



# Consideration of an Eastern Turki Text in the Context of the Transmission of Knowledge through Storytelling: *Cırıñlamaydurğan Tıllā*

Hikâye Anlatımı Yoluyla Bilgi Aktarımı Bağlamında Bir Doğu Türkçesi Metni: *Cırıñlamaydurğan Tıllā*

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## Abstract

The localization process that began with the written Chagatai language as a result of political developments in Central Asia during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries paved the way for the emergence of new written languages. The Turks of East Turkestan, who had used the written Chagatai language for centuries, integrated many words and structures from regional dialects, such as Kashgar, Yarkent, and Altisehir, into their written language during this period of social transformation. The process marked the transition to modern Uyghur Turkish, also referred to as Eastern Turki, during which the rich oral culture of the Uyghurs began to be documented in a written form. Significant studies have been conducted on the linguistic materials of East Turkestan by Swedish travelers and missionaries. As part of these studies, a printing house was established in Kashgar by the missionaries under the auspices

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of the Swedish Mission to East Turkestan (Svenska Missionsförbundet) which focused on the Muslim population of East Turkestan. This study examines the stylistic features of the narrative entitled *Cırıqlamaydurgan Tıllā* [The Gold Coin That Doesn't Jingle] (1913), published by the Swedish Mission Press in Kashgar. Although the text was created with the intent to propagate Christianity, it makes use of Islamic religious terminology. The study includes a diachronic analysis of notable Eastern Turki words found in the text and considers their historical evolution. A transcription of the text can be found at the end of the study.

**Keywords:** *Eastern Turki, East Turkestan, narrative, Swedish Mission Press, Kashgar dialect*

## Öz

Orta Asya'da 18. ve 19. yüzyıllarda yaşanan siyasi gelişmeler sonucunda yazılı Çağatayca ile başlayan mahallileşme süreci, yeni yazı dillerinin ortaya çıkmasına zemin hazırlamıştır. Yüzyıllar boyunca Çağatay yazı dilini kullanan Doğu Türkistan Türkleri, bu toplumsal dönüşüm döneminde Kaşgar, Yarkent ve Altışehir gibi bölgesel ağızlardan pek çok kelime ve yapıyı yazı dillerine aktarmışlardır. Doğu Türkçesi olarak da adlandırılan modern Uygur Türkçesine geçişin yaşandığı bu süreçte, Uygurların zengin sözlü kültürü yazılı olarak belgelenmeye başlamıştır. İsveçli gezginler ve misyonerler tarafından Doğu Türkistan'ın dil malzemeleri üzerine önemli çalışmalar yapılmıştır. Bu çalışmaların bir parçası olarak, Kaşgar'da, Doğu Türkistan'ın Müslüman nüfusuna odaklanan İsveç Doğu Türkistan Misyonu (Svenska Missionsförbundet) himayesinde bir matbaa kurulmuştur. Bu çalışma, Kaşgar'daki İsveç Misyonu Yayınları tarafından yayımlanan *Cırıqlamaydurgan Tıllā* (1913) başlıklı anlatının üslup özelliklerini incelemektedir. Metin Hristiyanlığı yaymak amacıyla oluşturulmuş olsa da İslam dinine ait terminolojiden yararlanmaktadır. Çalışma, metinde yer alan önemli Doğu Türkçesi kelimelerin artzamanlı bir analizini içermekte ve tarihsel gelişimlerini ele almaktadır. Çalışmada, *Cırıqlamaydurgan Tıllā* adlı metinde kullanılması dikkat çeken kelimeler (çeketkü 'çekirge', alvañ 'vergi', cık 'çok, fazla', dada 'baba', tögül 'değil', aka 'kardeş', yaraşa 'uygun, yaraşır', tos- 'kapatmak', ötne 'borç', olda- 'onarmak, tamir etmek') değerlendirilmiştir. Bu kelimelerin seçilmesindeki temel sebep, 19. yüzyıla kadar Doğu Türkistan'da kullanılan Çağatay yazı dilinde görülmeyip bölgesel ağızların etkisiyle Doğu Türkçesinde ses/anlam değişikliğiyle varlığını sürdürmesinin tespitine veri oluşturmalarıdır. Metinde kullanılan bu kelimeler değerlendirildiğinde bölgesel ağızların yazı diline etki ettiği görülmektedir. Ayrıca *Cırıqlamaydurgan Tıllā* adlı metinde kullanılan biçem özellikleri dikkate alındığında, kullanılan dilin okuyucu-dinleyicinin kolaylıkla anlayacağı sade bir dille yazıldığı ve metnin hedef kitlesi olan İslam diline inanan okuyucu-dinleyicinin mesajı reddedemeceği İslam dinine ait terminolojinin kullanıldığı görülmektedir.

**Anahtar sözcükler:** *Doğu Türkçesi, Doğu Türkistan, anlatı, İsveç Misyonu Matbaası, Kaşgar ağızı*

## **Introduction**

The 19<sup>th</sup> century was a tumultuous period politically for the Uyghurs of East Turkistan. Although their political influence in the Central Asian region diminished during this period<sup>1</sup>, their cultural contribution did not, and many Western travelers were attracted to the region by the dynamic cultural and social structure of the Uyghurs. These Western travelers, whose journeys often began in India and extended through East Turkistan, not only published accounts of their travels, but also conducted studies on various topics, including population, geography, and religion (see Shaw, 1869–1870; Hayward, 1869–1870).

The Swedish travelers are of particular importance among the Western travelers who visited East Turkestan due to their systematic diligence. Operating within the framework of the Swedish Mission (Svenska Missionsförbundet)<sup>2</sup>, which they established in Kashgar, these travelers documented and carefully catalogued information and materials gathered from studies in regions such as Khotan, Yarkent, Yengihisar, Kashgar, Aksu, and Urumqi—collectively known as the Six Cities of East Turkestan. The Swedish Mission made these resources available for the benefit of scientists who would follow in their footsteps. Although the Swedish Mission's expeditions to East Turkestan were primarily aimed at spreading Christianity, the missionaries made significant contributions to uncovering and preserving the linguistic material of the region. In this endeavor, the printing press (Swedish Mission Press)<sup>3</sup> established in Kashgar played a crucial role in allowing numerous works written in Eastern Turki to endure into the present day.

These missionaries and travelers, whose primary goal was to spread their Christian faith, also made significant discoveries related to the Turki language in the region known as Eastern Turkistan (Johanson, 2003: 257). Among this group, Gustaf Raquette (1871–1945) and Gunnar Jarring (1907–2002) are notable for their contributions to the study of the linguistic material of East Turkistan. In particular, Gunnar Jarring's work in the Tarim Basin resulted in the documentation of numerous works in Chagatai Turkish and post-19<sup>th</sup>-century New Uyghur Turkish. These materials are preserved in The Jarring Collection at Lund University Library (see Berbercan, 2017).

The Uyghurs, like other Turkic communities in Central Asia, used the standardized Chagatai written language from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Chagatai Turkish served as the *lingua franca* during this period across a broad geographic and societal spectrum. However, various factors after the 19<sup>th</sup> century, such as the evolving cultural, social, and commercial landscape in East Turkestan, led to the development of Eastern Turki from the Chagatai written language. Although Eastern Turki retained the orthographic characteristics of Chagatai, it incorporated words and structures reflecting the dialectal features of East Turkestan society (Erbay, 2023a: 437–438). Wei attributes the rapid transition of Chagatai Turkish to Eastern Turki to two factors which occurred simultaneously: the development of a standardized written language from numerous regional dialects, and the replacement of the Chagatai language, which had been in use since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, with a newly agreed-upon written language (Wei, 1989: 235–236). As a result, a new written language, Eastern Turki<sup>4</sup>, emerged, which was rooted in Chagatai but also enriched with numerous elements of the spoken language.

## 1. The role of storytelling in spreading the word

Storytelling, or narration, is one of the methods frequently employed by missionaries to spread religious teachings. It is well established that sacred texts believed to be divinely inspired contain stories, through which their messages are conveyed. For these parables to be successful it is, of course, essential that the audience fully comprehends these messages. As such, storytelling, recognized as one of the most effective methods for enhancing comprehensibility, holds significant importance in religious studies (Erbay, 2023b: 472).

The tradition of storytelling undoubtedly predates the advent of writing. In ancient cultures, oral traditions was the fundamental means of communication and the preservation of cultural memory. Sharing both personal and communal stories provides opportunities to convey, understand, and interpret experiences. Furthermore, storytelling can be a powerful tool for teaching ethics, values, and cultural norms, as well as highlighting the differences between cultures (Kollontai, 2015: 217–218).

The Uyghurs are known to possess a rich storytelling tradition which is deeply rooted in their culture. This narrative tradition is evident not only in folk tales, but also permeates nearly every aspect of their oral culture. In East Turkestan, particularly in the context of the Swedish Mission, this oral culture has been preserved to some extent through the efforts of missionaries and voyagers<sup>5</sup>, as well as the activities of the Swedish Mission Press established in Kashgar.

It is clear from the works published by the Kashgar printing press that the Swedish Mission frequently employed storytelling in their activities in the region. These texts, designed for individuals with basic literacy skills (or intended to be read aloud by someone literate), were crafted as concise narratives which were accompanied by explanations of the stories.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. *Cırıqlamaydurgan Tıllā* and stylistic features of the narrative

If one views a text as a set of codes for communication, it can be argued that a literary texts is comprised of unique codes, with the aesthetic code being the most prominent. This ‘aesthetic code’ consists of linguistic, rhetorical, stylistic, historical, sociocultural, and other elements. In the deciphering of a text to understand these embedded codes, the reader undergoes a cryptological process, and if a code is missing then this leads to an incomplete decoding. Thus, if the reader lacks fundamental knowledge, such as cultural context or vocabulary, the communication—and by extension, the analysis—of the text cannot be fully realized (Talun İnce, 2011: 114).

The dissemination of a written work across cultures is achieved through translation. This process involves transferring the artistic expression of experiences and narratives, conveyed through language, from one linguistic, cultural, and intellectual system to another. Authors encode the multifaceted messages and meanings of literary texts using stylistic devices which are then presented to their readers. Consequently, when transferring a literary text from its source language to a target language, special attention must be given to preserving the style (Talun İnce, 2011: 105).

Most of the works published by the Swedish Mission Press in Kashgar were translations from Swedish and English into Eastern Turki. Examples include ‘*Şahrā-yı Kebīrde Azıkkān İki Birtogkannıñ Hikāyesi*’ (1913), ‘*Barasidin Muḳaddes Kitāblarda Kelgen Peyğamberlik*

Sözler’ (1931), and ‘*Kitāb-ı Muḳaddesniñ Beyānı*’ (1931), all of which were translated from English, and ‘*Sādhū Sundar Singhniñ Bir Neçe Va ‘zları*’ (1933), which was translated from Swedish (Erbay, 2024: 89). While there is no explicit record of the source language for the translation of other stories, it is believed that the narrative portion of *Cırıñlamaydurğan Tıllā* was translated from English.

The artifacts acquired by Gunnar Jarring from East Turkestan were initially taken to Sweden, and then later transferred to the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul in 2012. This collection, which subsequently became known as the Jarring Collection, was digitized and made available online as *The Gunnar Jarring Digital Library*<sup>7</sup>. One of the earliest stories printed by the Swedish Mission Press at their Kashgar printing house in 1913 is *Cırıñlamaydurğan Tıllā*. This story is cataloged in the Jarring Collection with the reference number 1913-2. The text spans eight pages, including the cover and, like other religious narratives printed by the Swedish Mission Press, the story is structured into two sections. The first section presents the story itself, while the second, entitled *Kışşadın Hışşe*, provides the main message and explains the parables within the narrative. The language of the text is intentionally simple and accessible, and has clearly been designed to be instructional and easily comprehensible for readers.

The choice of names for main and supporting characters in the texts produced for the Muslim Uyghur community in East Turkestan as part of missionary activities is particularly notable. For instance, in the story *Hasannıñ Öyi* (1913), the narrative revolves around the events experienced by a father’s two sons, named Hasan and Mübarek in which Hasan symbolizes an Islamic/Muslim identity, while Mübarek represents a Christian identity (see Erbay, 2023b). Similarly, *Cırıñlamaydurğan Tıllā* recounts the experiences of a character named Abdullah.

In the narrative part of the text, metaphors are extensively used to help the reader better relate to the intended message. Every element in the narrative—such as characters, places, and objects—is presented as a religious simile: the Sultan symbolizes God, Abdullah’s friend represents the missionary, Abdullah stands for the Muslim, tax signifies sacrifices, money that is not pure gold represents Islam, money that is pure gold signifies Christianity, a letter written on white paper symbolizes one’s conscience, a letter written on blue paper represents the Torah and the Bible, and a letter written on red paper symbolizes death. In the *Kışşadın Hışşe* (The Moral of the Story) section, which provides an explanation of the narrative, the language is straightforward and avoids marginalization, which is in harmony with the general tone of religious discourse. The recurring addresses, such as “O my brother, O brother,” in this section should be interpreted within this inclusive and explanatory framework.

The text demonstrates that Christianity is explained using the terminology of Islam. For the concept of “God,” expressions borrowed from Arabic and Persian are used: *Allāh te ‘ālā* (CT 5/17), *Hudā* (CT 5/19; 7/5), and *Hudāy te ‘ālā* (CT 7/10). The Arabic phrase *bāreke ‘llāh* (بَارِكْهُ اللهُ), meaning “Well done, congratulations, may God bless it,” is also included in the text: *bāreka ‘llāh dēgen dēk bolup köñlüñga hōşluq keltüre-dür* (‘Well done, congratulations’ “It brings joy to the heart as soon as you say it”) (CT 6/4). Similarly, terms well-known in Islamic terminology, such as *günah* (sin), *itikāt* (faith), *riyazet* (spiritual discipline), *nefis* (self), and *haram* (forbidden [by Islamic law]), are used in the text to ensure full comprehension of

the text by the reader. Examples of this include: *hāliş bolmağan günāh bilen aralaş* ‘ibādetler ‘ibādetler ‘Insincere worship mixed with sin’ (CT 7/21); *şundağ i ‘tikādiynı hem taḥkiklep kaylağıl* ‘Thus, examine and reflect on your faith’ (CT 7/16); *nefsiñge riyāzet tartdurmak* ‘Disciplining one’s self’ (CT 7/12); *ağzıñdın ḥarām ve nā-meşrū ‘sözler çıkmadı mu* ‘Did forbidden and unlawful words escape your mouth?’ (CT 7/13).

### 3. Eastern Turki words used in the text

The text *Cırıqlamaydurgan Tıllā*, written in Eastern Turki, was generally composed within the framework of the Chagatai literary language and influenced by the dialects of East Turkestan. Therefore, in recognition of previous studies, words that exhibit the orthographic and semantic characteristics of the Chagatai literary language have not been evaluated here to avoid repetition. The selection of the words *çeketkü*, *alvañ*, *cık*, *dada*, *tögül*, *aka*, *yaraşa*, *tos-*, *ötne*, *olda-* for this study was primarily based on the fact that these words were either absent from the Chagatai literary language used in East Turkestan until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, or they have continued to exist in Eastern Turki following phonetic or semantic changes made under the influence of regional dialects. The following words in the text are notable in terms of archaism:

**çeketkü**<sup>8</sup> وکتکچ ‘grasshopper’: The word for “grasshopper,” identified in early Middle Turki<sup>9</sup> and Chagatai Turki<sup>10</sup> with various phonetic correspondences, appears in the text as *çeketkü*. In Eastern Turki, the term *malaḥ* (مخ), borrowed from Persian, is frequently used in texts for the concept of “grasshopper” (see Jarring, 1964). However, in texts collected from the East Turkestan region, the form *çörtkä* is also encountered (see Katanov, 1976).

The word can be found in contemporary Uyghur Turkish as *çeketke* (see Necipoviç Necip, 1995). Considering this usage, it can be observed that the final rounded vowel in the word *çeketkü* in the text has expanded in the transition from Eastern Turki to contemporary Uyghur Turkish: *çeketkü* > *çeketke*. In the narrative, it appears as follows: *Anıñ üstige gāzab-ı ilāhīniñ numūnesi bolğan çeketküler qara bulut dek künniñ nūrını tosıp kelip ot-yaşlarını yep ḥarāb kıldı. Çeketkülerdin qalğan ot-yaş satmaq tögül yegeli hem yetmedi* “After that, as a sign of divine wrath, the *çeketküler* came like dark clouds, blocking the sunlight and destroying the plants by eating them. The vegetables left over from the *grasshoppers* were not enough to eat, let alone sell” (CT 2/22 and 3/1); *Hem-sāyesidin ötna alıp berey dēse anıñ hem zirā ‘atlarını çeketkü yep-dür* “When he says, ‘I’ll borrow and pay my neighbor,’ it’s because his crops have been eaten by the *grasshoppers*.” (CT 3/5).

**alvañ** لڧاڧل ‘tax’: It is known that Turkish borrowed this word from Mongolian<sup>11</sup>, and it has been attested in many historical Turkic dialects (Old Uyghur Turkic *alban*; Chagatai Turkish *alban*). Radloff (1960) also included the word *alban* in his dictionary, noting its presence in Siberian Turkic dialects (such as Chulim, Shor, and Altai). While the Persian words *bāc* (جابه) [‘tax’] and *bāc-gīr* (رجابه) [‘tax collector’] are commonly used in Modern Uyghur Turkish to refer to ‘tax’ or ‘tribute’ (see Tuzgen, 1989: 991) in Eastern Turki, the Mongolian word *alban* has evolved into *alvañ*, *alban* > *alvañ*. It appears in the text as follows: *pādişāh alvañ salıp her kişidin bir miqdār pul almaqçı bolup aq kâğızğa pitülgen ḥaṭlar çıkardı* “The sultan sent letters written on white paper with the intention of imposing a *tax* and collecting some money from



each person.” (CT 2/2); *alvay* *dék artuq çıkımlarnı bermek nihāyet ziyāde ağır iş édi* “Paying excessive expenses, such as *taxes*, was ultimately a very burdensome task.” (CT 2/14).

**cık**<sup>12</sup> قىچ ‘a lot, much’: The word and its derivatives are not found in historical Turkic dialects. In his dictionary, Gunnar Jarring assigns the meaning ‘much’ or ‘a lot’ to the word *cık* [dʒiq/dʒiy] (1964: 95). It is also known to be used as *cık* (‘much’) in contemporary Uyghur Turkish (Necipovic Necip, 1995: 62). In the Eastern Turki text *Cırıqlamaydurğan Tıllā*, published in 1913, it is found for the first time with the +rAK strengthening suffix: *pulnı vaktide bermegen üçün cerimānesini evvelkı pulğa koşup cıkırak kılıp ikinçi mertebede kök kâğızğa pitülgen haqlar çıkardı* “For those who did not pay the money on time, he increased their penalty by adding it to the previous fee and sent letters written on blue paper for the second time” (CT 2/5).

**dada** اداد ‘father’: The word’s usage in the sense of ‘father’ or ‘grandfather’ is attested from the Old Turki period. In *Dîvânu Lugâti t-Türk*, the word *dada* is given the meaning of ‘grandfather’ (Ercilasun-Ziyat, 2014: 631). In the *et-Tuhfetü’z-Zekiyye fi’l-Lugati t-Türkiyye*, belonging to the Mamluk Kipchak dialect, it is used as ‘grandfather’ (Boeschoten, 2023: 121), while in the Chagatai Turkish texts, *dada* is used to mean ‘father’ (Şeyh Süleyman Efendî, 1882; Radloff, 1960/III: 1640) and ‘uncle’ (mother’s brother) (Courteille, 1870: 315). In contemporary Uyghur Turkish, the word *dada* retains its meaning as ‘father’ (Necipovic Necip, 1995: 92). In the text, it is used in the sense of ‘father’ as follows: *bu maña dadamdın qalğan émes mü* “Isn’t this an heirloom from my *father*?” (CT 3/24); *sen neme işka dadalarımğa düşnām kılur-sen oylap baq dadalarım yahşı bilen yamannı bilmes mü dedi* “He said: ‘Why do you curse my fathers? Think about it, don’t my *fathers* know good from bad?’” (CT 4/4-5); *ey aka dadalarınıñ işini men bilmey-men* “O brother, I do not know the business of your *fathers*.” (CT 4/6); *ol könlide dadalarım neme işka äväre bolup ötmeydurğan nemeni kömüp qoyadur menin hiç qorqadurğan yerim yok dep hayāl kılur édi* “In his heart; ‘Why do my *fathers* bury things that have not passed by,’ he thought, ‘I have nothing to fear.’” (CT 4/13).

**tögül**<sup>13</sup> لوكوت ‘not’: The first mention of the word expressing negativity appears in *Dîvânu Lugâti t-Türk*. Kâshgarlı Mahmud indicates that the word is of Oghuz origin (Ercilasun-Ziyat, 2014: 631). In contemporary Turki dialects of the Kipchak group, words such as *emes/èmes/imes*<sup>14</sup> are mostly used for ‘not’ (with variations like *degül/ dëgül/ dögül/ dügöl*) to express negation. In contemporary Uyghur Turkish, which is one of the Karluk group dialects, *ämäs* is used for negation (Nadzhip, 1971: 71). However, the form *tögül* is also attested (UTIL 1991: 5/404). In the East Turki text, the word ‘not’ appears only once in the form *tögül*: *çeketkülerdin qalğan ot-yaş satmaq tögül yegeli hem yetmedi* “There was *not* enough to eat, let alone sell, the vegetables left over from the grasshoppers.” (CT 3/2).

In the text *Cırıqlamaydurğan Tıllā* –following the Chagatai writing tradition– the use of the word *emes* is more frequent: *bu maña dadamdın qalğan émes mü neme işka sen yahşı émes dër-sen dedi*, “He said: ‘Isn’t this an heirloom from my father, why do you say it is *not* good?’” (CT 4/1); *bilgil ki her bir parqıraydurğan nerse altun émes*, “Know that *not* everything that glitters is gold.” (CT 6/23); *bilür-sen ki aralaş tıllā maqbül émes-dür*, “You know that mixed gold coins are *not* acceptable.” (CT 7/9).

**aka** اكا ‘brother/sister’: In the *Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages*, Tungusic *akā* and Mongolian *kakā* are used in the sense of ‘brother/sister’ (Starostin et al., 2003: 281). In the first known Turkish dictionary, *Dîvânü Lugâti t-Türk*, the word *eke* is used to mean ‘older sister’ (Ercilasun-Ziyat, 2014: 635). Sheikh Suleyman Efendi included the words *ağa* (‘great master, elder brother’), *ake/eke* (‘elder brother, agha, big brother’), and *ekçi/ekçe* (‘elder sister’) in his dictionary (LÇ 1882). In contemporary Uyghur Turkish, the word *aka* is used to mean ‘elder son’ (UTIL 1990: 1/143). In the text, the word is used in the sense of ‘brother’: *beg yumşak söz birle ayttı ey aka dadalarıñnıñ işini men bilmey-men lîkin bir işni bile-men ki bu tîllâ cırıñlamaydurğan hem ötmeydür* “He spoke softly: ‘O brother, I do not know the business of your fathers, but I know one thing: this coin neither jingles nor holds value.’” (CT 4/6).

**yaraşa** اش ارای ‘suitable, worthy’: The word is attested as *yaraşı* ‘suitable’ (Gabain, 1950: 352) from the Old Turki period. In Chagatai Turkish, it appears with sound changes as *yaraşa* and *yaraşu* (/ı/ > /u/ and /ı/ > /a/), as seen in phrases such as *yaraşa yaraş kılıp* ‘to provide suitable equipment’ (Courteille, 1870: 520) and *yaraşu libās* ‘suitable clothing, appropriate dress’ (Berbercan, 2011: 161). Contemporary Uyghur Turkish uses *yarişa* ‘worthy, suitable, appropriate’ (UTIL 1998: 6/441). In Eastern Turki, the word appears as *yaraşa*: *bu yıl bî-çäre iğbālî kaçқан ‘Abdu’llāhnıñ bahtıge yaraşa yağın az boldı anıñ üçün ot-yaşlar oğşamadı* “This year, the unfortunate Abdullah’s bad fortune seemed reflected in the lack of rainfall, and as a result, the vegetables did not grow well.” (CT 2/20).

**tos** سوت ‘to close’: The verb *tu-*, the root of this word, has been attested since the Old Turki period with the meaning ‘to close, shut’ (see Gabain, 1950: 344; Ercilasun-Ziyat, 2014: 898). In Chagatai Turkish, it appears as *tos-* with the expanded meaning ‘to block the way,’ formed with a verb-verb suffix (LÇ 1882). In Eastern Turki and its descendant, contemporary Uyghur Turkish, the word *tos-* retains the meanings ‘to close, to block, to hinder’ (UTIL 1991: 5/243). It is used in the text as follows: *çeketküler kara bulut dek künniñ nūrını tosıp* ‘Grasshoppers blocked the light of the sun like a black cloud.’ (CT 2/22).

**ötne** ئوتنا ‘debt’: The concept of ‘debt’ is expressed in Old Uyghur Turkish with the word *ötäg/ötäk* (‘debt’) (Gabain, 1950: 324), derived from the verb *öte-* (‘to pay’). In *Dîvânü Lugâti t-Türk*, the term appears as *ötnü* (‘loan, debt’) (Ercilasun-Ziyat, 2014: 793). In Chagatai Turkish, the concept is conveyed by the word *ötünç* (‘debt’) (Courteille, 1870: 46). In both Eastern Turki and contemporary Uyghur Turkish, the word appears as *ötne* (‘debt’) [derived from *öt(e)-n-e*] (UTIL 1995: 3/795). Examples from the text include: *Hem-sāyesidin ötne alıp berey dēse anıñ hem zirā ‘atlarını çeketkü yep-dürææ*, “If he said, ‘I will borrow and lend from his neighbor,’ grasshoppers ate what he sowed” (CT 3/5) and *kişidin pul hem ötne almay bölek yol bilen hem pul rāstlamay tamakusını tartıp tinç yattı* “Without borrowing money from anyone (for tax payment) or arranging funds in another way, he smoked his tobacco and rested” (CT 3/16).

**olda-** اولدا ‘to mend, to repair’: The word appears to have been derived from the Old Turkic noun *oñ* (‘right side; right’) with the noun-to-verb-forming suffix *-A* (cf. *oñal-* / *oñul-* / *oñar-*; Gabain, 1950: 321). The verb *oña-* (‘to correct’) is also attested in *Dîvânü Lugâti t-Türk* (Ercilasun-Ziyat, 2014: 776). In Eastern Turki, the verb appears with various phonetic



changes, such as *oqla-* /*oqla-* /*oqla-* /*oqla-* (‘to repair, to fix’; Maimaitaili, 2019: 311). In the text, the word is used in the form *olda-* with the meaning ‘to repair, to mend’: *ëmdi neme kılışını bilmey hayrân bolup turğan vaqtide öyni oldamak lâzım boldı* “Now, confused and not knowing what to do, he had to **repair** his house.” (CT 3/7).

## Conclusion

The Swedish Mission Press, established by Swedish missionaries working in East Turkestan, has produced numerous publications in Eastern Turki. A substantial portion of these works are religious texts aimed at influencing the Muslim Uyghur community toward Christianity. *Cırıñlamaydurğan Tıllā* (1913), or *The Gold Coin That Doesn’t Jingle*, is one such text.

The text employs a simple and accessible language to ensure that its message is easily understood by readers. Additionally, the text incorporates terms familiar to the East Turkestan Uyghur community —its intended audience— that are traditionally used to reference Islamic religious concepts, such as *Allāh te ‘ālā*, *Hudā*, *Hudāy te ‘ālā*, and *bāreke ‘llāh*. Religious ideas are also expressed using Arabic and Persian terms widely recognized within the society, such as *günah* (sin), *itikāt* (faith), *riyazet* (spiritual discipline), *nefis* (self), and *haram* (forbidden [by Islamic law]).

The Eastern Turki words identified in the text (*çeketkü* ‘grasshopper,’ *alvañ* ‘tax,’ *cık* ‘a lot, much,’ *dada* ‘father,’ *tögül* ‘not,’ *aka* ‘brother/sister,’ *yaraşa* ‘suitable, worthy,’ *tos-* ‘to close,’ *ötne* ‘debt,’ *olda-* ‘to mend, to repair’) were analyzed in terms of their historical progression from Old Uyghur Turkish to contemporary Uyghur Turkish. It has been observed that these words are used in Eastern Turki with phonetic changes, and that these sound changes are attributed to the influence of East Turkestan dialects.

## Endnotes

- 1 The main causes of this decline of this influence were the entry of the British and Russians into the region through trade agreements, as well as the oppressive policies of China. For detailed accounts of British and Russian activities in the region, see Morris (1977) and Vernadsky (1936).
- 2 For detailed information on the Swedish Mission (Svenska Missionsförbundet), see Erbay (2023b).
- 3 For detailed information on the printing press (Swedish Mission Press) established by the Swedish Mission, see Süleyman (2013).
- 4 While the written language used in the East Turkestan region from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century as part of the Chagatai orthographic tradition was referred to by various names, the term ‘Eastern Turki’ has been adopted in this study. For further information on the term Eastern Turki, see Erbay (2023c: 4).
- 5 These works can be examined in two ways: first, through the acquisition (including the purchase) of linguistic material collected by travelers and missionaries in the region; and second, through the transcription of these materials by Eastern Turki literates, often in collaboration with the missionaries themselves.
- 6 For narratives written in Eastern Turki and previously published in scholarly form, see: ‘*Hasannıñ Öyi*’ and ‘*Bülbülñiñ Hikāyesi*’ (Erbay 2023b); ‘*Şahrā-yı Kebürde Azıkkān İki Birtöğkannıñ Hikāyesi*’ (Erbay, 2024).
- 7 <http://www.jarringcollection.se> (accessed 01.10.2023).
- 8 Demir (2014) documented the word *çekirge* in its various forms across historical Turkic dialects (*sekirge/sekirtge* > *çekirge*). However, his study did not consider the Mongolian terms *çiki-* [*çihēh*] [to eat to excess, overeat], *çikiçe-* [*çihēh*] [to be gathered or clenched], *çikigür* [*çihūr*] [greedy, gluttonous], and *çikilçe-* [*çihēh*] [to swarm, flock] (Lessing, 2003: 290–291).
- 9 For attestations, see: *çäkürgä* / *çekürgä* / *çökürgä* / *çäkürtgä* / *çäkürtgä* / *çökürtgä* / *çäkürtigä* (Boeschoten, 2023).
- 10 In particular, Chagatai Turki utilized numerous terms for “grasshopper,” including *çiyürtke*, *civirtke*, *cörtge*, *cöyürtge*, *cöyürtke*, *cörtge*, *cöyürtke*, *çavurtgä*, *çekürge*, *çevürtke*, *çikürtgey*, and *çavurıtқан*. The form *şağırtқа*, which is mentioned in Şeyh Süleyman Efendi’s (1882) dictionary, is of particular note.

<sup>11</sup> For further information see: *alba[n]* ‘tax’ (Buell, 2003: 103; Lessing, 2003: 45).

<sup>12</sup> For the word *çık* in Old Turki texts, see: *çiq* (< Chinese *ch’i* < *tš’iäk*) meaning ‘(Foot) measure of length’ (Gabain, 1950: 307).

<sup>13</sup> For more information on the word “not” see: (Özmen, 2012).

<sup>14</sup> For the word ‘not’ used as an Oghuz element in Kipchak group Turki dialects, see Omuralieva (2022).

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**Yazarların katkıları:** Makale tek bir kişi tarafından yazılmıştır.

**Etik kurul onayı:** Bu çalışma için etik kurul onayı gerekmemektedir.

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**EK:**

**Çeviriyazı Metni**

**[1] <sup>1</sup> Cırıqlamaydurğan Tıllā**

<sup>2</sup> Kāşğar şehride basıldı

**[2] <sup>1</sup> Cırıqlamaydurğan Tıllā**

<sup>2</sup> Bir vaktde el-Cezîre dēgen vilāyetde pādīşāh alvañ salıp her <sup>3</sup> kişidin bir miqdār pul almaqçı bolup aq kâğızğa pitülgen hañlar <sup>4</sup> çıkardı. Halk pulnı vaktide bermegen üçün cerimānesini evvelki <sup>5</sup> pulğa koşup cıkrañ kılıp ikinçi mertebede kök kâğızğa pitülgen <sup>6</sup> hañlar çıkardı. Munıñ bilen hem pat tügetmegen üçün üçünçi <sup>7</sup> mertebe her kişi derhāl bermese zindānğa salınur dep kıızıl kâğızğa <sup>8</sup> pitülgen hañlar çıkardı.

<sup>9</sup> Ol zamānda bir şehрге yaqın kiçikkine bir öyde oluruqluñ <sup>10</sup> ‘Abdu’llāh dēgen bir kişi bar edi. Ol ot-yaş tarıp çıqğan huşulını <sup>11</sup> bāzārga alıp barıp satıp şunıñ bilen tirigçilik kılur edi. <sup>12</sup> Bī-çāre ‘Abdu’llāhñın eki oğlu yaş vaktide vefāt bolğan ve özi <sup>13</sup> qarığan üçün ot-yaş tarımaq müşkil edi. Tapışı bolmağandın <sup>14</sup> kin öz qarzını bermek hem müşkil edi ve alvañ dek artuñ çıkım- <sup>15</sup> larnı bermek nihāyet ziyāde ağır iş edi. Bir küni beg ‘Abdu’llāhğa <sup>16</sup> aq kâğızğa pitülgen bir hañ berdi ol hañda üç yarım tıllā <sup>17</sup> bersün dep pitülgen edi. Anı alıp okup körüp beredurğan vaqıtı <sup>18</sup> üçün eken ot-yaş yañşı bolsa satıp berür-men dep hayāl <sup>19</sup> kılıp hıç ansıramay hañnı bir yerde koydı. Ammā bu yıl bī-çāre <sup>20</sup> ikbālī kaçқан ‘Abdu’llāhñın bahtıge yaraşa yağın az boldı anıñ <sup>21</sup> üçün ot-yaşlar oñşamadı. Anıñ üstige ğazab-ı İllāhñın numū- <sup>22</sup> nesi bolğan çeketküler kara bulut dek künniñ nūrını tosıp **[3] <sup>1</sup> kelip ot-yaşlarnı yep harāb kıldı. Çeketkülerdin kalğan <sup>2</sup> ot-yaş satmaq töğül yegeli hem yetmedi. Şu künlerde beg aña kök <sup>3</sup> kâğızğa pitülgen yana bir hañ berdi. Anı okup körüp pul beredur- <sup>4</sup> ğan vaqt yaqın bolğan sebebdin endişege tüşti. Hem-sāyesidin <sup>5</sup> ötnе alıp berey dese anıñ hem zirā’atlarını çeketkü yep-dür ve özi <sup>6</sup> kem-bağıl bolup kalğan üçün qarz sorağalı bolmadı. Ėmdi neme <sup>7</sup> kılışını bilmey hayrān bolup turğan vaktide öyni oldamañ <sup>8</sup> lāzım boldı. Tamnıñ ba’zı yerlerini tüşürgende arka tamdın bir <sup>9</sup> tüşük çıktı. Qaylasa tüşükniñ içide bir sıfāl qaça tura- <sup>10</sup> dur. Anı alıp aldırıp neme bar eken dep tüküp baksa ağızıda <sup>11</sup> azğına lata andın kin ança munça hañ pitülgen bir köhne kâğız <sup>12</sup> ve anıñ astıda kararıp kalğan tıllāğa oñşa bir pul çıktı. Anı <sup>13</sup> alıp sürüp edi altun dek parqıradı teñlikdin başı ılangan <sup>14</sup> kem-bağıl ‘Abdu’llāh munıñğa tola hoş bolup ėmdi kaçan sorap <sup>15</sup> kelse berür-men dep qolıdaki ötnes tıllāğa işandı. Hıç <sup>16</sup> nersedin pervāyı yoñ boldı. Kişidin pul hem ötnе almay bölek yol <sup>17</sup> bilen hem pul rāstlamay tamakusını tartıp tinç yattı. Bir kün <sup>18</sup> beg keldi bu beg anıñ dōstı bolğan üçün hāl aħvāl sordı <sup>19</sup> kıızıl kâğıznıñ çıkadurğan vaqıtı hem yaqın edi. Bir dem gepleşip <sup>20</sup> olтурğandın kin ‘Abdu’llāh tıllā tapıp alğanını aytıp mına ėmdi <sup>21</sup> arām alıp tinç uñlay-men dedi. Beg munı anlap tıllānı alıp <sup>22</sup> kel men körey dedi. Alıp kelgende beg tıllānı taşka urup <sup>23</sup> bakıp qolığa alıp sınçılap qaylap ey dōstum bu tıllā cırıqla- <sup>24</sup> maydur eken dedi. ‘Abdu’llāhñın açığı keldi. Bu maña dadamdın **[4] <sup>1</sup> kalğan ėmes mü neme işka sen yañşı ėmes dēr-sen dedi. Beg <sup>2</sup> yana qolığa alıp obdan qaylap ayttı tıllānıñ içide yañşısı <sup>3</sup> hem bar yamanı hem bar sen haraqlagende kişi almas dedi. ‘Abdu’llāhñın <sup>4</sup> açığı teñi ziyāde boldı. Sen neme işka dadalarımğa düşnām <sup>5</sup> kılur-sen oylap bañ dadalarım yañşı bilen yamanı bilmes mü <sup>6</sup> dedi. Beg yumşaq söz birle ayttı ey aka****

dadalarının işini <sup>7</sup> men bilmey-men lîkin bir işni bile-men ki bu tıllā cırıqlamaydurgan <sup>8</sup> hem ötmeydür. Men saña munı aytmısam seniñ yalğan döstün <sup>9</sup> bolur-men. ‘Abdu’llāhnıñ açığı ziyāde bolğan üçün söz hem <sup>10</sup> kılmadı. Andın beg kopup hoşlaşıp kitti.

<sup>11</sup> ‘Abdu’llāhnıñ könlige gümān tüşti ve endişe kılıp ol <sup>12</sup> kēce ārāmıda uhlalaymadı ammā cırıqlamamdur dēp özi körüp <sup>13</sup> sinap bakmadı. Ol könlide dadalarıñ neme işka āvāre bolup <sup>14</sup> ötmeydurgan nemeni kömüp koyadur meniñ hıç qorqadurgan yerim <sup>15</sup> yok dēp hayāl kılur edi. Bu hayāl bilen özige tesellî berip <sup>16</sup> ārām taptı ve evvelkı dēk hıç neme bilen kārı bolmadı. Bir künni <sup>17</sup> kızıl kâğız keldi. Munı körüp pul beredurgan vaktıni yād kılıp <sup>18</sup> qorqup kitti. Nā-çār tıllānı alıp hem-yāngā salıp ordağa bardı. <sup>19</sup> Nevbeti kelgende kızıl kâğız bilen tıllānı hazineçiniñ kolığa berdi. <sup>20</sup> Hazineçi tıllānı kolığa alıp begke oħşa urup çürüp körüp <sup>21</sup> taşka urup baqtı. Āvāzı yahşı çıkmagan üçün kolığa alıp <sup>22</sup> şāndūkğa salmay ‘Abdu’llāhnıñ özige yandurup berdi. Ey birāder <sup>23</sup> bu tıllā ötmeydür bölekni bergil dēdi. Bī-çāre ‘Abdu’llāhnıñ qor- <sup>24</sup> kuncıdın rengi rüyı bozuldı. Miñ meşakkat bilen mende bölek [5] <sup>1</sup> tıllā yok dēdi. Hazineçi cevāb berip ayttı ey ādem öziñ <sup>2</sup> bilür-sen ki bu pādīşāhnıñ hükmi-dür anı tutmasañ seni zindāngā <sup>3</sup> saladur. Pādīşāh iltifāt kılıp üç kün mühlet berdi. Barıp <sup>4</sup> rāstlap kel dēdi. ‘Abdu’llāh ayttı takşır üç künniñ içide <sup>5</sup> tört tıllānı ne yerdin tapa-men bu kaçā bolsa şunçağa hisāblap <sup>6</sup> alğıl şāf altun bolmasa hem arasıda rāstı bar-dur. Hazineçi <sup>7</sup> cevāb berip ayttı içide azrak şāf altun barlıkı rāst-dur <sup>8</sup> lîkin mıs aralaşkan-dur. Hālīs bolmay aralaş bolğan nerseni <sup>9</sup> munda almaydur. Pādīşāhnıñ hazinesige salgalı şāf altun kerek <sup>10</sup> saña üç kün mühlet bergen-dür barıp öziñ cāylap kel dēdi <sup>11</sup> ‘Abdu’llāh kitti. Bu toğrada hıç ğam kılmadı. ‘Aybnı hem özige almadı <sup>12</sup> üç kün hem toşı dēk ötüp kitti. Üç künden kin mır-şebler <sup>13</sup> zindāngā salmak üçün anı alğalı kelgende hūşıga kelip yalguz <sup>14</sup> bir ağız gep kıldı bu işlerniñ hemmesi maña özüm din boldı <sup>15</sup> neme işka men anı diğkat kılıp körüp taşka urup bakmadım.

## <sup>16</sup> Kıışadın Hışse

<sup>17</sup> Allāh te‘ālā insānnı üç tarıka bilen özige kışkıradur. Biz <sup>18</sup> kıyāmet küni şeksiz anıñ aldığa bara-miz. Hudānıñ birinci <sup>19</sup> kışkırganı evvel inşāf vāsıtası birle özige kışkıradur ya‘nī Hudā <sup>20</sup> her ādemniñ könlide inşāf (vücūdān) dēgen bir nerse hālk kılıp- <sup>21</sup> dur. Bu inşāf nefis bilen şeytānnıñ hilāfıda bolup ādemni <sup>22</sup> Hudā tarafıge kışkıradur. Meşelen sen bir yaman işni kılsañ seniñ [6] <sup>1</sup> könlünde bir nerse neme işka bu yaramas işni kıldıñ mundağ <sup>2</sup> iş bolmaydur dēp melāmet kılğan dēk bolup könlüñni <sup>3</sup> bī-ārām kıladur eger yahşı bir iş kılsañ yana könlünde <sup>4</sup> bir nerse bu yahşı-dur bāreka’llāh dēgen dēk bolup könlüñge <sup>5</sup> hoşluk keltüre-dür. Mına bu Hudā tarafıge başlaydurgan inşāf- <sup>6</sup> dur. Bu inşāfnıñ kışkıırışı aq kâğızğa pitülüp kelgen hatge <sup>7</sup> oħşaydur.

<sup>8</sup> Kin Hudānıñ emri pitülüp keldi. Ol Tevrāt ve İncil-dür. <sup>9</sup> Bu kitāblar taħı rüşenrek kılıp insān ölgendin kin tirilmek- <sup>10</sup> niñ barlıkını ve kıyāmet küni hüküm boladurganını yahşı ve yaman <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> kişiler her kıysı öz ‘amelleriniñ cezalarını köredurganını bildir- <sup>13</sup> edür. Bu kök kâğızğa pitülüp kelgen hatge oħşaydur. Ėmdi <sup>14</sup> ahırkı kışkıırış kaldı. Ol ölüm-dür. Kaçan ki ecel yaķanıñ <sup>15</sup> tutsa ol saña hıç fırsat bermey-dür ve kaçkalı hem kıymaydur. Bu <sup>16</sup> kızıl kâğızğa pitülüp kelgen hatge oħşaydur.

<sup>17</sup> Ey birâder fikr kılğıl evvelkı kıçkırguçı keldi aña ança <sup>18</sup> kulağ salmadıñ ikinçisi hem keldi anı kördün endişe kıldın <sup>19</sup> İkin çoluñda ata babalarınñın ıalğan bir tıllâ bar. Aña işanur- <sup>20</sup> sen hayâl kılur-sen ki şâf altun-dur her yerge barsam ve her kim- <sup>21</sup> ge bersem öte-dür. Ammâ özün yahşı kaylap taşka urup sinap <sup>22</sup> bakmay-sen şâf altun mu bilmey-sen parkırağanıña kül bolur-sen. <sup>23</sup> Bilgil ki her bir parkıraydurğan nerse altun emes. Bu toğrada <sup>24</sup> sen neme ata babalarınğa i'timâd kılur-sen aytur-sen ki ata babam neme <sup>25</sup> işka ötmes nemeni saklap-dur. Bu ğalağ bir fikr-dür. Sen özün [7] <sup>1</sup> yahşı körüp cırıñlatıp bağıl bolmasa kin 'Abdu'llâh dek <sup>2</sup> tutulğanda özünñin bölek kişige melâmet kılalmas-sen.

<sup>3</sup> 'İbâdetleriñge ya'nî oquğan namâzlarıñğa tutқан rüzeleriñğa <sup>4</sup> kılğan hayr-sehâvetleriñğa kaylağıl hâliş Hudâ için kıldın <sup>5</sup> mu yâ riyâ için mü. Şâf köñül bilen Hudâ için kılğan <sup>6</sup> bolsañ tara tıllâğa oğşa boladur. Eger riyâ için halknıñ <sup>7</sup> aldıda özünñi dîn-dâr ve taqvâyî körsetmek için kılğan bolsañ <sup>8</sup> aña ğalduğuş aralaşқан-dur. Bilür-sen ki aralaş tıllâ maqbûl <sup>9</sup> emes-dür.

<sup>10</sup> Çoluñğa tesbîh tutup Hudây te'âlânıñ muqaddes ismlerini <sup>11</sup> aytıp yâd kılğanda köñlünge dünyânıñ fikri tüşmedi mü <sup>12</sup> nefsiñge riyâzet tartdurmak ve munıñ birle özünñi Hudâğa yakın <sup>13</sup> kılmağ için rûze tutkanda ağızıñdın harâm ve nâ-meşrû' sözler <sup>14</sup> çıkmadı mu. Kişige âzâr bermediñ mü kişige hıyânet kılmađın mu <sup>15</sup> 'ibâdet niyeti bilen her bir kılğan 'amelleriñge diğkat kılıp bağıl <sup>16</sup> hâliş mu-dur. Şundağ i'tikâdıñı hem tahkîklep kaylağıl. Şâyed <sup>17</sup> Hudânıñ 'inâyeti bilen haqîkatge vâkıf bolur-sen. Ata babalarım <sup>18</sup> mundağ kılğan êken dep taqlîd kılıp 'ömrünñi zâyî' kılıp <sup>19</sup> fırsatnı ötkermegil çünkü insânıñ hemmedin zarûr işi dîn işi- <sup>20</sup> dür. Her birimizge âhırkı kıçkıırışı yakın-dur. Sen Hudây te'âlâ- <sup>21</sup> nıñ aldığa barganda hâliş bolmağan günâh bilen aralaş 'ibâdetler <sup>22</sup> birle barsañ vây seniñ hâliñğa çünkü pâdişâhnıñ hazînesige <sup>23</sup> şâf bolmağan tıllâ kabûl kılınmağan dek günâh aralaş 'ibâdetler [8] <sup>1</sup> kabûl kılınmas. Ol vağt ziyân-kârlarıñ ziyân-kârı bolur-sen. Andâ <sup>2</sup> peşimân fayda bermes. Pâdişâh-ı Haqîkîniñ aldıda şermende bolup <sup>3</sup> ebedî cehennemde çalur-sen. Zinhâr ey birâder bu işler için fırsatnı <sup>4</sup> ötkermegil. 'Älemde fırsatdın kıymet nerse yok-dur.



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