Language of Kutadgu Bilig

Mehmet Ölmez

Professor, Yıldız Technical University

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1. Karakhanid Turkic and Karakhanids

The first stage of the Islamic Central Asian Turkic written language which developed from the Old Turkic written language is the Karakhanid Turkic. The center of this written language, which developed between XI-XIIIth centuries was today's Kashgar. [Dia1] The works written in Khwarezm — Golden Horde Turkic (XIII-XIVth centuries) and Chagatay Turkic (XIV-XVIth centuries) constitute the continuation of this Islamic written language in the Central Asia. Uzbek and Uyghur can be given as the descendants of these languages.

After the collapse of the Uyghur Khaganate in Mongolia in 840, the space in the east of the Central Asia caused the migration of such Turkic tribes as Yaghmas, Chigils and Tukhsis as well as Karluks. These migrant Turkic tribes settled on the west of Tarim basin around Kashgar. The scattered settlement of the Turkic tribes in the area lasted for some more time.

Towards the early Xth century, the Karakhanid Turks established an independent Turkic state bringing the other Turkic tribes in the proximity under their rule. When the Karakhanids were converted to Islam under the rule of Satuk Bughra

Khan, they became the founders of the first Islamic Turkic state. [Dia2] The state extended over today's Xinjiang and Transoxiana. The roots of this state which was established to the west of Xinjiang probably stemmed from Karluks. There has been a debate among historians as to the origin of the tribe Karakhanids. Several theories have existed in sources related to this question. Among the most important are the theories that they have a connection with:

1. Uyghurs, 2. Turkmens, 3. Yaghmas, 4. Karluks, 5. a submission of Karluk-Yaghmas, 6. Chigils, 7. Tujues (突厥).

According to the theory of Karluks, accepted as the most accurate among the others, the Karakhanid dynasty belongs to the Karluk dynasty, which is a branch of the Tujue Ashina (阿史那) clan. The Karluk Turks were affiliated with the Uyghur union between 747-840. The founder of the Karakhanid state established after the collapse of Uyghur-Karluk union in 840 is *Bilge Kül Qadir Khan*. Of the two sons who overtook power, Oghulchak, the one residing in Taraz, later moved the central administration to Kashgar. Oghulchak take advantage of the unrest among the Samanids and allowed one of the Samanids, i.e. Nasr bin Mansur, to take refuge in Artuch near Kashgar. This encounter with the moslem sheik led to the personal convergence of Oghulchak's nephew Satuk into Islam (932) and the domains to the west of the state converting into Islam. Eventually, Satuk's son Baytash converted the whole country into Islam in 960.

The country reached as its geographical borders to an area extending over today's Xinjiang and Transoxiana. Before the split in 1047, the geographical borders of the state were as such: to the east, the western territories of today's Xinjiang; to the north, the mountains of Tarbaghatai, Lake Balkhash, Lake Aral; to the west, Karakum Desert, Amu Darya River (Oxus River); to the south, India, Pamir and Karakoram mountains. [Dia3] The Fergana region was found in the center of this area. After 1047, the western domains of the country were constituted of Transoxiana region, some part of Fergana region, Bukhara, Samarkand, and the upper regions of Amu Darya River; while the eastern domains were constituted of Shash (today's Tashkent), Talas and Isfijab. Samarkand, Bukhara, Otrar and Tashkent were among the significant cultural centers.

Kutadgu Bilig was written by Yusuf Khass Hajib, one of the earliest muslim Turkic authors, under these conditions and in such a cultural environment.

2. Yusuf Khass Hajib from Balasaghun and His Work Kutadgu Bilig

Kutadgu Bilig is the oldest monument of Islamic Turkic literature. Its author, Yusuf Khass Hajib, is not mentioned in any other source, so we must pick our knowledge about him from the three surviving manuscripts of his work. Two of these contain a verse prologue. It is possibly written a century after the work was completed. All the three manuscripts have a shorter prose prologue. It is like a summary of the verse prologue. These prologues give some information.

Yusuf Khass Hajib knew not only Arabic and Persian cultures and literatures but the Turkic world before Islam, too. His work, the Kutadgu Bilig, was completed in Hegira 462/ AD 1069-70. He was originally from Balasaghun (see MAP). He completed the work in Kashgar and presented it to the king there, Tavghach Bughra Khan. He was awarded the office of *Khaṣṣ Ḥājib* or privy chamberlain. His patron is the Tavghach Bughra Khan Ḥasan b. Sulaymān. He is the ruler of the eastern branch of the Karakhanids or Ilek-Khanids. Yusuf himself gives his name in a section near the beginning of the work. The title of this section is "Ode to spring and praise of Ulugh Bughra Khan".

If we try to compare the work to known genres, the prologues also label it both as a "Mirror for Princes" and a "Book of Kings" (Šāh-nāma). But, not everyone agree on this. It has only one similarity to the Šāh-nāma of Firdawsi. It is the use of the mutaqārib meter. In an introductory passage (ll. 276-80), Yusuf identifies the legendary hero of the Turks, Tonga Alp Er, with Afrāsiyāb, the ruler of Tūrān in the Persian epic. According to Middle Turkic-Arabic dictionary *Dīwān Luɣāti't-Turk*, the name "Tonga" is the name of the "leopard" and this name is given to heros. So, Yusuf follows a tradition which is found in the work of his contemporary, Maḥmūd al-Kāšɣarī. But in the body of the work, Tonga Alp Er

appears only once (1. 5861) as the authority for one of the moral sayings of political wisdom (*bilig*). In other parts, he is like various Khans and Begs. Still, we can say that Yusuf tried to join the Inner Asian traditions of royalty and wisdom with the Irano-Islamic ideals of statecraft. He joined these two in a Turkic style. He was following the model of Firdawsi. Firdawsi established the Iranian traditions of kingship within the framework of Islamic culture in a Persian style.

Yusuf followed the Turkic tradition of making and obeying laws. Turks brought law and order to the lands that they captured. Kutadgu Bilig was written as a book of law and moral topics, too. The book has a lot of old proverbs and wise sayings from the previous Turkic people. These sayings can be grouped into three types: (1) sayings of the old people, (2) sayings of the wise men, and (3) sayings of the poets.

"Mirror for Princes"is a better generic label. The *qut* ("glory, fortune" is mentioned in the title and it is the Turkic equivalent of Persian *farr*. It shows the ruler's charisma, and Kutadgu Bilig literally means "the wisdom that brings a person to royal glory or fortune". The first half of the work is largely about the traditional matters of statecraft: (a) the virtues of the king and his obligations to his people; (b) the qualities and duties of the various officers in the palace; and (c) the establishment of justice.

The second half, however, introduces a new theme: the conflict between the political goals of the state and the religious conscience of the individual. Here Yusuf incorporates Sufi asceticism as an opposing ideal to the community and statecraft ethics. So, he comes before al-Ghazāli.

Another original contribution of Yusuf to the "Mirror for Princes genre" is to dramatize the topics in the form of dialogues. Within a frame story, there are dialogues among characters with allegorical names. The king, Kün Tuɣdï ("the sun has risen") represents justice. He looks for a good vizier, and his trusty chamberlain presents to him Ay Toldï ("the moon is full"). Ay Toldï represents fortune. Ay Toldï has a deadly illness, but before he dies he recommends his son Ögdülmiš ("raised") to the king. Ögdülmiš represents intellect. The king discovers the young man's virtues and appoints him as chief counselor. Ögdülmiš advises the

king well on worldly matters, and then tells the king about a kinsman Oðɣurmïš ("wakened"). Oðɣurmïš represents other worldly concerns. The king calls Oðɣurmïš to the palace. Oðɣurmïš first does not want to leave his life. He lives outside the city and is in deep thought of religious topics. But, in the end, he visits the king, gives him moral and spiritual advice, and then

he dies too.

The allegory can be interpreted as follows:

Justice must be done properly. It needs Fortune, Intellect, and Religion. But you can not depend on Fortune, and worldly and other worldly topics do not easily agree with each other. So, there are Justice and Intellect in the end.

In Kutadgu Bilig there are a lot of wise sayings and proverbs about mind and intellect. One of them is the famous saying, "Language is the decoration of mind, word is the decoration of language". Another wise saying is "Only the man with full mind can match the man with brains".

There is an added part in one of the manuscripts. It has two odes. Here, the author complains of old age and tells about awaking for the world and the times. Yusuf was a high official of the palace and he had a preference toward isolated life (ll. 6570-6571). So, Yusuf suffered in himself the conflicts which he told in his work. In the course of writing a Mirror for Princes, he broke the traditional boundaries of that genre. Especially in the second part of the work. In that part, the wise courtier and the Sufi ascetic meet and reach an agreement. Yusuf achieved a dramatic portrayal and it is not seen much in Islamic literature.

3. The Content and Manuscripts of Kutadgu Bilig

Yusuf Khass Hajib wrote *Kutadgu Bilig* within eighteen months in 462 AH (1069-1070 AD) in dedication to Tavghach Ulugh Bughra Qarakhan Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan bin Sulaymān Arslan Qarakhan of Karakhanid dynasty. The work was begun in Balasaghun and completed in Kashgar. *Kutadgu Bilig* (Qutaðɣu Bilig) means "the wisdom that brings happiness / conduces to royal glory or fortune" with the

meanings of *qut* as "luck, fortune" and *bilig* as "knowledge, science". The verb of *qutað-* (become happy/fortunate) with the participle suffix *-ɣu* corresponds to "becoming happy", i.e. *qutaðɣu*. Briefly stated, the subject of the book is showing the ways of administering a state and ruling a country. The knowledge of these was to bring happiness and blessing upon the country and the nation – hence the title given.

While composing his work, Yusuf Khass Hajib was influenced by Firdawsi's *Šāh-nāma*, completed in 1010, both in relation to verse patterns and the epic style, and inclined to do what Firdawsi did in Persian then in Turkic. Yusuf Khass Hajib aimed to show and prove that he could be so successful as to compare both Turkic understanding of ruling, state administration and traditional wisdom with the Arabic and Persian traditions. To serve this purpose, the words and quotations as regards the rulers and their ways of ruling were selected from the famous Turkic rulers and administrators in the Central Asia.

Yusuf Khass Hajib had some other sources in the fields of administration and politics. The writings, thoughts and philosophies of the first Islamic philosophers with their writings in lines with Islam and these philosophers' resources, namely Plato and Aristotle among the first philosophers of the western world were the sources for Yusuf. Among his reference works in state and state administration are the works of the Islamic philosopher Al-Farabi (Alpharabius), who took the ideas and understanding of the west and combined them with Islamic thought.

Content of Kutadgu Bilig

Yusuf Khass Hajib personifies four abstract concepts and names them according to the concepts they represent as follows:

Kün Tuɣdï (the ruler) "the sun has risen" represents justice.

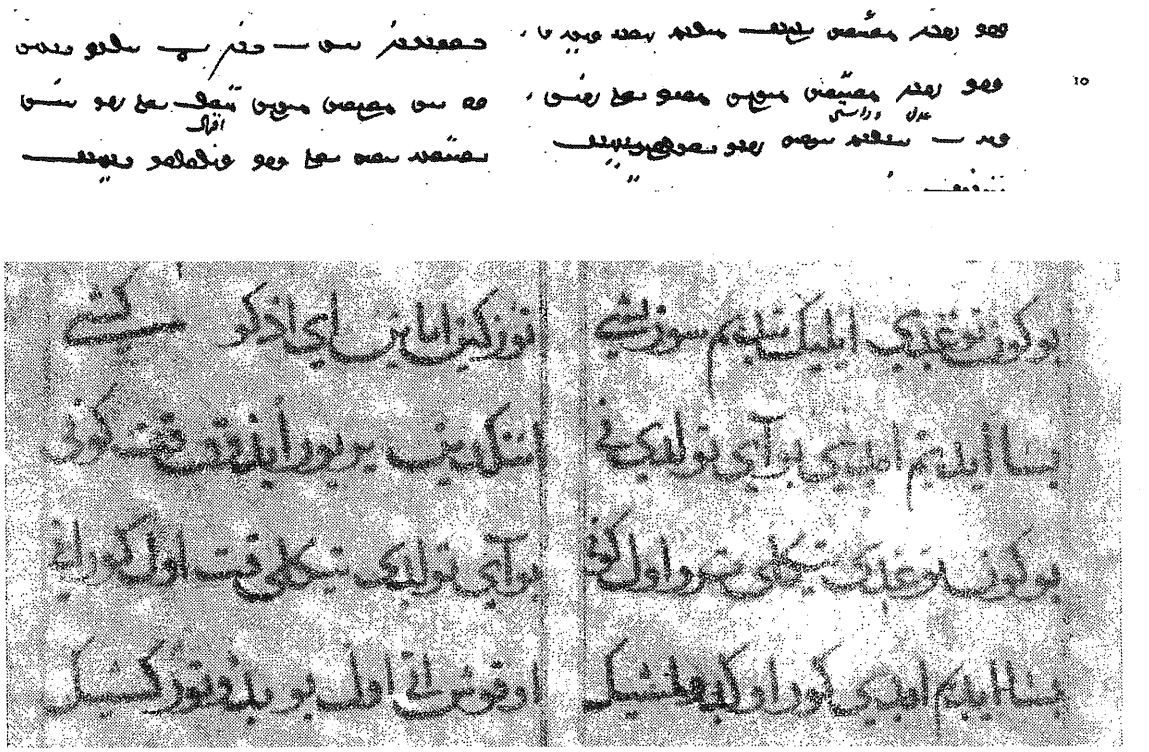
Ay Toldï (the vizier) "the moon is full" represents fortune and prosperity.

Ögdülmiš (the vizier's son) "praised" represents mind and intellect.

Oðɣurmïš (the vizier's brother) "wakened" represents the end to the worldly deeds.

He mentions these four characters right at the beginning of the work and

introduces them to the reader (between the couplets 353 and 358):



0353	bu kün tuɣdï ėlig tėdim söz bašï
	yörügin ayayïn ay eðgü kiši
0354	basa aydïm emdi bu ay toldïnï
	anïŋdïn yaruyur ïduq qut küni
0355	bu kün tuɣdï tėgli törü ol köni
	bu ay toldï tėgli qut ol kör anï
0356	basa aydïm emdi kör ögdülmišig
	uquš atï ol bu beðütür kišig
0357	anïŋda basasï bu oðɣurmïš ol
	munï ʿāqibat tip özüm yörmiš ol
0358	bu tört neŋ üze sözledim men sözüg
	oqïsa ačïlɣay yitig qïl közüg

"First I speak of the king, Rising Sun—I shall explain this name, gentle reader! Then I speak of Full Moon—the sun of blessed Fortune receives its light from

him! "Rising Sun" stands for Justice and "Full Moon" for Fortune. Then I speak of Highly Praised－he is the personification of Intellect, which raises a man's estate. Finally I speak of Wide Awake－he represents the Last End. Upon these four things have I based my discourse. It will become clear as you read it, so keep your eyes sharp!" (Robert Dankoff, p. 51).

The first half of the work tells about the relationship between the first three of these characters, dealing with the traditional themes of "the mirror to the ruler" or "Mirror for Princes", mostly originating from the Persian literature. The second half of the work, however, mostly focuses on Oðɣurmïš, the antihero character, and contains such religious themes related to Sufism or Islamic mysticism.

Apart from these four characters, there are three more personae bearing names of some significant meaning:

Küsemiš (the person who helped Ay Toldï when he arrived in the capital city)

Ersig (the Privy Chamberlain)

Qumaru (Oðɣurmïš's disciple)

Despite the didactic nature of Kutadgu Bilig, the instances of poeticality and lyricism, the praise to God and the Prophet found especially at the beginning of the work, the Ode to Spring (yaruq yaz faslï), and the sections to praise the ruler demonstrate that Yusuf Khass Hajib is a sensitive poet as well. The work, which appears as a debate among four people, is embellished with the proverbs and expressions of the past times bearing wisdom.

The work has at the beginning an index of the verse and prose prologues and the "bab" (chapters). The praise to and begging of the God that follows (*teŋri ʿazza wa ǰalla ögdisin ayur* "In praise of God, may He be exalted" is the first sample of *tawhid* and *munajat* in Islamic Turkic literature. The verse composed of thirty-three couplets was written in the form of masnavi. *Kutadgu Bilig* is the first great work of the Islamic Turkic literature of some 900 years' history. This didactic work, written in the *mutaqārib* meter of *ʿarūḍ* (*fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūl*) consists of 6645 couplets. The whole work is rhymed in the form of masnavi between the couplets themselves; whereas the final three chapters are rhymed in the form of

ghazal.

Manuscripts of Kutadgu Bilig

Kutadgu Bilig has three manuscripts. The first manuscript found is the Vienna (Herat) manuscript, the second Egypt (Cairo) manuscript, and the third the Fergana manuscript.

(1) The Vienna (Herat) Manuscript

The Herat manuscript, copied in 1439 in Uyghur alphabet, is the first manuscript found. In the mid-XVth century, Herat and Samarkand were the centers of culture and science. During this period, Turks used the Arabic alphabet while at the same time copying some works in Uyghur alphabet. The inclination toward the Uyghur alphabet influenced the Western Turks. There were scribes in Ottoman palaces who studied the Uyghur alphabet. Abdürrezzak Bahşı was one of them. He brought the Herat manuscript of Kutadgu Bilig from Tokat to Istanbul. However, nothing was done regarding the work.

Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, an Austrian orientalist, purchased this manuscript from a book seller at a date toward the end of the XVIIIth century, brought it to Vienna and donated it to the Library of the Vienna Palace. He sent some pages from the book to Amédée Jaubert in Paris, and Jaubert introduced *Kutadgu Bilig* to the scholarly world with an article he wrote in 1825: "Notice d'un manuscrit turc en caractères ouigours envoyé par M. de Hammer à Abel Rémusat", *Journal Asiatique* VI, pp. 39-52; 78-95, Paris 1825. This publication is the first done upon Kutadgu Bilig, however it did not arouse much interest.

(2) The Egypt (Cairo) Manuscript

The Egypt manuscript of the work is believed to have been copied at a date before 1374 for a Mamluk sultan in Egypt, Izzeddin Aydemir. This manuscript written in Arabic script (in 5800 couplets) was found by German Dr. Moritz, the Director to the Kedive Library in Cairo in 1896, and is still located at the Egyptian State Library in Cairo.

(3) The Herat Manuscript

The third manuscript of Kutadgu Bilig, the Fergana manuscript, is assumed to have been copied in the early XIVth century in Khwarezm region. This manuscript, also in Arabic script, was found by Zeki Velidi Togan in Fergana in 1914 and presented to the scholarly attention with an article: A. Z. Validi, "Vostočonije rukopisi v Ferganskoj ob'lasty" *ZVO* XXII (1914), issue. 312/13.

The manuscript contains 6095 couplets. It was lost during World War I and Bolshevik revolution but then found again by an Uzbek scholar Fitrat in 1925 and consequently made known with an article: "Kutadgu Bilig", *Maarif ve Oqutɣučï II* (1925), pp. 68-74, Turkish: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* I (1925) pp. 344-347, German: (Rachmati) "Qutadɣu Bilig", *Ungarische Jahrbücher* VI (1926), pp. 154-158.

4. Studies and Publications on Kutadgu Bilig

(1) Julius Klaproth

The first book that directly addresses to Kutadgu Bilig is the work by Klaproth, the title of which can be translated into English as *Studies on the Language and Script of Uyghurs*. The publication of the book dates back to 1820, the time about 191 years ago: *Abhandlung über die Sprache und Schrift der Uiguren*, Paris 1820. [A facsimile publication of the book was made in Hamburg, 1985, with an introductory section by Wolfgang- Ekkehard Scharlipp.] (Dia12)

The work, which was based upon its manuscript in Uyghur script, attracted some considerable criticism in its time because of the title given to the book and the annotations and commentaries it contained. All the details concerning these can be found in the foreword to the facsimile published in 1985.

Klaproth, mentions Uyghurs, their names and the region they inhabited (for 1820's, Hami, Turfan and its surroundings). He compares some words (*kök* "sky", *kün* "sun" *ay* "moon", etc.) with German, Ugric languages and Finnish. Following this introduction is the body of the book, in which space is given to the words which most frequently occur in Kutadgu Bilig with some argumentation on whether

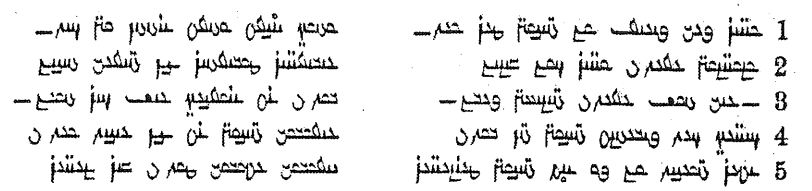
they are akin to their Chinese equivalents. Even then, Klaproth was making a comparison between the Old Turkic word *teŋri* (*God, Sky-God*) and Chinese 天 *tian* (*sky*) and 理 *li* (p. 9). [For *tianli* cf. http://www.zdic.net/cd/ci/4/ZdicE5ZdicA4ZdicA997926.htm "1. natural law; 2. heavenly principles; moral principles; 3. moral principles; morality; 4. nature; natural instincts".

(2) Hermann (= Ármin) Vámbéry

Hermann Vámbéry published the 915 couplets of the Vienna manuscript in Uyghur alphabet along with their German translation with the Uyghur letter sets specifically designed in the printing press: *Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku Bilik: uigurischer Text mit Transscription und Übersetzung nebst einem uigurisch-deutschen Wörterbuch und lithographierten Facsimile aus dem Originaltext des Kudatku Bilik*, Innsbruck 1870, IV + 260 pp. (Reprint: Osnabrück 1985). (Dia13)

II.

Versificirte Vorrede.



II.

Versificirte Vorrede.

1 Okan bir bajat ol kamuk tin öze — ögüś hamd-i ökti angga ok seza
2 Ulukluk idisi Okan zul ġelal — jaratkan töretken ma kadir kemal
3 Jer kök idisi chalaik birle — ruzini anutmiś jeksan köle
4 sagiś siz berikli kamukka ruzi — jetürür kamukni ma jemez özi
5 aćin koimaz ol bu kamuk tinlikin — jetürür iċürür tüzi ganlikin

1 Gott ist, ein Gott ist über alle Geschöpfe;
Viel Lob und Dank ist ihm auch gebührend.
2 Besitzer von Grösse, ein glorreicher Gott,
Erschuf und erzeugt er Alles mit Vollkommenheit.
3 Er ist Herr von Himmel und Erde und aller Geschöpfe;
Nahrung ertheilt er auf gleicher Weise Allen.
4 Unermesslich Vielen ertheilt er Nahrung,
Gibt Allen zu essen, isst aber selber nicht.
5 Er lässt nicht hungrig keinen der mit Seele begabten.
Er tränket und speiset alles Belebte.

The first five stanzas of the page 4 of the text in Uyghur script according to Vámbéry's transcription and translation (cf. R. R. Arat publ., p. 4)

Below is a sample for the stanza mistranscribed by Vámbéry and its contemporary transcription based on Arat publication. The difference is all too clear:

Vámbéry: Oqan bir bayat ol qamuq tin öze — ögüš. hamd-i ökti aŋga oq seza
Arat: Uɣan bir bayat ol qamuɣtïn oza — öküš ḫamd-u ögdi aŋar oq seza

(3) Wilhelm Radloff

The comprehensive work on Kutadgu Bilig could only begin with the facsimile publication of the Vienna (Herat) Manuscript by Radloff: *Kudatku Bilik: Facsimile der uigurischen Handschrift der K. K. Hofbibliothek in Wien*, St. Petersburg 1890, XIII + 200 p. (Dia14)

In this publication, while 190 pages belong to Kutadgu Bilig, the following 10 pages belong to other sources in Uyghur script (The Legend of Oɣuz Qaɣan, *yarlïq* "firman", etc.). An introductory section by Radloff in German and Russian can be found at the beginning of the facsimile.

Radloff's second study is the transcription of the work. Radloff first delivers a long introduction on the history of the Turkic tribes in general and that of Uyghurs in particular basing it on Persian, Chagatay, Mongolian and Chinese sources. He then gets the text in Uyghur alphabet set in the press and printed: *Das Kudatku Bilik des Jusuf Chass-Hadschib aus Bälasagun, Theil I. Der Text in Transscription*, 1891, XCIII + 252 p. (Dia4)

Continuing his studies on Kutadgu Bilig, Radloff added to the second part of his work the Egypt (Cairo) manuscript as well and published the comparative text in Russian Cyrillic transcription/transliteration and German translation: *Das Kudatku Bilik des Jusuf Chass-Hadschib aus Bälasagun, Theil II. Text und Übersetzung nach den Handschriften von Wien und Kairo*, St. Petersburg 1910, XXIV + 560 pp. (Dia5)

W. Radloff's work was done according to the phonemic features of Altai and Khakas, therefore rendering it unbeneficial for further studies today. He transcribes instead of *iki* "two", *igi*; *söz* "word", *sös*; *bilig* "wisdom", *pilik*; *kiši* "person, human", *kiži*; *eðgü* "good", *etkü*, etc.

(4) publication of facsimiles by the Turkish Language Association

Following these publications, the Turkish Language Association (Türk Dil Kurumu) published the facsimiles of the three manuscripts:

Kutadgu Bilig Tıpkıbasım I Viyana Nushası, (A), With a prolonged foreword by Abdülkadir İnan (pp. 11-111), Türk Dil Kurumu, İstanbul 1942. (Dia6)

Kutadgu Bilig Tıpkıbasım II Fergana Nushası, (B), Türk Dil Kurumu, İstanbul 1943. (Dia7)

Kutadgu Bilig Tıpkıbasım III Mısır Nushası, (C), Türk Dil Kurumu, İstanbul 1943. (Dia8)

(5) Reşid Rahmeti Arat

Despite the studies found on Kutadgu Bilig done after Radloff's publications, there had not been any study for the text and translation of the text that could cover the entire text up until R. R. Arat's publication. In his work published in 1947, R. R. Arat took benefit of all the three manuscripts of Kutadgu Bilig and thus presented a completed version with the portions that were missing, lost, torn off (Dia16) or totally excluded in either of them: *Kutadgu Bilig I, Metin*, İstanbul 1947, LIX + 656 p.

He remarked upon the differences between the manuscripts in annotations and added the word of his selection into the transcribed text. For instance, in stanza 2597, while *erde ödrüm* ("at/from a man" and "elected/distinguished") was written in manuscript B, it read *erdem ödrüm* ("virtue" and "elected/distinguished" in manuscript C; R. R. Arat prefers the former, the manuscript B. (Dia17)

The first translation of Kutadgu Bilig which was based upon the three manuscripts was also made by R. R Arat. The translation published in 1959 is in free verse: *Kutadgu Bilig II, Tercüme*, Ankara 1959, XXVIII + 477 p.

This is the translation taken as the primary source for all the translations of Kutadgu Bilig into other languages in the following years. The translation does not directly reflect the original text in some places and follows a free stance. Therefore, the translation can be said to be the one not done in a word-by-word fashion.

The study by R. R. Arat, which came to a pause due to his death in 1964 is the Kutadgu Bilig Index, which was posthumously completed by three scholars in 1979: *Kutadgu Bilig III, İndex*, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, İstanbul 1979, XV + 565 p.; Editors: Kemal Eraslan, Osman F. Sertkaya, and Nuri Yüce. (Dia9)

Some 500 inaccuracies noted in the Index were later corrected in the following study:

Semih Tezcan, "Kutadgu Bilig Dizini Üzerine", *Türk Tarih Kurumu - Belleten* XLV/2, issue:178, April 1981, pp. 23-78.

(6) Other Studies on Kutadgu Bilig

In 1959, the year when Resit Rahmeti Arat published the Kutadgu Bilig

translation, a first, small-scale Kharahanid Turkic grammar was published:

Mecdut Mansuroğalu, "Das Karakhanidische", in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* I, edited by Jean Deny et al., Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 87-112.

In the following book prepared to celebrate the 900th anniversary of Kutadgu Bilig, the work is analyzed in terms of literature, language and philosophy:

Agop Dilaçar, *900. Yıldonumu Dolayısıyle Kutadgu Bilig İncelemesi*, Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara 1972, 208 p. + 1 map. (Dia10)

The following study offers a detailed investigation upon the Kharahanid understanding of the state and their governmental organization:

Reşiat Genç, *Karahanlı Devlet Teşkilâtı, XI. Yüzyıl: Türk Hâkimiyet Anlayışı ve Karahanlılar*, Ankara 1981, 372 p.

The first study on Kutadgu Bilig in mere terms of grammar was published in 1984, in which only the verbs are studied:

Ahmet B. Ercilasun, *Kutadgu Bilig Grameri -Fiil-*, Gazi Üniversitesi, Ankara 1984, XI + 196 p.

The first grammar of the Kharahanid Turkic was prepared by Necmettin Hacieminoğlu:

Necmettin Hacıeminoğlu, *Karahanlı Türkçesi Grameri*, Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara 1996, XXIII + 214 p.

The derivational affixes in Kutadgu Bilig were the subject of study of the doctoral dissertation by İbrahim Taş in 2005, which was later published:

İbrahim Taş, *Kutadgu Bilig'de Söz Yapımı*, Ankara 2009, 273 p.

(7) Special Editions of the Journals for Kutadgu Bilig

Some journals have devoted some certain issues to Kutadgu Bilig:

Kutadgu Bilig Sayısı, *Türk Kültürü*, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, Number 98, Aralık 1970.

Türk Şriiri Özel Sayısı I (Eski Türk Şiiri), *Türk Dili* 51, Number 409 (1986).

Türk Dilleri Araşrtırmaları 14 (2004) (Dia11)

(8) Translations into the Languages Other than Turkish

Based on the publication and translation of the text by Arat, some Russian and English translations were rendered in former Soviet Union and the United States. Its Russian translation depends essentially on R. R. Arat' publication and translation. However, a chapter of about 30 pages long was added to the translation, in which the famous Russian Turkologist A. N. Kononov and the translator S. Ivanov evaluate Kutadgu Bilig. It should be particularly noted that the Russian translation is in verse:

Jusuf Balasagunskij, *Blagodatnoje znanije*, Tr. Sergej Ivanov, 560 p., Moscow 1983; A. N. Kononov's "Jusuf of Balasagun's Legend" (pp. 495-517) and S. Ivanov's "Jusuf of Balasagun's Kutadgu Bilig" (pp. 518-538). (Dia18)

The most remarkable translation made after R. R. Arat is the one by R. Dankoff into English:

Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib, *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig), A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*, Translated, with an Introduction and Notes by Robert Dankoff, Chicago and London 1983, X + 281 p.

This English translation is not in word-by-word fashion but it contains some alterations and corrections made to the original text. A prolonged introductory section on Kutadgu Bilig and Yusuf Khass Hajib (running up to about 35 pages) precedes the English translation. The translation is followed by four "Appendix" and one "Notes" sections: (Dia19)

Appendix 1. The Two Odes (These are the couplets 6521-6604)

Appendix 2. The Two Prologues

Appendix 3. Readings Different from Arat's Edition (This contains corrections of about 150 words. For example, Arat *qïlsa* "if he does", Dankoff *bilse* "if he knows", etc.) (Dia20)

Appendix 4. Persian Calques (Dia21)

In the section of "Notes", there are 312 notes.

Apart from these translations, other translations of Kutadgu Bilig's into contemporary Turkic languages must be mentioned. A special attention must be

drawn to the New Uyghur and Kazakh translations due to the fact that they are in Arabic script and in verse.

The Uyghur translation was made in 1984:

Yusup Khas Hajip, *Qutadɣu Bilik*, Beijing 1984, XXXI + 1368 p.

A long introduction that contains photographs of one page from each of the three Kutadgu Bilig manuscripts, the publishers' foreword, an explanation of the way taken for the textual transcription, and some historical information on Kutadgu Bilig studies precedes the translation. The most significant aspect of this translation is that it is in verse as the original Kutadgu Bilig. The translation was prepared by the famous Uyghur poet A. Ötkür. The transcription is rendered in the form of some sort of *pinyin*, an alphabet used in Xinjiang between 1965 - 1983. The translation, however, is in Uyghur script based on Arabic alphabet. (Dia22)

Seven years after this translation, Kutadgu Bilig was translated to Uyghur for the second time:

Yusup Khas Hajip, *Qutadɣu Bilik, Hazirqi Zaman Uyɣur Tilidiki Näsriy Yäšmisi*, Beijing 1991, XI + 5 + 3 + 8 + 942 p.

Kutadgu Bilig was also published twice in Kazakh. The first one was in Kazakhstan in Cyrillic alphabet, the second in Xinjiang in Arabic alphabet. Both the translations are in verse. (Dia23)

Žüsip Balasaɣun: Quttï bilik, Almatï 1986, 613 p.

Žüsip Balasaɣun: Quttï bilik, Ürümči 1989, 1105 p.

Another translation of Kutadgu Bilig into a Turkic language is in Kirghiz, which is also in verse. (Dia24)

Jusup Balasagïn, *Kuttuu Bilim, Dastan*, Moskva 1993.

The first translation into Chinese contained some selections. This selection was published in 1979.

Yousufu·Hasihajifu (wr.); Geng Shimin, Wei Cuiyi (tr.), *Fule zhihui: Weiwuerzu gudian changshi*, Wulumuqi 1979, 5 + 11 + 285 p. [尤素甫. 哈斯哈吉甫

(著); 耿世民, 魏萃一 (譯), 福樂智慧: 維吾爾族古典長詩, 烏魯木齊 1979, 5 + 11 + 285 p.]

In 1986, however, Kutadgu Bilig was published in Chinese in its entirety. (Dia25)

Yousufu·Hasi·Hajifu (wr.); Hao Guanzhong, Zhang Hongchao, Liu Bin (tr.), *Fule zhihui*, Beijing 1986, 15 + 4 + 12 + 862 p. [优素甫·哈斯·哈吉甫 (著); 郝關中, 張宏超, 劉賓 (譯), 福樂智慧, 北京 1986, 15 + 4 + 12 + 862 p.]

And last translation is into Azerbaijan Turkic:

K. Vəliyev & R. Əskər, *Yusif Balasaqunlu: Qutadqu bilik- Xoşbəxt- liyə aparan elm*, Bakı 1994, 492 p.

5. Kutadgu Bilig Lexicon

(1) Vocabulary of Kutadgu Bilig

With its lexical span of about 3000 distinct words, Kutadgu Bilig is among the first and richest literary works of the Turkic in the Islamic period. Of the early Islamic works following Kutadgu Bilig, only Qissasu'l-Anbiya can approach Kutadgu Bilig in relation to the lexicon. Of these rich lexical items, some 600 words come from what is new as culture for the Karakhanids, namely the Islamic cultural environment. About 400 of them are of Arabic, 120 of Persian origin. Arabic-Persian compound items (*šarāb-dār* "cup-bearer", etc.) should be added to this as well. It must be born in mind that Arabic lexical items are borrowed not directly from Arabic but through Persian into Turkish and Turkic languages.

(2) Other Languages Found in Kutadgu Bilig

Among the lexicon of Kutadgu Bilig, apart from Turkish, Arabic and Persian, some Chinese, Sanskrit and Sogdian words can also be found. However, their total in Kutadgu Bilig of Islamic cultural environment does not exceed over 100. The total of Sanskrit and Sogdian words among them does not exceed over 15. The Sanskrit words are in relation with medical issues in general:

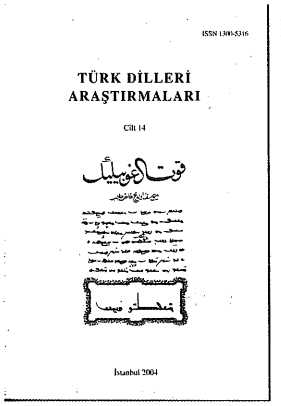
čurnï (<< Skr. *jūrṇa*) "laxative medicine".

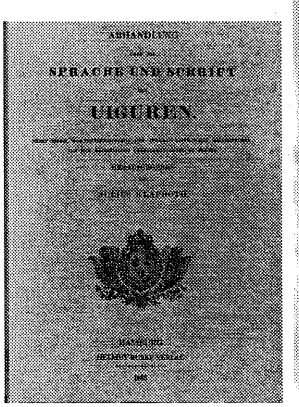
erdini (<< Skr. *ratna*) "jewellery". The word occurring all too often in Buddhist Uyghur texts with its terminological religious connotations can be found in Kutadgu Bilig only in the sense of "gemstone".

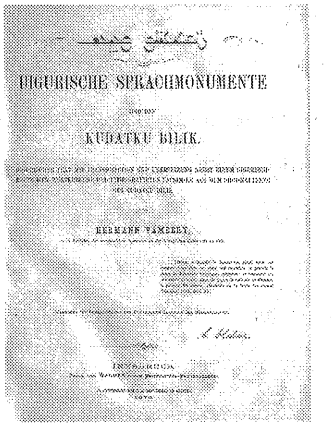
matïrdus (<< ?) "a sort of medicine" (see above, *čurnï*).

sart (< Skr. *sārtha* "caravan, tradesman") "merchant, seller". In addition to its meaning as "something valuable, material, merchandise", it also has the meanings of "caravan; tradesman".

Apart from those, few Sogdian and few Chinese words occur in Kutadgu Bilig. Among the Sogdian words are *ažun* "(this) world", *kend* "town", *učmaq* "paradise", while *čïn* "true; truth" [眞 *zhen*], *sïr* "lacquer" [漆 *qi*] can be given as examples from Chinese.







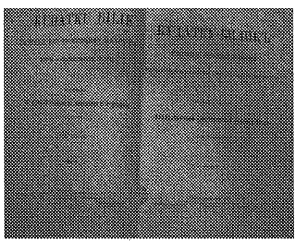
B.

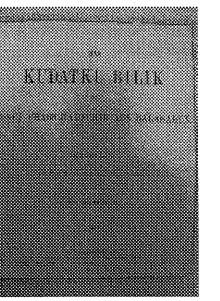
1 uğan bir bayat ol ḳamuġda oza
öküş ḥamd-u ögdi aṣ̌ar oḳ sęza

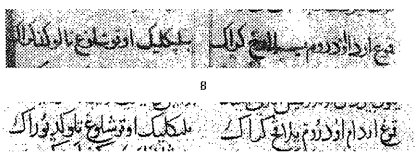
2 uluġluḳ iḍisi uğan ẕü 'l-ceḷal
yaratġan törütgen me ḳadir kęmal

3 ay yir kök iḍisi ḥalayıḳ bile
ruzını anutmış yigil sen küle

1 B'de mukaddimenin bu mısraın kısmı yok; B 3,4'te biten metnin parçadan sonra, 3,5'te hablarin fihristi başlıyor ve 12. sahifenin sonuna kadar devam ediyor | *ḳamuġda*] A18 *ḳamuġ-ın* || 2 *uluġluḳ*] Cu *ulaġ-lıg* | *yaratġan törütgen*] A18 2. *tęred-gen* C10 *yaratḫan törätgen* (-g- çizgisi yok) || 3 *ay yir*] A11 *ay* (tek çizgi!) *yer* | *yigil*] A13 *yegil* || 4 *bérigli*] A16 *berigli* (*gtürür ... gömez*] A16 *gedürür* ö. m. *yemez* C11 2. *ḳamuġın* m. *gömez* || 5 *ḳadruxa bęrgis*] A16 *ḳagmaz el ha* (astır üstünde uyg. harfi. *ḫem*) C14 *ḫaḫmas* A. | *gtürür*] A16 *gedürür* || 6 *bılar*] A17 *bolar*] || 7 *dürad*] A14 *turur* C14 *dürad* | *édörmiş*] A15 *gdörmiş* (astır altında ar. harfi. *gğaïda*.) | *(alarnïṣ)* A16 *ep-leringe* C14 *(ler-ke* || 8 *ol of*] A10 *ol* || 9 *(ilig)* A1 *gtt* | *tetdis*] C16 *tingtc* || 10 *ḫasamsiz*] A5 *ḫisemsiz* (+- altında ar. harfi. *r*) C1 *gyramnsy* | *(ul)* C2 *al*

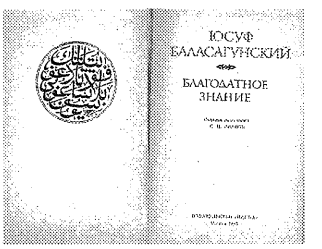


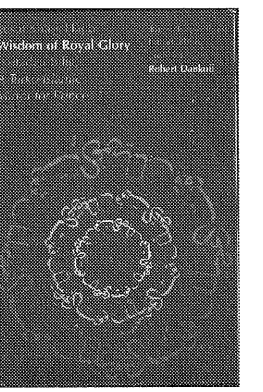




B

C





Appendix 3: Readings Different from Arat's Edition (by line number)

230.	bir: yıl	1512a.	bir ıkın: yér üzrü sıd. Tezcan 35, ab...41).
369.	dir: téşil		
384.	bəşir: ıdıl	1590.	kazı: tuzu
386.	sıdı, ejik (dir, idıl).	1591b.	ıdmıllar . . . bəldüp: dürmiş . . . bəldüp cf. 4837).
520b.	yalavaşur: téşinür.		
562c.	ıdır: ıdız.	1744a.	ıvırı: uruş.
569b.	bəldü: bəldüy	1901.	ilig . . . bəldı ay: ıtıl . . . bəldım ıl.
571b.	tıdmışdır: bəldızdın cf. CD 4901		
597a.	bilig. bilig ıvıl.	1949b.	sıvıltıvı: zıvıltıvı (cf. ED 953).
598b.	ıvıldırür: tıvıltıvır cf. ED 77.	1962b.	yıvıltıtı: ıvıl. vıvıltı: ıdın ıtıvır(?)
599b.	ıdı: ıvıl.	1969a.	vıldıtdı: bəldıg cf. 1878: bəldıgbəz
737b.	bilve . . . ıdkası: kılın . . . ıdkar cf. ED 1186.	1999b.	ılk. yıvıl.
417c.	ər üçün kıvı: ərnkar 106	1930b.	ıtır: təşın
434b.	bərdı: bəldı.	1935.	kıldırıdı ıdın ərdükı ıdkılınmadı / karımadı bu kılçı kıyık kılındı.
466b.	ılır: tır cf. OI f 42.31	1944a.	ıdmır: ımplar.
502b.	ıkı: ılı.	1956c.	vıldıdı: bıtatı cf. 4869, 5079.
529b.	bəbür: ozmış	1959a.	vıdıgıldır: mıngırdır.
558a.	tapuçı: tutuş.	1994a.	bəldüg: bıtmış (cf. 2961)
569b.	kapuçılı: ıvıgıl. tapuçılı: ıvıgıl cf. ıvıgıl.	2012b.	kıtılın bıdmaz: kıl tapıbaz(?).
737b.	kılnı: bilve	2016b.	ıvıltıdı: ıtkılı (ıvıltıdı), cf. 2980.
795b.	vıvıltır . . . ıvıgıvıltıdır: vıvıltır.	2039b.	kılın+ ıvıtır.
818b.	. . . ıdkılı: vıvıltı cf. 1956.	2112b.	ıtır: ılır (see 464 above).
832a.	bir: yıl.	2127b.	kıvı: kın.
858b.	ıdın. ıvıgır.	2139b.	tapır: ıdın
887c.	kıdsı.: kıdsı.	2207b.	ıdmışı: ıvıgıl
889b.	vıdır: vıvıl.	2302a.	bıvıvtır: tıvıgır.
918b.	ıvıtır. ıvıdır.	2351b.	ıvıgır: ıvıgır (cf. ED 261).
1018a.	ıvıdır: vıvıdı cf. 421 vb ?	2356b.	tıvır: ıvıl.
1049b.	ıvıtır: tıvıvı .	2551a.	ıvıvı: vıvı.
1050b.	ıkıpdı: ıvıl cf. ED 679.	2630b.	ıvıvtıp. ıdıtıp.
1139b.	vıdır: vıdır (cf. 1142)	2667b.	vıvır: kılı yıkın D and C: ısrı sıvıtıdı?
1256b.	bəlı: ıvı tır. 2947c.		Bk. Arat.
1308b.	bəşlıt: ıvı tır (cf. 7407).	2692a.	ıgırmaz. ıvıvazı (cf. 3175).
1404b.	ılır: ıvıp (cf. 9629).	2706c.	vıvıvtır: ıdmışı (cf. ED 2341.
1423b.	vıdıvtı: tıvıvtır (cf. ED 827.	2807b.	vıvıdır: ıvıp yır: ıvıl.
1436c.	yazı: vıdı (cf. 1096 etc.).	2922b.	bəlı: tır: ıvı. 464 (above).
1467b.	ıdıgır: ıdıp	3042a.	ıvırvır: tıvıvı.
1560b.	bıvıvı: bıvıvı.	3160b.	vıvıdır: ıvı. vıvıdır:
1620c.	yazır: ılı: vıdır: ıvı (cf. 2676, 3375, 3427. Tezcan 71)	3520b.	vıvıvı: ıdın. vıvıvtır: ıdınmıvdır.
		3576b.	vıvıvtır: ıdınmıvdır.

Appendix 4: Persian Calques

Group I: parts of the body
Group II: other (symbolical)
Order: Turkish (plus one or more fine references)
Literal meaning
Persian or Arabic original
Commentator of the idiom

t

Hand.
elig bir- 1998, 1967, 1765, 4025, 5521, 5705- . . . el bir- 11439, 1454- "to give a hand" (and dialar "to be favorable (fortune, opportunity, etc.)"
elig bak- 4898, 1489, 2330, 4261, 5061, 5750- . . . el bak- 116901 "to find a hand" (and tıtılan "to succeed, find an opportunity"
elig yıtır- "to raise the hand" (and bas (dıtıcı) t. (5063) "to desist"; 2. 11110 "to complicate"; 3. 1012, 1495, 1845) "to succeed"
elig us- (251, 255, 3630, 3805, 4853) "to strike the hand" (and zıdan "to set one's hand to, to gain authority over, to embrace, on, to undertake"
elig sun- (201, 3461 elig tegür- (365, 1365, 3221) "to put forth the hand" (and anditıcın "to set one's hand to, to meddle"
elig tut- (29-30, 551, 4581) "to hold the hand" (and gılıkın "to support, intercede"
elig tıvuz- (5420, 5580, elig tıvız- 6009, elig ezmz (566, 5670 "to lengthen the hand" (and dıtdı kıtdım "to lend a ever, oppress"
elig kıvda tur- (4206, 4679) "to shorten the hand" (and kıtdı kıtdım "to be just, refrain from meddling one's authority"
elig mıvdı (1783, 4527) "below the hand" or (and "servant, underling."
elig tutdı (4540, 5525) "submissive or kind" (ang dıtıl "submissive of mann-, pressly "; cf. elig tutu- 1477)
üstelg elig (5252, 5481) "upper hand" (ıdır dıvt, (and t bolı; ar. al-mal al- uva "upper hand, power")
ınıpdın elig yıvın- (5052) "to put the hand in front" (and-i pü gınılun, prıdasıt kıtdım "to anticipate"

Power.
aşhık ılk- (4204) "to press the fork" yür ıtıtdısın "to persist"
Head.
baş bilürin 1696?) "to wrap the head" sat gılınlan "to defy, disobey."
baş közü- (545, 890, 3346, 6706) "to raise the head" sat bılınd kıtdın "to live, attain a better position"
bır, yé- "to on the head" sat ıtıtdın 1 (2136, 2540) "to be disillusioned"; 2. 1470, 2541) "to bring about one's own death"
Eye
kıvı tık. 1769, 950) "to see the eye" ıdın ıtıtdın "to stare."
köz yarut- (598, 624, 6262) "to brighten the eye" (and tıtılan "to cheer"
Tongue.
til aç- (11861 "to open the tongue" yıtlın gıvlıtdın "to begin talking"

