* I 18 'void, cancelled'
b(a)y' VI 11 'sale'
Bäbäk III 4 n.pr.
bäg IV 4; *bäg+ni(n)g* I 19 the well-known title
Bäkäč (?) I 21 n.pr.
Bäk Tụzün IV 2; *Bäktụzün* I 3, 5 n.pr.
ber—ürlär I 3; *ber—dim* VI 10 'to give'
beš VI 9 *beš+tä* ib. 'five'
bir I 10, II c 3, 5, 8 bis, IV, 5, 6, VI 3; *b*[*i*]*r* II c 7 'one'
birlä I 13, IV 6, VI 3, 7 'together (with)'
bitil-miš IV 2; *bitil-di* IV 11 'to be written'
biz I 6; *bizi*[*n*]*g+δä* I 4 'we'. Cf. [*q*]*lụr miz*
bol—ur I 12; *bol—dılar* II a 1–2, IV 1 'to become, to come to be'
botıq—ında IV 4–5 'land depression'
bọrk IV 7; *bọrk+kä* IV 6 'grove'
bu I 1, 12, 13, 18, 24, 25, II a 1, 2, c 2, IV 1 bis, 7, 8, 11, VI 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 12 'this'
Bubakir V a 5, b 9 n.pr.
Buġra I 19; *Buġra* I 22 n.pr.
bul—dum IV 7, VI 6; *bul—δum* 2 c 6 'to find'
bụtünlük II c 1 'comprehensivity'
Čavlı VI 7 n.pr.
čıt+ı II c 5 'fence'
Č(i)mkät VI 5 n.loc.
dastan I 17; *d(a)stan* VI 8 'process, litigation, legal trick'
da'va I 16, IV 10; *d(a)'wa* VI 7, 8; *da*[']*ṿa* I 17; *da'va+sı* IV 10; *d(a)'wa+sı* VI 8. Together with *dastan*, 'litigation'
Davud IV 14 n.pr.
d(u)r(u)stluq VI 8 'comprehensivity'
al(l)ig IV 7 'fifty'
ärkän I 7, 8, IV 4; *er-sä* VI 7. Cf. *kimärsä*. 'to be'
Elig I 28 n.pr.
Ġadir VI 12 n.pr.
ǧal(l)ab I 26, 30, 31, IV 9, V a 3, b 8; *ǧal(l)ab+nı(n)g* IV 8; *ǧal(l)ab+qa* I 10, II c 3, IV 6; *ǧal(l)ab+*⟨*qa*⟩ I 14 'master'
ḥad(d)+i I 20, 21, II c 1, 8, IV 6, 9 bis; *ḥ(a)d(d)+i* VI 3, 4 bis, 5 bis; *ḥaδ(δ)+i* II c 5; *ḥad(d)+ları* I 13; h(a)d(d) VI 6; *ḥad(d)+i* I 20; *ḥ*[*a*]*d(d)+i* II c 7; [*ḥad(d)+i*] I 18 'boundary'
haǧ(i)b VI 2, 5, 10 'chamberlain'
ḥal(l)aǧ I 30, III 5, V b 5 'cotton-carder'
Hasan I 26, 29, V a 3, b 6 n.pr.
ḫ(u)ǧ(ǧa)t VI 10 'testimony'
Husen IV 5; *H(u)s(e)n* VI 2 n.pr.
ḫ(a)ǧ(ǧ)ač+nıŋ VI 2; *ḫ(a)ǧ(ǧ)ačı* VI 5 'pilgrim to Mecca'
ḫaṭ(ṭ) I 1, 25 bis, II a 1, 2, c 2, IV 1 bis, 11; *ḫ(a)ṭ(ṭ)* VI 1 bis, 10 'document'
ḫaṭ(ṭ)čı V a 3, b 3 'scribe, calligrapher'
ınal IV 9 'counsellor'
ič+ındä II a 2; *ič+(i)ndäki* VI 6; *ič+ındäkikä* I 25 'inside'
igsiz I 6, IV 3 'free of illness'
iki VI 3; *ikägü* I 6; *iki+(n)č* I 19; *ik(i)nǧ* VI 4 'two'

ini+si I 30, 31, IV 3, V b 9 ' younger brother '
iqrar I 8, VI 2 ' declaration '
Ishaq I 10, 13, II c 3, III 1, IV 5, 8, 9, V b 3 n.pr.
Isma'il V a 3 n.pr.
Israfil VI 7 n.pr.
Käčmiš IV 13, V b 7 n.pr.
Känčäk III 1, 3 n.populi
käsäk I 10, II c 3, IV 5 ; *kesäk* VI 3 ' piece '
keδin I 14 ' after ', together with *ken*
ken I 14, see *keδin*
k(i) (?) VI 2 ' that (relative particle) '
kim I 17, II a 1, IV 10 ; *k(i)m* VI 1, 8 ; *k(i)m+gä* VI 7 ' who ; anybody ; for which (relative particle) '
kimärsä+kä I 16 ' whoever '
kisi-mizkä I 15 ' wife '
Kụrläg V b 9 n.pr.
Mas'ud VI 4 n.pr.
Mäka'il II b 3 n.pr.
män passim ; *men* VI 2, 11 ter, 12 bis ; *mẹn* VI 11 ' I '
milk IV 8 ' property '
miŋ VI 3 ' one thousand '
Muḥmad I 31, V b 8, 9 ; *M(u)ḥm(a)d* VI 2, 10 ; *Muḥmad+či* I 27, III 2 n.pr.
muntın+ı II c 5 ' the nearer side '
Mura[d] (?) I 28 n.pr.
Musa I 27 n.pr.
Narsi+či III 1–2 n.pr.
Nuri V a 2 n.pr.
oġl+ı I 4, 5, 27, 28, 29, 34, 35, IV 3, 5, 15, V a 2, 3, b 1, 3, VI 2 ; *oġl+ı* VI 12 ; *oġlumız+qa* I 15 ; *[o]ġl+ı* I 29 ' son '
ol II a 1, IV 1, VI 1 ' that (demonstrative) '
on VI 9 ' ten '
orn+umızda I 8 ; *orn+ı* VI 3 ' place '
otaġ bašı V a 1, b 1, b 11, b 12 military rank
ọg I 6, IV 3 ' mind '
ọgä I 22 administrative title
ọz I 7, 8 ' own, self '
ọzäk+i I 20 ' ditch, brook '
qadaš+larımızqa I 16 ' relative, family '
qan—masạ[I 17 ' to be satisfied '
Q(a)ra sar (?) V b 1 n.pr.
qaš+ı VI 5 ' ridge '
qıl—sa I 17, VI 8 ; *qıl—sar* IV 10 ; *qıl—d(ım)* VI 2 ; *[q]ụl—ur miz* I 9 ' to do, to make '
qılıl—dı VI 1 ; *qılıl—δı* I 2, 25 ; *[qılıl]—δ[ı]* II a 3 passive of *qıl-*
qız+ımız I 15 ' daughter '
qutluġ IV 12 ' blessed '
rabi' al—aḫir I 24 ; *r(a)bi' (a)l—aḫ(i)r* VI 9 Muslim month
rabi' al—aw(w)al II b 2 Muslim month
Rabul+da IV 4 ; *Rabul+δa* I 11 n.loci
raǧab IV 12 Muslim month
saq I 2 ' attentive '
Sarıġ V b 8 epithet, ' yellow '
sat—tım II c 4 ; *sat—t(ı)m* VI 3, 6 ; *sat—(t)ım* IV 5, 6 ; *sat—mıš* I 19 ; *sat—tımız* I 11 ; *sat—(t)ımız* I 14 ' to sell '
säkiz I 11 ' eight '
säksōn IV 11 ' eighty '
Säli I 30, 31 n.pr.
sıčġan I 24 ' mouse '
S(ı)nmas+ta VI 2 n.loci
silihdar V a 5 ' sword-bearer '
Sọkmän IV 4 n.pr.
Sulman V a 1 n.pr.
sụbaši I 4 bis, 5, 9, II b 4, IV 2, 3, VI 4 ; *sụbaši+ġa* VI 7 ; *sụ* (?) *baši* VI 11 military rank
tamġači V b 6 ' seal-bearer '
tandurust I 7, IV 4 ' whole of body '
tanuq passim ; also *tanuq+lar* and *tanuq+ı*. *t(a)nuq+ları* VI 1 ; *t(a)n(u)q* VI 11, 12 ; *t(a)nuq* VI 12 ' witness '
[ta]nuqluq I 3 ' the act of bearing witness '
tapuġluġ I 4 ' veteran '
taqaġu II b 1 ' poultry '
tägirmän I 20 ' mill '
täknäči II c 5, 8, IV 14, 15 *[tä]ḳnäči* I 28 ' ferry-man '
Täžik I 32, IV 15 ' Persian '
te—b VI 8 ' to say '
teksin V b title of a commoner who is in the third rank below the king
toġasız IV 4 ; *ṭoġasız* I 7 ' unafflicted by infectious disease '
T(o)ġrıl VI 4 n.pr.
ṭọrt I 12, 13, 23, IV 6, 11, VI 3, 6 ; *ṭọrt+ü(n)ǧ* VI 5 ; *tortünč* I 21 ' four '
tuδun I 21, III 4 ' village headman and water distributor '
tur-ur II a 1, IV 1, 2, 8, 10, VI 1, 8 ' to be (durative) '
tụkäl II c 6, IV 7 ; *t(ü)gäl* VI 6 ' completely (predicative adj.) '
Tụzün, see *Bäk Tụzün*
uluġ II c 1 ' great '
usparla—δım IV 8 ; *uspa(r)la—dım* VI 7 ' to hand over '
'Uθman III 3, IV 3, V a 2, b 2, VI 11 n.pr.
'(U)m(a)r VI 11 n.pr.
Uzun I 26 epithet, ' long, tall '
ụč IV 9 ; *ụč+dä* I 23, IV 11 ; *ụč+ü(n)č* I 20 ; *ụč+ünǧ* VI 5 ' three '
ụčün II c 1, VI 9 ' for '
ụzä VI 11 ' over '
ụžmälik VI 5–6 ' mulberry grove '
ya I 15 ' or '
yad VI 1 *yaδ* I 2 ; *[ya]δ* II a 3 ' mention, note '
Yahudi (??) I 29 epithet, ' somebody born in the Jewish part of a city, etc.'
yalġan I 18 ' false '
Yalu I 29 n.pr.
Ya'qub IV 15 ; *Yaqub* I 28 n.pr.
yarım+ı I 12 ' half '
yarmaq I 12 bis, IV 7 ; *yarmaq+qa* I 11–12 ; *y(a)rmaq+qa* VI 3 ' minted money, coins '
yaš IV 6 ' moist '
yer I 11, 19, IV 5, 8, 10, VI 3, 7 ; *yer+i* I 21, II c 8 bis, IV 9, VI 5 bis ; *yẹr+i* II c 7 ; *[yer+i]* I 22 ; *yer+ni(n)g* I 18, IV 8–9 ; *yer+niŋ* VI 4 ; *yer+ni* I 13, VI 6 bis ; *yer+imni* II c 3 ' land, plot '
yetmiš I 23 ' seventy '
yıl I 23, IV 11, VI 9 *yıl+ı* I 24, II b 1, VI 9 ' year '
yol II c 1 ' road '
yoq I 17, VI 8 ' there is no . . .'
Yusuf II c 5, 8, III 5, IV 9, 14, V b 5, 11 *Yusu[f]* I 27 n.pr.
yụk VI 3 ' load ' ; unit of weight
yụz I 11, 12, 23, IV 7, 11, VI 9 ' one hundred '
/attımız I 23
]bụδım II b 1
[nuq I 1

References and Abbreviations

[The sigla of Uighur can be found in the bibliography of the *UW*.]

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