

ON *bIdgW̃čIr* IN THE 3RD LINE OF THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE ŠINE-USU INSCRIPTION*

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Abstract

The Šine-Usu Inscription is the most voluminous one with 50 lines among the Uyghur inscriptions. Like Tes (750) and Tariat (752-753) inscriptions, the Šine-Usu Inscription also was erected in 759 in honor of Moyun Čor, the second qaġhan of the Uyghur Qaġhanate (r. 747-759). It is still on the spot in two pieces.

*Most parts of the Šine-Usu Inscription are now well understood. However, the south and west sides are heavily damaged and there are many illegible and/or incomprehensible words and sentences in these sides. One of them is the letter group ᠪᠢᠳᠦᠭᠦᠰᠤᠴᠢᠷ *bIdgW̃čIr* in the 3rd line on the south side. The sentences containing this letter group have been differently interpreted by the researchers. All of the readings hitherto are problematic.*

*The author would like to regard the letter group ᠪᠢᠳᠦᠭᠦᠰᠤᠴᠢᠷ *bIdgW̃čIr* as a spelling error for ᠪᠢᠳᠦᠭᠦᠰᠤᠴᠢᠷ *bdIgW̃čIr* and suggests to read it as *äbdigüči är* ‘soldier who recruits/drafts soldier’ (< *äbdi-* ‘to gather, to pick up’ + *-güči* ‘participle suffix’). There are at least three examples of spelling error related to the position of the letter ᠨ *I* in the inscriptions.*

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The sentences in question can be now read as *beş yegirmikä tayğan költä teriltim. äbdigüçi är anta i<d>t[im. är k]älti* “On the 15th (of the month) we (lit. I) gathered at the Lake of Tayğan. I sent the recruiting soldiers from there. [The soldiers] came”.

Keywords: *Moyun Çor*, spelling error, Šine-Usu Inscription, Turkic runic script, Uyghurs

Šine-Usu Yazıtının Güney Yüzünün 3. Satırındaki bldgWçIr Üzerine

Özet:

50 satırı ile Šine-Usu Yazıtı Uygur yazıtları arasında en hacimli olanıdır. Tes (750) ve Tariat (752-753) yazıtları gibi, Šine-Usu Yazıtı da Uygur Kağanlığı'nın (747-759'da hüküm süren) ikinci kağanı Moyun Çor'un onuruna 759 yılında dikilmiştir. Yazıtı, iki parça hâlinde hâlâ sahadadır.

Šine-Usu Yazıtın büyük bölümü artık iyi anlaşılmalıdır. Fakat, güney ve batı yüzleri aşırı derecede yıpranmıştır ve bu yüzlerde birçok okunamayan ve/veya anlaşılamayan kelime ve cümle vardır. Onlardan biri de güney yüzünün 3. satırındaki $\Upsilon\Gamma\Lambda\text{Ń}\epsilon\text{x}\Gamma\text{Å}$ bldgWçIr harf kümesidir. Bu harf kümesini içeren cümleler araştırmacılarca farklı şekilde yorumlanagelmıştır. Şimdiye kadarki okuyuşların hepsi sorunludur.

Yazar, $\Upsilon\Gamma\Lambda\text{Ń}\epsilon\text{x}\Gamma\text{Å}$ bldgWçIr harf kümesini $\Upsilon\Gamma\Lambda\text{Ń}\epsilon\text{x}\text{Å}$ bldgWçIr yerine bir yazım hatası saymak istiyor ve bunu äbdigüçi är ‘asker toplayan asker’ (< äbdi- ‘toplamak’ + -güçi ‘ortaç eki’) olarak okumayı öneriyor. Yazıtlarda Γ I harfinin durumuyla ilgili en az 3 hatalı yazım örneği vardır.

Söz konusu olan cümleler artık *beş yegirmikä tayğan költä teriltim. äbdigüçi är anta i<d>t[im. är k]älti* “(O ayın) on beşinde Tayğan Gölü'nde toplandık (harfiyen, toplandım). Asker toplayan askerleri oradan gönderd[im. Askerler g]eldi”.

Anahtar kelimeler: *Moyun Çor*; yazım hatası, Šine-Usu Yazıtı, Türk runik yazısı, Uygurlar

I. Introduction

In 742 the last qaghan of the Ashina dynasty was killed; a brief feud followed among three tribal groups who had been the Türks' vassals, the Basmil, Qarluq, and Uyghur. The Uyghurs, who had belonged to the Tiele, or Toquz-Oghuz, group of Turkic tribes, came out victorious, and in 744 they founded their own, Uyghur, qaghanate (with the same traditional center in Mongolia).¹ The Uyghurs also used Turkic runic script and left



1 Bregel, Y. (2003). *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia*. Leiden & Boston: Brill. p. 18.

several inscriptions with this script. These are Tes, Tariat (= Terkh), Šine-Usu (= Moyun Čor), Kara-balgasun I, Karabalgasun II, and Süüji inscriptions.²

The Šine-Usu Inscription is the most voluminous one with 50 lines among the Uyghur inscriptions. This inscription was found in 1909 by G. J. Ramstedt in the vicinity of the Mount Örgöötü, the Rivulet Mogoitu, and the Lake Šine-usu.³ Like Tes (750) and Tariat (752-753) inscriptions, the Šine-Usu Inscription also was erected in 759 in honor of Moyun Čor (磨延啜 *Mòyánchuò*⁴), the second qaghan of the Uyghur Qaghanate (r. 747-759). It is still on the spot in two pieces.

II. Interpretations of *bIdgWčIr*

Most parts of the Šine-Usu Inscription are now well understood. However, the south and west sides are heavily damaged and there are many illegible / incomprehensible words and sentences in these sides. One of them is $\Upsilon\Gamma\Lambda\Gamma\epsilon\chi\Gamma\Delta$ *bIdgWčIr* in the 3rd line on the south side. The sentences containing this letter group are as follows in Turkic runic script:

ИhY...AΓ:JΘ:ΥΓΛΓεχΓΔ:ϑhYΥΓh:JhYΓq:JYDΔ.....JqΓϑΥεqΓIΓA

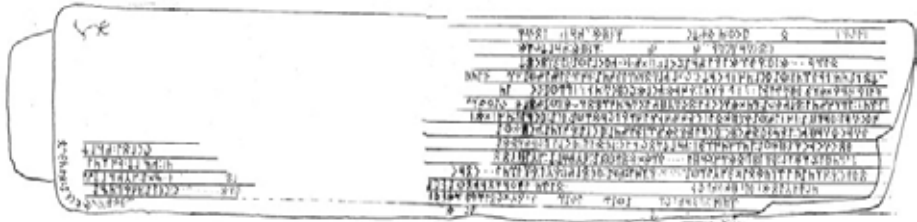


Figure 2 The Šine-Usu Inscription (the lower part of the south side)⁵

- 2 A few other inscriptions also may be regarded among the Uighur inscriptions. See Mert, O. (2009). *Ötüken Uygur Dönemi Yazıtlarından Tes — Tariat — Šine Us*. Ankara: Belen. pp. 97-98 and Aydın, E. (2011). *Uygur Kağanlığı Yazıtları*. Konya: Kömen. p. 29.
- 3 Ramstedt, G.J. (1913). “Zwei uigurische Runeninschriften in der Nord-Mongolei”. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*. 30/3, Helsinki. pp. 10-11. In this connection, see also the following mention in Mert, O. (2009). *Ötüken Uygur Dönemi Yazıtlarından Tes — Tariat — Šine Us*. Ankara: Belen. p. 197: “Arhangai ilinin Hairhan ilçesi ile Bulgan ilinin Saifhan ilçesi sınırlarının kesiştiği bölgede, Örgööt Dağı’nın güney doğusunda, Šine Us Gölü’nün (48 294037D 5377386K) 2.53 km kuzeyinde (48 294296D 5380216K) bulunan Šine Us yazıtı, Ötüken Uygur Kağanlığı döneminin en kapsamlı yazıttır.”
- 4 *muá’-jian-tš^hyat* in Late Middle Chinese and *ma^h-jian-tš^hwiat* in Early Middle Chinese. “... Early Middle Chinese is the language of the *Qieyun* rhyme dictionary of A.D. 601, which codified the standard literary language of both North and South China, the preceding period of division. ... Late Middle Chinese is the standard language of the High Tang Dynasty, based on the dialect of the capital, Chang’an. ...” (Pulleyblank, 1991, s. i); *j* and *y* represent *y* and *ü* respectively.
- 5 http://bitig.org/show_big.php?fn=copies/15_gif (07/07/2018, 13:17).

These sentences have been interpreted differently so far:⁶

1. in Ramstedt (1913)

biš j'g'rmikä[t^a]jg^an költä tir'lt'm, bidgüči ä^r aⁿda it[^fm, ä^r k^ä]lti. (p. 27)

“Den fünfzehnten ——— am Tajgansee sammelte ich mich (= meine leute), *bidgüči*-männer sandte ich von dort aus.” (pp. 26-27)

“3. ⁶¹⁻⁶⁸: *bidgüči* ä^r. Hier scheint ein nomen actoris von einem verbum *bid*- vorzuliegen. Da ein solches verbum im alttürkischen bisher nicht bekannt ist, kann man vielleicht an jak. *bitii*- ‘hüpfen, tanzen’, mong. *büži*- id., kir. *bij*- id., *bijü* ‘tanz’, welche alle auf tü. **bid*-, mo. **büdi*- zurückgehen, denken; *bidgüči* ä^r könnte vielleicht eine alte benennung derjenigen leichten truppen sein, die zur aufgabe hatten den feind näher zu ziehen und ihn in einen hinterhalt zu locken, wie noch heute die mongolen im krieg praktizieren. Oder ist irgendein zusammenhang mit mong. *bederi*- ‘suchen, aufsuchen, anschaffen’ möglich?” (p. 57)

2. in Orkun (1936)

biš y'g'rmike . . . [t^a]yg^an költe tir'ltim⁷, bidgüči er⁸ aⁿda it[^fm, ä^r k^e]lti, (p. 174)

“On beşte Taygan gölde derlendim. Bidgüçi (?) adamları orada gönderdim. Adamlar geldi.” (pp. 174-175)

bitkäçi *kayıd memuru, kâtip* . . . ; (**bidgüçi**) Ş. u. C 3 (I, 174) (Orkun 1941: 29)

3. in Malov (1959)

Бис jägirmikä Таїған költä tir'ltim, бідгүчі әр анта ыт(тым) (әр käl)ti, (p. 36)

“[так говоря, они пришли] пятнадцатого числа у озера Тайган я собрал (войско), оттуда я послал отряд, чтобы (их) завлечь. Люди пришли.” (p. 41)

бідгүчі ‘человек передового отряда’ МЧ 27; ZUR, 57. (p. 93a)

6 The researchers have used different languages and transcription/transliteration systems. The author tried to give the reading of each researcher chronologically and just as it is. The interpretation of each researcher is arranged in the following order: 1) the text in the East Turkic runiform script (or the transliterated text); 2) the transcription of the text; 3) the translation of the text; 4) the comment(s) by the researcher; 5) the words in question given in the glossary by the researcher.

7 Correctly, tir'lt'm.

8 Correctly, ä^r.

4. in Nadeljajev *et al.* (1969)

BIDGÜČI: **bidgüči er** разведчики (?): **bidgüči er anta it[tim]** оттуда я послал [отряд] разведчиков (?) (МЧ₂₇) (p. 98a)

5. in Ajdarov (1971)

Бис йегирмикә... Тайған көлте тірілтім, бідгүчі ер анта ыттым ер келті, “[так говоря, они пришли] пятнадцатого числа у озера Тайған я собрал [войско], оттуда я послал отряд, чтобы [их] завлечь. Люди пришли.” (p. 349)

Бідгүчі — человек обряда [Мог., 27]⁹ (p. 357b)

6. in Clauson (1972)

[**Ta**]yğan költe: **tériltim** ‘I concentrated (my troops) at Lake [Ta]yğan’ *Şu. S 3: ...* (p. 547b)

bitigüči: N.Ag. fr. **biti:gü;** ‘scribe, secretary’. Survives only(?) in SE Tūrki **pitküči** *Shaw*; **pütküči** *BŞ. Uyğ. VIII* (we assembled at the Tayğan lake) **bidigü:či:** (*sic*, quite clearly) **er anta: it[tum]** ‘I sent a secretary from there’ *Şu. S 3: ...* (p. 304ab)

7. in Moriyasu (1999)

beş yegirmikä // # /// tayğan költä teriltim, bidigüči (or äv edgüči) är anta idtüm // // // (p. 180)

“On the 15th day, // // // // // I (and my army?) assembled at the lake Tayğan. I sent a secretary (or a tent-maker as entourage) from there. // // // // //” (p. 184)

“15日に, // // // // // [タイ]ガン湖に私は集合した. 秘書 (あるいは帳幕 設営人)をそこから 私は派遣した. // // // // //” (p. 188)

“**S3, bidigüči:** クロソンは bitigüči “scribe, secretary” と同じとする (ED, p. 304). 私も一応それに従うが, äv edgüči 「テント作り, 帳幕設営人」という役 職名の可汗側近である可能性もあるのではないかと考えている.” [**S3, bidi-güči:** Clauson identifies [this word] with *bitigüči* “scribe, secretary” (ED, p. 304). Although I also follow him for the time being, I think it may be äv edgüči “a tent-maker” as entourage of the kagan.”] (p. 193)

8. in Tekin (2000)

⁹ Correctly, Бідгүчі — человек отряда [МЧ, 27].

bidgüçi “savaş dansı yapan er (?)” (MÇ G 3) < **bidi-* “dans etmek”; krş. MK *büdi-* “dans etmek” < **bidi-* (p. 91)

bidgüçi savaş dansı yapan er (?) (MÇ G 3) (p. 240b)

9. in Berta (2004)

beş yeğirmikä *taygan* kölbä terildim biđýwçi är anda id(d)im är kälbi (p. 293)

“Tizenötödikén a *Tajgan* tónál összegyülekeztem. ?Összeiró (toborzó) ember[e-ke]t küldtem ki onnan (akkor). [Hírszerző] ember(ek) jött(ek).”¹⁰ (p. 309)

10. in Jeong (2005)

bis y(i)gr(i)mike¹¹ t(a)yg(a)n költe tir¹² tir(i)lt(i)m. bidgüçi (e)r anta it...(e)lti¹³ (p. 442)

“15日에..... 타이간 쉼(湖)에 모여 모이게 되었다. 서기를 맡고 있는 사람을 그곳에서 보냈.....했다.” [“On the 15th day..... we got together and assembled at Lake Taygan. I sent a person who acts as a clerk there. He did.....] (p. 443)

11. in Aydın (2007)

biş yegirmikä (...) *taygan* költä tiriltim bidgüçi är anta it[<t>ım är käl]ti (pp. 46-47)

“(O ayın) on beşinde ... *Taygan* Göl’de (tekrar) toplandım. Yazıcı (nişancı?) adam gönderdim. O (geri) geldi.” (p. 61)

bidgüçi yazıcı (nişancı?)

b. G 3 (p. 101a)

10 These sentences were translated into Turkish as “On beşinde *Taygan* gölde toplandım. Yazıcı (? asker yazan) er[ler]i oraya (o zaman) gönderdim. [Haberci] er(ler) geldi(ler).” in Berta, 2010, s. 299.

11 Correctly, y(i)g(i)rmike.

12 This should be eliminated.

13 Correctly,(e)lti.

12. in Moriyasu *et al.* (2009)

beş yegirmikä // # /// tayγan költä teriltim äv edgüči är anta İdtim [är]
kälti (p. 16)

“On the 15th day, // // // // // I (and my army?) assembled at the lake Tayγan. I
dispatched a royal tent-maker (as entourage) from there. (The?) [man] came.”
(p. 28)

“15日に, // // // // // タイガン湖に私は集合した。(腹心の部下である)帳
幕設営人をそこから私は派遣した。(その?) [人]が来た。” (p. 38)

“S3, äv edgüči: もともとラムシュテットはbidgüčiと読み“leichte
Truppen” とする解釈を提案していたが(Ramstedt 1913, p. 57), ミュ
ラーはそれを退け, 「書 記」という方向での解釈を示唆した(Müller
1915, p. 33, n. 2). それを受けて クローソンは bidigüčiと読んで bitigüči
“scribe, secretary” と同じとする(ED, p. 304). しかし「書記, 秘書」の
場合は bitigüči, bit(i)käči / bit(i)gäči, bitigčiのいづ れかであり, 語根に
bid- / bidi-を含む例はまったく在証されていない. それゆ え我々はま
ったく見方を変えて, äv edgüči 「テント作り, 帳幕設営人」という役
職名の可汗側近とみなすべきと考える. 遊牧政権において「帳幕設営人」
がいかに重要であるかについては, モンゴル政権の場合のyurtči 「宿営
官」の 例が参考になろう (cf. 本田 1991, pp. 72-74).” [“S3, äv edgüči:
Although Ramstedt read originally *bidgüči* and suggested the interpretation
of “leichte Truppen” (Ramstedt 1913, p. 57), Müller rejected it and alluded
to the interpretation towards ‘scribe’ (Müller 1915, p. 33, n. 2). Accepting it,
Clauson reads [this word] as *bidigüči* and identifies [this word] with *bitigüči*
“scribe, secretary”, *bitigüči* “scribe, secretary” (ED, p. 304). However, the
case of “scribe, secretary” is one of [the such words as] *bitigüči*, *bit(i)käči* /
bit(i)gäči and *bitigči*, and no example including *bid-* / *bidi-* in the [verb] stem
is proven at all. For that reason, we changes our opinions completely and
think that we should regard it as äv edgüči “a tent-maker” as entourage of the
kagan. For the importance of ‘a tent-maker’ in the nomadic power, *yurtči* ‘a
cantonment official’ of the Mongolian government would be a good example.
(cf. 本田 1991, pp. 72-74).”] (p. 69)

13. in Mert (2009)

biş y(i)g(i)rmike ...#.....t(a)yğ(a)ñ : költe : tir(i)lt(i)m : bidgüči (e)r anta
ıt...lti (p. 245)

“On beşinci gün Taygan Gölü yanında toplandık. Oradan keşifçi /
öncü er gönderdim.” (p. 248)

bidgüči: keşifçi, öncü b. er ŞU G3 (p. 271b)

14. in User (2009)

biş y(e)g(i)rmikä [... t(a)]yg(a)n költä tir(i)lt(i)m : b²Id²g²wçI (ä)r : (a)
nta : it(t)[im (ä)r k(ä)]lti (p. 477)

biş y(e)g(i)rmikä [...] [t(a)]yg(a)n költä tir(i)lt(i)m : (p. 147, 226, 319, 367)
b²Id²g²wçI (ä)r : (a)nta : it(t)[im] (p. 310, 397)

15. in Aydın (2011)

běş yëgirmike <...> *taygan költe tēriltim bidgüçi er anta* ı<d>t[im er ke]
lti “(O ayın) on beşinde <...> Taygan Gölü’nde (tekrar) toplandım. Yazıcı
(nişancı?) adam gönderdim. O (geri) geldi.” (p. 80)

bidgüçi yazıcı

b. ŞU G 3 (p. 96a)

16. in Ölmez (2012)

běş yëgirmike *taygan : költe : tēriltim : bidgüçi*¹⁴ *er : anta : ıdt[im er*
ke]lti (p. 271)

“On beşinde ... Taygan Gölü’nde toplandım. adamı orada gönderdim.
Adam (geri) geldi.” (p. 277)

17. in Şirin (2016)

biş y(e)g(i)rmikä [... t(a)]yg(a)n költä : tir(i)lt(i)m : b²Id²g²wçI (ä)r : (a)
nta : it(t)[im (ä)r k(ä)]lti (p. 653)

biş y(e)g(i)rmikä [...] [t(a)]yg(a)n költä tir(i)lt(i)m (p. 225, 322, 430, 488)
b²Id²g²wçI (ä)r : (a)nta : it(t)[im] (p. 417, 524)

14 *bdgüçi* in the text. This error was corrected in the later edition. Mehmet Ölmez gave the author the latest unpublished version with the title ‘UYGUR KAĞANLIĞI YAZITLARI’ of the part for the Uighur inscriptions of this work. There is a comment on *bdgüçi*:

“MÇ G 3. *bdgüçi*: Moriyasu, Ramstedt’in bu ifadeyi *bidgüçi* okuduğunu ve “leichte Truppe / hafif birlikler” anlamı verdiğini belirtir. Ramstedt’in muhtemel okuyuşuyla olması gereken sözcük “katip, yazıcı, hakmeden” anlamında ve *-t-* ile yazılan ET *bitigüçi* ve benzer şekiller olabildi, ancak burada böylesi bir imla ya da mana yoktur (Moriyasu burada Müller’e ve Clauson’a, ilgili yerlere göndermede bulunur. Daha sonra göçebelerin hayatında çadır kurmanın, yurt kurmanın önemine dayanarak *äv ed-güçi* “テント作り, 帳幕設営 [correctly: 営]人 /tento kikuri/, (çadır kurucu, çadır yapan)” okuyuşunu önerir. Bunu da *yurtçı* “宿営官 / ...” ile karşılaştırarak 本田 Honda 1991’e gönderirler. Oysa yapmak anlamındaki *et-* hiçbir zaman ET’de *d* ile görülmez, yazılmaz. Bu değişim, yani belirli ötümsüz /un-voiced/ ünsüzlerin ötümlü /voiced/ hale gelmesi, DLT’deki Oğuzca verilerden itibaren sadece Oğuzların dilinde (bugünkü Türkmen, Azeri ve Türk dilinde) görülür, konuyla ilgili ayrıntılı bilgi için bk. T. Tekin, 1975 / 1995. Ramstedt’in önerileri için bk. s. 57.”

18. in Tekin (2016)

bidgüçi “savaş dansı yapan er (?)” (MÇ G 3) < **bidi-* “dans etmek”; krş. MK *büdi-* “dans etmek” < **bidi-* (p. 88)

bidgüçi savaş dansı yapan er (?) (MÇ G 3) (p. 296b)

III. Conclusion

As can be seen above, *bidgüçIr* has been differently read and interpreted by the researchers as follows:

1. *bidgüçi är*

(1) ‘*bidgüçi*-men’: Ramstedt (1913; *bidgüçi* < **bid-* ‘to hop, to dance’ (or ‘to seek, to search, to look for’ (?)) + *-güçi* ‘participle suffix’)

Orkun (1936; *bidgüçi* ‘registrar, clerk’ (Orkun, 1941))

(2) ‘an old naming of those light troops who had the task to draw the enemy closer and lure him into an ambush’: Ramstedt (1913)

(3) ‘detachment’: Malov (1959), Ajdarov (1971)

(4) ‘scout’: Nadeljajev *et al.* (1969)

(5) ‘a scouting soldier’: Mert (2009)

(6) ‘a soldier of the advance guard’: Mert (2009)

(7) ‘a man who acts as a clerk’: Aydın (2007, 2011)

(8) ‘a person who acts as a clerk’: Jeong (2005)

(9) ‘marksman’ (?): Aydın (2007, 2011)

(10) ‘a soldier who does a war dance’ (Tekin¹⁵, 2000, 2016; < **bidi-* ‘to dance’ + *-güçi* ‘participle suffix’)

(11) Ölmez (2012)

2. *bidgüçI är* ‘recruiting man (men)’: Berta (2004)

3. *b²Id²g²wçI är*: Şirin (2009¹⁶, 2016)

4. *bidigüçi är* ‘a secretary’: Clauson¹⁷ (1972), Moriyasu (1999)

5. *äv edgüçi är*

(1) ‘a tent-maker as entourage’: Moriyasu (1999)

(2) ‘a royal tent-maker (as entourage)’: Moriyasu *et al.* (2009)

15 Without *är* in the text.

16 With the surname *User*.

17 *bidigüçI är* in the text.

As Ramstedt already mentioned, the verb **bid-* is not found in Old Turkic so far. The original form and meaning of *ed-* is *ēt-* ‘to put in order’. Its meaning of ‘to make’ is attested for the first time in Oghuz in the 11th century. The voicing of intervocalic *t* is observed in the Oghuz languages like Turkish, Azerbaijanian, and Turkmen today. The verb for ‘to write’ is always attested as *biti-*, not *bidi-*. Therefore, all of the readings hitherto are problematic.

The author would like to regard the letter group $\Upsilon\Gamma\Lambda\Gamma\Xi\Gamma\times\star$ *bldgWčlr* as a spelling error for $\Upsilon\Gamma\Lambda\Gamma\Xi\Gamma\times\star$ *bldgWčlr* and suggests to read it as *äbdigüči är* ‘soldier who recruits/drafts soldier’ (< *äbdi-* ‘to gather, to pick up’ + *-güči* ‘participle suffix’). There are at least three examples of spelling error related to the position of the letter Γ *I* in the vicinity of $\downarrow L / \Upsilon l$ in the inscriptions:

(1) In the northeast side of Kül Tegin Inscription, the last word of the 4th sentence is written as $\star\Gamma\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow$ *BWLIT* instead of $\Gamma\star\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow$ *BWLTI*, i.e. *bolti* ‘He/She/It became’.¹⁸

(2) In the 5th line of the west side of Tariat Inscription, the penultimate word is written as $\Gamma\Upsilon\Xi\Gamma\Upsilon$ *lgrW* instead of $\Gamma\Upsilon\Xi\Upsilon\Gamma$ *lgrW*, i.e. *ilgärü* ‘forwards, east-wards’.

(3) In the 6th line of the north side of Tariat Inscription, the 5th word from the end is written as $\downarrow\Xi\Gamma\Upsilon\star$ *blIga* instead of $\downarrow\Xi\Upsilon\Gamma\star$ *blIga*, i.e. *bilgä* ‘wise’.

The verb *äbdi-* is well attested in Old Turkic as follows:¹⁹

(1) **evdi:-** ‘to gather, pick up (things *Acc.*)’; pec. to Xak. and Uyğ., where it has been mistranscribed as E **idi:-**, q.v. **Xak. XI ol yinçü evdi:di:** ‘he picked up, gathered (*laqata*) pearls’; also used of fruit *Kaş. I 273 (evdi:r, evdi:me:k): KB* (I composed the whole of this book in eighteen months) *üdürdüm aqırdım*

18 In this connection, see the following mention in T. Tekin (1988). *Orhon Yazıtları*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu. p. 90:

“Son kelimeye gelince, bu Radloff atlasında *B¹WLTT¹* şeklinde, Fin atlasında ise *B¹WLIT¹* şeklindedir. Cümlelerin son kelimesi olan bu harf dizisi *bulut* veya *bolut* okunabilir. ... Fin atlasındaki harf dizisi doğru ise Yolluğ Tigin’in burada *I* harfini *T¹* harfinden önce yazarak bir yanlış yaptığı düşünülebilir.”

19 There are all the occurrences of *ävdi-* in Old Uighur texts with the German translations in Klaus Röhrborn (2010), *Uigurisches Wörterbuch: Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien – Neubearbeitung* –, I. *Verben*, Band 1: *ab- – äzüglä-*, Stuttgart, pp. 202–203.

Considering the rendering of *-b-* and *-b* of the words in Old Turkic runic script as *-v-* and *-v* in Uighur texts, some researchers prefer to write *-b-* and *-b* of the words in Old Turkic runic script as *-v-* and *-v*. However, it is likely that these sounds were mere allophones of *b* for the people who left the inscriptions. Therefore, it is problematic to write *-b-* and *-b* of the words in Old Turkic runic script as *-v-* and *-v*. The Yakut word *tabišxan* ‘hare’ comes from **tabišyan*, which is attested in the 8th line of the Tuñuq Inscription. This *tabišyan* would not be written as *tavişyan*. The sound in question must be the voiced bilabial fricative β as shown in Berta 2004, not the voiced labiodental fricative *v*.

söz evdip tere ‘I chose, picked out, and collected what I had to say’ 6624. (Clauson 1972: 7b)

(2) **EVDI-** собирать: ol jençü evdidi он собирал жемчуг (МК I 273).

◇ **evdi- terä**²⁰ парн. собирать: tükäl on sekiz ajda ajdım bu söz / ödürdüm adirdim söz evdip terä эти слова я изложил полностью за восемнадцать месяцев, / собирал слова и выбрал (*QBK* 392₁₀) (Nadeljajev *et al.* 1969: 189b)

The participle äbdigüçi occurs in Old Uyghur as follows:

basa 'ävdigüçi oylan-ğy-a-lar-qa [tägi] “dann [bis zu] den sammelnden Jüng-lingen” (Molnár & Zieme 1989: 142, 145).

Although the human being is not identified as the object of the transitive verb äbdi-, the meaning of ‘to gather’ fits the context: The Uyghur Qaghan and his troops assembled at the Lake of Taygan. He sent the recruiting soldiers to gather soldiers from the surrounding tribes.

This 𐰽𐰺𐰸𐰸𐰺𐰸𐰺𐰸 *bdlgWçIr* as a spelling error for 𐰽𐰺𐰸𐰸𐰺𐰸𐰺𐰸 *bdlgWçIr* may mean not only ‘recruiting soldier(s)’ but also ‘recruiting man (men)’ as in Berta (2004).

The sentences in question can be now read as *beş yegirmikä tayğan költä teriltim. äbdigüçi är anta i<d>t[im. är k]älti* “On the 15th (of the month) we (lit. I) gathered at the Lake of Taygan. I sent the recruiting soldiers from there. [The soldiers] came”.

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20 Correctly, ter-.

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